

VIRGIL, *AENEID* 7

A COMMENTARY

BY

NICHOLAS HORSFALL



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FOR MARGARET HUBBARD
WITH GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION
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PREFACE

On the first morning of the Six Day War in 1967 (Mon. 5 June), the last day of my Part II exams in Cambridge, Sir Roger Mynors suggested to me that I write a commentary on *Aeneid* 7. *Hinc illae lacrimae*. Corpus Christi College, Oxford briskly carried me away from Cambridge (that had been settled before I met Sir Roger), took care of me for the four years of my thesis (the fourth, indeed, they generously financed), and still (thanks to the kindness of my old pupil, Dr. S.J. Harrison, a generous sender of articles and writer of erudite notes), puts up with me for a few nights every year; above all, and astonishingly, they lent me vol.3 of La Cerda for all the time I was a graduate student.

My first supervisor took limited interest in my progress, and indeed I think I was glad enough to be left to find my own feet (in the Ashmolean Library, often, rather than the Bodleian). We were both probably relieved when I moved on to Dr. Stefan Weinstock, who disabused me very briskly of the idea that I might usefully study Virgil and Roman religion in tandem. He would, I think, be amused and delighted (*more suo*) at my present state of scepticism about the presence of religious language and learning in the text. Nico Knauer was generous with help and support while in Oxford ca. 1969, *cuius amicitia etiam nunc uti ualde gaudeo*. After Dr. Weinstock, Mr. Nisbet. 'His constant maxim, that learning was easy and all too common in Oxford, but what was needed was judgement' wrote Peter Levi of Eduard Fraenkel (*The flutes of autumn* (repr. London 1985), 90); 'learning', added Mr. Nisbet 'is what you get by wearing out the seat of your trousers in the Bodleian'. Indeed Robin did not then actively *try* to train his graduates' judgement, but concentrated rather on sound technique; memorably, though, he urged us not to leave all the jokes out. *Infra*, then, they are *his* fault as well as mine! After a couple of terms, for all his acute and conscientious teaching, I realised that in truth I needed to be taught by Margaret Hubbard, to whom I shall return. Just before I submitted the thesis, Sir Roger Mynors wrote me a long letter about the textual problems I discussed in it; at the time, I wasn't much amused (nor, I think, was he), but I kept the letter, and it turns out to raise many interesting issues: from it I shall quote often for it is a document that deserves to be more widely known, since Sir Roger said so very little in print about how he viewed the problems faced by an editor of Virgil (cf. *Vergilius*, 35(1989), 5f.).

I took the DPhil.(a brief selection of notes—as Sir Roger himself had ingeniously suggested—worked up from a vast handwritten commentary on the whole book), and obtained my first academic post on the same day in 1971. I did consider the conventional metamorphosis of thesis into book, filled two little notebooks with a possibly improved commentary on the first 70-odd lines and produced a typescript of a more advanced version on the last 60; of this typescript, my friend Alan Griffiths wrote: “a bit uncomfortably Bömer-like”. That was very near the bone, as I realised; our friendship survived and without many regrets I turned my interests elsewhere. But in 1979 I published two long articles on the Aeneas-legend and that led me (through the generous support of Ferdinando Castagnoli) to write a fair number of entries for the *EV*: updated recycling of the thesis in some, though not in all, cases; my chapters in *RMM* were an eventual result of these interests in myth and topography.

Quite numerous Virgilian articles and (slightly fewer!) reviews, on a wider range of topics, but many with some bearing on *Aen.7*, now began to appear, especially while W.W. Briggs was editor of *Vergilius* and after my own move to Italy in 1987. In particular, an article I published in 1981 (most easily accessible in Harrison, *OR*, 466ff.), the offspring of a talk to undergraduates in Cambridge ten years before, made me realise—*contra mundum* !—that the study of V.’s prose sources and learned allusions might shed light on a wider range of critical problems and that approach led to *Alambicco* (1991), my first book on V., whose preface contains a more detailed account of those friends who helped change my approach to Virgil in the years 1971-1991. The second, *Companion*, forced me to face some of the Big Issues in Virgil criticism and taught me the pleasures of working with Julian Deahl at E.J.Brill. When I mentioned the existence of a potentially publishable comm. on *Aen.7*, he could not have been more encouraging and in the Spring of 1996 I decided to approach the task of revision rather more seriously and systematically than on an earlier occasion, not least because Marco Fernandelli kindly produced a transcript of all those who had consulted my thesis since it was deposited in the Bodleian and those 40-odd names spurred me to the conclusion that something rather better was

probably called for. Soon after, I was reading, desultorily, Th. Bögel's *Thesaurus-Geschichten* (Stuttgart/ Leipzig 1996) and from the appendix realised that my last supervisor would soon need a substantial birthday present; that was an incitement to steady acceleration and I concluded anyway that another five years' gestation would probably lead to a worse, not a better book. This acceleration would not have been possible without the new technology: my dear sister-in-law Aureliana fortunately had a friend in the business, and I remain happily incredulous at the speed and skill with which Massimo Berretta and his technical wizard Roberto D'Agostino induced in me, almost painlessly and with far greater didactic expertise than they are willing to acknowledge, a state of (or so it appears) computer literacy.

This book, as should by now be quite clear, is only in some isolated lines and words, the 'book of the thesis'. Three friends, Wendell Clausen, Alessandro Perutelli, and Jim O'Hara, have been reading my text as it appeared; they were chosen because, though we share unalterable respect for precise scholarship, our training and critical approaches are very different. They have borne nobly the increased pace: two have, by and large, applied the sweetest of carrots, and one often quite a heavy stick: that feels about right.

"The number and volume of relevant facts on any subject are not many or great and the number of good or important books on it are few. If you have a nose for relevant facts and the trails which lead to them—this is essential and half the battle—and if you know how to work with the laborious pertinacity of the mole and beaver..." (Leonard Woolf, *Beginning Again* (repr. 1972, London and New York), 185). It helps too (and saves time) if you have a fair range of learned and obliging friends (not least friends who have gently persuaded you to look at Virgil's Latin in a new light). Sebastiano Timpanaro and Josef Delz have discussed textual problems with me, as have Maria Luisa Delvigo and Francesca Boldrer; Alfonso Traina has sent me a steady flow of books and offprints on V.'s language; David West has discussed curiosities of imagery; how Woldemar Görler, after firing my enthusiasm for the detailed and sometimes unorthodox study of V.'s style (cf. *Companion*, 217ff. for a first helping), found time to answer in detail only too many queries on the latest anomalies that emerged I do not know, but he always did, quickly, generously and with singular learning; Antonie Wlosok procured elusive items of

bibliography for me, and, as ever, has offered the warmest support and encouragement; Giuliano Bonfante (b.1904) has advised cheerfully and vigorously on issues of etymology and linguistics; Licinia Ricottilli has discussed with exceptional cordiality and insight numerous problems of gesture and physiology; Margherita Cancellieri did much to clarify some particularly thorny topographical problems (many years after Robert Ogilvie's first genial encouragement) and Mario Stazi, *vice-sindaco* of Agosta (Augusta; accent therefore on the first syllable) made quite sure, with irresistible enthusiasm, that **744-9** got more than their fair share of discussion. Aldo Lunelli offered with one hand profound and therapeutic scepticism, with the other unswerving support and magnificent hospitality. Marco Fernandelli has procured ample information and material (both in North Italy and in Oxford), has discussed numerous passages with me, has helped me in many difficult passages, and has lavished exceptional learning and goodwill upon the project. Dr. Fernandelli himself, Sallie Spence, Pamela Bleisch, Barbara Boyd, Don Fowler (and his pupil Debra Hershkowitz), along with Jim O'Hara, have taught me gently what I know of recent approaches to Virgilian criticism; there is more intertextuality here than at once meets the eye, for I have not managed to learn the new language some of my friends use. That is not to say I have not thoroughly enjoyed sitting at their feet and I hope I have learned (and sometimes even put to use) something from them. I am never quite sure of Denis Feeney's position in the critical spectrum: perhaps that is yet another reason why his conversation has been so enjoyable and illuminating for so long. Many others have helped me with various importunate enquiries; the generosity of Nancy Felson in the face of my pressing curiosity about the narrative character of **47ff.** made me realise how much I needed to place on record the abundant, erudite goodwill which a large number of learned friends have shown, *passim*, over several decades; without it this book would have been slower, harder, and much less pleasant to write.

To return to Margaret Hubbard: her formidable didactic rigour would, I think, have scared me into some quite other activity had we worked together from 1967! As it was, nothing got by: even some long list of parallel passages, compiled as routine, was liable to be dissected and categorised. I have long thought Aristotle is her favourite author, rather than Horace or Propertius, let alone Virgil! On the other hand, a promising suggestion was often rendered positively useful, and glimmers of perception or intelligence were spotted with acumen and commended with generosity. The learning

was terrifying: the astrological issue at **560** was raised by a citation from Clement's *Stromateis*, though far simpler proofs (as I now discover) abound. So was the clarity of judgement: with Eduard Fraenkel, I saw bluff used, sometimes to good effect; with Margaret, that would never have done. Friendship emerged slowly and naturally: nothing to do with the routine hospitality and amiability offered to graduates by many. It has grown happily, gently, and untroubled for, near enough, thirty years. When I asked her recently about how the proofs of NH had been corrected, her answer was typically terse and to the point; I have tried not to fall too far short of their standards. Such merits as this book may have are owed in very large measure to her and it is with great pleasure and deep gratitude that I offer it in celebration of her seventy-fifth birthday.

Nicholas Horsfall
Rome and Pisciareello di Agosta
26.11.1998

INTRODUCTION

1. *Structure*

Little though I appreciate the eager pursuit of minute balances in V.'s text (the use of fractions included; cf. *Companion*, 74, n.53), and little though we should be impressed by the use of vague definitions of sections in the text to create the appearance of balance or cross-referencing (Williams (641-817, §ii) does not persuade), structural arrangements (cf. *G.* ed. R.Thomas, index, s.v.) are certainly there to be found, without resort to a calculator, and the epic is bound together by a dense network of cross-references and balances, not only allusive (Knauer, Nelis), but also formal and explicit (cf. *Companion*, 135-7). That is true even of a book so obviously tripartite as 7 (cf. E.A.Fredericksmeyer, *CJ* 80(1985), 228-37). I discuss below in some detail the structure both of the Allecto-scenes, 341-539 (gleaning where Fraenkel reaped), and of the Catalogue (641-817, §2), but here gather together in summary form a number of other observations:

1-4 (Caieta) both binds bk.7 to bks.5 and 6 (Misenus, Deiphobus, Palinurus) and reactivates the Trojans' onward mobility (cf. 37-45 on the place of 1-4 in the sequence of Homeric allusion and Odyssean adventure); 5-24 (Circe) and 25-36 (Tiber-mouth) are balanced thematically with minute care (cf. introductions) in a narrative sequence both Homeric and Apollonian (I leave aside here the further issue of the significance of the parallels with bk.1), while the Iliadic character of the ensuing narrative is introduced in a proemium (37-45) both Iliadic in content and historical in tone, though introduced by a last majestic Apollonian echo in anticipation of the failed love-story which underlies what follows. V.'s terse account (45-57) of the state of Latium at Aen.'s arrival recalls in function perhaps both poets (AR, Enn.) and historians. Divine opposition to a match between Lavinia and Turnus (58-80) is expressed in coupled portents (59-70, 71-80) which swiftly result in (81) Latinus' consultation of his father's oracle (81-101; cf. 47, 48). The news of Faunus' response had spread just as the Trojans arrived (102-6), a summary which binds together the Trojan and Latin strands of the preceding narrative. The fulfilment of Anchises' interpretation of Celaeno's oracle in bk.3 (107-47) moves the convinced Aeneas (130) to send scouts at dawn (148) the next day; Aen. builds a city/camp (crucial in bk.9), while the scouts reach Latinus' city (148-69). The king invites the Trojan embassy to enter his palace:

168-9 taken up by **192-3**, after the ecphrasis (**170-91**; note **189-91** taking up **5-24**; **189** also refers back to **48**; so too with **49** cf. **180**). The exchange of speeches is palpably unfinished (cf. **243, 248, 254, 259-73**) which should make us pause before hailing with delight (*infra*) a significant numerical balance in **1-571**. Latinus speaks, **195-211**; Ilioneus replies, **213-248**; Lat. ponders (**249-59**; **254** takes up **81ff.**), then replies in turn (**259-73**). The thematic links between these speeches will be discussed *seriatim*, in my introductions to each. Latinus' second speech leads directly to his offering splendid gifts to the Trojans (**273-85**) in specific response to the Trojans' own presents (**243-8**). Lat. spoke **laetus** (**259**); the Trojans return triumphant (**284-5**) and the penultimate word of the whole section of narrative is **pacem**, undercut both by the threat of war in **37-45** and by Juno's immediate reaction to the sight of **laetum Aenean** (**288**).

Fredericksmeyer well noted that the first 'third' of the book is 285 lines long and adds (*cit.*, 232) that from Juno's intervention to Allecto's departure is 286 lines; however, the initial 'third' was never, clearly, intended to be left at that length, and the unity of **286-571** is open to question: Juno's initial monologue, **293-322**, does not mention Allecto (but note the hint at **312**); from **323-340** the monologue is transformed into action, divided unequally between description (**324-9**) and direct address (**331-40**), which in fact amplifies the description. Clearly, as we shall see in greater detail (**341-539**), Allecto's three interventions are splendidly and minutely balanced; the three scenes are also bound closely both to what precedes and to what follows (e.g., with **319-22** cf. **456-7**; with **532** cf. **575** and *vd.* **542, 554** as summaries of **475-539**). Allecto is indeed returned to Hell (her natural habitat) at **571**, but that return is not itself a perceptible caesura in the narrative; rather, it is a direct result of Juno's personal intervention in the narrative: **572ff.** follows directly upon Juno's statement of intent at **559f.**, and, as Fraenkel so well observed, **573-85** take up chiastically **341-539**, while Latinus' immobility at **586ff.** recalls (probably) his thoughtful and stationary silence at **251ff.** The storm that breaks against him at **586ff.** is an intensification of that at **528-30**. And yet we shall see that Latinus' inaction is not surrender; it is the Latin *patres* who vote for war (cf. **611**) and Latinus actively, positively refuses to open the Gates of War (**616-9**); only then can Juno complete her work and open the Gates herself, leading directly to the general muster, in Ennian and Varronian terms, of all

Ausonia (**623-40**), whose warriors are then catalogued (**641-817**). This narrative sequence, formally tripartite, moves forward ineluctably thanks to a remarkably dense and dramatic inner logic of its own: V. does display, in the book's central section, his extraordinary ability to create unobtrusive but complex formal balances, but I remain unconvinced that the narrative's mainspring, from beginning to end, derives from an equilibrium of subjectively evaluated sub-sections.

2. *Sources: epic and Kreuzung der Gattungen*

Macr.(often an extremely intelligent critic of V.) 5.17.1ff. preserves a long discussion of **341-571**, much esteemed by Norden (cf. **406-74**), though often unfair and trivialising. Its effect has often been to set modern critics of these lines on the defensive from the start (for we do have an ancient critic, perhaps using 'old and good' sources, who claims that V., without Homer to hold his hand, was a farcical bungler), as though V. really had been unable to integrate a long sequence of tragic character into his epic; contrast B.W.Boyd, *AJP* 113(1992), 213ff., an exemplary study of how generic blending contributes decisively to the fascination exercised by Camilla. From pre-1971, via *Alambicco*, till now, I have been trying to unearth further elements of *Kreuzung*, and upon reflection it is in large measure the complexity of V.'s reading in bk.7, with continuous consequent variations of tone and manner, that has kept my own interest alive and active for a rather long period. Here I offer some general reflections upon the breadth of that reading to set the precise observations which follow in generic and chronological context:

There is in practice a good deal more Homer in *Aen.* 7 than a first reading of Macr., and of his modern followers, might lead one to suppose: that goes for both **1-37** (cf. **37-45** for a summary of the issues) and for the Catalogue (cf. **641-817**, §i, Knauer, 235f.; I am uneasy (**623**) about possible Homeric antecedents for the Catalogue's direct preliminaries). **286-340** owes much, in form, if not in intensity, to *Od.*5, as does Juno's intervention to Hera's in *Il.*2 (**323-40**, **331-40**); note too Homeric elements in Allecto's dream-appearance to Turnus (**421-34**, **436-44**). Beyond these major debts of structure, V. (vd. index s.v. Homer) delights in

introducing Homerisms of style, even in quite unhomeric contexts and in 'layering' almost inextricably Homeric and early Roman manners (dining, diplomacy, gifts, warfare etc.; a particular effort is made below to indicate parallel Homeric and Roman *mores*).

Annemarie König (Wohleben) sent me a copy of her dissertation in 1973, and Gabriele Thome a copy of her *Vorstellungen vom Bösen* nearly twenty-five years later; thanks to their kindness I have no possible reason to undervalue the tragic element in *Aen.7*. Moreover, Marco Fernandelli (cf. x, xii) is currently working on the selfsame topic. But this element is circumscribed in rather precise ways: I hope I am right in thinking that V. has Aesch. *Persae* in mind in the rich variation with which leaders and forces in the Catalogue are presented (and cf. **647-54, 785** for the *Septem*); certainly Virbius (**761-82**) owes a good deal to Euripides' account of his unlikely father, Hippolytus (and cf. **658, 674ff., 785** for other possible traces of Eur. in these lines). In **1-286** significant echoes of Greek tragedy are, I think, absent, and in **540-640** there might be a trace of *OC* at **586-90**, while V.'s minute reading of the *HF* runs over into Juno's dismissal of Allecto (**545, 557**: Lyssa to Iris). But such virtual silences are themselves significant, and our attention is rightly concentrated on Allecto (note the Euripidean genealogy of Hecuba already at **322**). Now that we have Radt's exceptional editions of the fragments of Aesch. and Soph., there is much less room than once there was (see e.g. Horsfall 1971, 120-22) about the possible influence of lost trilogies (though cf. **323-40, 421-34** for familiarity with Aesch. *Xantriae*). Lastly, and of far greater interest, nothing directly and demonstrably Sophoclean behind Allecto (and V. certainly did not avoid Soph; Dr. Fernandelli rightly gives precedence to *Aj.* and Dido, and for now cf. too, more fully, his teacher, A. Martina, at *EV* 4, 915ff.). It is then the role of Aeschylus and Euripides in the Allecto-scenes that Macrobius loftily ignores and which renders the central section of *Aen.7* so profoundly 'different'. At **323-40** All. emerges as both Aeschylean (Furies and related deities) and Euripidean (the Lyssa of *HF* and cf. *Ba.*977); in her appearance and attributes, as in her career of destruction through induced madness, Allecto is often, though not distinctively, Aeschylean; if we look for specific debts to Aesch. here, we will find, I suspect, that we are limited to *Xantriae*. The intent of this paragraph is by no means minimalist: though tone, iconogra-

phy, imagery and language in these lines is often clearly of tragic origin (and the case for distinctive, necessary Latin mediation is not strong, but see **377**, **456**, Wigodsky, 93f.), it is above all with Eur.*HF*, and in **341-405** with *Ba.*, that V. was concerned.

A bold attempt to uncover a sequence of Callimachean references in the first 45 lines of *Aen.*7 cannot be judged convincing (cf. **14 tenuis..telas**, even though Erato (**37**) has now surfaced in *Aet.*fr.238SH), but Call. is repeatedly present in bk.7, even to a sceptical eye, in the debt of the top-simile to *Epigr.*1(*infra*; a poem which further contains a κλήδων, as in **116**), of the third Allecto-scene to *H.*6 (**436-44**, **452-5**), of the Camilla-similes to *Aet.*fr.75, of Allecto's trumpet-blast to the thunder of the Cyclopes' hammers in *H.*3, and of Virbius in the Catalogue to one of the Italian *Aetia* (**761-82**), though we should not assume that all the Alexandrian colouring in that passage necessarily derives directly from *Aet.*(fr.190; cf. **803** on the name Camillus and note the recognisable allusion at **208** to Samothrace). The commentary on **761-82** contains a good deal of material on features characteristic of Hellenistic learned poetry which recur in *Aen.* Thanks to the generosity of Dr. Damien Nelis, I have been able to use a not-quite-final draft of the chapter on *Aen.*7 from his book on AR and *Aen.*, itself in the press while I was composing the last draft of this commentary. My understanding of the profoundly (though by no means exclusively) Apollonian sequence **5-37** (from Circe, via the Tiber-mouth, to Erato; cf. also **1-4**(tomb by the shore), **195-211** on Circe in the W.) has benefited very greatly thereby. Both Aeneas' landing (**104f.**, **136f.**) and Ilioneus' embassy to Latinus (**152**, **213-48**, **249**) contains strong Apollonian elements and while V.'s Allecto might not at first sight seem a clear descendant of AR's Eros (**323-40**), the ancestry of Amata's unawareness of the Fury's effect upon her (**341-72**) and the similarity of Allecto's torch to Eros' arrow (**456**) place a degree of Apollonian influence beyond question. We should also note **281f.** (fire-breathing bulls) and **525f.** (the sown men behind a Virgilian image).

While it seems sure enough that Naevius' Prochyta stands behind V.'s Caieta (**1-4**), the role of Ennius' *Annals* is far less secure, despite the expenditure of a great deal of scholarly effort. I should perhaps say that the most solid candidate for indebtedness seems the muster, **622-39**; cf. **625** for a likely context in Enn. and note the remarkable

concentration of Ennian language in the vicinity (cf. index s.v. Ennian flavour). That may seem a perverse preference, but Norden's analysis of Discordia's departure has not weathered very well, and we know a good deal less than we once thought we did about her contribution to **540-640** (vd. *ib.* §3; note V.'s formal bow at **545**), not to mention **622** (the opening of the Gates of War (**540-640**, §3b), or the role of Enn.'s Catalogue behind V.'s (**641-817**, §i). We cannot with confidence claim that one single Ennian sequence stands behind the sequence **540-640** in V., wonderful though it would be to be able to do so.

It is very odd that we have no certain proof that V. used Cato's *Origines* (cf. **641-817**, §v; vd. **803-817** for a particularly insidious pretender). I should be pleased but surprised if such a proof turned up, for I have been looking since 1970 or so. Certainly V. read widely in the historians (vd. index s.v. cause, historian, historiography); the instances I discuss I try to illustrate fully, but whether he preferred Herodotus or Sall. *Hist.*, Pollio and Livy is not clear. Certainly, *Aen.* 7 is an epic meditation on causation and responsibility, a grim ethical analysis of how civil wars start and of the damage they do (cf. index s.v. civil war), expanding on what he had already written in *G.* (**635**). It also emerges that V. was intimately familiar with the language and commonplaces of ethnography; how far he had read beyond the excursuses in Sall. *Hist.* is not clear.

Since 1971(169ff.), I have maintained (and am by no means the first to have done so) that V. made ample use of prose sources, and in particular of Varro, in *Aen.* 7; some of my formulations may have been a little extravagant: so e.g. *EV* 5*, 447-50; typically gentle and benignly sceptical the reaction of J. Poucet, *MEFR(A)* 101(1989), 65, while J. Linderski, *Vergilius* 38(1992), 3ff. raises fundamental doubts about the role of DH in the reconstruction of Varro's relationship to V.. But even after some radical re-thinking, it remains clear that Varro will not just go away because he is out of fashion, *pace* H.D. Jocelyn, *LCM* 17(1992), 111, or T.P. Wiseman, *infra* (**641-817**, §vii). Nor because some statements attributed to Varro disagree with Virgil (so D. Briquel, *REL* 70(1992), 88, n.85), not least because it is demonstrably part of Varro's *modus operandi* to cite a range of conflicting views: *LL* 5.53, on the origins of the Palatine is enough to show that. Of course **641-817**, §viii is not a proof quite as solidly based as

that at **176**, but, though my current view of his presence (cf. index s.v.) in *Aen.*7 is positively minimalist beside (e.g.) Ritter's, there seem no rational grounds for eliminating *all* the indications of indebtedness proposed below. Whether V. sought out recondite annalistic variants of the Aeneas-legend (so e.g. my friend Luca Cardinali, *Prometheus* 21(1995), 256ff.) or plucked them effortlessly from a summary somewhere in Varro, as I incline to believe (despite Poucet's doubts, *supra*), remains uncertain.

Twice at least in bk.7, V., as has long been realised, breaks into the manner of bucolic, in the picnic (**107-47**; cf. **109**) and in the death of Silvia's stag (**475-539**; cf. further **817** on hunting and bucolic and the pathetic fallacy at **758f.**). Twice too, V. uses unmistakably the language of amatory elegy (vd. index s.v. erotic), though I am reluctant to recognise an *exclusa amatrix* in the neighbourhood of Latinus' palace (**343**). More marked, and of particular interest, is the influence of motifs clearly drawn from Hellenistic epigram: both Alexandrian and Augustan in the case of panegyric motifs (cf. index s.v.), markedly *HE* in the case of laments for dead pets (**475-539**, **483**) and just as markedly *GP* on the decline of once-great cities (**413**). Callimachus, *Epigr.*1 (*supra*, xix) is perhaps a special case. It was perhaps when first looking at Klingner's index that I first realised how hugely receptive V. was to non-epic elements in the *Aen.*: it has only become ever clearer that he repeatedly, and over a vast range, incorporates into his text moods, motifs, and language that the 'educated Augustan reader' will have discerned far more often, and over a yet wider range, than I have managed to do.

3. *Language, grammar, syntax, style, metre*

After hard work by Roman *grammatici* (some of it, as preserved by Serv. and Macr., still extremely useful) and by their heirs down to Dingel (*Aen.*9, 1997), not to mention *EV*, *LHS*, *TLL* and all the other tools of the trade now available, it might seem that there was not much left to be said on such topics and that the commentator could usually list a few more or less useful earlier discussions of the issue in hand and pass swiftly on to greener pastures. That, despite the great mass of learned assistance now to be derived (most unequally and not without effort!) from the commentaries (and we have, after all, fair, or good, post-1960 commentaries for most of V.; vd. §5 *infra*), turns out for various rather interesting reasons out to be very far from the case:

it is true that the finer points of the hexameter have been worked out, and there is little on metre proper below. Little too on *dispositio uerborum*, as also on sound effects, not because I have not read Allen's *Vox latina* (Cambridge 1965) or Traina's *L'alfabeto e la pronunzia del latino* (ed.4, Bologna 1973), but because ancient views not of the actual sound, but of the effect of certain letters upon the Roman ear (information to be found in the notes of Wilkinson, 9ff., Marouzeau, 17ff.) are so very far from our own reactions as to leave one the choice either of mounting a major attack on (e.g.) Quintilian's perception of his own language or of keeping silent! If, though, we pass on to prosody, we find its finer points, along with their morphological origins, generally neglected (though not e.g. by Timpanaro and Traina); the 'liberties' which V. allowed himself were not all sorted out in *ALL* (invaluable though Bednara's remarks in vol.14(1906), 317ff., 532ff. remain).

On technical aspects of Latin *sermo poeticus* there has been more progress than might generally be realised, not just in 'commentaries, those curious fat books (usually bound in red) which, because of rather than despite their very comprehensiveness, do so much to prevent the student seeing the wood for the trees' (A.D.E.Cameron, *Bread and circuses* (London 1973),1). I refer in particular to the remarkable bibliographical apparatus in Lunelli's *La lingua poetica* (with further help from Hofmann-Ricottilli and sometimes from *EV*); with Lyne, *FV* and *WP* I am rather often in disagreement (as is Prof.Traina), but the latter book, in particular, has done much to advance our understanding of V.'s mixing of linguistic levels. Life is much easier now for the serious investigator of V.'s language than it was 30 years ago. Many Latinists have realised just how good *OLD* really is. And the *Thesaurus* has made a lot of progress (in 1967, we were not quite at the end of I/J-K, though M had been done. Now L and O are complete and nearly twenty fascicles of P are out). But P.Flury in *Wie die Blätter am Baum, so wechseln die Wörter*(Stuttgart/Leipzig 1995), 29ff. confirms and explains a long-term user's impression that the *Thesaurus* has changed, repeatedly even, in both character and quality. All the words I could reasonably have looked up in *TLL* (not *hic* or *at!*), I have indeed looked up, many of them twice, but I cite the results in proportion to their usefulness. *PHI* 5.3 is a wonderful instrument, too. But (e.g.) at **720 sole nouo** I ran a complete check, and though quite a lot of new information emerged,

it does not solve the problem. Nor have I attempted to verify from conventional indices statistics reached through PHI, though my results have been re-checked, repeatedly in some cases. Not, in the end, that I believe it matters very much whether *Lucr.* used 47 or 48 times a word then taken up by *V.*

This commentary might be rather more compact had I decided to make it selective. But, by and large, it is not, and for its reasonably systematic character (cf. xxxii) I venture to claim two advantages in the field of linguistic study:

(i) In trying to determine the origins of *V.*'s lexicon. Cordier's large study of 1939 is flawed, as was at once realised (cf. *Companion*, 219, n.12); I do not cite *C. infra* and here summarise some results obtained without any particular advance expectation of where a detailed enquiry into the lexical origins (where verifiable) of the words used in 817 lines might lead me.

(ii) In making it possible to perceive, if only for one book, the (relative) frequency of certain stylistic phenomena. I would not claim it is terribly important to know just how common the *genitiuus inhaerentiae* really is. But the usage has bothered me for some years, and by simple multiplication of my results for bk.7, I conclude that there might be 50, or even 70 instances in *Aen.*; not, therefore, to be treated as a rarity. Much more interesting is the development of Woldemar Görler's investigations into the wilder shores of Virgil's usage. See above all index s.v. enallage, hypallage. Some of the instances I claim (and the overall total is comfortably high) will, I hope, be thought surprising. And the slow, grinding approach may at times lead to a fuller understanding of imagery, too. The sequence **338-9, 525-6, 720f.** offers a remarkable verbal development of the 'perversion of agriculture' expressed with such subtlety of literary allusion at **635f.** In *Darkness visible* (Berkeley 1976), Ralph Johnson discusses at length 'blurred images'(75ff.); 'black light' (**456f.**; cf. **466**, black **uapor**, **525-6**, black corn) seems to me particularly Johnsonesque and I hope to have been able to do something to clarify the concrete, technical side of several instances of this blurring.

Whatever our disagreements of method, ideology and Latinity, I do agree wholeheartedly with Oliver Lyne that *V.*'s language is still a quagmire of half-understood (at best) hints, allusions, mysteries and ambiguities. It is cheering and therapeutic to realise just how often we do not understand 'the rule' or at least good Latin poetic usage

(cf.—e.g.—**586**, *bis* indeed, **684** and **307**, which reveals how little we know about the ablative absolute!). There are also three passages (*conicere* at **347**, **456**; the enallage at **561**) where iconography, I believe, determines sense (and surprising it is, in all three cases). Iconographic innovation is one thing; mere coarse visual blundering (we are nearly at the level of mixing up the Evangelists' attributes!) quite another.

Let me return to the origins of V.'s lexicon. I offer no great surprises, but on (a) Latin tragedy, (b) Lucretius, (c) Catullus and (d) Cicero's poems it might be timely to make a couple of observations:

(a) A deliberately chosen sample, **286-377**, yields (and I except words also attested in e.g. *Enn. Ann.*) **286** *ecce autem, sese referebat*, **295** *incensa*, **301** *absumptae*, **303** *alueo*, **312** *Acheron* (in metonymy), **322** *funestae*, **324** *luctificam(?)*, **325** *infernīs*, **339** *dissice*, **352** *taenia*, **358** *lacrimans*, **360f.** *miseret*, **366** *consanguineo*, **376** *excita*, **377** *lymphata* (which appears indeed a precise Pacuvian allusion). When in doubt, I have preferred to omit. The result is perhaps not startling (cf. Wigodsky, 80ff.), nor can one point to a case of *Latin* tragedy (cf. **373-405**, Wigodsky, *cit.* at xix) influencing the *Allecto* scenes (though that would be no surprise). But study of Jocelyn's commentary on *Enn. Alcmeo, Alexander* and *Medea* shows that Furies, or their close kin, were at home on the Roman stage (as V. actually tells us, 4.471). By the time V. wrote *Aen.*7, 'classic' Roman tragedy was beginning to lose its dominant position (cf. E.J.Jory in *Studies..Webster* 1(Bristol 1987), 147, H.D.Jocelyn in *Homage to Horace* ed. S.J.Harrison (Oxford 1995), 228 but it was the theatre on which both poet and public had cut their teeth, and, despite some element of metrical difficulty in re-working the tragic lexicon in hexameters, a substantial presence of tragic Latin in scenes deriving from tragedy was to be expected: that, exactly, is V.'s technique, as when he laments Caieta's death and we encounter (**1**, **4**) clear stylistic features of funerary epigram (cf. for that matter **37-45**, a proem dense in historians' language or **761-82**, a passage that we *know* owed much to Callim., rich in aetiological mannerisms).

(b) Lucretius: fundamental (so it is perhaps no accident that the *Lucr.* commentaries of Munro (all) and Heinze (bk.3) are so invaluable to the Virgil scholar), and not simply in language (and often behind *Lucr.* there will lurk plain, or else undetectable but

sensed, the ghosts of Ennius, Pacuvius and Accius; so too when both Lucr. and his contemporary Cat. take up a word, we can rarely tell to whom V.'s thoughts had turned). I found I had a list of some 150 words or expressions in bk.7 which in all probability were Lucretian in origin. No sense in repeating Cordier and Merrill (*UCPCP* 3(1918), 135-247). But I do draw attention to some singular concentrations: **15**(all), **25**, **71 praeterea, adolet altaria, 74 crepitante, 77** (waves of smoke/fire/anger, as we shall see (**456ff.**); note in particular 6.691 *uoluit crassa caligine fumum*), **89 modis simulacra.. miris, 108 corpora deponunt, sub ramis arboris altae, 141 caelo..ab alto, clarus, 277 instratos ostro alipedes, 281 spirantis naribus ignem, 295 capti..capi, 301 absumptae** (where V. may be playing with the erotic context in Lucr.), **335** (civil war as fratricidal), **443 templa tueri** (but in a quite different sense in Lucr.), **515 contremuit, siluae..profundae, 527ff. lacessita, iactant, albescere, paulatim, 557 super aetherias..auras, 566ff. fragosus, torto uertice, spiracula, 643 complerint campos, 644 floruerit, alma, 646 perlabitur, tenuis..aura, 786 Aetnaeos efflantem..ignes.** But **456-466** (add the fiery eyes of **448f.**) represent an extraordinary concentration of Lucretian thought, imagery and language, as Heinze and Fowler have in part and in passing noted. So in particular the torch as a symbol of anger (Lucr. 3.303, where vd. Heinze), **458 somnum..rumpit, 459 perfundit toto..corpore sudor, 462 sonore, 464 exsultant, furit, 465 fumidus, 466 se capit, uolat uapor..ad auras** (cf. Lucr. 6.842). But above all it is the *iracunda mens* which *facile efferuescit in iram..nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt* (3.295, 298) that has stirred V.'s imagination (cf. also ib.289 at **448f.**); so too, as Hardie has noted, the raging (6.1044f. *furere, exsultare*) of iron filings in a *bronze* pot when a magnet is *placed below* (*subditus*). As the climax of a scene of high *tragic* drama, V. offers a brilliant development and reworking of three passages in *Lucr.*, in elaboration of *Homer!* Cf. further **462-6**.

(c) Catullus: not just 64 (cf. *EV* 1, 712f.), for at **54** the influence of Cat.62 is clear (though behind Cat., there is a Greek tradition at which V. hints; and see too **236, 293, 309, 345**); likewise, *Attis*, both in Amata's ὀρειβάκια (cf. **373-405, 395, 405**) and in the Italian exile of Hippolytus/Virbius' (**761-82, 776**; note too **231**). For 64, I took, out of curiosity, 200 verses (**170-370**) to see (i) how often V. might be using a word legitimated or ennobled by use in

Cat.64 and (ii) how many major, significant echoes there were. Cf. (i) **198, 273, 280, 292, 309, 320, 345, 349, 368, 370** and (ii) **302, 335, 361**(with **362**). Note also **317**, though Cat.29.24 is only one attestation of a catch-phrase. These figures in turn suggested it might be interesting to see how often other Catullus poems might be relevant among the lexical origins of the same 200 lines: (i) **191, 222, 224, 289, 299, 300, 304, 309, 311, 325, 328, 332, 347, 360f., 362, 365**. Against (ii), only **228** (with **296**). I ignore words so widely distributed that I only note (e.g.) '*quinquies* in Cat.'. Possibly, therefore, the lexical influence of the shorter poems has been rather neglected, but the predominance of 64 remains undisturbed, though other long poems prove intermittently significant.

(d) It no longer has to be argued with anxious audacity either that Cicero did make a significant contribution to the development of Latin hexameter poetry or that V. (even V.!) both read him and may be suspected, here and there, to owe something to him, directly, and not to some common source, such as Ennius (cf. J.Crawford, *EV* 1, 776, G.B.Townend in *Cicero* ed.T.A.Dorey (London 1965), 124, 129f., Soubiran, 78f., 85ff.). Repeatedly, when the commentary follows through the prehistory of a Virgilian word in detail, it emerges that Cic. has read Enn. and the tragedians, that he belongs to the mainstream of usage, and that V. derives from the same tradition. That we knew, but cf. **58 portenta deum, 210 stellantis caeli, 281 spirantis naribus ignem, 306 ipse deum genitor, 325 infernis..tenebris, tristia bella, 527 lucem..iactant, 619 caecis..umbris, 792 amnem fundens, 806 femineas..manus**. All could easily be Ciceronian in origin. See also notes on **322 funestae, 324 luctificam, 375 furiale, 620 delapsa, 778 relegat**: it may be the work of pure chance in every case, but these five words in *Aen.*7 are first used in extant hexameter poetry by Cic..The concentration at **324f.** is rather singular.

4. *Text*

I explain elsewhere why my text contains no apparatus (xxxv). MS readings I have checked, when there was any obscurity in the reports, between Ribbeck, Mynors and Geymonat (who supersedes Sabbadini). For correctors' hands I have followed

Geymonat's notation, and for the indirect tradition in the grammarians, Ribbeck and Geymonat between them offer (almost) all necessary information, though in desperate circumstances I have also used the *index locorum* to Keil's *Grammatici*. About orthography I do worry, if only because I wanted to work out for myself why Mynors and Geymonat differed so much; my own choices may not always be the right ones, but they are at least pondered and not merely conventional. I have tried to remove as much superfluous punctuation as possible, and would be delighted to hear of more that can go! To scribal usage, only Ribbeck, *Proleg.* and Götte have devoted close attention, but occasionally I have gone beyond the invaluable material they offer when the complexity of the problem required.

Having written rather more textual and orthographic notes in this commentary than I had ever expected would be necessary, I began to fret more seriously about three aspects of the transmission of Virgil: (i) the chaotic and continuous generation of variants at least in the century between Varius and Probus, (ii) the fact that, though general disbelief has been expressed (Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 181f. *et passim*, Geymonat, *Companion*, 298, n.22, *EV* 2, 296) there has been no explicit answer to E.Courtney's claim that our extant mss. of V. descend from a very slightly earlier late-antique archetype (*BICS* 28(1981), 13ff.) and (iii) the startling discrepancies that I kept noticing in the dates offered for our seven late-antique mss.. M.Geymonat's chapter in *Companion*, 293-312 is much the best recent account of the transmission of V., but on these three issues a slightly fuller account may prove of use, if only as a help towards explaining why recent editors (Thomas, Hardie, Harrison and I) differ quite frequently from the OCT and why a new Teubner (J.Delz) is so eagerly awaited.

(i) Now that we have both an excellent account both of the 'nuts and bolts' of ancient literary composition (T.Dorandi, *ZPE* 87(1991), 11-33) and a pellucid application of the facts thus established to VSD's account both of Virgil's methods of composition and of Varius' editorial treatment of the poet's *Nachlass* (Günther, 63ff.; cf. **464** for a particularly improbable decision fathered upon Varius), the scattered evidence of eager, uninterrupted, unchecked textual tinkering for the century after V. changes its aspect. Nowhere are we told that a given problem was resolved by a reference to 'The poet's ms.' or 'Varius'

master copy' in the Palatine library or the imperial archives (*CR* 37(1987), 178, *Vergilius* 41(1995), 57ff.; Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 36f. *et passim* is less sceptical). Autograph mss. of V. were said to exist (e.g. *Plin. Nat.* 13.83), though they might even have been in prose (The Will, or, as in the case of Hor., letters); by the c.2 'wonderfully old' and even 'autograph' mss. are mentioned quite often (listed *Vergilius*, cit., 58). Now Gellius' credentials as a faker of learned material are established beyond any doubt (L.Holford-Strevens, *LCM* 7(1982), 67, *id.*, *Aulus Gellius* (London 1988), 50f.) and in the slightly acrimonious debate upon Gellius' good faith and the authenticity of the material he cites, I side necessarily, and gladly enough, with the hostile, sceptical minority (J.E.G.Zetzel, *Latin textual criticism in antiquity* (repr. Salem 1984), 33f., 61 *et passim*, L.Gamberale, *Atti del convegno virgiliano sul bimillenario delle Georgiche* (Napoli 1977), 359-67 against e.g. Timpanaro, *Per la storia*). We are told that there were [dubious] lines 'circled' in ink in the margin (M.L.Delvigo, *RFil.* 117(1989), 297ff. on 3.204a-d); we hear even from Serv. of 'author-variants' (*ad G.*, called *duplex scriptura* or *lectio*; cf. *Vergilius*, cit., 58f.) in the mss.. I suggest elsewhere (*RFil.* 125(1997), 471; rev. of Günther's *Entstehung*) that doubt between e.g. *pinus/tinus* (*G.*), *flauos/floros*, *fremetis/tremetis* or *germina/gramina* (*G.*) may actually represent a difficulty even on (e.g.) Varius' part in deciphering the ms./mss. available to him. The hunt for real author-variants in the mss of V. is the result of an old unhappy guess (by Funaioli, 1932) and work by Mariotti, Timpanaro and Delvigo should by now have put an end to this fruitless activity (for bibliography, cf. Geymonat, *Companion*, 297f., n.19). On the one occasion in *Aen.* 7 on which we are told what *Vergilius sic reliquerat* (464) the reading fathered upon the poet is palpably impossible, and may not even be a conjecture, but simply the result of a leap forward of the eye. An ancient statement, therefore, that 'Virgil wrote' this or that, does not have the evidential value of 'so Bentley' in a serious book on Horace! In this world of busy, ingenuous, less-than-scrupulous editorial activity, it is no surprise that the text itself was not specially respected (cf. Geymonat, *Companion*, 299f. with further refs.). Note:

(a) interpolations: the pre-proemium, the verses (poor stuff) found in Serv. at 3.204 and 6.289, and, above all, the Helen-episode

(very good stuff): for fuller details, cf. Geymonat, 300 (with some editorial annotation). (b) repeated verses which should be expelled from any serious edition. At least 30 and it would be naive to suppose that we have finished running them to earth (cf. H.-C.Günther, *Herm.*124(1996), 205ff.; on the problem in general, cf. Polara, *EV* 2, 996, Sparrow, 130ff., Moskalew, 7ff., Geymonat, *EV* 2, 288, *Companion*, 296f.). It will shortly become highly significant that twice at least (2.76, 4.273, Sparrow, 132) the revered **M** interpolates in isolation, while **R** does the same at *G.*4.471, *Aen.*8.46, 9.529, 10.278. (c) the great game of trying to fill out the half-lines (cf. **444**, Geymonat, *EV* 2, 287, *Companion*, 296). *Sen.Suas.* 2.20 is a far more serious case than those quoted at VSD 34. (d) to lacunae and transpositions we will come in a moment, in (ii). I do not mean to suggest for one moment that we actually have a bad, weakly-attested text of V., but only that his very greatness and popularity ensured that he was copied with extreme frequency and only too often in a spirit not of reverent care but of semi-scholarly ingenuity and excitement.

(ii) Courtney claims that we have secure cases of lacunae present in all late-antique witnesses to the text (19f.), but cites 6.601 (where vd. Austin and *Alambicco*, 47f.), where V. arguably follows a mythographic variant, 11.269, where an exclamatory infinitive seems to me an acceptable explanation, and 12.218, where we either correct, lightly, with Mynors, or suppose that a half-line has been filled out with the formulaic clausula *uiribus aequi* (or variations). I do not of course wish to claim that there are no transpositions which have to be made in the text of V. against the *uniform* testimony of the capital mss.): not as many as Ribbeck thought, but, *pace* Courtney, 17, 22 never **7.179**, **741**. Harrison notes (xxxv) two pretty clear cases, in bk.10: 661ff., 714ff. It is, though, noteworthy that *G.*4.290-3 are in different sequences in **M**, **P** and **R**; Mynors explains exactly how the confusion must have arisen and it is not easy to see how the variation between the capital mss. could have occurred if they derive from an archetype but little older than them. Filled-out half-lines (cf. (i)(c) above) are likewise a two-edged argument, for as Courtney himself admits (19), several instances are attested only in *one* capital ms.! We should likewise remember that careful study of echo-corruption in these codices (Sparrow, 116ff., Götte, 798ff.; cf. Günther 1996, 216) reveals a high degree of mutual independence. Certainly, after

working through, with some care, the textual problems of single book, I was left with no sense of a neat tradition descending from a recent archetype. On C.'s discussion of Probus (relevant to bk.7 only at **773**), cf. Delvigo, *passim* (admirable in general, little though I agree with her on **773**!).

(iii) Quite recently I asked Alan Cameron and Michael Reeve about the dating of the capital mss. of V.: one wrote 'sceptical views..were expressed somewhere by Pratesi [*Mél...Tisserant* 7.2(Città del Vaticano 1964), 245] and obviously footholds are scarce', while the other snorted irreverently and said he would be publishing on the topic shortly. Thus forewarned, I returned cautiously to the bibliography. **M** contains, after *Buc.*, a subscription (most easily consulted in Zetzel, *cit.*, 217), seeming to date the revision (*distincxi emendans*) to April 494 AD, but Pratesi's arguments for nearly simultaneous dating and revision (*Rend.Linc.* 8.1.(1946), 396ff.; cf. *id.*, *Scr.Civ.*9(1985), 8ff., simplified at *Atti*, 2, 220ff.) are now subverted by A.Cameron in *Aetos. Studies..Mango* (Stuttgart 1998), 33-8. The use of *nomina sacra* in **R** (cf. Pratesi (1964), 247, n. 20) does not favour an early dating and Norden realised (*Kl.Schr.*, 437f. = *RhM*56(1901), 473f.) that the verse interpolated at 6.242 derived from Priscian's translation of Dionysius Periegeta (1056); off this hook Fraenkel tried to slip (Priscian remembered a verse he had seen interpolated in V.), in defence of Lowe and Traube, but does not carry conviction: against *MH* 20(1963), 243ff., see Pratesi (1985), 22, n.39, A.Petrucci, in *Virgilio e noi* (Genova 1982), 66, Geymonat, *EV* 2, 295. Unfortunately, though, Priscian's translation is altogether undatable: very late c.5 or somewhere in the first half of c.6. And that is all. **P** is likely to be earlier than **R** (Pratesi (1985), 19ff.), just as **V** is probably a little earlier than **M** (*ib.*, 16ff.). **F** is only datable on the basis of the miniatures' style, somewhere between 375 and 425 (*ib.*, 16, 28). **A** and **G** are particularly difficult; the latter perhaps end of c.5, the former in the first years of c.6, on palaeographical grounds (*ib.*, 27f.). It is because the late antique capital is an 'artificial' hand, imitated from stone, and not a natural growth that its development is so hard to date (*ib.*, 7). Geymonat, *cit.* and *EV* 1, 831ff., 2, 286ff., and in *La fortuna di Virgilio* (ed.M.Gigante, Napoli 1986), 107ff.) offers further bibliography; I have also read with much interest and profit J.Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* (Madrid 1952), 152ff., Pratesi(1964), 234ff., R.Marichal,

REL 35(1957), 81ff., B.Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2(Stuttgart 1967), 316, id. *Latin palaeography* (Eng.tr., Cambridge 1990), 59, Petrucci, *cit.*, 62ff.. It should be noted that the old 'low' (in practice, Lowe) dating is still widely diffused: still (largely or entirely) bound by the authority of *CLA*, e.g. Harrison, *Aen.*10, xlii, L.D. Reynolds, in *Texts and transmission*, 433ff. and R. Seider, in *Studien zum antiken Epos* ed. H. Görgemanns, E.A. Schmidt (Meisenheim 1976), 138ff.(who mysteriously ignores all recent work in Italian).

Thomas, Harrison and Hardie all print, as I do here, a list of the (relatively rather more numerous, in their cases) passages where they differ from the OCT. I have not listed the (many) occasions on which I differ from Mynors on points of orthography and punctuation (and the latter can alter the sense entirely; vd. **727** and cf. **58**), but at **587** and **801** I emend the text and at **630** print a neglected correction; at **351**, **430**, **571**, **684**, **703** and **773** my text and his differ on points of substance. If not by now, then by **817**, it should be clear that I view V.'s text neither as a playground for natural conservatives nor as a pretext for brilliant emendations to eliminate a great poet's many singularities.

I offer a translation below not so much to help the Latin-less reader, for whom this commentary is not, primarily, intended, but to clarify, above all in my own mind, the precise sense of the original, in so far as it can be done at all, compatibly, where possible, with the usages of correct, even readable, English. A bit more readable than the admirably exact John Jackson (Oxford 1908), a bit closer to the letter of the Latin than the admirably readable David West (Penguin 1990). For decades, I have myself turned to Jackson and the recent German verse of Götte ([München] 1958), when in real perplexity. Some unsolved difficulties remain, which is why I do not eschew signs of doubt. It should not be forgotten that V. often changes stylistic register and intensity of linguistic invention; when his translator does the same, it is out of fidelity to the original. By a great stroke of good fortune, Julia Budenz, both admirably trained in Latin and a real, serious poet, agreed to read over at least parts of this translation; that meant minute, persistent, detailed criticism: I only hope she enjoyed the whole proceeding as much, or nearly as much, as I did.

5. *Commentary and commentaries*

Above, I mentioned that this book aimed at—not exhaustiveness (synonymous with exhaustion, for writer and user), but at a degree of thoroughness not usual in Virgil commentaries (though I am the grateful owner of a copy of S.J.Harrison's 472 large pages on *Aen.*10, DPhil. thesis, Oxford 1986, heavily reduced in the printed version). Even Pease and Norden have a vexatious habit of telling you more than you need about A and leaving B without discussion. I have suggested in §3 two areas of V.'s language and usage which benefit, I believe, from a comprehensive treatment; this commentator also found the systematic exploration of Virgilian language and style engrossingly interesting, having paid it far too little attention first time round. If some of this excitement rubs off on the reader, and if the relatively ample treatment of matters erudite and antiquarian (with which, notoriously, I have been engaged), covered rather fitfully and often unreliably in some 'standard' handbooks and discussions, proves at least useful (for I am not going to venture to hope that my enthusiasm for the boomerang in the Latin antiquarian tradition will be very widely shared!), then the expenditure of effort involved (vd. Leonard Woolf, as cited in the preface) will be in some degree justified. This is not the moment for me to name my ideal commentary. Nor do I have one. Questions of scale, epoch and the demands of the author under treatment make the question unrealistic, in any case: for Hor.C.1 and 2 NH is, in many respects, matchless (I speak as a long-time user, not just as a pupil of both), and yet, on small points of language and style, I have sometimes looked in vain for help; on the other hand, Munro and the very different Heinze on *Lucr.* recall—as does Norden on *Aen.*6—the sense of excitement of an earlier age, before modern instruments and manuals were available and when many major discoveries had yet to be made, or understood, or interpreted. In a very different way, I view Philip Hardie's *Aen.*9 as an extremely interesting development (cf. *Vergilius* 42(1996), 145-7), for it is the first time that a scholar who stands, by and large, among the 'new critics' (one thinks more of the author of Hardie, *GR* and of *The epic successors of Virgil* (312) than of *CI*) has undertaken the prolonged and minute labour of the Virgil commentator. Both my review and the frequency with which I cite him should indicate that the experiment was, both to a reviewer and to a user, very largely a

great success. In what follows I shall devote much less space than Hardie to the reception of V. and much more to his stylistic and thematic sources, simply because I am less interested in how Lucan and Valerius (e.g.) understood V. than in how V. understood e.g. Catullus and in particular, Lucretius. In other words, I view V. as a sausage is viewed, not so much by a physiologist or dietician, but by a (vd.715) *norcino*, or a cook. My personal debt to a number of New Critics, of various colourings, is recorded elsewhere (xii), and even if I do not visibly *do* what they *do*, I hope that they will find my results useful. That at least is my hope and intention: to open up, not to close down *Aen.*7, for future readers, to whom the new techniques come naturally! Mercifully we have come a long way since 'vivid' and 'emphatic' were the only evaluative adjectives known to Virgilians. If the former word is entirely absent from my pages, and the latter virtually so, that is by way of a small protest! No explicit critical position is here declared: I am not alone in believing in the educated Augustan reader; (s)he is a very useful fiction and though we can never be quite sure that we have reconstructed correctly the scholarly and literary filters through which these patient, well-read ghosts, raised by our intellects and imaginations, approached the *Aen.*, the very effort of reconstructing their intellectual 'baggage' is itself continually rewarding.

Since I deposited my thesis in 1971, three quite large commentaries on *Aen.*7 have appeared:

(a) E.Paratore, in the Lorenzo Valla series, pub. by Mondadori (1981, *sine loco*). The series is semi-popular and the editor fills a hundred pages with random remarks (very often injudicious, inaccurate, or both, but sometimes clearly right). His six volumes of *Aen.* commentaries did at one point seem to have stirred Italian Latinists to try to do the job properly. Alas, of that project, A.Traina, *Virgilio. L'utopia e la storia* (Torino 1997), which contains a dense, excellent school/undergraduate commentary on *Aen.*12, was the only outcome: I very much hope that as and when they try again, the results are more ample, for there are Latinists here very well able to undertake the task.

(b) R.D.Williams (London, 1973); intended as a 'replacement' for Page. I reviewed Williams in *JRS* 64(1974), 274-6 and after working again through the commentary on bk.7, am much struck by the paradox that the Victorian/Edwardian schoolmaster is still of real

service to scholars, while Prof. Williams' 'replacement', twenty-five years on, looks even more faded than it did on publication.

(c) Fordyce (*Aen.*7, 8; Oxford 1977; reviewed, *CR* 29(1979), 219-23). I was warned at the outset by Sir Roger Mynors that Prof.C.J.Fordyce was working on *Aen.*7-12, but was assured that I would finish my thesis before his commentary appeared. As it turned out, only his commentary on two books was ever fully completed, to be published posthumously. The first public notice that I was working on bk.7 appeared at *BICS* 16 (1969), 192, but I was not encouraged to approach Prof.Fordyce, nor did he ever approach me or consult my thesis, though two of my supervisors were in contact with him and though he and I corresponded a couple of times about publications for *CR*. His commentary does contain some solidly valuable notes (and even sequences of notes) on points of lexicon, grammar and usage; when they are anticipated by Horsfall 1971, the fact is stated with proper discretion. But on working through his commentary with care, I discovered that it is often heavily derivative, even where no bibliography is offered, so, though I have learned a good deal more from Fordyce in the end than my youthful review suggested was likely, I am less inclined to generosity on doubtful issues of priority (not that there are many of them) than I might otherwise have been!

The three commentaries just listed do not offer the modern reader much of the help in practice required: a commentator on bk.8, in the wake of Eden, Gransden, Fordyce, and Paratore would be in a rather comparable situation. It may turn out that I too will have to be superseded in a hurry, because (e.g.) critically underdeveloped, but even in that case, I hope that my successor will at least find these pages of rather greater practical utility than I did those of my immediate predecessors. I should perhaps add that I have never seen the smaller commentaries by Flobert and Garuti; it may be that I should have made greater efforts to find them. With J.Perret's *Budé*, I have not engaged in debate; the translation is admirable, the annotation at times eccentric: my respect for the author's years and learning, along with gratitude for his many kindnesses, made it easy to avoid detailed discussion or dissent.

AD LECTOREM

This is a long book; it might easily have been much longer, but for some unorthodox dodges, which are explained here:

(1) Bold type is used for refs. within *Aen.*7; **817** in a note elsewhere in the book may refer *either* to that line *or* to my note on it, and readers will quickly realise which it is advisable to consult first. Line-references without book number are to bk.7; this short-cut is only used when there is no possibility of confusion.

(2) In the text of bk.7, **O** in the margin indicates a note in the commentary on a point of orthography; so **P** for punctuation and **T** for text; often enough I have written **O** when others might write **T** or *vice versa*. Given the availability of Mynors and Geymonat I have dispensed with a conventional apparatus, but give full details of mss. as and when strictly necessary for the argument. Bold type is used to indicate the capital mss..

(3) The bibliography that follows contains most of the short titles and abbreviations used; those used within a single section are to be found in the introduction to that section. (**540-640**)—e.g.—after an author's name signifies that the full title is to be found in my note on those lines (i.e., in this case, the introduction to that section of narrative).

(4) The *EV* is a mixed bag: its quality oscillates from the palmary to the pitiful. I rarely comment explicitly on the merits of an article, but '*EV* 5*, 942' indicates a piece less good than '*EV* 5*, 942(Della Morte)'; that, in turn, is less good than a reference to the author including initial or Christian name. These three categories all fall between explicit condemnation or commendation.

(5) In the bibliography, I do not include e.g. Schwyzer, **KG**, **ANRW**, **DS**, Mommsen, *StR* and the like; they are not cited very often and those who able and willing to consult them will certainly know such standard abbreviations. The same goes, naturally for the even more familiar *TLL*, *OLD*, *PW*. Nor do I, unlike some, list what edition I use of every author that I quote. Note, though, that I cite Naev.*Bell.Poen.* from Strzelecki (Teubner, 1964), Ennius, *trag.* from Jocelyn, *Ann.* from Skutsch, other fragments of tragedy and comedy from Ribbeck, ed.2 (1871, 1873; ed. 3 lacks the index), Lucilius from Marx, Cicero's poetry from Soubiran (Budé, 1972), the fragments of Latin poetry from Courtney (available to me before Blänsdorf; I do not enter into questions of merit), Varr. *RD* from Cardauns (*Abh.Mainz* 1976), Horace from Shackleton Bailey (Teubner 1985) and Fronto by page and line of van den Hout ed.2 (Teubner 1988). *Festschriften* and collected papers I cite in as brief a form as possible; likewise the *acta*

of academies by *SB* or *Abh.*, followed by the name of the city, not the region, while the *Klasse* may be assumed to be *Phil.-Hist.* or the like. I am no lover of (superfluous but mysteriously fashionable) bibliographical detail. When, lastly, an article or a series of articles is cited without author's name, they are my own. Much repetition of a familiar name would have been most distasteful.

(6) For Homeric *Realien* I continue to use (often, not always) Seymour rather than *Arch.Hom.*, for it is the text of Homer, not the fruit of the spade that is important for Virgil. For myth, I cite Gruppe and Preller-Robert more often than Roscher and PW; many eccentric articles are thereby avoided and the necessary information is almost always more swiftly available.

(7) The availability of new books in Roman bookshops and libraries is governed by many irrational and uncontrollable factors. I am most grateful to friends and booksellers overseas who have supplied me with new (or otherwise unobtainable) material, but I ask comprehension for any inevitable delays and holes. It is usually simpler not to bother with citation and criticism of plainly bad books and articles and the expert will note some significant omissions in my references. To unindexed books I likewise rarely refer; they are mercifully uncommon. The same applies to books or articles unobtainable without prolonged effort or friendship with the author. I have sometimes even cited translations when originals were slow in the finding. 'Inter-library loan' is a service unknown in these parts; so too the accessible copyright library: obscure periodicals are particularly hard to run to earth. Maltby's *Lexicon of..etymologies* is only neglected because superseded for V. by O'Hara.

(8) Very occasionally I offer a relatively full bibliography of recent discussions on some important point (those containing fifteen items, or thereabouts). Otherwise I am deliberately selective in the interests of time and space and do not engage in discussion of unilluminating hypotheses; contrast e.g. the conscientious Basson. This book could very easily have been twice as long; the decision not to engage in polemic save under compulsion was easily and happily taken. I am grateful to Prof. G.N.Knauer, who let me make use of a remarkable bibliography of *Einzelklärungen* prepared by his assistants at Berlin; that led me to order up all the Bodleian's volumes of Virgilian pamphlets, and that in turn made me realise that I had to choose between selectivity and suffocation. To the former preference I have remained loyal.

(9) I have some 400 books on my Virgil shelves; the nearby, and

hospitable, American Academy a few more (and the collections overlap less than one might expect). Often, it would take days, or weeks, to find where I first stumbled upon a given parallel passage or line of thought, not least since La Cerda is not so easily accessible as once he was (vd.ix). Since much of what follows is anyway written *a nouo*, with passing consultation of surviving earlier drafts, I have decided to wreathe the detail of my earlier researches in grateful silence; it goes without saying that La Cerda, Heyne (and Wagner), Forbiger and Conington (more than Benoist), Henry, Page (more than Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke) are inevitably where it all began and I record with awe and gratitude what I have learned from the best of my predecessors. That said, no small part of what follows is in fact not tralatitian, but derives from a fresh consultation of dictionaries, concordances, grammars and the like.

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AENEID 7
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,
aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti;
et nunc seruat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat.

At pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis,
aggere composito tumuli, postquam alta quierunt
aequora, tendit iter uelis portumque relinquit
adspirant aerae in noctem nec candida cursus
luna negat, splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.

proxima Circaeae raduntur litora terrae,
diues inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos

adsiduo resonat cantu, tectisque superbis
urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum
arguto tenuis percurrens pectine telas.

hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum
uincla recusantum et sera sub nocte rudentum,
saetigerique sues atque in praesepibus ursi
saeuire ac formae magnorum ululare luporum,
quos hominum ex facie dea saeua potentibus herbis
induerat Circe in uultus ac terga ferarum.

quae ne monstra pii paterentur talia Troes
delati in portus neu litora dira subirent,
Neptunus uentis impleuit uela secundis,
atque fugam dedit et praeter uada feruida uexit.

Iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto
Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis,

cum uenti posuere omnisque repente resedit
flatus, et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae.

atque hic Aeneas ingentem ex aequore lucum
prospicit. hunc inter fluuio Tiberinus amoeno
uerticibus rapidis et multa flauus harena

in mare prorumpit. uariae circumque supraque
adsuetae ripis uolucres et fluminis alueo
aethera mulcebant cantu lucoque uolabant.

flectere iter sociis terraeque aduertere proras
imperat et laetus fluuio succedit opaco.

Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora, rerum
quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, aduena classem
cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
expediam, et primae reuocabo exordia pugnae.

T
O
T
T
O

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You too, Caieta, once nurse to Aeneas, bestowed by your death eternal fame upon our shores; still now the honours shown you stand watch over the spot, and your name marks where your bones are laid in great Hesperia, if that is any glory. So the pious Aeneas, after due performance of the funeral (5) and the construction of Caieta's burial mound, once the deep waters grew still, set his sails on course and left the harbour behind. The breezes blew on into the night, and the bright moon permitted free passage; the sea glittered under her quivering light. The coast of Circe's land they skirted close inshore (10), where the Sun's opulent daughter makes her inaccessible woods resound with unending song and in her luxurious palace burns scented cedar (?) for illumination by night as she works over the slender warp with a shrill comb. Lions' angry roarings (15) were heard to emerge as they strove against their bonds and snarled in the late night; bristly hogs and bears in their stalls raged and the wraiths of great wolves howled. Out of their human forms, the cruel goddess Circe had, with her strong potions, clad them all in the features and hides of beasts (20). Lest the pious Trojans should put into harbour and suffer such metamorphosis, enduring the dangers of the coast, Neptune filled their sails with a following wind, granted their escape, and bore them past the boiling shallows.

Now the sea was turning pink with the sun's rays (25) and high in the sky crocus-yellow dawn gleamed in her rosy chariot, when the wind fell and its every breath of a sudden dropped. Oar blades struggled in the sluggish surface. Just then from out at sea Aeneas saw at a distance a great forest; through it, the Tiber, in its charming course (30), with swift eddies and yellow with its heavy load of sand, bursts into the sea. Above and about, bright birds, at home in the banks and channel of the river, beguile the sky with their song and fly about the forest. Aeneas bade his companions change course and turn their bows to the land (35); joyfully, he passed into the river's shade.

Come now, Erato: I shall relate what kings, what circumstances, what state of events there were in ancient Latium, when the stranger expedition first put its fleet in to Ausonian shores, and I shall recall the beginnings of the first combat (40).

tu uatem, tu, diua, mone. dicam horrida bella,
 dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
 Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
 Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
 maius opus moueo. Rex arua Latinus et urbes 45
 iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.
 hunc Fauno et nympha genitum Laurente Marica
 accipimus; Fauno Picus pater, isque parentem
 te, Saturne, refert, tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.
 filius huic fato diuum prolesque uirilis 50
 nulla fuit, primaque oriens erepta iuuenta est.
 sola domum et tantas seruabat filia sedes
 iam matura uiro, iam plenis nubilis annis.
 multi illam magno e Latio totaque petebant
 Ausonia; petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnis 55
 Turnus, auis atausque potens, quem regia coniunx
 adiungi generum miro properabat amore. **P**
 sed uariis portenta deum terroribus obstant.
 laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis
 sacra comam multosque metu seruata per annos, 60
 quam pater inuentam, primas cum conderet arces,
 ipse ferebatur Phoebosacrassae Latinus,
 Laurentisque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis.
 huius apes summum densae (mirabile dictu)
 stridore ingenti liquidum trans aethera uectae 65
 obsedere apicem, et pedibus per mutua nexis
 examen subitum ramo frondente pependit.
 continuo uates 'externum cernimus' inquit
 'aduentare uirum et partis petere agmen easdem
 partibus ex isdem et summa dominarier arce.' 70
 praeterea, castis adolet dum altaria taedis,
 et iuxta genitorem astat Lauinia uirgo,
 uisa (nefas) longis comprehendere crinibus ignem
 atque omnem ornatum flamma crepitante cremari, 75
 regalisque accensa comas, accensa coronam
 insignem gemmis; tum fumida lumine fuluo
 inuolui ac totis Vulcanum spargere tectis.
 id uero horrendum ac uisu mirabile ferri:
 namque fore inlustrem fama fatisque canebant
 ipsam, sed populo magnum portendere bellum. 80 **O**

Do you, Goddess, do you remind the poet. I shall tell of savage wars, tell of battles and kings driven by their courage to death, of the Tyrrhenian contingent, and of all Hesperia forced to take up arms. A greater sequence of events rises before me; a greater work I now begin. Over fields and cities King Latinus (45), now an old man, ruled; they were quiet after a long peace. He was, we hear, the son of Faunus and Marica, a Laurentine nymph; Picus was Faunus' father and Picus claims you, Saturn, for father; you are the most distant ancestor of the line. By divine disposition, Latinus had no son or male offspring(50), but the rising boy had been snatched away in his first youth. A daughter alone kept home in the great palace; she was now ready for a husband, now fully marriageable in age. Out of mighty Latium and all Ausonia many wooed her; there woos her above all Turnus, the most handsome of them (55), strong in his line of forbears, whom the king's wife was pressing with singular passion to have joined to the family as son-in-law.

But the gods' signs, varied and alarming, stand in the way. There was a laurel in the centre of the building, in the palace's lofty heart; its foliage was sacred and it had been preserved with awe for many years (60). This laurel father Latinus himself discovered, when first he founded the citadel, and is said to have dedicated to Phoebus, and after it to have called his settlers **Laurentes**. Its very top, astonishing to relate, a mass of bees, crossing the clear air with a great hum (65) occupied; they intertwined their feet and from a leafy branch suddenly hung as a swarm. At once a seer spoke: 'we behold the arrival of a man from far off: the column comes from the same quarter, makes for the same quarter and rules from the heights of the citadel'(70). Furthermore, while the maiden Lavinia purifies the altar with the torches of chaste devotion and stands at her father's side, she appeared (what horror!) to catch fire amid her long hair, and to be consumed, with all her ornaments, by the crackling flame; she blazed from her royal locks, blazed from her crown, adorned with jewels, then smoking she swirled with ochre light (75) and spread fire about all the palace. This then was called fearful and wondrous to behold, for they foretold that she would herself be distinguished in her fame and fate, but for her people meant a great war in store (80).

At rex sollicitus monstris oracula Fauni,
 fatidici genitoris, adit lucosque sub alta
 consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro
 fonte sonat saeuamque exhalat opaca mephitim. 85 **O**
 hinc Italae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus
 in dubiis responsa petunt; huc dona sacerdos
 cum tulit et caesarum ouium sub nocte silenti
 pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petiuit,
 multa modis simulacra uidet uolitantia miris
 et uarias audit uoces fruiturque deorum 90
 conloquio atque imis Acheronta adfatur Auernis.
 hic et tum pater ipse petens responsa Latinus
 centum lanigeras mactabat rite bidentis,
 atque harum effultus tergo stratisque iacebat
 uelleribus. subita ex alto uox reddita luco est: 95 **P**
 ‘ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis,
 o mea progenies, thalamis neu crede paratis;
 externi uenient generi, qui sanguine nostrum
 nomen in astra ferant, quorumque a stirpe nepotes **T**
 omnia sub pedibus, qua sol utrumque recurrens **O**
 aspicit Oceanum, uertique regique uidebunt.’
 haec responsa patris Fauni monitusque silenti
 nocte datos non ipse suo premit ore Latinus,
 sed circum late uolitans iam fama per urbes
 Ausonias tulerat, cum Laomedontia pubes 105
 gramineo ripae religauit ab aggere classem.
 Aeneas primique duces et pulcher Iulus
 corpora sub ramis deponunt arboris altae,
 instituuntque dapes et adorea liba per herbam
 subiciunt epulis (sic Iuppiter ipse monebat) 110 **T**
 et Cereale solum pomis agrestibus augent.
 consumptis hic forte aliis, ut uertere morsus
 exiguam in Cererem penuria adegit edendi,
 et uiolare manu malisque audacibus orbem
 fatalis crusti patulis nec parcere quadris: 115
 ‘heus, etiam mensas consumimus?’ inquit Iulus,
 nec plura, adludens. ea uox audita laborum
 prima tulit finem, primamque loquentis ab ore
 eripuit pater ac stupefactus numine pressit.
 continuo ‘salue fatis mihi debita tellus 120

But the king, worried by the portents, went to the oracle of Faunus the seer, his father and consulted the grove deep in Albunea, which, greatest of the woods, sounded with a sacred spring and from its shadows exhaled noxious sulphur. Here the peoples of Italy and all the land of Oenotria (85) sought answers in their uncertainties; here when the priest brought his offerings and lay down on the skins of slaughtered sheep in the darkness of night, and sought sleep, he sees many phantasms fluttering in strange ways, hears varied voices, enjoys converse (90) with the gods and speaks to Acheron in the depths of Avernus. Here then too father Latinus himself sought answers and, duly sacrificing a hundred woolly hoggets, was lying raised high on the outspread fleeces from their backs. A sudden voice replied to him from the depths of the grove (95): ‘o my offspring, do not try to pair your daughter in a Latin marriage, and do not put your trust in unions ready at hand. Foreign sons-in-law will come, to carry our name to the stars in their blood, and the descendants of their stock will see everything, wherever the returning sun (100) looks on eastern and western oceans, depend in dominion under their feet’. On these replies from his father Faunus, warnings offered in the silent night, Latinus did not maintain silence, but rumour, flitting afar, had already carried them through the cities of Ausonia when the scions of Laomedon (105) moored their fleet to the shore’s grassy bank.

Aeneas, his chiefs and the comely Iulus recline under the branches of a lofty tree. They begin dinner and place cakes of emmer under their meal (this was Jupiter’s warning)(110) and heap the wheaten bases with rustic fruits. Now, when the rest had just been consumed and the shortage of provender drove them to turn their teeth upon the thin bread, to assail with bold hands and jaws the circle of destiny’s trencher and not to spare the outspread quarters (115), ‘hey’ said Iulus ‘aren’t we also eating our tables?’ That was all, as he joked. When that remark was heard, it was the first thing to put an end to the Trojans’ toils, and at its outset Iulus’ father tore it from the speaker’s mouth and dumbfounded by divinity enclosed it in silence. At once he said: ‘hail, land owed me by the voice of fate (120),

uosque' ait 'o fidi Troiae saluete penates:
hic domus, haec patria est. genitor mihi talia namque
(nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit:
'cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora uectum
accisis coget dapibus consumere mensas, 125 T
tum sperare domos defessus, ibique memento
prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta.'
haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat
exitiis positura modum. T
quare agite et primo laeti cum lumine solis 130
quae loca, quiae habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis,
uestigemus et a portu diuersa petamus.
nunc pateras libate Ioui precibusque uocate
Anchisen genitorem, et uina reponite mensis.'
Sic deinde effatus frondenti tempora ramo 135
implicat et geniumque loci primamque deorum
Tellurem Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur
flumina, tum Noctem Noctisque orientia signa
Idaeumque Iouem Phrygiamque ex ordine matrem
inuocat, et duplicis caeloque Ereboque parentis. 140
hic pater omnipotens ter caelo clarus ab alto
intonuit, radiisque ardentem lucis et auro
ipse manu quatiens ostendit ab aethere nubem.
diditur hic subito Troiana per agmina rumor
aduenisse diem quo debita moenia condant. 145
certatim instaurant epulas atque omine magno
crateras laeti statuunt et uina coronant.
Postera cum prima lustrabat lampade terras
orta dies, urbem et finis et litora gentis
diuersi explorant: haec fontis stagna Numici, 150
hunc Thybrim fluuium, hic fortis habitare Latinos.
tum satus Anchisa delectos ordine ab omni
centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis
ire iubet, ramis uelatos Palladis omnis,
donaque ferre uiro pacemque exposcere Teucris 155
haud mora, festinant iussi rapidisque feruntur
passibus. ipse humili designat moenia fossa
moliturque locum, primasque in litore sedes
castrorum in morem pinnis atque aggere cingit.
iamque iter emensi turris ac tecta Latinorum 160

and hail, too, you faithful household gods of Troy. This is our home, this is our fatherland. For—and now I remember—my father left me secrets of spoken destiny: ‘when, my son, hunger drives you, after your arrival on an unknown shore, with dinner demolished, to consume your tables (125), remember at that moment to hope for homes in your weariness and there to raise houses and rampart. This was that hunger, this was waiting for us last of all to set a term to our disasters’. So up, and cheerfully, with the sun’s first light (130) let us seek out what places these are, what men live here, where the tribe’s town is and let us move outwards from the harbour. Now offer dishes of wine to Jupiter and in your prayers call on father Anchises and set wine on the tables. So then he spoke and twines leafy twigs round his temples (135) and prays to the spirit of the place and to Earth first of the gods and to the Nymphs and rivers still unknown, then to Night and Night’s rising stars and to Idaean Jupiter and the Phrygian Mother in sequence and to both his parents, in the Sky and in Erebus below (140). Hereupon, the all-powerful father thundered loudly three times from the lofty sky, and, brandishing it with his own hand revealed from the heavens a cloud afire with rays of golden light. Now at once a rumour spread though the Trojans’ ranks that the day had come to found the walls they were owed (145). They compete to restart the meal and, joyful at the great omen, they set up the mixing bowls and fill them to the garlands (?).

When the next day dawned and was surveying the land with her first torch, in different directions they scout out the people’s city and bounds and shores: here were the swamps of the Numicus’ spring (150), here the river Tiber and here the doughty Latins live. Then Anchises’ son orders a hundred ambassadors, chosen from every tier of oars (?) to go to the king’s hallowed walls, all bearing olive branches with fillets attached, to bear gifts to the king and to request a peaceful reception for the Trojans (155). There was no delay. As ordered, they hurry and move with swift steps. Aeneas himself traces out the walls with a shallow ditch, prepares the spot and surrounds their first settlement on the shore, after the manner of a camp, with rampart and (?) merlons. Now the young men, at the end of their journey began to sight the Latins’ lofty towers and roofs (160)

ardua cernebant iuuenes muroque subibant.		T
ante urbem pueri et primaevuo flore iuuentus exercentur equis domitantque in puluere currus, aut acris tendunt arcus aut lenta lacertis spicula contorquent, cursuque ictuque lacesunt:	165	
cum praeuectus equo longaeui regis ad auris nuntius ingentis ignota in ueste reportat aduenisse uiros. ille intra tecta uocari imperat et solio medius consedit auito.		
Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis	170	
urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici, horrendum siluis et religione parentum. hic scepra accipere et primos attollere fascis regibus omen erat; hoc illis curia templum, hae sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete caeso	175	T
perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis. quin etiam ueterum effigies ex ordine auorum antiqua e cedro, Italusque paterque Sabinus uitisator curuam seruans sub imagine falcem, Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago	180	
uestibulo adstabant, aliique ab origine reges, Martiaque ob patriam pugnando uolnera passi. multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma, captiui pendent currus curuaeque secures et cristae capitum et portarum ingentia claustra spiculaque clipeique ereptaque rostra carinis.	185	O TO
ipse Quirinali lituo paruaque sedebat succinctus trabea laeuaque ancile gerebat Picus, equum domitor, quem capta cupidine coniunx aurea percussum uirga uersumque uenenis	190	
fecit auem Circe sparsitque coloribus alas. Tali intus templo diuum patriaque Latinus sede sedens Teucros ad sese in tecta uocauit, atque haec ingressis placido prior edidit ore: 'dicite, Dardanidae (neque enim nescimus et urbem et genus, auditique aduertitis aequore cursum), quid petitis? quae causa rates aut cuius egentis litus ad Ausonium tot per uada caerulea uexit? siue errore uiae seu tempestatibus acti, qualia multa mari nautae patiuntur in alto,	195 200	

and drew near to their walls. Outside the city, boys and youths in their first flowering exercise their teams and master their chariots amid the dust, or else stretch their bows with sharp arrows or hurl, spinning them, pliant javelins, and compete at running and boxing (165);—when a messenger sent ahead on horseback brings the news to the ears of the aged king that huge men in strange garb have arrived. He orders them to be called to the palace and in its midst sits down on his ancestral throne. There was a building in the highest part of the city, hallowed, huge and lofty with a hundred columns (170), the palace of Laurentine Picus, dreadful with its woods and with the awe of generations. Here it was good omen for the kings to receive their sceptres and raise their fasces on accession; this was their senate-house and temple, this was their resort for sacred banquets; here, when the ram was slain (175), the elders were accustomed to take their seats at long tables. Here too were statues of their ancestors of old, in sequence, made of ancient (?) cedar, Italus and father Sabinus the sower of vines, keeping the curved sickle even as a statue, and old Saturn and the image of two-faced Janus (180), stood in the hall, along with the other kings of the Aborigines, and those who had suffered wounds fighting at war for their country and many weapons besides on the sacred doorposts. Captured chariots hang, and curved axes, and the crests of helmets and great bars from gates (185), javelins and shields and the rams torn from ships' hulls. Picus himself sat there, with Romulus' augural staff, and girt in a short cloak, holding in his left hand the sacred shield, the tamer of horses, whom Circe, seized with desire to be his wife, turned into a bird, touched by her golden wand and transformed by her potions (190) and his wings she painted with colours. Inside such a temple of the gods, and sitting in his fathers' seat, he called the Trojans to himself into the palace and when they had entered calmly spoke first as follows: 'speak, descendants of Dardanus, for we well know your city (195) and your nation and announced you turn your course over the seas this way. What do you want? What is the cause, or what need on your part has borne your ships to the shore of Ausonia over so many dark waves? Driven either by a mistake in your course or by storms (many such things sailors suffer on the high seas) (200)

fluminis intrastis ripas portuque sedetis,
 ne fugite hospitium, neue ignorete Latinos
 Saturni gentem haud uinclo nec legibus aequam,
 sponte sua ueterisque dei se more tenentem.
 atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis) 205
 Auruncos ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris
 Dardanus Idaeas Phrygiae penetrarit ad urbes T
 Threiciamque Samum, quae nunc Samothracia fertur.
 hinc illum Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectum
 aurea nunc solio stellantis regia caeli 210
 accipit et numerum diuorum altaribus auget.' T
 Dixerat, et dicta Ilioneus sic uoce secutus:
 'rex, genus egregium Fauni, nec fluctibus actos
 atra subegit hiemps uestris succedere terris, O
 nec sidus regione uiae litusue fefellit: 215
 consilio hanc omnes animisque uolentibus urbem
 adferimur pulsati regnis, quae maxima quondam
 extremo ueniens sol aspiciebat Olympo.
 ab Ioue principium generis, Ioue Dardana pubes
 gaudet auo, rex ipse Iouis de gente suprema: 220
 Troius Aeneas tua nos ad limina misit.
 quanta per Idaeos saeuis effusa Mycenis
 tempestas ierit campos, quibus actus uterque
 Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis,
 audiit et si quem tellus extrema refuso 225
 summouet Oceano et si quem extenta plagarum
 quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui.
 diluuium ex illo tot uasta per aequora uecti P
 dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus
 innocuum et cunctis undamque auramque patentem. 230
 non erimus regno indecores, nec uestra feretur
 fama leuis tantique abolescet gratia facti, T
 nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit.
 fata per Aeneae iuro dextramque potentem,
 siue fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis: 235
 multi nos populi, multae (ne temne, quod ultro
 praeferimus manibus uittas ac uerba precantia) T
 et petiere sibi et uoluere adiungere gentes; T
 sed nos fata deum uestras exquirere terras
 imperiis egere suis. hinc Dardanus ortus, 240

you have entered the river's banks and ride at moorings in harbour. Do not flee our hospitality and be assured that the Latins are Saturn's people, not law-abiding by bond of laws but restrained of their own volition and after the ways of the old god. And I do remember—but the report grows dimmer with the years (205)—that the old men of the Aurunci so say, that Dardanus, a native of these lands, reached the cities of Phrygia, under Ida, and Thracian Samos, which is now called Samothrace. After this Dardanus, who had departed from the Tyrrhenian seat of Corythus, was welcomed with a throne into the golden palace of the starry sky (210) and increases the number of the gods by his altars.'

He finished and so Ilioneus' speech followed: 'king, noble descendant of Faunus, we were not driven by the waves, nor did the dark storm force us to make for your lands; no star or landmark deceived us in setting our course (215), but by design and with full intention do we all reach this city, driven from a kingdom which was once the greatest on which the sun gazed, coming from the eastern edge of the sky. From Jupiter does our line begin, the stock of Dardanus rejoices in Jupiter as ancestor and our king in person is of the family of almighty Jupiter (220). It is Trojan Aeneas who sends us to your door. How great a storm that broke out of savage Mycenae and passed over the plains below Ida, driven by what destinies the worlds of Europe and Asia clashed, even a man whom some remote land where Ocean breaks keeps far apart (225), even a man whom the zone of the cruel sun, spread out in the midst of the other four, keeps away, has heard. After that cataclysm, having sailed over so many wide seas, we ask a modest home for our country's gods, for a beach-head that will do you no harm and for the water and air that is free to all (230). We shall be no embarrassment to your kingdom; your good name will not be treated lightly nor will the gratitude for so great a deed pass away. The Ausonians shall not regret having taken Troy to their bosom. I swear by Aeneas' destiny and strong right hand, whether one has made trial of it in trust or at war and under arms (235): many peoples, many—and do not belittle the fact that we bear in our hands before us fillets and words of prayer—many nations have sought us out and wished to link us to themselves. But us the destinies of the gods drove on by their commands to seek out your lands. Here was Dardanus born (240),

huc repetit iussisque ingentibus urget Apollo
 Tyrrhenum ad Thybrim et fontis uada sacra Numici.
 dat tibi praeterea fortunae parua prioris
 munera, reliquias Troia ex ardente receptas. 245
 hoc pater Anchises auro libabat ad aras,
 hoc Priami gestamen erat cum iura uocatis
 more daret populis, sceptrumque sacerque tiaras
 Iliadumque labor uestes.'

Talibus Ilionei dictis defixa Latinus 250
 obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret,
 intentos uoluens oculos. nec purpura regem
 picta mouet nec scepra mouent Priameia tantum
 quantum in conubio natae thalamoque moratur,
 et ueteris Fauni uoluit sub pectore sortem:
 hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum 255
 portendi generum paribusque in regna uocari
 auspiciis, huic progeniem uirtute futuram
 egregiam et totum quae uiribus occupet orbem.
 tandem laetus ait: 'di nostra incepta secudent
 auguriumque suum! dabitur, Troiane, quod optas. 260
 munera nec sperno: non uobis rege Latino
 diuitis uber agri Troiaeue opulentia deerit. TO
 ipse modo Aeneas, nostri si tanta cupido est,
 si iungi hospitio properat sociusque uocari, T
 adueniat, uultus neue exhorrescat amicos: 265
 pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni.
 uos contra regi mea nunc mandata referte:
 est mihi nata, uiro gentis quam iungere nostrae
 non patrio ex adyto sortes, non plurima caelo
 monstra sinunt; generos externis adfore ab oris, 270
 hoc Latio restare canunt, qui sanguine nostrum
 nomen in astra ferant. hunc illum poscere fata
 et reor et, si quid ueri mens augurat, opto.'
 haec effatus equos numero pater eligit omni
 (stabant ter centum nitidi in praesepibus altis); 275
 omnibus extemplo Teucris iubet ordine duci
 instratos ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis
 (aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent,
 tecti auro fuluum mandunt sub dentibus aurum),
 absentem Aeneae currum geminosque iugalis 280

here he calls us back, and Apollo presses with weighty commands, to Tyrrhenian Tiber and the sacred shallows of Numicus' spring. Aeneas too gives you modest presents from his former fortune, remains saved from blazing Troy. With this gold dish his father Anchises used to offer wine at the altar (245), this Priam bore when he duly administered justice to the people assembled, his sceptre and sacred bonnet and robes, work of the women of Troy.

At such words from Ilioneus, Latinus keeps his eyes cast down in a set gaze, an unmoving stare that clung to the ground (250), rolling his concentrated eyes. Neither embroidered purple nor Priam's sceptre move the king so much as he dwells himself upon his daughter's match and marriage and ponders in his breast the response of old Faunus. This then was the man who, by fate's utterances set forth from a foreign land (255) and was foretold as his son-in-law; he was called to rule under equal authority and his offspring would be outstanding in courage, to take hold of the whole world by their might. At last joyously he spoke: 'may the gods favour our initiative and their omen. Trojan, you shall have what you want (260), nor do I scorn your gifts. While Latinus is king, neither the abundance of a rich land, nor riches like Troy's shall be wanting. Just let Aeneas himself, if he has such desire for us, if he is eager to join us in hospitality and be called ally, just let him come and let him not shun the face of his friend (265). For me, an element of peace shall be to have clasped your ruler's hand. You in turn take back now to your king my bidding: I have a daughter; to marry her to a man of our race the answers from my father's oracle and the many portents in the sky do not allow. That sons-in-law will come from foreign shores (270)—this they foretell is in store for Latium, to carry our name to the stars through their blood-descendants. I think that this Aeneas is the man the fates are summoning, and if my mind has any anticipation of the truth, it is what I hope'. So father Latinus spoke and from the whole herd (three hundred horses stood gleaming in his lofty stalls)(275) he gives orders that wing-footed steeds be brought out forthwith for all the Trojans, with horsecloths of purple and embroidered covers; gold plaques on chains hang down on their chests, adorned with gold, they bite tawny gold between their teeth. For the absent Aeneas, a chariot and pair of steeds of heavenly line (280),

semine ab aetherio spirantis naribus ignem,
 illorum de gente patri quos daedala Circe
 supposita de matre nothos furata creauit.
 talibus Aeneadae donis dictisque Latini
 sublimes in equis redeunt pacemque reportant. 285

Ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis
 saeua Iouis coniunx aurasque inuecta tenebat,
 et laetum Aenean classemque ex aethere longe
 Dardaniam Siculo prospexit ab usque Pachyno.
 moliri iam tecta uidet, iam fidere terrae,
 deseruisse rates: stetit acri fixa dolore. 290

tum quassans caput haec effundit pectore dicta:
 'heu stirpem inuisam et fatis contraria nostris
 fata Phrygum! num Sigéis occumbere campis,
 num capti potuere capi? num incensa cremauit 295
 Troia uiros? medias acies mediosque per ignis
 inuenere uiam. at, credo, mea numina tandem
 fessa iacent, odiis aut exsaturata quieui.

quin etiam patria excussos infesta per undas
 ausa sequi et profugis toto me opponere ponto. 300
 absumptae in Teucros uires caelique marisque.
 quid Syrtes aut Scylla mihi, quid uasta Charybdis
 profuit? optato conduntur Thybridis alueo
 securi pelagi atque mei. Mars perdere gentem
 immanem Lapithum ualuit, concessit in iras 305
 ipse deum antiquam genitor Calydonia Dianae,
 quod scelus aut Lapithas tantum aut Calydonia merentem?
 ast ego, magna Iouis coniunx, nil linquere inausum
 quae potui infelix, quae memet in omnia uerti,
 uincor ab Aenea. quod si mea numina non sunt 310
 magna satis, dubitem haud equidem implorare quod usquam est:
 flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta mouebo.
 non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis,
 atque immota manet fatis Lauinia coniunx:
 at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus, 315
 at licet amborum populos excindere regum.
 hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum:
 sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, uirgo,
 et Bellona manet te pronuba. nec face tantum
 Cisseis praegnas ignis enixa iugalis; 320

breathing fire from their nostrils, of the stock of those whom wily Circe abstracted from her father and raised cross-bred from a surreptitious dam. Aeneas' men, with such words and gifts from Latinus, return high on their mounts and bring back with them peace (285).

Now look, Jupiter's cruel wife was on her way back from Inachian Argos and held her course through the air; from a distance she noticed out of the sky, right from Sicilian Pachynus, the cheerful Aeneas and his Trojan fleet: she saw them now building houses and showing faith in the soil(290); they had abandoned their ships. She halted, pierced by a sharp pain, then, tossing her head, poured these words from her breast: 'woe upon that hated stock and upon the Phrygians' destinies, opposed to my own declarations! Could they not have died on the plains of Sigeum? Nor, when taken, have truly been taken? When Troy was fired (295), could she not have consumed those men? Through the midst of the Greek lines, through the midst of the flames, they have found a way. It is hardly, I suppose, that at last my power lies exhausted, or that sated on hate I have rested. Yes, I even flung them out of their homeland and ventured to pursue them with enmity over the waves; in the refugees' path I stood, right across the sea(300). The forces of sky and sea have been used up against the Trojans. What good did Syrtes or Scylla, or what did huge Charybdis do for me? Safe from the sea and from me, they are lodged, as they wanted, in the Tiber's course. Mars was able to destroy the monstrous race of Lapiths. To Diana's rage(305) the father of the gods himself gave up the ancient city of Calydon—and what crime did Lapiths or Calydon commit? Yet I, mighty wife of Jupiter, who in my misery brought myself to leave no path of daring untried, who turned to every resort, am worsted by Aeneas. But if my powers are not(310) great enough, I would hesitate—never, no, not I, to call upon any power, anywhere. If I cannot bend the powers above, I shall raise Hell. Well, it shall not be granted me to keep them from the kingdom of Latium, and the marriage to Lavinia remains destined and undisturbed. Still, I may draw out and impose delays on such great events!(315) Still, I may cut down the peoples of both monarchs. At this price to their own peoples let father and son-in-law be united. Your dowry, girl, shall be of Trojan and Rutulian blood and Bellona awaits you as matron. It was not only Hecuba, daughter of Cisseus who when pregnant bore bridal torches(320):

quin idem Veneri partus suus et Paris alter,
funestaeque iterum recidiua in Pergama taedae.'

Haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petiuit;
luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum
infernisque ciet tenebris, cui tristia bella

325

iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi.
odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores
Tartarae monstrum: tot sese uertit in ora,
tam saeuae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris.

quam Iuno his acuit uerbis ac talia fatur:

330

'hunc mihi da proprium, uirgo sata Nocte, laborem,
hanc operam, ne noster honos infractae cedat
fama loco, neu conubiis ambire Latinum
Aeneadae possint Italosue obsidere finis.

tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres

335

atque odiis uersare domos, tu uerbera tectis
funereasque inferre faces, tibi nomina mille,
mille nocendi artes. fecundum concute pectus,
dissice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli;
arma uelit poscatque simul rapiatque iuuentus.'

340

Exim Gorgoneis Allecto infecta uenenis
principio Latium et Laurentis tecta tyranni
celsa petit, tacitumque obsedit limen Amatae,
quam super aduentu Teucrum Turnique hymenaeis
femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant.

345

huic dea caeruleis unum de crinibus anguem
conicit, inque sinum praecordia ad intima subdit,
quo furibunda domum monstro permisceat omnem.

ille inter uestis et leuia pectora lapsus

uoluitur attactu nullo, fallitque furentem

350

uipeream spirans animam; fit tortile collo
aurum ingens coluber, fit longae taenia uittae
innectitque comas et membris lubricus errat.

ac dum prima lues udo sublapsa ueneno

pertemptat sensus atque ossibus implicat ignem

355

necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam,

mollius et solito matrum de more locuta est,

multa super natae lacrimans Phrygiisque hymenaeis:

'exsulibusne datur ducenda Lauinia Teucris,

o genitor, nec te miseret nataeque tuique?

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Venus had just the same offspring of her own, and Paris, over again, and torches fatal to the freshly surging citadel of Troy.' When she had spoken thus, hideous she made for earth; she summoned grief-rousing Allecto from the realm of the dread goddesses and from the darkness of the inferno, Allecto who loves grim wars,(325) wrath and treachery and pernicious crimes. Even her very father Pluto, even her sisters in Tartarus hate the monster; she turns herself into so many guises, has so many horrible visages, sprouts, black as she is, so many serpents. Her did Juno stir with these words and spoke as follows:(330)'virgin daughter of night, grant me this task I request, this undertaking, lest my honour, lest my fame break and yield ground, lest the sons of Aeneas succeed in trapping Latinus into a marriage and in occupying the lands of Italy. You are capable of arming loving brothers for battle(335), you can upset households in hatred, you can bear against homes whips and funeral torches; you have a thousand powers and titles, a thousand skills in doing harm. Shake out the folds of your fertile gown, break up the settled peace, sow the accusations that lead to war. Let the young warriors want arms, and at once demand them and snatch them up(340).

Thereupon, poisoned with Gorgons' venom, Allecto high aloft makes first for Latium and the palace of the Laurentes' ruler, and laid siege to the quiet threshold of Amata whom a woman's worries and rages were grilling as she burned over the Trojans' arrival and Turnus' wedding (345). At her the goddess aims one of the snakes from her blue-black hair and applies it to her breast about the area of her innermost lungs, so that, maddened with the monstrous snake, she may throw the whole palace into chaos. The snake, sliding between her clothes and her smooth breast, glides without touching her and deceives her into madness (350) exhaling its viperish breath; the great serpent becomes the twisted gold at Amata's neck and the ribbon of her long fillet. It binds the queen's hair and roams slippery over her limbs. Now while the first taint that slid in with the clammy poison works at her senses and winds fire into her bones (355), but her spirit does not yet take fire through all her breast, she speaks, quite gently and after the usual manner of mothers, with many laments over her daughter's marriage to the Phrygian: 'is Lavinia to be given as a bride to the exiled Trojans, father Latinus? Have you no pity for your daughter, for yourself (360),

nec matris miseret, quam primo Aquilone relinquet
 perfidus alta petens abducta uirgine praedo?
 at non sic Phrygius penetrat Lacedaemona pastor,
 Ledaemque Helenam Troianas uexit ad urbes?
 quid tua sancta fides? quid cura antiqua tuorum
 et consanguineo totiens data dextera Turno? 365
 si gener externa petitur de gente Latinis,
 idque sedet, Faunisque premunt te iussa parentis,
 omnem equidem sceptris terram quae libera nostris
 dissidet externam reor et sic dicere diuos. 370
 et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo,
 Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediaeque Mycenae.'

His ubi nequiquam dictis experta Latinum
 contra stare uidet, penitusque in uiscera lapsum
 serpentis furiale malum totamque pererrat, 375
 tum uero infelix ingentibus excita monstris
 immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem.
 ceu quondam torto uolitans sub uerbere turbo,
 quem pueri magno in gyro uacua atria circum
 intenti ludo exercent; ille actus habena 380
 curuatis fertur spatiis; stupet inscia supra
 impubesque manus mirata uolubile buxum;
 dant animos plagae: non cursu segnior illo
 per medias urbes agitur populosque ferocis.
 quin etiam in siluas simulato numine Bacchi 385
 maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem
 euolat et natam frondosis montibus abdit,
 quo thalamum eripiat Teucris taedasque moretur,
 'euhoe Bacche' fremens, solum te uirgine dignum
 uociferans: etenim mollis tibi sumere thyrsos, 390
 te lustrare choro, sacrum tibi pascere crinem.
 fama uolat, furiisque accensas pectore matres
 idem omnis simul ardor agit noua quaerere tecta.
 deseruere domos, uentis dant colla comasque;
 ast aliae tremulis ululatibus aethera complent 395
 pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas.
 ipsa inter medias flagrantem feruida pinum
 sustinet ac natae Turnique canit hymenaeos
 sanguineam torquens aciem, toruumque repente
 clamat: 'io matres, audite, ubi quaeque, Latinae: 400

for her mother, whom the treacherous bandit will desert when the North wind first blows, making for the high seas and carrying off the girl. But was this not how the Phrygian shepherd reached Sparta and carried Helen, daughter of Leda, to the city of Troy? What about your sacred word? What about your traditional concern for your family (365) and your right hand so often offered to my kinsman Turnus? If an outsider is required as son-in-law for the Latins, and that is settled and the instructions of your father Faunus carry weight with you, then my view is that all land that is free and independent from our rule is 'outside' and that that is the gods' meaning (370). Turnus too, if the furthest origins of his line are sought out, has Inachus and Acrisius as forbears and the very heart of Mycenae as home'.

She tried Latinus with these words to no effect and saw him stand firm; the Fury's poison in the snake slipped deep into her guts and spread all over her (375); then did the poor woman, roused by the fearful monsters rage mad and out of control through the great city. As one day a top, spinning under a curling blow, which boys, keen on their game keep going in a wide circle through the empty halls—it, driven by the lash (380) is carried in curving paths while the curious group of children wonders over it, admiring the spinning boxwood and the blows give them confidence. No slower than the top's course, Amata is driven through the midst of the city and the fierce tribes. She even, under a feigned Bacchic inspiration (385), flies off into the woods, attempting a greater wrong and setting about a greater madness, and hides her daughter in the leafy mountains, to snatch the marriage from the Trojans and delay the bridal torches. She shouts 'Euhoe Bacchus', clamouring that you alone are worthy of the girl, for you Lavinia takes up the pliant thyrsi (390), you she circles in the dance, in your honour she grows her hair long. The story spreads and one passion drives all the mothers together, their breasts ablaze with madness, to seek out new dwellings. They leave their homes, they throw necks and hair to the winds, while others fill the skies with quavering howls(395) and clothed in skins carry spears ornamented with vine-tendrils. Amata herself in their midst, herself ablaze holds up a burning pine-torch and chants of the marriage of Turnus and her daughter, rolling her bloodshot gaze and of a sudden cries out fiercely: 'io, mothers of the Latins, listen, wherever you are (400):

si qua piis animis manet infelicis Amatae
 gratia, si iuris materni cura remordet,
 soluite crinalis uittas, capite orgia mecum.
 talem inter siluas, inter deserta ferarum
 reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi. 405

Postquam uisa satis primos acuisse furores
 consiliumque omnemque domum uertisse Latini,
 protinus hinc fuscis tristis dea tollitur alis
 audacis Rutuli ad muros, quam dicitur urbem
 Acrisioneis Danae fundasse colonis 410
 praecipiti delata Noto. locus Ardea quondam
 dictus auis, et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen,
 sed fortuna fuit. tectis hic Turnus in altis
 iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem.
 Allecto toruam faciem et furialia membra 415
 exuit, in uultus sese transformat anilis
 et frontem obscenam rugis arat, induit albos
 cum uitta crinis, tum ramum innectit oliuae;
 fit Calybe Iunonis anus templique sacerdos,
 et iuueni ante oculos his se cum uocibus offert: 420
 ‘Turne, tot incassum fusos patiere labores,
 et tua Dardaniis transcribi scepra colonis?
 rex tibi coniugium et quaesitas sanguine dotes
 abnegat, externusque in regnum quaeritur heres.
 i nunc, ingratis offer te, inrise, periclis; 425
 Tyrrhenas, i, sterne acies, tege pace Latinos.
 haec adeo tibi me, placida cum nocte iaceres,
 ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit.
 quare age et armari pubem portisque moueri
 laetus in arma para, et Phrygios qui flumine pulchro 430
 consedere duces pictasque exure carinas.
 caelestum uis magna iubet. rex ipse Latinus,
 ni dare coniugium et dicto parere fatetur,
 sentiat et tandem Turnum experiatur in armis.’

Hic iuuenis uatem inridens sic orsa uicissim 435
 ore refert: ‘classis inuectas Thybridis undam
 non, ut rere, meas effugit nuntius auris—
 ne tantos mihi finge metus—nec regia Iuno
 immemor est nostri.
 sed te uicta situ uerique effeta senectus, 440

if any goodwill towards unhappy Amata remains in tender hearts, if the concern for a mother's rights gnaws at you, loose the bands in your hair, seize the sacred objects along with me'. So reduced, in the woods and in the deserted homes of wild beasts, did Allecto drive the queen, with the goads of Bacchus, from every direction (405).

After she decided she had sharpened enough the first phase of madness and had thrown into chaos Latinus' plan and all his household, the grim goddess on dark wings flew straight from here to the bold Rutulian's walls, a city which Danae is said to have founded with Acrisian colonists (410), borne by the driving South wind. The place was once called Ardea by our forefathers and Ardea still remains a mighty name, but her fortune is gone. Here Turnus in his lofty palace was already sinking into the midst of his repose in the black night. Allecto put off her hideous appearance and Fury's limbs (415), transformed herself into the features of an old woman, furrowed her brow till it was horrid with wrinkles, donned white hair with a fillet, twined in a twig of olive and became Calybe, the aged priestess of Juno's temple and presented herself to the young man's eyes with these words (420): 'Turnus, will you stand it that your many efforts have been lavished to no effect and that your sceptre is being made over to Dardanian immigrants? The king denies you the marriage and dowry that you have sought with your own blood and a foreign heir to the throne is being found. Go, you laughing-stock, go and face unrewarding dangers (425), go and lay low the Etruscan ranks to protect the Latins in peace. Just this the all-powerful Saturnian goddess bade me tell you to your face, when you lay asleep in the tranquil night. So up with you, and with gay heart make preparations for your warriors to be armed and for their move from the gates to take up arms. Destroy the Phrygian leaders who have anchored in our lovely river(430) and burn down their painted hulls. The great power of the gods orders it. If he does not grant the marriage and declare he heeds your bidding, let king Latinus feel Turnus to his cost and at last experience him under arms'.

At this point, young Turnus, mocking the priestess, thus from his mouth returned a speech (435) in reply: 'that the fleet is riding on the Tiber's wave is not, as you think, news that has escaped my ears—don't make up such terrors for me—nor is royal Juno unmindful of me. But you, reverend mother, an old age overborne by decay and unproductive of truth (440)

o mater, curis nequiquam exercet, et arma
regum inter falsa uatem formidine ludit.
cura tibi diuum effigies et templa tueri;
bella uiri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda.'

Talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras. 445

at iuueni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus,
deriguere oculi: tot Erinys sibilat hydris
tantaque se facies aperit; tum flammea torquens
lumina cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura
reppulit, et geminos erexit crinibus anguis, 450

uerberaque insonuit rabidoque haec addidit ore:
'en ego uicta situ, quam ueri effeta senectus
arma inter regum falsa formidine ludit.
respice ad haec: adsum dirarum ab sede sororum,
bella manu letumque gero.' 455

sic effata facem iuueni coniecit et atro
lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas.
olli somnum ingens rumpit pauor, ossaque et artus
perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor. 460

arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit;
saeuit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
ira super: magno ueluti cum flamma sonore
uirgea suggeritur costis undantis aeni
exsultantque aestu latices, furit intus aquai
fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis, 465

nec iam se capit unda, uolat uapor ater ad auras.
ergo iter ad regem polluta pace Latinum
indicit primis iuuenum et iubet arma parari,
tutari Italiam, detrudere finibus hostem;
se satis ambobus Teucrisque uenire Latinisque. 470

haec ubi dicta dedit diuosque in uota uocauit,
certatim sese Rutuli exhortantur in arma.
hunc decus egregium formae mouet atque iuuentae,
hunc atai reges, hunc claris dextera factis.

Dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet, 475

Allecto in Teucros Stygiis se concitat alis,
arte noua speculata locum quo litore pulcher
insidiis cursuque feras agitabat Iulus.

hic subitam canibus rabiem Cocytia uirgo
obicit et noto naris contingit odore, 480

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wears out with worries to no avail and teases your priesthood with empty terrors amid the weapons of kings. Your task is to watch over the statues and temples of the gods; men shall deal with war and peace, men, whose job is war.' At these words, Allecto blazed into anger (445): as he spoke, young Turnus' limbs suddenly shook and his eyes went stiff; so did the Fury's serpents hiss and such an appearance revealed itself. Then she rolled her fiery eyes and as he hesitated and tried to say more, she pushed him back and raised twin serpents from her hair (450). She cracked her whip and from her raving mouth spoke as follows: 'here I am, overborne with decay, whom an old age unproductive of truth teases with empty terrors amid the arms of kings. Look at these: I have come from the seat of the dread sisters and in my hand I carry wars and death (455)'. So she spoke, pointed her torch at the young man and drove deep into his chest the brand smoking with dark light. A huge terror burst into his sleep; over all his body sweat broke out and bathed his bones and limbs. Madly he called for arms, arms he sought in couch and chambers (460). Love of the sword rages, and the criminal madness of war and wrath too, as when with loud sound a flame of twigs is heaped up the sides of an eddying brass cauldron and the waters leap with the heat. Inside, the smoky stream of water rages and leaps high with foam (465). The liquid contains itself no longer and the dark steam rises into the air. So he gives the leaders of his young warriors orders for a march on King Latinus, their peaceful relations having been polluted, for weapons to be prepared, for Italy's protection, to drive the foe from their land. He was marching match enough for both Trojans and Latins (470). When he had spoken thus and called the gods to witness his vows, the Rutuli eagerly roused each other to arms. One the splendid distinction of the young man's physique and youth stirred, one his royal ancestors, one his right hand famed for its deeds.

While Turnus fills the Rutulians with the spirit of audacity (475), Allecto, on her Stygian wings, hurries against the Trojans, noticing—it was a new wile—a spot where the fair Iulus was driving game on the river-bank, by wiles and by coursing. The maid of Cocytus at this point cast a sudden frenzy in the hounds' way and touched their nostrils with a familiar scent (480),

ut ceruum ardentem agerent; quae prima laborum
 causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis.
 ceruus erat forma praestanti et cornibus ingens,
 Tyrrhidae pueri quem matris ab ubere raptum
 nutribant Tyrrhusque pater, cui regia parent 485
 armenta et late custodia credita campi. T
 adsuetum imperiis soror omni Siluia cura
 mollibus intexens ornabat cornua sertis,
 pectebatque ferum puroque in fonte lauabat.
 ille manum patiens mensaeque adsuetus erili 490
 errabat siluis rursusque ad limina nota
 ipse domum sera quamuis se nocte ferebat.
 hunc procul errantem rabidae uenantis Iuli
 commouere canes, fluuio cum forte secundo
 deflueret ripaque aestus uiridante leuaret. 495
 ipse etiam eximiae laudis succensus amore
 Ascanius curuo derexit spicula cornu;
 nec dextrae erranti deus afuit, actaque multo
 perque uterum sonitu perque ilia uenit harundo.
 saucius at quadrupes nota intra tecta refugit 500 O
 successitque gemens stabulis, questuque cruentus T
 atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat
 Siluia prima soror palmis percussa lacertos
 auxilium uocat et duros conclamat agrestis.
 olli (pestis enim tacitis latet aspera siluis) 505 O
 improuisi adsunt, hic torre armatus obusto,
 stipitis hic grauidi nodis; quod cuique repertum
 rimanti telum ira facit. uocat agmina Tyrrhus,
 quadrifidam quercum cuneis ut forte coactis
 scindebat rapta spirans immane securi. 510 O
 At saeua e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi
 ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo
 pastorale canit signum cornuque recuruo
 Tartaream intendit uocem, qua protinus omne T
 contremuit nemus et siluae insonuere profundae; 515
 audiit et Triuia longe lacus, audiit amnis
 sulphurea Nar albus aqua fontesque Velini,
 et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos.
 tum uero ad uocem celeres, qua bucina signum
 dira dedit, raptis concurrunt undique telis 520

all afire to pursue a stag. This was a first cause of sufferings and fired the spirits of the country people with war. There was a stag of outstanding beauty, with a vast spread of antlers, which Tyrrhus' young sons fed after he had been snatched from his mother's milk, as did their father Tyrrhus, master of the royal (485) herds, and entrusted afar with the charge of the estate. Their sister Silvia with every effort intertwined the stag's antlers with soft garlands and decorated him, used as he was to their commands; she combed the beast and washed him in a clear spring. Her bore her caresses and, used to his master's table (490), wandered through the woods and however late in the evening brought himself home to the familiar threshold. It was him the hounds of Iulus, furiously excited, started as he wandered afar, just as he happened to float downstream with the current and relieve the heat on the verdant bank (495). Further, Ascanius himself, spurred by love of high glory, aimed an arrow from his bent bow. The divinity did not desert his unerring arrow, and the weapon, despatched with a loud twang, passed through the deer's belly and loins. Now the wounded animal took refuge in the home he knew (500) and bellowing reached the stables; bloodstained and like one calling for help he filled all the building with his protests. First the sister, Silvia, slapping her arms with her palms, summoned aid and called upon the tough countrymen. They, for the cruel demon lurks in the silent woodland (505), arrive of a sudden, one armed with a scorched stake, one with a heavy, knotted billet; what each man finds as he hunts about, anger makes into a weapon. Tyrrhus summons his array: he, by chance, was splitting an oak-log into four by driving in wedges, snatched up an axe, panting limitless rage (510).

But from her vantage-point the cruel goddess picked the moment for doing damage; she sought the high roof of the stable and from its very peak sounded the shepherds' alarm; with a curved horn she forced a hellish note, with which at once the whole wood trembled and the deep forest rang (515). Far off, Trivia's grove heard it, the river Nar, while with its sulphurous water heard too, like the springs of Velinus, and fearful mothers pressed their children to their breasts. Then swiftly to the alarm-call, where the fearful trumpet had given the signal, the undaunted farmers muster, grabbing weapons on all sides (520).

indomiti agricolae, nec non et Troia pubes
 Ascanio auxilium castris effundit apertis.
 derexere acies. non iam certamine agresti
 stipitibus duris agitur sudibusue praeustis,
 sed ferro ancipiti decernunt atraque late 525
 horrescit strictis seges ensibus, aeraque fulgent
 sole laccessita et lucem sub nubila iactant:
 fluctus uti primo coepit cum albescere uento, T
 paulatim sese tollit mare et altius undas
 erigit, inde imo consurgit ad aethera fundo. 530
 hic iuuenis primam ante aciem stridente sagitta,
 natorum Tyrrhi fuerat qui maximus, Almo,
 sternitur; haesit enim sub gutture uulnus et udae
 uocis iter tenuemque inclusit sanguine uitam.
 corpora multa uirum circa seniorque Galaesus, 535
 dum paci medium se offert, iustissimus unus
 qui fuit Ausoniisque olim ditissimus aruis:
 quinque greges illi balantum, quina redibant
 armenta, et terram centum uertebat aratris.
 Atque ea per campos aequo dum Marte geruntur, 540
 promissi dea facta potens, ubi sanguine bellum
 imbuit et primae commisit funera pugnae,
 deserit Hesperiam et caeli conuersa per auras T
 Iunonem uictrix adfatur uoce superba:
 ‘en, perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi; 545
 dic in amicitiam coeant et foedera iungant.
 quandoquidem Ausonio respersi sanguine Teucros,
 hoc etiam his addam, tua si mihi certa uoluntas:
 finitimas in bella feram rumoribus urbes,
 accendamque animos insani Martis amore 550
 undique ut auxilio ueniant; spargam arma per agros.’
 tum contra Iuno: ‘terrorum et fraudis abunde est:
 stant belli causae, pugnatur comminus armis; P
 quae fors prima dedit sanguis nouus imbuit arma. P
 talia coniugia et talis celebrent hymenaeos 555
 egregium Veneris genus et rex ipse Latinus.
 te super aetherias errare licentius auras
 haud pater ille uelit, summi regnator Olympi.
 cede locis. ego, si qua super fortuna laborum est,
 ipsa regam.’ talis dederat Saturnia uoces. 560 P

Likewise, the Trojan warriors pour out reinforcements for Ascanius from the opened camp. They drew up battle-lines. No longer does the action develop in a rustic skirmish with hard billets or scorched stakes, but they fight it out with double-edged metal and far and wide, the dark (525) crop of drawn swords bristles. Flicked by the sun, bronze shines and casts its gleam up to the clouds; as when a wave begins to show white with the onset of a wind and slowly the sea rises and forces her waves higher, then from her lowest depths swells (530) to the skies. At this moment, a youngster, before the front line—the eldest of Tyrrhus' sons, Almo—is laid low by a whistling arrow. Its wound stuck down in his throat and closed with blood the moist passage of his voice and the insubstantial breath of life. The bodies of many men fell all around; in particular, old Galaesus (535), putting himself forward in the name of peace, a man particularly just and once notably rich in the fields of Ausonia. He had five flocks of bleating sheep and five herds came home for milking; he tilled the land with a hundred ploughs.

And while all this takes place across the plains in balanced conflict (540), the goddess, now mistress of her word, once she had tinged the conflict with blood and brought about the casualties of the first battle, leaves Hesperia, makes her way through the airs of heaven and, successful, addresses Juno with pride-filled voice. 'Look, you have accomplished discord out of woeful war(545). Now tell them to make alliances and settle treaties. Since I have stained the Trojans with Ausonian blood, I will add this to all that, if I am sure of your support. I will bring the nearby cities into war by means of rumours and will fire men's spirits with the desire for lunatic war (550), so they may come from all directions to assist. Through the countryside I will sow arms'. Then Juno replied: 'enough of alarms and deceit. The grounds for war now exist and there is armed conflict at close quarters. When chance offered, fresh blood stained the first weapons used. Such marriage, such nuptials (555) let Venus' distinguished son and King Latinus celebrate. That you should roam more freely through the air above, the father himself, ruler of highest Olympus, would not approve. Leave the scene. If any success remains in my efforts, I, in person, will take control.' So the daughter of Saturn spoke (560).

illa autem attollit stridentis anguibus alas
 Cocytique petit sedem supera ardua linquens.
 est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis,
 nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris,
 Ampsancti ualles; densis hunc frondibus atrum
 565 urget utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
 dat sonitum saxis et torto uertice torrens.

hic specus horrendum et saeui spiracula Ditis
 monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte uorago
 pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys,
 570 inuisum numen, terras caelumque leuauit.

Nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello
 imponit regina manum. ruit omnis in urbem
 pastorum ex acie numerus, caesosque reportant
 Almonem puerum foedatique ora Galaesi,
 575 implorantque deos obtestanturque Latinum.

Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni
 terrorem ingeminat: Teucros in regna uocari,
 stirpem admisceri Phrygiam, se limine pelli.
 tum quorum attonitae Baccho nemora auia matres
 580 insultant thiasis (neque enim leue nomen Amatae)
 undique collecti coeunt Martemque fatigant.
 ilicet infandum cuncti contra omina bellum,
 contra fata deum peruerso numine poscunt.

certatim regis circumstant tecta Latini;
 585 ille uelut pelago rupes immota resistit,
 ut pelago rupes magno ueniente fragore,
 quae sese multis circumlatrantibus undis
 mole tenet; scopuli nequiquam et spumea circum
 saxa fremunt laterique inlisa refunditur alga.
 590

uerum ubi nulla datur caecum exsuperare potestas
 consilium, et saeuae nutu Iunonis eunt res,
 multa deos aurasque pater testatus inanis
 'frangimur heu fatis' inquit 'ferimurque procella!
 595 ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas,
 o miseri. te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit
 supplicium, uotisque deos uenerabere seris.

nam mihi parta quies omnisque in limine portus
 funere felici spolior.' nec plura locutus
 saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas.
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But *Allecto* lifted her wings, the snakes hissed and she made for the home of *Cocytus*, leaving the lofty sky. There is a spot in the very centre of Italy, at the foot of lofty mountains, well-known and mentioned by report in many lands, the valley of *Ampsactus*: dark with thick foliage (565), the forest's edge hems it in on both sides and in its centre a thundering torrent sounds loud as it spins and whirls the boulders. Here are displayed a hideous cave and the place where fierce *Dis* exhales. A great pit opens its poisonous jaws where *Acheron* breaks forth and in them the *Fury*, that hateful spirit, hid (570) and relieved both earth and sky.

Meanwhile, Saturn's royal daughter no less set her final touch upon the war. From their battle-line, the whole crowd of shepherds rushes into the city, bringing the dead, the boy *Almo* and *Galaesus*, disfigured in the face. They call upon the gods and beseech *Latinus* (575). *Turnus* is there and amid fiery accusations of slaughter, swells the climate of fear: the Trojans are invited into the kingdom, the Phrygian stock is to be interbred, he is himself driven from the threshold. Then those whose mothers, struck with *Dionysus* (580), dance in sacred bands through the trackless forests (for *Amata's* name carries weight) gather in from all sides and call insistently for battle. It is all up; all, against the omens, against the fates of the gods, under perverse inspiration, demand unspeakable war. Eagerly they gather about the palace of King *Latinus* (585). He holds out, as a rock motionless against the sea, as a rock against the sea, with a great roar coming on, which holds firm thanks to its bulk, as many waves bay around it. Foam-covered reefs and cliffs round about roar in vain and the seaweed, flung against the shore, is sucked back (590). But when no chance is granted to overcome the counsel of blindness and things go according to the will of cruel *Juno*, father *Latinus* calls to witness the gods and the empty winds and at length says: 'alas, we are shattered by the fates and carried off by the gale. You, my poor people, will pay the penalty for these actions with your sacrilegious blood (595). You, *Turnus*, your crime and its grievous punishment will await and too late will you call upon the gods in your prayers. For I have secured my rest and wholly within the harbour of death am deprived only of a happy end.' He said no more, shut himself in his palace and gave over the reins of affairs (600).

Mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes
 Albanæ coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum
 Roma colit, cum prima mouent in proelia Martem,
 siue Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum
 Hyrcanisue Arabisue parant, seu tendere ad Indos 605
 Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa:
 sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)
 religione sacrae et saeui formidine Martis;
 centum aerei claudunt uectes aeternaque ferri
 robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus. 610
 has, ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae,
 ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
 insignis reserat stridentia limina consul,
 ipse uocat pugnas; sequitur tum cetera pubes,
 aereaque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco. 615
 hoc et tum Aeneadis indicere bella Latinus
 more iubebatur tristisque recludere portas.
 abstinuit tactu pater auersusque refugit
 foeda ministeria, et caecis se condidit umbris.
 tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis 620
 impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine uerso
 Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis. T
 ardet inexcita Ausonia atque immobilis ante;
 pars pedes ire parat campis, pars arduus altis
 puluerulentus equis furit; omnes arma requirunt. 625
 pars leuis clipeos et spicula lucida tergent
 aruina pingui subiguntque in cote securis;
 signaque ferre iuuat sonitusque audire tubarum.
 quinque adeo magnæ positis incudibus urbes
 tela nouant, Amitina potens Tiburque superbum, 630 T
 Ardea Crustumerique et turrigeræ Antemnae.
 tegmina tuta cauant capitum flectuntque salignas
 umbonum cratis; alii thoracas aenos
 aut leuis ocreas lento ducunt argento. P
 uomeris huc et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri 635
 cessit amor; recoquunt patrios fornacibus ensis.
 classica iamque sonant, it bello tessera signum;
 hic galeam tectis trepidus rapit, ille trementis T
 ad iuga cogit equos, clipeumque auroque trilicem
 lorica induitur fidoque accingitur ense. 640

It was the custom, in Hesperian Latium, one which the Alban cities thereupon held sacred and now almighty Rome respects, when they rouse the warrior spirit for the campaign's opening, whether they plan to bring tearful war against Getae, Hyrcanians, or Arabs, or to march towards the Indians (605), head for the Dawn and request the standards back from the Parthians. There are twin Gates of War (that is what they call them), hallowed by dedication and by awe of cruel Mars. A hundred bars of bronze close them, and the imperishable strength of iron, nor does guardian Janus desert his threshold (610). Then, when the senators' judgement settles firm for war, the consul in person, apparelled in Quirinus' cloak and the Gabine cincture, unbolts the creaking threshold. He calls for battle; the rest of the army follows him and the brass horns sound together in hoarse accord (615). By this rite, even then, Latinus was bidden to declare war on Aeneas' people and open the grim gates. The father of his people declined to lay hands on them and, turning away, shunned the ugly duty and hid in the dark shadows. Then the queen of the gods slipped down from the sky and with her hand thrust at the stiff gates (620); the hinges turned and Saturn's daughter broke open the iron doorposts of War. Ausonia, previously quiet and undisturbed is ablaze. Some prepare to advance over the plain on foot, some rage up high on horseback amid the dust; all seek out arms (625). Some clear of greasy preservative their smooth shields and bright spears; they sharpen axes on the whetstone. Men take pleasure in carrying standards and in hearing the sound of trumpets. Full five great cities set up anvils and make ready arms, powerful Amitina, proud Tibur (630), Ardea, Crustumerium and Antemnae with her towers. They beat out helmets, hollow to protect their heads, and curve the willow framework of shields. Others work breastplates of bronze, or smooth greaves of pliant silver. Thus departed all respect for the share and sickle, all love for the plough (635). They put a fresh edge on their fathers' swords in the furnaces. Now the signal sounds and the token goes forth as the order for war. One man in haste takes a helmet from his house, another puts his quivering horses to the yoke, dons a shield and triple coat of golden chainmail, and girds on his trusty sword (640).

Pandite nunc Helicon, deae, cantusque mouete,
 qui bello exciti reges, quae quemque secutae
 compleverint campos acies, quibus Itala iam tum
 floruerit terra alma uiris, quibus arserit armis;
 et meministis enim, diuae, et memorare potestis;
 ad nos uix tenuis famae perlabitur aura. 645

Primus inquit bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris
 contemptor diuum Mezentius agminaque armat.
 filius huic iuxta Lausus, quo pulchrior alter
 non fuit excepto Laurentis corpore Turni,
 Lausus, equum domitor debellatorque ferarum:
 ducit Agyllina nequiquam ex urbe secutos
 mille uiros, dignus patriis qui laetior esset
 imperiis et cui pater haud Mezentius esset. 650

Post hos insignem palma per gramina curram
 uictoresque ostentat equos satus Hercule pulchro
 pulcher Auentinus, clipeoque insigne paternum
 centum anguis cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram;
 collis Auentini silua quem Rhea sacerdos
 furtiuum partu sub luminis edidit oras,
 mixta deo mulier, postquam Laurentia uictor
 Geryone exstincto Tirynthius attigit arua,
 Tyrrhenoque boues in flumine lauit Hiberas.
 pila manu saeuosque gerunt in bella dolones,
 et tereti pugnant mucrone uerique Sabello. 665
 ipse pedes, tegimen torquens immane leonis,
 terribili impexum saeta cum dentibus albis
 indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat,
 horridus Herculeoque umeros innexus amictu. 665

Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia moenia linquunt,
 fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem,
 Catillusque acerque Coras, Argiua iuuentus,
 et primam ante aciem densa inter tela feruntur:
 ceu duo nubigenae cum uertice montis ab alto
 descendunt Centauri Homolen Othrymque niualem
 linquentes cursu rapido; dat euntibus ingens
 silua locum et magno cedunt uirgulta fragore. 675

Nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis,
 Volcano genitum pecora inter agrestia regem
 inuentumque focis omnis quem credidit aetas, 680

Now, goddesses, throw open Helicon and stir our songs, of the kings that were roused to war, of the battle-lines and their leaders that filled the fields, of the soldiers that the land of Italy, flourishing even then, nurtured, of the weapons with which she blazed. For you, goddesses remember and you can recall (645): to us there barely filters down the faint breath of report.

First to enter the war, from the bounds of Etruria, is rough Mezentius, despiser of the gods and he arms his columns. Close by him, his son Lausus, than whom no man was fairer except for Laurentine Turnus' physique (650): Lausus the tamer of horses and conqueror of wild beasts, leads a thousand men, who had followed him to no avail from the city of Agylla; he deserved more joy under his father's command, and a father not Mezentius

After them, there displays across the grassland (655) a victorious team and a chariot conspicuous with palms the son of fair Hercules, Aventinus the fair; he displays too on his shield his father's device, a hundred snakes and the Hydra girt with serpents; him, in the woods of the Aventine Hill and furtive in his birth, the priestess Rhea bore into the shores of light (660), a woman coupled with a god, once the conqueror from Tiryns, with Geryon exterminated, reached the Laurentes' pastures and washed his Iberian cattle in the Etruscan river. In their hands they carry to war savage spears and pikes; with the slender sword they fight and with the Samnite rapier (665). He himself, on foot, swirling a monstrous lionskin, its fearful bristles uncombed, that he set, with its white teeth, upon his head, so dressed approached the king's palace, shaggy and wearing Hercules' garment upon his shoulders.

Next, the twin brothers, Catillus and fierce Coras, warriors of Argive descent, leave the walls of Tibur (670), a people named for their brother Tiburtus and before the front rank rush amid the dense spears, like two cloud-born Centaurs, when they leave Homole or snowy Othrys (675) at a swift pace and descend from the mountain's high peak. The great forest gives ground to their passage and the undergrowth yields with a great din.

Nor was the founder of Praeneste's city absent, whom every generation has believed was born Vulcan's son, royal amid the rustic flocks and discovered by the hearth (680):

Caeculus. hunc legio late comitatur agrestis: quique altum Praeneste uiri quique arua Gabinae Iunonis gelidumque Anienem et roscida riuis Hernica saxa colunt, quos diues Anagnia pascit,	685	T P
quos, Amasene pater. non illis omnibus arma nec clipei currusue sonant; pars maxima glandes liuentis plumbi spargit, pars spicula gestat bina manu, fuluosque lupi de pelle galeros tegmen habent capiti; uestigia nuda sinistri instituere pedis, crudus tegit altera pero.	690	T
At Messapus, equum domitor, Neptunia proles, quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec sternere ferro, iam pridem resides populos desuetaque bello agmina in arma uocat subito ferrumque retractat. hi Fescenninas acies Aequosque Faliscos,	695	
hi Soractis habent arces Flauiniaque arua et Cimini cum monte lacum lucosque Capenos. ibant aequati numero regemque canebant: ceu quondam niuei liquida inter nubila cycni cum sese e pastu referunt et longa canoros	700	
dant per colla modos, sonat amnis et Asia longe pulsa palus. nec quisquam aeratas acies ex agmine tanto misceri putet, aeriam sed gurgite ab alto urgeri uolucrum raucarum ad litora nubem.	705	T
Ecce Sabinorum prisco de sanguine magnum agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar, Claudia nunc a quo diffunditur et tribus et gens per Latium, postquam in partem data Roma Sabinis. una ingens Amiterna cohors priscique Quirites,	710	
Ereti manus omnis oliuiferaeque Mutuscae; qui Nomentum urbem, qui Rosea rura Velini, qui Tetricae horrentis rupes montemque Seuerum Casperiamque colunt Forulosque et flumen Himellae, qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit	715	T
Nursia, et Ortinae classes populique Latini, quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen: quam multi Libyco uoluuntur marmore fluctus saeuus ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis, uel cum sole nouo densae torrentur aristae	720	

Caeculus. Him a spreading division of countrymen accompanies, men who live in lofty Praeneste and in Juno of Gabii's fields, by the chill Anio and in Hernican crags dewy with streams, men whom rich Anagnia feeds and whom you do, father Amasenus. Not all of them are fully armed (685), nor do their shields or chariots ring; most of them shower slingshot of dark lead. Some carry in the hand a pair of light spears and wear tawny wolfskin caps to protect their heads. It is their custom to wear the left foot bare; an uncured moccasin covers the other (690).

Now Messapus, tamer of horses, scion of Neptune, whom no man may lay low by fire or by weapon, calls to arms his tribesmen, long idle, forthwith summons his columns, now unaccustomed, to arms and once more handles his weapons. These men live on the ridges of Fescennium and in Aequi Falisci (695), on Soracte's citadel and in Flavina's fields, on the lake and mountain of Ciminus and in the grove of Capena. They moved in regular formation and sang of their king, as when snow-white swans, amid water-filled clouds, return from feeding and from their long necks (700) make melodious song; the Asian marsh and the river echo afar the sound. Nor would anyone think that their bronze-armoured lines formed out of so mighty a column, but that a cloud of noisy birds in the sky pressed in from the high sea to the shore (705).

Look, of ancient Sabine stock, Clausus is bringing a mighty column, himself on the scale of a column's might; from him the tribe and family of the Claudii is now spread through Latium, now that Rome has been give over in part to the Sabines. Together, there came the mighty regiment of Amiternum, and the original Quirites, from Cures (710), the whole strength of Eretum and Mutuscae rich in olives, the men who live in the town of Nomentum, in the Rosean meadows of the Velinus, in the rough rocks of Tetrica, and on Mount Severus, at Casperia, at Foruli, by the river Himella, who drink Tiber and Fabaris, whom cold (715) Nursia sends, the Ortine levies and the Latinian (?) peoples, and those through whom the Allia flows, that ill-omened name. As many as roll the waves in the Libyan sea, when dangerous Orion sets in the winter waters, or when the close-packed ears of corn are ripened by an Eastern (?) sun (720),

aut Hermi campo aut Lyciae flauentibus aruis.
scuta sonant pulsuque pedum conterrita tellus.

Hinc Agamemnonius, Troiani nominis hostis,
curru iungit Halaesus equos Turnoque ferocis
mille rapit populos, uertunt felicia Baccho 725

Massica qui rastris, et quos de collibus altis
Aurunci misere patres, Sidicinaque iuxta **P**
aequora, quique Cales linguunt, amnisque uadosi **O**
accola Volturni, pariterque Saticulus asper
Oscorumque manus. teretes sunt aclydes illis 730
tela, sed haec lento mos est aptare flagello.
laeuas caetra tegit, falcati comminus enses.

Nec tu carminibus nostris indictus abibis,
Oebale, quem generasse Telon Sebethide nympha
fertur, Teleboum Capreas cum regna teneret, 735

iam senior; patriis sed non et filius aruis
contentus late iam tum dicione premebat **P**
Sarrastis populos et quae rigat aequora Sarnus,
quique Ruffras Batulumque tenent atque arua Celemnae, 740 **T**
et quos maliferae despectant moenia Abellae, **T**
Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias;
tegmina quis capitum raptus de subere cortex
aerataeque micant peltae, micat aereus ensis.

Et te montosae misere in proelia Nersae,
Vfens, insignem fama et felicibus armis, 745
horrida praecipue cui gens adsuetaque multo
uenatu nemorum, duris Aequicula glaebis.
armati terram exercent semperque recentis
conuectare iuuat praedas et uiuere raptio.

Quin et Marruua uenit de gente sacerdos 750
fronde super galeam et felici comptus oliua

Archippi regis missu, fortissimus Vmbro,
uipereo generi et grauius spirantibus hydris
spargere qui somnos cantuque manique solebat,
mulcebatque iras et morsus arte leuabat. 755

sed non Dardaniae medicari cuspide ictum
eualuit neque eum iuuere in uulnera cantus **T**
somnia et Marsis quaesitae montibus herbae.
te nemus Angitia, uitrea te Fucinus unda,
te liquidi fleuere lacus. 760

whether in the plains by the *Hermus* or in the yellow-ripe fields of *Lycia*. Their shields ring, as does the very earth, frightened by the tramp of feet.

After him, *Halaesus*, son of *Agamemnon*, an enemy of the name of *Troy*, yokes horses to his chariot and in *Turnus*' cause sweeps along a thousand fierce tribes, who turn the soil of *Mount Massicus*, fertile for wine (725), with their rakes, whom the elders of the *Aurunci* send from their lofty hills, who leave the nearby plains of *Sidicinum* and *Cales*, those who live by the shallows of the *Volturnus*, the savage men of *Saticula* and the band of *Oscans*. Their weapons are smooth spears (730), but they are used to fit them with a pliant throwing-strap. A target protects their left arms; at close quarters, they use curved swords.

Nor, *Oebalus*, will you depart without a mention in our poem, whom *Telon* is said to have fathered by the nymph *Sebethis*, when he held *Caprae*, kingdom of the *Teleboans* (735), already an older man; but his son was not likewise satisfied with his father's lands and even then was oppressing afar under his rule the tribes of *Sarrastes* and the plains the *Sarnus* waters, those who occupy *Rufrae* and *Batulum* and the meadows of *Celemna*, and those on whom the walls of apple-bearing *Abella* look down (740), used to whirl boomerangs after the manner of the *Teutones*. To protect their heads, there is bark ripped from the cork-tree; their bronze-covered shields and their swords of bronze glitter.

You too, *Ufens*, mountainous *Nersae* sent into battle, famous by repute and for your success at arms (745); your tribe is notably savage, accustomed to regular hunting in the forests, the *Aequiculi*, whose ploughland is hard. Armed, they work the land and it is their delight always to carry off fresh booty and to live by plunder.

Yes, from the *Marruvian* people too came the priest (750), girt with the leaves of the fortunate olive over his helmet, by command of *King Archippus*, the most valiant *Umbro*; he was used by charms and by passes to spread sleep upon the race of vipers and on the poison-breathing water-snakes; he soothed their fits of rage and eased their bites by his skill (755). But to heal the blow of the *Trojan* spear he was not able, nor did his hypnotic chants and herbs gathered in the mountains of the *Marsi* aid him with his wound. You the grove of *Angitia* lamented, you *Fucinus* with his glass-like water, you the well-filled lakes (760).

Ibat et Hippolyti proles pulcherrima bello,
 Virbius, insignem quem mater Aricia misit,
 eductum Egeriae lucis umentia circum litora,
 pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae.
 namque ferunt fama Hippolytum, postquam arte nouercae 765
 occiderit patriasque explerit sanguine poenas
 turbatis distractus equis, ad sidera rursus
 aetheria et superas caeli uenisse sub auras,
 Paeoniis reuocatum herbis et amore Dianae.
 tum pater omnipotens aliquem indignatus ab umbris 770
 mortalem infernis ad lumina surgere uitae,
 ipse repertorem medicinae talis et artis fulmine
 poenigenam Stygias detrusit ad undas. T
 at Triuia Hippolytum secretis alma recondit
 sedibus et nympphae Egeriae nemorique relegat, 775
 solus ubi in siluis Italis ignobilis aeuum
 exigeret uersoque ubi nomine Virbius esset.
 unde etiam templo Triuiae lucisque sacratis
 cornipedes arcentur equi, quod litore currum
 et iuuenem monstris pauidi effudere marinis. 780
 filius ardentis haud setius aequore campi
 exercebat equos curruque in bella ruebat.
 Ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus
 uertitur arma tenens et toto uertice supra est.
 cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram 785
 sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis;
 tam magis illa fremens et tristibus effera flammis
 quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae
 at leuem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io
 auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos, 790
 argumentum ingens, et custos uirginis Argus,
 caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna.
 insequitur nimbus peditum clipeataque totis
 agmina densentur campis, Argiuaque pubes
 Auruncaequae manus, Rutuli ueteresque Sicani, 795
 et Sacrae acies et picti scuta Labici;
 qui saltus, Tiberine, tuos sacrumque Numici
 litus arant Rutulosque exercent uomere collis
 Circaeumque iugum, quis Iuppiter Anxurus aruis
 praesidet et uiridi gaudens Feronia luco 800

There also went to war Hippolytus' fairest offspring, Virbius, whom his mother Aricia sent in his glory; he had been raised in the groves of Egeria by the waterlogged shores, where the well-fattened altar of Diana stands to be placated. For they say that in the story Hippolytus, after he had died through his stepmother's trickery and paid with his blood the punishment his father inflicted (765), torn apart by his terrified horses, came back under the stars of heaven and the air of the sky above, recalled by Paeon's simples and the love of Diana. Then the all-powerful father, furious that any mortal should rise from the shades below (770) to the light of life, himself with a thunderbolt thrust down to the waters of Styx the punishment-born inventor of such medical skill. But kindly Trivia hid Hippolytus in a secret spot and sent him off to the nymph Egeria's grove (775), there alone and unknown in Italian woodland to live out his life and by a change of name to become Virbius. In consequence, too, horn-hoofed horses are banned from the temple and sacred groves of Trivia, because, frightened at the sea-monster (780), they had upset chariot and young rider upon the shore. Nonetheless, Virbius' son exercised his fiery horses upon the level plan and in his chariot hastened into battle.

Turnus himself, of outstanding physique and holding his arms, moves among the front ranks, above them by a full head. His lofty helmet, decked with triple plume, holds up the Chimaera (785), breathing out the fires of Etna from her jaws. The more she roars, fierce with her baleful flames, the more the battle turns savage with the shedding of blood. Now his smoothed shield Io with her raised horns adorned in gold: she was now overgrown with bristles, now all cow (790)—a mighty subject, and the girl's guard, Argus, and there was father Inachus, pouring his stream from an incised urn. There follows a cloud of infantry, and shield-bearing columns close up all over the plain, young warriors of Argive origin, and Auruncan formations, Rutuli and the Sicani of old, the Sacrae acies (?)(795) and the men of Labicum with their painted shields, men who plough your valleys, Tiber, and the sacred bank of the Numicus and work the Rutulian hills with their ploughshares along with Circe's ridge, the fields over which Jupiter Anxur stands guard, and Feronia, delighting in her verdant sanctuary (800);

qua Sturae iacet atra palus gelidusque per imas
quaerit iter uallis atque in mare conditur Vfers.

Hos super aduenit Volsca de gente Camilla
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere cateruas
bellatrix, non illa colo calathisue Mineruae 805
femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia uirgo
dura pati cursuque pedum praeuertere uentos.
illa uel intactae segetis per summa uolaret
gramina nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas,
uel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumentis 810
ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas.
illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuuentus
turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem
attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro
uelet honos leuis umeros, ut fibula crinem 815
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspidem myrtum.

where the dark marsh of Stura lies, and the cold Ufens seeks a passage through its deep valleys and finds its home in the sea.

After them, Camilla, of Volscian stock, arrives, leading a column of cavalry and squadrons blooming with bronze—a warrior, her woman's hands not used to the spindle and yarn-basket of Minerva (805), but a girl tough enough to stand battle and with the pace of her feet to outstrip the winds. She would fly over the highest shoots of a crop untouched and would not have harmed the tender ears by her passage; or she would make her way across the high sea, borne over the swelling wave (810), nor would she dip her flying soles in the ocean. Her the whole crowd of young people, pouring out of fields and houses admired, along with the crowd of mothers. At her passing they gazed from a distance, gaping with hearts amazed at the royal cloak that clad her smooth shoulders with purple, at the brooch that twined her hair (815) with gold, at the Lycian quiver she carried, and the shepherd's myrtle-wood staff, with point attached.

COMMENTARY

1-4 The tomb by the sea is an ancient motif: behind Misenus, Deiphobus and Palinurus (*infra*), there are Catullus' brother, Naevius' Prochyta (*infra*), Dolops, Sthenelus, Cyzicus, etc. in AR(*infra*), a rich tradition of (Greek and Latin, epigraphic and literary) funerary epigram (strongly present in V.'s style and manner), Ajax, and in Hom., Achilles, Patroclus and Antilochus (*Od.*24.82ff.), as well as Elpenor (11.74ff., 12.11f.; vd. *infra*); such tombs were later displayed and recorded in the periegetic and geographic writers. Cf. NH on Hor.C.1.28 and, in ample detail, Pearce, *cit.*. Upon name and 'fact' provided by the antiquarian tradition (**2**) and upon the fixed sequence of geography, V. typically erects an episode of (merely!) four lines, which takes most of the above into recognisable consideration. For his back-reference to bks.6 and 5, cf. **1 tu quoque**; there is, we discover, a double caesura at the centre of the *Aen.*, both (minor) after 6.901 (cf. on **litoribus nostris**), and (major) after **7.36** (cf. **1 litoribus, 37-45**). V.'s triple reworking of Homer here is mediated, as has long been realised, through Naevius (J.Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris 1942), 104ff., S.Mariotti, *Il Bellum Poenicum e l'arte di Nevio* (Roma 1955), 40ff., M.Barchiesi, *Nevio epico* (Padova 1962), 220f., n.1096, W.Strzelecki, ed. Naev., *Bell.Poen.*, xxvi, Buchheit, 30ff., Wigodsky, 32f., Knauer, 137. *EV* 3, 715 (Parroni) is not helpful): fr.13, amplified with much probability from *OGR* 10.1f.; here *Aen.*'s kinswoman Prochyta dies unexpectedly while he is consulting the Sibyl and, warned of her death, *Aen.* returns to his ships and buries her on Procida. That plainly lies behind V.'s treatment of Misenus (and of Caieta by its placing), while (Mariotti, 43f.) V. seems to allude *e contrario* to Naev. in his account of Palinurus (6.345f., 347ff.). Elpenor falls to his death at the end of *Od.*10, asks for burial in 11, and is buried at 12.9-15, corresponding to (i) Palinurus in bk.5, (ii) Palinurus in bk.6 and (iii) Caieta (with some details from Elpenor's funeral used in Misenus'): so, definitively, G.N.Knauer, *GRBS* 5(1964), 66, 69, and *Die Aeneis.*, 135ff.. AR is less decisive in his impact, but clearly enough present. In another version (?Timaeus'), the Argonauts actually reached Caieta, though not in AR: note the etymology from Aeetes at DS 4.56.6 (probably after Timaeus) and cf. too [Lyc.]1274, while in AR (Pearce, 111f., Nelis, 255ff.) the

tombs of Tiphys and Idmon (2.842, 853) still perpetuate their undying fame; Sthenelus' they see directly after leaving Acheron and (2.929) re-name; lastly, the brief delay after Caieta's burial, on account of high seas (**6f.**) may reflect that which delayed the Argonauts after they had honoured Dolops' tomb (1.588; the name survives, 591: a sequence in mind perhaps also at **8 in noctem**). Death follows Aen. out of the Underworld, loss girl in learning. See Kyriakidis, 77ff., A.Barchiesi *EV* s.v.*Caieta* and *Maia* 31(1979), 9ff., J.Blänsdorf, *Wü.Jhb.*8(1982), 86f., G.D'Anna, *Virgilio* (Roma 1989), 207ff., Fraenkel, 147, P.M.Martin *Athen.*53 (1975), 242, E.Paratore *Atti Acad.Pont.*NS 27(1978), 313-21, T.E.V.Pearce, *Lat.*42(1983), 110ff., C.Segal *Arion* 5 (1966) 56f.

I tu quoque In the manner of the Latin literary epitaph of poet upon poet (R. Merkelbach, *Lemmata W.Ehlers* (München 1968), 174ff. = *RhM.*114(1971), 349ff.): Cic.*Limon* 1 *tu quoque* (Terence; so too Caesar, *poet.* fr.1), Dom.Marsus 7.1 *te quoque* (Tibullus), but that is altogether in the Greek tradition (cf. S.Mariotti, *Miscellanea.. Rostagni* (Torino 1963), 610, n.76, with aggiunta, 614, Barchiesi, 10, n.20, and *EV* 2, 344, Courtney on Dom.Marsus *cit.*, Kyriakidis, 79ff. 9 9). Cf. *Anth.Pal.* 7.58, 105, 114, 123, 130, 132, 263 (and in the Christian vein, 8.154, 164). Likewise (cf. *CLE* 580.1 *tu quoque communi.*; note too *GVI* 1479.1 Peek ap. Mariotti, *cit.*, Lattimore, 254f., with numerous instances) in funerary epigram on stone (for whose influence on V., cf. Barchiesi *EV, cit.*, Horsfall, *LCM* 11(1986), 44f., J.Gomez Pallares, *Faventia* 16(1995), 122f.). 'You too' appears a variation upon the consolatory theme of the common lot (Lattimore, 253ff., Kenney on Lucr.3.1024-52, NH on Hor.C.1.28.7). Naturally, the apostrophe is epitaphic (cf. Williams *TI*, 192ff.). Formally, V. looks back to Misenus and Deiphobus (note the verbal echoes from 6.234f. *qui nunc Misenus ab illo/ dicitur, aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen, 507 nomen et arma locum seruant*); Palinurus, too, unburied, looks forward from the end of 5, framing the intervening book (cf. Barchiesi, 10, Hardie *GR*, 108, n.8, Kyriakidis, 41ff.), and V. here echoes the language of 6.380 (**2**). B.Frischer acutely compares (*Glotta* 61(1983), 238f.) the distant citations implied by the *quoque* of *G.*3.1 and Hor.*Serm.*2.5.1 (to Hom.; cf. too Fraenkel, *Horace*, 137, n.2): three far-arching back-references to propel the reader forwards at the formal half-way point.

litoribus nostris The poet and his age are very much present in *Aen.*: cf. **733**. 6.901 (Virgilian, *pace* Bentley; cf. now J.Wills, *MD* 38(1997), 185ff., Kyriakidis, 76) likewise contains *litore* (cf. Hinds

(205), 109, n.15). *Litora litoribus contraria*: possibly a further play across the sea (and its shores) that appears (but cf. 37-45) to divide 1-6 from 7-12.

Aeneia nutrix Cf. *ILS* 3235 *noutrix Paperia*; a Latin extension (there are many, but here the sphere is humble) of the Greek idiom by which an adjectival form of a proper name is used in place of the lowlier genitive (cf. 10 **Circaeae**, 723 **Agamemnonius**); cf. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 2, 70, Löfstedt, 1, 121f.. On the figure of the nurse, cf. Boas, 32ff., G.Brugnoli in *Studi..Monaco* 2 (Palermo 1991), 931ff.: entirely epic (Seymour, 139f., AR 1.668, Naevius' Prochyta (1-4), V.'s own Pyrgo and Barce). Possibly indispensable, perhaps a statement about a tender side to Aen., possibly also an old retainer too tough to have been left in Sicily (cf. 5.715f., 728ff., 750; note other exceptions, 9.217f., 11.35, Buchheit, 174, n.4).

2 aeternam..famam Cf.6.235 (Misenus) *aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen*, 381 *aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit*. Aeneas and Virgil, between them, confer on a 'mere' nurse the power to confer upon this spot eternal fame (cf. Kyriakidis, 85f.).

moriens Perhaps equivalent to *morte*, and primarily causal in force (cf. KS 1, 770ff.), though the placing between **aeternam** and **famam** might suggest concessive; typical indirection.

Caieta A familiar toponym (mod. Gaeta; cf. *Cic.Leg.Man.33 an uero ignoratis portum Caietae celeberrimum?*), already associated with Aeneas' nurse by the common source of V. and DH 1.53.3. Cf. too *Ov. Met.* 14.441ff., *Plin.Nat.*3.82, *Solin.*2.13, *OGR* 10.3 and contrast Naevius' Prochyta, *supra*. The Bay of Naples (and its northwards extension) was notably rich in mythologically resonant toponyms (Capua, Aenaria/Inarime, Baiiae, Cumae, Leucosia, Prochyta, Misenum; cf. Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 468, Barchiesi, *EV, cit.*, Boas, 27ff.), but V. selects sparingly and his principal motive may be suggested by the 'flags' *nunc* and *nomen* (O'Hara, 90f., 75ff.): an etymological link between Caieta's name and her burial; ἀπὸ τοῦ καίειν as Serv. puts it; cf. *OGR* 10.4, Kyriakidis, 86ff.. D'Anna, 210 scents a further reference; (?L.)Caesar and Sempronius (Tuditanus) ap.*OGR cit.*, claimed that 'Caieta' was a *cognomen* bestowed for her role in prompting the burning of the ships. So too Serv. here *lectum tamen est in philologis* [cf. *ad* 8.190; ignored by H.Kuch, *ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΣ* (Berlin 1965) and by Kaster] *in hoc loco classem Troianorum casu concrematam*. Given, though, that V. does mention the end of Caieta, and not that of the ships, this proposal seems a case of irrelevant association. Aen. loses another

link with Troy, and with his childhood, the moment he reaches Latium; not an effect to be complicated gratuitously.

dedisti Cf. Cic. *Verr.*2.2.57 *famam ac fortunas dedisse*.

3 et nunc Cf. **208, 602, 708**, 6.234; typical of aetiological writing and 'naming' passages (O'Hara, *cit.*; add AR 1.1061, 1075, etc., Fränkel, *Noten*, 635f., Kyriakidis, 48ff.; see further **1-4**). Compare the Ovidian *nunc etiam, nunc quoque* (Bömer on *Met.*1.747, 2.706); here 'now too' or 'even now'; the fame of Aeneas' nurse survives to the Augustan present.

seruat Cf. the simpler 6.507 *nomen et arma locum seruant*. Aragosti, *EV* 4, 815, compares *G.*1.499 *Romana Palatia seruas*, *G.*4.459 ('keep to') and **7.52** ('kept to'), and *G.*4.483 *quae flumina seruant*, *Aen.*6.298 (Charon) *flumina seruat* ('occupy as guardian'). We are not of course obliged to decide just how many senses are to be distinguished (as *EV* gallantly tries to do), and there is no reason to limit V. here to any one (or two) of them (so *EV* rightly). Caieta certainly remains where she died; her name remains attached to the spot and she may be thought to watch over it beneficently.

honos..tuus At *TLL* 6.3.2925.35, Mehmel favours a reference to Caieta's actual monument (e.g. Cic. *Verr.*2.4.69, *Aen.*5.652, 6.333, 10.492 (where vd. Harrison), 11.23, *Ov.F.*2.555, NH on Hor. *C.*2.20.24, Gk. γέρας, Boas, 29, Carcopino, 566, n.7, Fo, *EV* 2, 854). Alternatively, **honos** in the sense of 'reverence felt towards the dead', a near-synonym of *pietas* (cf. Sen. *Contr.*10.1.5 *in honorem eius uestem mutavi*, Tac. *Agr.*46.2 *is uerus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas*, *Ann.*2.7.3 and thus **honos** here (as the notably postponed **tuus** may make likelier; cf. 10.827 *arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua, while quondam tua* is not quite analogous) 'the honour in which you, Caieta, were and are held' (cf. *Buc.*5.78, *Aen.*1.609, 12.840 **tuos..honores**). There is theme and variation here (as Williams notes), with chiasmic word-order; the duplication of ideas is of notable assistance in a tricky passage. So vd. the exactly parallel **nomen infra**: clearly not her inscription, but the name and fame of the spot. If that is so, then the wider sense of **h.** is likewise more welcome.

sedem Not so much the tomb itself (so *EV* 4, 750) as (a wider, grander sense) the place where C. is buried, which preserves her name and fame (so, well, Henry). Cf. 6.152 *sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulcro*, 328, 371.

ossaque Cf. 4.625, 5.55 *ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis*, 6.379 (Palinurus), *TLL* 9.2.1098.42 (Baer). Vd. *infra* on **signat** for the metonymic 'grave'.

nomen At 6.235 and 381 the *nomen* is that of the deceased, which survives in the toponym. So here. 6.507 (Deiphobus) is different, as Austin realises (a cenotaph and not the action of a toponym); there, Norden's 'Aufschrift' might be right but he wisely does not venture to detect the mention of *four* inscriptions in V.'s text and a busy stone-cutter on board Aen.'s ships!

4 Hesperia in magna Cf. **54 magno e Latio** and for **Hesperia, 543.**

si qua est ea gloria In juxtaposition with 'mighty Hesperia' it was only too easy to conclude that the sense must be *quae est magna gloria*, or the like (so e.g. Mynors *per litt.*, Paratore). But the epigraphic character of the context emerges from repeated details (the phrase has therefore to be read in terms of inscriptional usage), and V.'s view of the fragility of glory and of the uncertain consolations of our mortality hardly needs to be argued. Cf. Cat.96.1 *si quicquam..* (with Kroll's n.), Ov.Pont. 1.2.111 *si superest aliquis post funera sensus*, Tac.Agr.46.1 *si quis piorum manibus locus* (where vd. Ogilvie's excellent n.), CLE 366.2 *si quid mortui habent*, 1031.1, 1328.3, GVI 231.4 ἄλλ' εἶ γ' ἐν φθιμενοῖσι τις αἴθησις, B.Lier, *Phil.*63(1904), 54f., E.Galletier, *Étude sur la poésie funéraire romaine* (Paris 1922), 10ff., A.Brelich, *Aspetti della morte nelle iscrizioni sepolcrali* (Budapest 1937), 78, Lattimore, 61. 'The conditional clause tells us nothing about [the author's] personal convictions...it is a purely conventional way of speaking' (Ogilvie). On V.'s use of the *si quis* formula, cf. Harrison's helpful nn. on 10.458, 827 (and Hardie on 9.209), not to mention Henry here; Kyriakidis' 'sceptical' (79, n.9) is too explicit, though his collection of parallels is useful.

signat Rω; signant MP; both in TCD. A useful reminder of **R**'s unpredictable merits: with the plur. (printed by Paratore and championed by H.Heubner, *Gymn.*61(1954), 229f.) the sense is 'your grave [*ossa*, by metonymy; possible, just: cf. Prop.2.11.5 *et tua transibit contemnens ossa uiator*, and perhaps Aen.4.625 *nostris ex ossibus*] makes your name famous'. 'Against that universal sense which regards the name as the mark of the person, whether living or dead, not the person as the mark of the name': again, Henry, splendidly right and with ample evidence; cf. too W.Plankl, *Gymn.*60(1953), 172ff.. Theme and variation, as noted above, would alone have proved the point. For the use of the vb., cf. Vell.2.115.1 *amplissimorum honorum..signat memoria*, Luc.4.654f. *hinc aevi ueteris custos, formosa uetustas/ miratrixque sui signauit nomine terras*, Sil.11.505, Tac. *Germ.*28.2 *manet adhuc Bohaemi*

nomen signatque loci ueterem memoriam and note too Thuc.2.43.3 καὶ οὐ κτηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή.

5-24 The localisation of Circe at Circeii (perhaps from c.6 B.C.: Heubeck on *Od.*10.135-9, West on the late [Hes.] *Theog.*1011ff., pp.435f. (the critique offered by M.H.Jameson and I.Malkin, *Athen.*86(1998), 477, 483 does not convince me of the possibility of W.>E. mobility of ample mythical genealogy at Hes.' date); cf. Dion, *cit.*, Gale, 180, M.Cancellieri, *EV* 1, 794, Boas, 41ff.; so at AR 3.312) is both boon and problem for V.: involvement with another irresistible seductress, still warm from Odysseus' arms (note the three months of *Aen.*3.645) and consistently identified with greed and lust (**16**) would just not do, between Underworld and Tiber-mouth, with its latent confirmations of *nostos* achieved. Hence, literal *praeteritio*: *Aen.* sails past, out of *Od.* and into *Il.*(cf.R.G.Basto, *CW* 76(1982-3), 42f.), while nodding to *Arg.*; V.'s ways of acknowledging the 'facts' of legendary topography and moving swiftly out of involvement, by various means, were analysed admirably by Heinze (111f.; cf. *Alambicco*, 69ff.. Originally an Apollonian technique: 4.573ff., 964ff.: vd. Nelis, 259). His Circe is exotic and fascinating, at a distance, but altogether sinister and dangerous (contrast Hom.: vd. Heubeck, Segal *cit.*); the Trojans are morally superior to her clutches (**5**, **21**), for as colonists they have—after Carthage—neither time nor means for (**16**) lust and greed. **5-24** and **25-36** (q.v.) are therefore contrasted at various levels: here, night, threat, danger, the morally hazardous Greek past, actively and significantly echoing the punishments of Tartarus (**15**, **16**, Hardie, *cit.*); attempts to find dark intimations of danger even in the Tiber-mouth (Reckford, etc.; vd. **36**) seem therefore peculiarly untimely. In Homeric/structural terms, Circe's position in *Aen.* corresponds exactly to *Od.*'s second visit to Circe, after his katabasis (12.8ff., Knauer, 137f.), and the burial of Caieta/Elpenor(**1-4**), while much detail will be seen to derive from his first visit in bk.10. To which add Circe's 'sister' (literally so in some versions, Kaiser, 199), Calypso, to whom V. owes the picture of the scented fire of (?) cedar (cf. Hainsworth on *Od.*5.60) with (so too Circe; see **12**) the temptress singing as she weaves (*Od.*5.59-62). In terms of formal structure, there is also an element of Homer's Sirens in the scene (**37-45**). For Apollonius, vd. *supra* and **15**, **23**. See Worstbrock, 35ff., Blänsdorf (**1-4**), 88f., Gale (**785**), 180f., Hardie (**412**), 67, Kyriakidis, 54ff., 90ff., Thomas (**14**, 1985), 66f., R.Dion, *BAGB* (1971), 479ff., E.Kaiser, *MH* 21(1964), 197ff., K.J.Reckford,

AJP 82(1961), 255, C.P.Segal, *Arion* 5(1966), 58f., *TAPA* 99(1968), 434f., H.Rey, *Die Bedeutung der Nacht in der Aeneis* (diss.Hamburg 1967), 101ff., E.S.Hatzantonis, *Lat.*30(1971), 3ff., Nelis, 259.

5 at Cf. 81, 691 on 'transitional' *at*.

pius..Aeneas Here, as often, on account of the discharge of a religious duty (5.286, 6.176, 232, 11.170, A.Traina, *EV* 4, 96 (who offers an ample bibl. of *pietas*-studies; note now *RMM*, 13f. against the notion that the *pietas* of Aen. might be a primarily Roman idea).

exsequiis..solutis TCD intelligently remarks that V. has described other funerals, so skips this one! Cf.6.510 *omnia Deiphobo soluisti*, *G.*1.436 (old and common of the discharge of vows, promises, duties, *OLD* s.v. § 21). Unlikely that the noun (of notably convenient shape) was really introduced to high poetry as late as V.. Here **R** has **exs-**, **MP ex-**; the capital mss. tend to maintain the s, correctly (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 445f., Leumann, 202; cf. P.Schmid, *TLL* 5.2.1846.39).

rite Cf. 93.

6 aggere..tumuli Cf. 5.44 *tumulique ex aggere*, 11.212 *tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae*; **106 ripae..ab aggere** is not, *pace* Fordyce, comparable, for the words are not of closely similar meaning (contrast e.g. 10.493 *honos tumuli*). Given that both nouns here indicate a mound of earth raised in honour of Caieta, a *genitivus inhaerentiae*, necessarily. The promontory of Gaeta does resemble a large burial mound, when seen from a distance, and I did once climb to the tomb at the top, in reality that of the turncoat Lucius Munatius Plancus.

composito Cf.3.387 *quam tuta possis urbem componere terra*; here V. may perhaps also have in mind that the verb can signify not only 'build', but 'bury' (Cat.68.98; metaph., *Aen.*1.374).

postquam alta quierunt/ 7 aequora Serv. preserves the variant **quierant** from the grammarian Hebrus (or Ebrus, or even Ebrius; a near-contemporary of Serv.: *EV* 2, 159f. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 174ff.); probable echo-corruption from 4.523f. *et saeva quierant/ aequora* (the vb. *ter* in Enn.). Wind and wave subside in tribute to Aen.'s *pietas*; Fordyce is exercised by the question of whether **alta** indicates 'high seas'(as **363**) or 'the depths' (as *G.*4.528). Though he rightly propends for the former, the decisive consideration is rather that the sea is as viewed by the Trojans: when, from the beach at Gaeta, it appears passably calm, they depart. For a possible Apollonian antecedent, cf. **1-4.**

tendit iter uelis Cf. *Acc.trag.*500 *ad te itiner tendere*, *Aen.*1.656. Serv.

refers to discussion of the propriety of **uelis**, and gets the right end of the stick: **u.** is intolerable as indirect object, but unexceptionable as abl. of means (cf. 5.28 *flecte uiam uelis*, 6.240 *tendere iter pennis*).

portumque reliquit FMR portus P: weight of evidence and 6.900 *Caietae..portum* both in favour of the singular. Whether these words have any part to play in the debate on 'genuine hysteron-proteron' (A.S.McDevitt, *CQ* 17(1967), 316ff., *EV* 2, 871ff. (Zaffagno), Görler, *ib.* 274, 276) depends (so rightly, Fordyce, in the depths of an opaque note) on the exact sense of *reliquit*: not, that is, 'move out of', but 'leave behind'; cf. (e.g.) 3.10, 4.155, 281, 5.316, 8.125, 10.604, 855. Nothing, therefore, to do with leaving harbour under oars and then setting sail (J.S.Morrison and R.T. Williams, *Greek oared ships* (Cambridge 1968), 310). The two actions are simultaneous, paratactic and fall, almost, into the category of 'theme and variation'.

8 adspirant Cf. Cat. 68.64 *lenius aspirans aura secunda uenit*; F. Bömer, in his minute analysis of **8-9** (*Gymn* 64(1957), 8ff.) strangely draws attention to the *aura umida..adspirat* of Varr. *RR* 1.57.1 rather than to the clear Catullan echo. As at 5.764 *aspirans..Auster*, V. uses the compound in a sense close to that of the *simplex* (cf. Cat. and Bömer, *cit.*; V. is partial to the *simplex*, too: 9.645, etc.), and quite distinct from the transferred uses of the compound common in prose. Note **aspirant F**; **ads-** **MPR**: cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 400, Leumann, 194f., **181**: we cannot hope to be correct and consistent in the matter of assimilation, and the ms. evidence seems, here and elsewhere, a little weightier than the 'rule'. For Hom., cf. **37-45**.

aurae 'Breeze' (the original sense), as at Lucr. 3.196, *Aen.* 2.728, 3.356 (note the partly transferred use at **646**).

in noctem The day's breeze keeps on (cf. AR 1.600 but contrast *id.* 1.607, *Aen.* 3.568); with both moon and wind (which does not drop—for V. actually tells us—till **27**), they can continue sailing, exceptionally, by night (cf. **109**, **215**); that means (i) that they reach the Tiber mouth at dawn (**25-36**), (ii) that, with markedly augmented effects, they pass Circe's eyrie by night and (iii)—no trivial consideration, this, as it proves—that they are particularly hungry when they arrive in the Tiber mouth (**107-47**). Cf. *G.* 4.190 *in noctem*, 'far into the night' (Mynors *ad loc.*; cf. too Thomas); *OLD* s.v. *in* §A6 should not have quoted Lucr. 6.875 (vd. Munro on 6.712) for this sense. More to the point, KS 1, 565 cites e.g. Cic. *Rep.* 6.10 *sermonem in multam noctem produximus*, Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.34 *dormiet in lucem*. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.752.33ff. follows Serv. here (754.1) and proposes the entirely un-

satisfactory meaning 'circa'. Cf. T. Kinsey, *Lat.* 48(1989), 189f., Bömer, 9 ('freier dichterischer Gebrauch'. *Vix!*).

nec..cursus/ 9 ..negat Cf. 3.454f. *et ui cursus in altum uela uocet*; the use of *nego* in litotes is a favourite turn: note 2.78, 4.334, 10.614 and particularly Cat.8.7. Comparable the use with interrogatives. A colloquial figure, but also in Cic.; metrically most welcome to Hor, C: LHS 778f.; not, *pace* Bömer, a specially Virgilian addition to *Dichtersprache*: note e.g. Mankin's index to Hor. *Epd.*s.v. litotes. It varies and distinguishes the two aspects of nature's benevolence to the Trojans: benevolence in harmony with the dawn at their goal and in marked contrast to the unnerving sights, sounds and smells of the night. **R** has sing. **cursum**; not worth defending against the plur. of **FMP**.

candida../ 9 luna The adj. is traditional: Enn. *trag.*274, *Ann.*85, 572 (sun), *Acc. trag.* 581 and *trag. inc.*183 (sun), Plaut. *Rud.*3, Lucr.5.1210 (stars); Bömer claims *candida Luna* as a *nova iunctura* for V., but it seems rather pure chance that we have no earlier attestations of the adj.'s application to the moon. Alliteration and interlaced word-order, with verb and subject run on to **9**, endow the moon's beneficent light with special artistic grace. From Caieta to Circeii, some 22 nautical miles, from Circeii to the Tiber mouth, another 53: speed is now called for, since not only is the coast short on aetiological associations, but another learned, retardatory episode at this point would have been peculiarly unwelcome (clearly, no room for the Laestrygonians of Formiae, before Caieta, Hor. C.3.17, let alone the tedious associations of Antium nearer at hand: SByz. s.v. "ΑΥΤΕΙΑ). Trojans, poet and reader are all in a hurry: wind and moonlight are both lovely and necessary!

splendet Oddly, only *bis* in V.; Plaut. *Rud.*3, *Acc. trag.*260, Cic. *Arat.* fr.16.6 all suggest against Bömer, 10f. that this again is most unlikely to be a new, Virgilian usage.

tremulo sub lumine Cf. AR 3.756 (the simile of Medea's heart), Enn. *trag.*250 **lumine sic tremulo terra et caua caerula candent** (with Jocelyn's n.; the context is altogether uncertain and it is not clear just how much V. has innovated), Lucr.4.404, 5.697, *Aen.*8.22f. *sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen ahenis/ sole repercussum*. Sappho 96.9f. PLF is arguably a distant ancestor, and Hunter cites Homeric gleams of light, but not on water, behind AR. It was unnecessary to suggest that there was enallage in *tremulus* (E. Vandvik, *SO* 16(1936), 199): the light does itself appear to quiver on the water, with notable economy

of expression (cf. Bömer, 10f.). Note O'Hara, 152 on 4.80f.: there, here, and at 8.22f. *lumen* and *luna* are juxtaposed: while at 6.725 *lucentemque globum lunae*, the reference to the etymology of *luna* from *luceo* (Varr. *LL* 5.68, Cic. *ND* 2.68) is clear, in the other three passages it may be implicit, or else V. simply takes pleasure in juxtaposition of words of related sound and sense (parechesis of sorts).

pontus Ennian too: cf. **300**.

10 proxima..raduntur Cf. 3.699f. *proiectaque saxa Pachyni/ radimus*, 5.170, 217 *radit iter*; to 'shave' the rocky promontory of Circeii by night, Aen. must indeed be sure of his steady offshore wind. The adj., as often, used adverbially, in reinforcement of the verb's sense (cf. e.g. 2.529f., 5.320f., 8.417, **7.299**, **625**).

Circaeae..litora terrae The plain name of this familiar spot, Circeii, (cf. M. Cancellieri, *Enea nel Lazio*, 70ff., *ead.*, *EV* 1, 793ff.) is manageable in dactylic verse (Hor. *Serm.* 2.4.33), but its importance, and its resident's, call for ennobling periphrasis: with adj. for gen. with *terra*, cf. 3.13, 170f., 4.349, 6.807 (and here, specifically, it is Apollonian; cf. **32**); V. could have written *Circaeae..litora* (cf. 1.2f., 3.280), but amplifies pleonastically (cf. 3.10 *litora..patriae portusque*, **149 litora gentis** and see **652** for the idiom). Ring composition with **22 litora dira**. Though in bk.3 (386; cf. *Od.* 10.135) he had assigned an island to C. there is no inconsistency: Mte. Circeo really does appear to be one, as in fact, rather before Circe's time, it had been, before the spread of the marshland at its rear.

11 diues A most singular epithet, ignored by all, apparently, except R. Hunter, *The Argonautica of Apollonius. Literary Studies* (Cambridge 1993), 178, n.34, and now Kyriakidis, 107f. (oversimplified): C. is rich (and therefore dangerous) like Dido (4.263), from Hom. on (*Od.* 10.348ff. *et passim*), but we might think of reading the word as Greek, suggesting *πλούσιος*/Pluto, though oddly Hunter does not consider also *diues*/Dis (Wissowa, 310, n.3). Perhaps, then, by implication, Hellish. Or (Hunter again, but less enticingly) think of *diues*/*diuus* (Varr. *LL* 5.92., etc.) and Hom.'s use of *δῖα θεάων* for both Circe and her 'sister' Calypso, to whom V. owes the whole picture of the goddess' domestic economy (*Od.* 5.59ff.; cf. **5-24**).

inaccessos..lucos For the noun, cf. **82**; the woods really were there, too: cf. Thphr. *HP.* 5.8.3. The adj. (8.195 (where Serv. suspects a coinage), Leumann, 392, *in+accessus* = *sine accessu*, and even *inaccessibilis*, Bell, 208) belongs to a type very dear to V.: A. Ernout, *RPh* 96 (1970), 185ff., and, much less fully, Williams on 5.591 and 3.420, Norden on

6.66, Harrison on 10.430, Kyriakidis, 105f., Pascucci, *EV* 3, 699f., Salemme, *ib.* 2, 832. Cf. **564 nobilis**, **764 placabilis** for the (hazy) distinction between such adjs. and those in *-ilis*. We would be ill-advised to fret over the ‘inconsistency’ between this line and **799** (troops from the same spot): two different visions of the country.

Solis filia Leaving us in no doubt that **281-3** have some link with this passage (for the genealogy, cf. **283 daedala C.**): the horses that Aen. receives from Latinus derive from the trickery of this very temptress he earlier avoided with Neptune’s help. We might have been left in deep perplexity about Aen.’s use of these sinister Italian steeds, did he in fact ever use a chariot in battle (he does not; cf. **639**). Contrast Latinus, 12.162ff.

12 adsiduo..cantu Both Calypso (*Od.* 5.61) and Circe (10.226f.) sing as they work at their looms; so did mortal women, who wove (*G.* 1.293, G.Wille, *Musica Romana* (Amsterdam 1967), 107 and Smith’s ample n. on *Tib.* 2.1.66). It is interesting to note that all these *femmes fatales* are engaged in traditional, respectable women’s work (cf. **806 colo calathisque Mineruae**). Cf. Cic. *Progn.* fr. 4.6 *adsiduas iacit ore querelas* (of the unidentified *acredula*). Metapoetic, however, for the ultimately unpersuasive Kyriakidis, 67ff., 102 (the Callimachean *διηνεκές*).

resonat The echo is Circe’s, *Od.* 10.227 *δάπεδον δ’ ἅπαν ἀμφιμέμυκεν*. The verb (Enn., Pacuv., etc.) transitivised, quite exceptionally (so too only Sil.; cf. Clausen, *THP*, 139, n.35).

tectisque superbis Both luxurious (cf. Dido, 1.639, 697, Minos, *Cat.* 64.85) and built in a commanding spot (cf. **630**); Circeii is that, and cf. *Od.* 10.211 *περικέπτω ἐνι χώρω*). Vd. Serv., SDan. and impeccably A.Traina, *EV* 4, 1072, 1073.

13 urit Calypso’s *καίετο*.

odoratam Cf. *G.* 3.414 *disce et odoratam stabulis accendere cedrum*. The adj. in Cato *Agr.* (*octies!*), and perhaps imported into high poetry by V. (cf. too 6.658; *quinquies* in all). We are to suppose that the offshore wind carries to the Trojans the aroma of Circe’s fires, which are themselves clearly visible. A multiple assault on the senses.

nocturna in lumina Cf. *Lucr.* 6.900 *nocturna ad lumina*; cf. *G.* 1.291 *hiberni ad luminis ignis*, 2.432 *pascunturque ignes nocturni et lumina fundunt*. This use of *in* to indicate purpose is a favourite with V. (Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.764.15, citing 2.347, 5.147, **7.42, 335, 445**, 11.292, 486). **M** lapses into deplorable ablatives.

cedrum Just as intractably unidentifiable as at **178**; both cedar and

juniper are resinous woods, which would burn (noisily and) fragrantly (vd. TCD, Meiggs, *cit.*). The forests of Circeii were sober fact (vd. **11**), but then Circe's too are there in Hom. (*Od.* 10.150)!

14 arguto..pectine Discussion of this line is much complicated by the failure of scholars (e.g. Mynors on *G.* 1.293 *arguto coniunx percurrit pectine telas*, Lyne, ed. *Ciris*, p. 37f.) to realise that Homer's loom and Virgil's were of different types and used in different ways, with different accessories; the poet blithely blends details from both, from lack of technical knowledge or personal interest (cf. *Alambicco*, 43). At the two-beam loom of Virgil's day, the weaver sat, and beat down the threads of the weft with a weaver's comb, *pecten* (Varr. *LL* 5.113, Ov. *Met.* 6.58, *F.* 3.820, *Ciris* 179, Juv. 9.30). The epithet here refers not to its shape (so Mynors, *cit.*, who finds something mysteriously 'clear-cut' in the outlines of a comb), but to its sound. Not, however, the thud of the comb (*plauduntur*, *Ciris*, *cit.*), nor necessarily the sound (if any) made by the *upward* strokes of the thin 'pin-beater', used on the old warp-weighted loom, and called in Lat. *harundo* (Ov. *Met.* 6.55; perhaps also *radius*. Gk. $\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$, Lat. *spatha*, Sen. *Ep.* 90.20, is functionally identical, not physically). Rather, **arguto** is a recollection of descriptions of the musicality of Gk. $\kappa\epsilon\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ('shuttle', but *perhaps* also 'pin-beater': cf. G.M. Crowfoot, *ABSA* 37(1936-7), 44, J.P. Wild, *Philol.* 111 (1967), 154f.), which is called $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ at Ar. *Ran.* 1316 (where vd. Blaydes, Dover; cf. too Crowfoot, 45, Horsfall 1971, 13), or $\acute{\alpha}\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu$ (Antipater, *HE* 194; cf. Leonidas, *ib.* 2217, Philip, *GP* 2781). The other passages Mynors, *cit.* cites for the shrillness of combs are simply echoes of V.. Inevitably, used in a literary-critical sense for Kyriakidis, 100ff.; but mere technological incompetence remains a surer key to our understanding.

tenuis..telas **Telas** are (a rare sense) the threads of the warp: *Ciris* 179, *Anth. Lat.* 742.44, F.W. Walbank, *CQ* 34(1940), 96. On *G.* 1.293, Thomas remarks on V.'s change from *coniunx* there to *tenuis* here, 'making Circe's weaving sound very much like a metaphor for poetic composition' = *PLLS* 5(1985), 65f.. While *tenuis* is of course impeccably 'Callimachean' in tone and spinning/weaving are regular self-referential metaphors (at least from Pindar; cf. D. Steiner, *Crown of Song* (London 1986), 59, 63; cf. Colum. 10.40, 227 (where vd. Boldrer), Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.225, Kyriakidis, 96ff.), the adj. can just as well refer to thread, that is, to real thread (*Aen.* 4.264). But here? Thomas (1985; cf. too Kyriakidis, *cit.*) thinks V. might be alerting us to his coming rejection of Callimachean ideals (**37ff.**), but the link does seem a little fine-drawn.

percurrens Hom. has ἐποιομένη of both Calypso (*Od.*5.62) and Circe (10.222) and the weaver walks to and fro before the warp-weighted loom (*Il.*1.31, Pind.*Pyth.* 9.18 (with scholia to both), M.Hoffmann, *The warp-weighted loom* (Oslo 1964), 387, n.23, against A.J.B.Wace, *AJA* 52(1948), 55); it is amusing—and helps, if anything, confirm V.'s own confusion—that in the miniature in **F** here, Circe stands, but at a two-beam loom. In the text, though, the verb is not to be taken as any sort of equivalent to the Gk.; *percurre* at *Ov.Am.*2.4.27 or *Mart.*3.82.13f. suggests 'move, or work over' (of musician and masseuse, respectively), and can perfectly well do so here too (*OLD* s.v.§4). See C.H.Johl, *Die Webstühle der Griechen und Römer* (diss.Kiel 1917), 47. On these complex questions, cf. Hoffmann, 321ff., J.P.Wild, *Textile manufacture in the northern Roman provinces* (Cambridge 1970), 65ff.; looms are part of my paternal history (*Alambicco*, 44), as of Frank Walbank's, and I recall with gratitude (very) technical discussion with him, long ago. Note that the later allegorisers seize hold of Circe's loom to good effect (Buffière (**287**), 577, J.-M.Moret, *Rev.Arch.*1991, 230ff., 259ff.; Kyriakidis, 115, n.135 for Circe and κεκρκίς): fascinating but *nil ad rem* here, for not part of the 'readings' of Circe available to V..

15 hinc V. has suggested that the Trojans see and smell Circe's fires, and hear the echo of her songs; now, we pass from *ménage* to *ménagerie* and the scene acquires altogether harsher contours as her victims protest to the night. **Hinc exaudiri gemitus** *et saeva sonare/ uerbera* V. had written of Tartarus (6.557f.; *h.e.* also the opening words of 4.460); a clear echo, from close at hand, which lends strong support to a (?partly) chthonian view of Circe (**5-24**).

exaudiri The verb's length and weight conveys admirably the lions' dissatisfaction with their lot (note the lugubrious u further repeated). The verb in Acc.(*trag.*281), *Lucr.(bis)*; *sexies* in V.. V. may have in mind (Nelis, 259f.) *AR* 4.969, the lowing of the Thrinacian herds, audible at sea.

gemitus iraeque Hendiadys (so Serv.), or, as Fordyce well puts it, the splitting up of an idea into its component parts. Genuine plurals: for **i.**, cf. not so much **345**, **445** as **755**; *gemere* is onomatopoeic (*Varr.LL* 6.67), but comes not so much from a list of the 'right' words for various animal noises (so *Varr.fr.*451GRF; note *Anth.Lat.*762.49 *rugiuntque leones*) as—like all the rest of the phrase—from *Lucr.* 3.296ff.: *uis est uiolenta leonum* ..[297] .. *plerumque gementes* [298].. *nec capere irarum fluctus*...(a passage particularly dear to V., cf.**462-6**).

Gemere can anyway be used of both bulls (*G.3.223* etc.) and turtle-doves (*Buc.1.58*).

leonum We are richly informed on Circe's zoo (O.Touchefeu-Meynier, *Thèmes odysseens dans l'art antique* (Paris 1968), 124ff., F.Canciani, *LIMC* 6.1.48ff., M.Le Glay, *ib.* 59f.); bears, as we shall see, are the only item in V.'s inventory not present in *Od.10.433* and only lions are non-Italian; AR 4.672-81 is sci.fi. by comparison.

16 uincla recusantum In *Od.10*, Circe transformed (239f., 432f.) and tamed (Heubeck on 213, Thomas (**14**), 66); here Circe's victims unprecedentedly rage at their lot. There are groans in Tartarus (cf. **15 hinc**), and *catenae* (6.558) too, but its inhabitants have at least been heard and condemned; Circe's power, though, is arbitrary, and her choice of victims mysterious, unless she is understood allegorically (**5-24**), as Serv. here did (rightly!), in which case her victims have realised too late to what their vices have brought them, whether greed (hence the choice of pigs and dogs; cf. Xen. *Mem.1.3.6f.*, DChrys. 8.21ff., 78.34, Plut.*Mor.*52D, Athen.1.10E, PsHeracl.72.2ff. Buffière, Kaiser, 202f.) or lust (cf. Hor. *Ep.1.2.22-5*, TCD 2.7.5 *sperata cantantis hilaritas*, *ib.*18f. *quas [feras] ex hominibus pessimae fecerant artes*; for C. as whore, cf. Ar. *Plut.*302ff., Plaut. *Epid.*604, Fulg. *Myth.*2.10, Preller-Robert, 2, 1360, Buffière (**287**), 237, Gale (**785**), 180 with n.18, Kaiser, 201ff., R.Lamberton, *Homer the theologian* (Berkeley 1986), 115ff.). Just how material and *catenae*-like the bonds are here is best left unanswered; for C.'s victims, metamorphosis may be bondage enough, even without leashes or chains (cf. the *uincla* used on Silenus and Proteus, *Buc.*6.19, 23, *G.4.396*, 399, etc.), as they protest (with **r.**, cf. 5.417, a protest against irregular boxing-gauntlets) at their beastly state.

sera sub nocte *Buc.*8.88, after Varius, *de morte* fr.4.6, *G.3.467*, **7.492**. Night as at **8**, **13**. **P** glances forward to **19** and writes **saeva rudentum** Of deer (*G.3.374*), of Cacus (8.248), of asses (Varro, fr.451GRF), of *pecuaria* (Pers.3.9, cited by Serv.); of lions, apparently an innovation (cf. **15**). With the weighty movement of the coupled gen.plur. participles, cf.e.g. 11.886, 12.410.

17 saetigerique Cf. *Lucr.*6.974 *saetigeris subus*; **631** for adjectives in *-ger*.

sues The three-letter Latin pig adapted well to life in high poetry: cf. *Enn. Ann.*96, *octies* in *Aen.*, to one *porca*; see Horsfall, *CJ* 74(1979), 319, n.3, *Maia* 41(1989), 253, n.7 (*desunt* in *EV*).

in praesepibus Cf. **275** (Ennian).

ursi While Thomas (14), 66f. tries gallantly to explain the bears Homerically (*Od.*11.611), Boas, 48 did well to note that these plantigrades are actually a piece of peculiarly Italian colour (cf. Horsfall 1971, 82f., J.Aymard, *Les chasses romaines* (Paris 1951), 12f.): cf. Varr.*LL* 5.100 (and in fact many of the passages cited refer too to S.Italy), Hor.*Epd.* 16.51, *C.*3.4.17f., [Ov.]*Hal.*58 (with Capponi's n.), Petr. 66.5, *Sil.*4.558, Mart.*Spect.*8.1, Tert.*Resurr.*2(*CSEL* 47.28.13), Symm.*Ep.*9.135, 137, etc.. The native brown bear (*ursus arctos marsicanus*) never did die out round Pescasseroli and Opi (vd. the chapter 'Olevano' in Norman Douglas' *Alone*; for early c.19 Tuscia, vd. Dennis, *Cities and cemeteries* 1,(1848), 187), and thanks to an active preservation policy is now spreading again (almost too) busily.

18 saeuire Cf. **19 saeua** of C. herself and 9.63 the vb. of a wolf (cf.5.257, dogs).

formae Heard, but not clearly seen in the dark: cf. Cic.*de cons.* fr.2.26f. *uariae nocturno tempore uisae/ terribiles formae*, *Aen.*6.277 *terribiles visu formae*, 289 *forma tricorporis umbrae*, Ov.*Met.*2.78 *formasque ferarum* (with Bömer's n.), Tac.*Ann.* 2.24.6 *beluarum formas*.

magnorum..luporum Cf.Ov.*Met.*14.255; with the heavily spondaic homoeoteleuton, cf. 1.373 *nostrorum..laborum*, 2.143f. *laborum/ tantorum*, 2.213f. *duorum/ ..natorum*, 11.361 *horum et causa malorum*, 12.373 *citatorum..equorum*. For *-arum..-arum*, cf. 2.412, 3.549, 714, 4.608, 6.285, **7.324**. For wolves, cf. Fraenkel, *Horace*, 186, n.3 (one of the unforgettable footnotes).

ululare Ennian (*Ann.*334); on the onomatopoeic possibilities offered by this verb *EV* 5*, 364ff.(Tartari Chersoni) offers useful observations. V here uses the full armoury of sound-effects.

19 quos../ 20 induerat..in Cf.G.1.187f. *cum se nux plurima siluis/ induet in florem*; less closely 4.142f. *quotque in flore nouo pomis se fertilis arbos/ induerat* (so too e.g. Plaut.*Cas.*113). Cf. *EV* 2, 951(a verb used with a notably wide range of constructions).

hominum ex facie Balancing chiasmically the closing **uultus ac terga ferarum**, while subj., abl. of means and verb are relegated to positions of lesser prominence in a splendid expansion of *Od.*10.213 τὸς αὐτὴ κατέθελξεν, ἐπεὶ κακὰ φάρμακ' ἔδωκεν. Cf. 3.426 *prima hominis facies* (Scylla).

dea saeua *Od.*10.136 δεινὴ θεός.

potentibus herbis Cf.**750-60**, **758** and (vd. Stok, 137)12.402 *Phoebique potentibus herbis*, used by Iapyx. Monte Circeo was, and is, botanically fascinating (Strab.5.3.6, Boas, 50; now under grave threat

from unauthorised building). Hom.'s κακὰ φάρμακα (10.213; cf.236).

20 uultus ac terga ferarum F. as **404**; t. not merely the hide (**96**) but the whole body (cf.1.635, 5.97, 6.243, *EV* 5, 131, Fordyce). V. condenses *Od.*10.239f.(vd. Cavarzere, *EV* 5*, 621): οἱ δὲ κυῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε/ καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδον ὡς τὸ πάρος περ: it is only the *minds* of Circe's victims (I refer to V.'s account) that remain 'human', if vicious.

21 quae..monstra..talìa No thought in Fordyce, in *EV* 3, 574f., or at *TLL* 8.1451.84 (Szantyr) that this phrase is not easy: were these *monstra* simply the αἰνὰ πέλωρα of *Od.*10.219 (so *G.*1.185, 3.152, etc.), then it is hard to see why they are described as potentially *patienda*, being in themselves harmless, though outwardly alarming (contrast the real threat of 3.583f. *immania monstra/ perferimus*). Boethius, writing of Ulysses' *remiges*, gets the point exactly (*Cons.*4 *carm.*3.27f.: *sola mens stabilis super/ monstra, quae patitur, gemit*); cf. *Ov.* *Met.*4. 591 *teque, infelix, his exue monstris*. **M.**, then, is virtually 'metamorphoses'. For **quae..talìa**, cf. 10.298f. (Harrison and Fordyce only register the analogy); but see rather **200** on phrases such as *qualia multa, quae plurima*; so here cf. e.g. τοῖα—or τοιαῦτα—πέλωρα.

ne..pii paterentur..Troes Juno claims to have suffered *digna indigna*; so too, *passim*, the Trojans, but at least not here: *Aen.* has buried Caieta and is therefore **pious** (**5**); the Trojans have done nothing to deserve metamorphosis (**16**) and are therefore *pii*, objects of divine benevolence (**23**; cf. e.g.1.378, 603, 2.430). Cf.1.526 for the Trojans as collectively *pii*. Note that **21-2** and **23-4** balance. *Pietas* against Circean dangers, Neptune against reefs; even the structures of **22** and **24** are in some measure comparable.

22 delati in portus Cf. **411**, 3.154, 219, 441, 5.57, *Cat.orat.*fr. 29ORF.

litora dira The adj. of Cacus (8.194) *Allecto* (**324**, **520**), and *Celaeno* (3.211, 228): vd.Grassmann-Fischer, 41, 104, Traina, *EV* 2, 94f.; not so much 'religious language' (Fordyce) as the poetic version thereof, of which there will be much in **58ff.**

subirent Cf.1.171, 3.292, 5.281, etc.; perhaps first in V. in just this sense.

23 Neptunus In her role as the 'good fairy' Circe twice sends *Od.* an ἴκμενον οὔρον (11.7, 12.149; for *AR*, vd. *infra*), while Posidon, enraged at his son's blinding, is an implacable enemy: In the *Aen.*, Neptune participates in the sack of Troy (2.610f.; cf. Pearson on

Soph.fr.506), for Laomedon had bilked him of his reward for helping build the city (*Il.*21.446ff., *Aen.*5.810f., *Hor.C.*3.3.18ff.; vd. **655**), but had already saved Aen. in his fight against Achilles, on account of his piety and his family's future (*Il.*20.293ff., Horsfall, *RMM*, 12, 13f.) and in the *Aen.* stands as a powerful supporter (1.124ff., 5.799ff.: the largely safe voyage from Sicily to Cumae). Over and above Circe's winds in *Od.*, V. will also have had in mind the wind that bears Jason and Medea to Phaeacia, and carries them past the loudly-lowing cattle of the Sun, so dangerous in *Od.* (**15**): 4.764ff., 818ff.; cf. too AR 2.993ff., and note how the Argonauts *hear* the distant screams of Prometheus, 2.1260ff., Nelis, 261f. On Neptune in *Aen.*, cf. *EV* 3, 710ff., Bailey, 118ff., Binder, 243f., Buchheit, 68, Feeney, 135f., Wlosok, 114, n. 35, etc..

uentis..secundis Following winds (<*sequor*, cf. Leumann, 331 and **7.494**, of current); cf. 3.455, 683, 4.562, 5.32, 8.682, *EV* 4, 745ff.. At *Cat.*68.64, but also the standard term for a favourable wind, whose effects may perhaps be seen in the -u- alliteration here and in **24**.

impleuit uela Cf.3.455 *sinus implere secundos*, but as old at least as *Cato Orig.* fr.93HRR.

24 fugam dedit Cf.*Hor.Epd.*16.66 *secunda..datur fuga*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1470.53f. (and contrast 12.367, with *EV* 2, 116).

praeter Oddly, only *ter* in V.(including adverb at 10.399); 14x in *Lucr.*.

uada feruida Cf. **198**, **242**, **728** for 'shallows' of a river, here as often transferred to dangerously shallow waters at sea (1.112, 3.706, 10.291, etc., *EV* 5*, 416). The adj. ('seething') is transferred (so e.g. *Pacuv.trag.*416, *Lucil.*357, *Lucr.*6.442): the waters 'boil' (cf.*Hor.C.*1.9.10f. *uentos aequore feruido/ deproeliantis*, 4.2.7, *G.*1.327, 456).

uexit Cf. **198f.**, 6.355f. *Notus.. / uexit me*.

25-36 Since the sack of Troy, Aen. knows he must reach the Tiber, though he does not yet know he has now done so (2.782, 3.500, 5.83, 6.87, D'Anna(**122**), 73, Günther, 21f., n.37). That the Trojans land not on the *litus Laurens* (**201**, **229**) but in the Tiber mouth is a major innovation for V.; though several (c.5./4) Greek versions of Aeneas' journey W. have him found Rome (T.J.Cornell, *PCPS* 21(1975), 18f.), the role of Lavinium in the development of the Aen.-legend is so fundamental as to have excluded the Tiber from all extant pre-Virgilian versions (Horsfall, *RMM*, 15f., *EV* 2, 222f., 5*, 156, Buchheit, 179f., Castagnoli (**81-96**), 105ff.). Of course the Tiber 'is' AR's Phasis, transmuted, but for Roman readers also bore a massive

charge of legendary and historical associations (cf. Saturn, Evander, Hercules, Romulus, the Magna Mater: Buchheit, 178, Horsfall, *EV* 5, *cit.*, La Penna, 115ff., Lugli (31), 43ff.), not to mention (e.g. Ennian) literary references: as a result, Aen. lands, so to speak, ‘in Rom selbst’ (Buchheit, 187). The scene, itself an anticipation both of the Trojans’ voyage up the Tiber at the beginning of bk.8 (La Penna, 113ff.), and of Aen.’s landing in bk.10 (Görler, 174f.), calls for comparison both with the voyage past Mte.Circeo and with the landing at Carthage: dawn (cf. **25 iamque**) against night, charming birdsong against growling beasts, a course for harbour against evasion, home against hell, intimations of future glory against allegorical punishments for past vices (Segal, Putnam, Hardie; vd. **5-24**). The balance is rich, studied and perfect. The contrast with 1.157ff. was once studied in more detail (Buchheit, 183ff., Knauer, 244, Pöschl, 141ff., Reeker, 12ff., 19ff., Schenk, 366, Worstbrock, 37, 39ff., W.Görler, *Wü.Jhb.*2(1976), 179, M.Fernandelli, *Quad.Fil.Class.Trieste* 5(1986), 98ff.; cf. **286-340**) and the thematic, tragic, anticipatory elements of threat in the landscape of 1.161-5 have become the preconceptions of much modern reading of Virgilian description (cf. La Penna, 105, *Alambicco*, 106 on 1.164). We also remember the greatest of home-comings, at dawn (*Od.*13.93ff., Knauer, 243f., I.Mariotti in *Litterature comparate. Studi.Paratore* 1(Bologna 1981), 460, D.Fowler, *MD* 22(1989), 95), as the sleeping Od. is returned to Ithaca (note the delayed 250 γήθησεν with **36 laetus**); V. had purged Hom.’s scenery of its elements of welcome at 1.157ff. but the timing, and the agreeable scene (103 ἐπήρατον ἡεροειδέε) he now reworks with unobtrusive elegance (note also Kyriakidis, 126ff. on *Od.*5.390ff., the calm of Od.’s landing at Scherie). Not only, though, *Od.*13, (and/or 5) and *Aen.*1, but AR, as the Argonauts row up the μέγαν ῥόον of the Phasis (2.1265; cf. **25-36, 32 prorumpit**; the scepticism of Kyriakidis, 125 I do not understand), their goal. They, though, know where they are (2.1260), and the dawn comes as an appendix to their safe arrival (1286). Cf. Balk, 3ff., Blänsdorf (**1-4**), 89, Bonjour (**206**), 525, Buchheit, 176ff.(excellent), Worstbrock, 39ff., Reeker, 58ff. Klingner, 497f., Kyriakidis, 121ff., H.W.Benario, *Vergilius* 24(1978), 4ff., A.La Penna, *SIFC* 89(1996), 102ff., Putnam (**785**, 1970), 412f.= (**756**, 1995), 106f., Nelis, 262f., S.Spence, *CM* 49(1998), 156ff..

25 iamque.. / 27 cum Cf. Muecke on *Hor.Serm.*2.6.100f. for parodic confirmation of the epic flavour of this inverted temporal clause; cf. *ib.*1.5.20f. and (*Aen.*)2.567; more obviously, note *Aen.*

3.521f. *iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis/ cum..* (the first sighting of Italy; the repetition therefore highly significant; Moskalew, 161f., n.61, La Penna, 108), 2.730f., 5.159f., 9.371f., 12.940f.. One Pollio (fr.15GRF, but not Asinius, = Serv. *ad Aen.*11.183) noted V.'s *sermonem..aptum praesentibus rebus* in his dawns; cf. Bardon, *infra*, 82ff.).

rubescebat radiis mare Cf. **528** for inceptive verbs of colour in V.; here and often, neologisms (*EV* 3, 700, Williams on 3.521). It is the sea, not the sun that turns red (cf. *Cat.*64.275 against e.g. 4.584f.); for red dawns, cf. 12.77, *Prop.*3.13.16, André, 335, Edgeworth, 159. V. uses three colour terms in all, unprecedentedly (H.Bardon, *REL* 24(1946), 90). Compare too 12.77 *Aurora rubebit*; more important, *vd.Lucr.* 5.462 *matutina rubent radiati lumina solis*, which looks like the origin of the abl.(cf. *EV* 4, 589f.).

aethere ab alto Cf. *G.*4.78, *Aen.*4.574, 6.436, 9.644f..

26 Aurora A shadowy personification, after Gk. Ἠώς; cf. *EV* 1,418f.

in roseis..bigis The rosy chariot, Homeric in origin (ῥοδοδάκτυλος). Conventionally, the sun drives a *quadriga*, the moon a *biga* (Gruppe, 381, n.6); Aurora is more flexible: apart from the single horse at [Eur.] *Orest.*1004 (?; cf. *Lyc.*16), she is *quadrigata* at Eur. *Tro.*855 (so *Aen.*6.535), while *Od.*23.246 only names two horses. In art, particularly in the smaller forms, more commonly *bigata* (less work, less space and more ladylike!). Cf. C.Weiss, *LIMC* 3.1.749, G.Cressedi, G.Colonna, *EAA* 3.354.

fulgebat Cf. **526**, 12.163: exceptionally, it appears, of the dawn or the sun.

lutea Presumably the κρορόπεπλος Ἠώς of *Il.*8.1, etc., though according to Edgeworth (255ff.=*Glotta* 63(1985), 212ff., revised) there is more pink than yellow in the word (see too André, 151f., 336); cf. though, for 'yellow' Clausen on *Buc.*4.44, after John Sargeant (on sound botanical grounds, that is), and in agreement with Serv..

27 uenti posuere Cf. 10.103 *tum Zephyri posuere*, with the same pause at 3tr.('soft and languid', Winbolt, 78, R.G.M.Nisbet, *PVS* 20(1991), 9=*Coll.Pap.*, 333); given V.'s partiality for intransitivisations (Görler, *EV* 2, 272: a specially rich list; cf. **32**, **508**, though G.'s inclusion of **80 portendere** is perplexing)—as indeed for transitive uses of verbs normally intransitive!—, Fordyce's suggestion that we might have a nautical term is entirely unconvincing. But, we hear the cry, 'as the ancients also remarked, the morning winds..always rise at dawn' (Boas, 68); from, that is, the sea (*AR* 1.519ff.). But, as *AR* also knew

(1.1359f.), there is a pause at dawn, when the night breeze from the land falls and oars are called for (cf. S.L. Mohler, *TAPA* 79(1948), 50, n.13a, 60f., La Penna, 108, who also draws attention (110), perhaps less plausibly, to the cosmic stillness of 10.101ff.). For *Od.*, cf. **37-45. omnisque.. / 28 flatus** Cf. Lucr. 5.689, 6.139, Cat. 26.2, 64.269 *flatu placidum mare matutino*. On the last stretch, the Trojans have to work hard. Moral, that is, not dramatic, or literary (though there might be a recollection of AR 1.1359f!).

repente resedit Ennian (*Ann.* 46 *repente recessit*), both the assonance and the word-ends at 4tr., 5tr. (giving the line a ‘double closure’); cf. Lucr. 2.130 *retroque repulsa reuerti*, *Aen.* 2.380 *repente refugit* (with Austin’s impeccable n., and cf. 2.465, Norden on 6.140. Fordyce here is not satisfactory). There is nothing else, apparently, comparable in Enn., Cat., Cic. *carm.*, Lucr. (who has the vb., 5.1425; *bis* in Cic. *Arat.*), or V.. Given, then, that *repente* is itself slightly archaic in tone (**399**) the combined effect will have been unmistakable, even if *repente resedit* itself never appeared as a collocation in *Ann.*.

28 lento..marmore Alliteration and spondaic rhythm: the last miles must be *heard* to be hard work (proverbially so: Otto, 297 s.v. *remus*). Contrast 3.384, *lentandus remus in unda*, perhaps suggested by Cat. 64.183 *lentos incuruans gurgite remos*; here, though, it is not the oars that appear to bend slowly at the water’s resistance, but the water that yields reluctantly to the oars’ pressure; the same suggestion of viscosity at *G.* 3.281, 4.41, 160, 170 (cf. 2.250, *EV* 3, 176). For the (Ennian) noun, cf. **718**.

luctantur Another transference: it is the rowers (even the ship) who (logically) ‘toil’: cf. 5.220, Prop. 4.1.147, *Catal.* 13.26. The verb Ennian: *Ann.* 298 *uiribus luctant*.

tonsae Particularly Ennian (*quater*; cf. Skutsch on *Ann.* 294, Lucr. 2.554); probably the shaft of the oar, *sensu strictiore*. The etymology from *tondeo* (Fest. 488.33), which suggests to Timpanaro a calque on Hom. ξερτήϊς ἐλάτηϊν (*Nuovi Contributi*, 140; somewhat altered from *MD* 26(1991), 151), is briskly spurned by Skutsch. The archaic tone of **27-8** is therefore very marked (as must have been the effect of the double transference in this verse).

29 atque hic Aeneas Details of the shoreline suddenly (cf. 6.162, 10.219, Wagner, *QV* 35.22) become visible, and for a moment V. lets us glimpse the Tiber-mouth as seen by Aen. (for **36 imperat**, over and above **prospicit**, preceding suggests that **30-34** is to be thought of as ‘seen by Aen.’), who is, eating of the tables and sending of the embassy excepted, studiously withheld from the action of bk. 7.

ingentem..lucum Cf. **34, 82, 83, 95, 172, 385, 404, 491, 505, 515, 566, 580, 659, 677, 697, 747, 759, 763, 775, 776, 778, 800**: long recognised as a primary element in V.'s vision of the old Italian landscape (**82f., 776**, Rehm, 70, Reeker, 66f.); a good deal more than the odd tree in the conventional *locus amoenus*; still a hunting reserve, that of Castel Porziano, near the Tiber's l.bank. a haven for archaeologists, porcupines and the Italian president.

ex aequore From out at sea; 3.522, 552 are flatter expressions.

30 prospicit Again, sees at some distance, though the spectacle is very different (**25-36**); cf. **289**, 4.410 *prospiceres arce ex summa*.

hunc inter The regular anastrophe of disyllabic prepositions; cf. **699**.

fluuiio..amoeno The same three words (**f.T.a.**) recur in the thematically parallel episode (cf. **7.9** :: 8.22) when the river-god consoles Aeneas: 8.31, where Eden suggest credibly enough that V. has a Gk. epithet in -ποοc in mind. The adj. is rather overworked (cf. Lucr. 4.1024 *fontem propter amoenum*, *Aen.*9.680 *Athesim seu propter amoenum*, Hor. *C.*3.4.7f. *amoenae../..aquae*, not to mention—Kyriakidis, 136—Cic. *ND* 2.100, on the shore of S.Latium!), while the abl. is V.'s way of expressing *Tiberis, fluuius amoenus* (Görler, *EV* 2, 268, Löfstedt 1₂, 301; cf. *G.*2.241, *Aen.*1.469 *niueis tentoria uelis* (the verb does not bear on the abl.), 3.286, 6.552 *solidoque adamante columnae*; *G.*3.29, *Aen.*1.105, 12.407 are easier); best described as 'explanatory', because such abls. often (indeed vd. **31**) depend on a verb or adjective. The ἄσπαστον of *Od.*5.398, for Kyriakidis, 130ff.(cf. **25-36**); possibly, though the arrival at Scherie, unlike that at Ithaca, is not recognisable here through the parallel development of a narrative sequence (**37-45**).

Tiberinus Cf. **797** and contrast **715**: **T.** is the name of the river in cult (and cf. Enn. *Ann.*26), avoided by V. is direct speech perhaps because thought anachronistic (T. was a later king of Alba) but regular when V. writes *ex sua persona*: cf. Horsfall, *EV* 5*, 156f..

31 uerticibus rapidis Cf. *Ov.F.*6.502 *uerticibus densi Thybridis*, Dion. *Perieg.* 353 (vd. Lugli, *infra*, 15); cf. **567**, 1.117, Hor. *C.*2.9.22, Liv.23.19.11 for similar *uertices*. A river always liable to spate, flooding, eddies (NH *cit.* on **flauus**, J. Le Gall, *Le Tibre dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1953), 19ff.). So still, dramatically, even, despite embanking and endless dredging.

multa..harena From Mar.1871 to Feb.1872 8.5 million tons of eroded soil were washed downstream (R. Lanciani, *Ruins and excavations..* (London 1897), 9.): pl.1 of Meiggs' *Ostia* shows the consequent changes in the coastline (cf. too C. Pavolini, *Ostia* (Bari 1983), 29). V.

often uses adj.+noun to rephrase an adj.(Görler, *cit.*, **30 fluuio..**, Williams on 5.663); Fordyce rightly senses that **uerticibus rapidis** might *either* depend on **flauus** or explain **prorumpit**, as parallel to **multa flauus harena**; he remains undecided, as I had done long before, *in pugillaribus*. The original ‘educated reader’ would never of course have paused to raise the question, nor will ever, I suspect, have stumbled on the (clever, admittedly!) etymological play excogitated by O’Hara (Tiber::Xanthus (6.88f.) and ξανθός :: *flauus*, 184, *DOP*, 107; cf. Kyriakidis, 149ff.)!

flauus Cf. Hor.C.1.2.13 (with NH; KH remark that *limosus* or *turbidus* (so Sid.Ap. *Ep.* 1.5.8; cf. Herodian 1.11.4) would have been more honest), 8.8, 2.3.18, *Consol.Liv.*222, Ov.F.6.228 (with Bömer), G.Lugli, *Fontes ad topographiam..* 2(Rome 1953), 26. Cf. André, 129, Edgeworth, 129. **P** favours **flauos**, against the **-us** of **FMR**; Leumann, 49, NW 1, 112f., Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 438f. show that V. might have used the older form, or might not, and that the ms. evidence is often divided.

32 in mare prorumpit Cf. 1.246 *it mare proruptum* (the Timavus); *ter* in Lucr.(6.436 *prorumpitur in mare*, La Penna, 118; note the intrans. sense). More to the point, AR’s Phasis (coming from πεδίοιο τε Κιρκαίοιο, 2.400: cf. **10**) δινήει (uerticibus rapidis) εὐρὺν ῥόον εἰς ἄλλα βάλλει (*ib.*401).

uariæ.. / 33 ..uolucres ‘Of various kinds’ at Lucr.1.589 *uariæ uolucres* (cf. Munro, Bailey, *ad loc.*), the sense also at G.1.383 *uariæ pelagi uolucres* (cf. *Il.*2.459 πολλά); however, contrast the polychrome lynxes of G.3.264 or the pigs of Petr.45.2: here both senses are presumably present.

circumque supraque On **-que..-que**, cf. **470**; *circum supraque* at Pacuv.*trag.*86, Lucr.5.318. *Supra* with the u short only here in V., but cf. Enn.*varia* 21, Lucr.2.499, 1049, etc..

33 adsuetae ripis..et fluminis alueo For **a.**, cf. **487, 490, 746, 806**; there follows not a subtle distinction of habitat, drawn by an experienced ornithologist, but a global expression for ‘the river, banks and all’. For **a.** as the channel or navigable channel of a river, cf. Pacuv.*trag.*406, G.1.203 *illum in praeceps prono rapit alueus amni*, Aen. 9.32 *iam se condidit alueo* (sc.Nilus), Hor.C.3.29.34ff. *nunc medio alueo / cum pace delabentis Etruscum / in mare*. For the synzesis, cf. **303**.

34 aethera Cf. **768**.

mulcebant cantu oblectabant SDan., *lenibant* Serv.; behind V. is Lucr.4.136 *aëra mulcentes motu*, and cf. G.4.510 (Orpheus), Aen.5.464,

Hor.*C.*3.11.24 and Ov.*F.*1.155 *et tepidum uolucres concentibus aëra mulcent*. **lucoque uolabant** Ring-composition with **29**. Bird-song a standard element of both dawns (Soph.*El.*17f., Theocr.18.56f., Enn.*Ann.*86, Lucr.2.144f., *Aen.*8.456, Ov.*F.*4.165f., etc.) and idealised scenery (Theocr.5.47, Lucr.1.256, Hor.*Epd.*2.26, Ov.*Am.*3.1.4). Today, the birds sagely flock to the cities, where they will not be shot. For the abl., cf **353**.

35 flectere iter Cf.Nep.Eum.9.6, Liv.1.60.1 *flexit uiam* (as *Aen.*5.28); the vb. also used with e.g. reins/tiller/ship (Cic.*carm.*Hom.8.1) as object.

sociis ἐταίροις. Cf. Évrard, *EV* 4, 913.

terraeque aduertere proras Cf. **196**(q.v.), *G.*4.117, *Aen.*6.410, 8.101, 10.293.

36 imperat Cf.**169** and 11.60, for *i.* run on. *Aen.* does not yet know that this landfall is any different from its many predecessors.

laetus The first appearance in bk.7 of an adj. of fundamental thematic importance (cf. **130**, **147**, **259**, **288**).

fluuiio..opaco The river's dark (and threatening) 'womb' (**alueo**; standard Latin, we have seen, for a river's 'channel') to some (Reckford **(5-24)**, 255; cf. Worstbrock, 42, Pöschl, 144, Görler **(25-36)**, 167, n.7). In these parts, the shade can even be welcome in November; more so, to those rowing in a flat calm, and at the end against the river's current. The δάσκιον ἔλος of AR 2. 1283 where the Argonauts waited for the dawn was a place of safety. Cf. Clausen on *Buc.*1.52 *frigus opacum*, for the lofty adj.(*umbrosus* lower down the scale); more conventionally of trees, woods, rocks, mountains, for here (by transference) it is the river that is shaded.

succedit Cf. *Buc.*5.6, 19; the verb peculiarly well suited to entering the deep shade of the river's banks (cf. the refuge implicit at **501**).

37-45 The five main literary antecedents discernible within this proemium are not in doubt, but their identification has not served to clarify its purpose, manner and position:

(1) *Il.*: specifically visible only at **41**, **diua**, but the sequence of invocations, 1.1ff. and 2.484ff. 'legitimates' V.'s duplication (with some cross-referencing, we shall see), here and at **641ff.** For the 'cyclic' element cf. **40**, **expediam**.

(2) *Od.*: fundamental, as we shall see in a moment, not for content or language, but as explanation of the apparently bizarre position chosen by V. for this proemium.

(3) Apollonius: while the correspondence of AR 3.1 and **7.37** is

obvious, less so the Apollonian elements in the Circe episode (vd. **5-24, 15, 23**) and, far more important, in the landing at the Tiber-mouth (cf. **23, 25-36** *passim*, **104-5**), rich in allusions to the end of *Arg.*2, from which Erato (*Arg.*3.1) follows on naturally.

(4) *Aen.*1: again 'cyclic' and personal in its programmatic statement; the appeal to the Muse at 1.8 corresponds structurally to **41**, not **37**; the statements of subject-manner are comparable, but the programmatic use of historians' language here (*infra*) is new. For verbal echoes, cf. Knauer, 227. It may be that the Sibyl's words (6.83ff.) are also relevant: not only **horrida bella** in both (6.86, **7.41**), but with 6.94 *externi* cf. **38 aduena** and with 6.84 *sed terrae grauiora manent*, cf. **44f. maior.. maius**.

(5) Historiography: numerous scholars have noticed that V. here adopts much of the language and manner of the historian (note the *archaeologia* to follow in **45ff.**). Unsurprisingly, for the war in Latium is a direct anticipation of the civil wars of his own time (vd. index, s.v. civil war). Cf. Fraenkel, 149, La Penna (1981), 218, n.8, Blänsdorf, 91, Basson, 107, *EV* 3, 634, Kyriakidis, 161ff., M.Lausberg, *Gymn.* 90(1983), 209f., *Companion*, 155, *Alambicco*, 106. V. states his subject matter as an epic poet, but the language used suggests that the manner of his treatment will in some sense be an analysis of how and why civil wars begin. On the 'what' and 'how' of these lines, the curious may wish to follow a more-than-Iliadic combat: vd. G.B.Conte *Il genere e i suoi confini* (Torino 1980), 122ff., *MD* 8(1982), 123-39, 9(1982), 153f., *YCS* 29(1992), 147ff., A.La Penna *Maia* 33(1981), 217ff., 35(1983), 115ff.; issues and conclusions were early on lost in the fog of war. It may also be helpful to compare Virgil's threateningly impressionistic table of contents with certain historians' declarations of their impending subject-matter (from Thuc. and Hdt. to (e.g.) DH 1.8, App.proem.53ff.; cf. D.C.Earl, *ANRW* 1.2(1972), 842ff., J.Marincola, *Authority and tradition in ancient historiography* (Cambridge 1997), 112f.). Cf. further **45-57** for V.'s continuation in the same vein.

*Enn. Ann.*7 began (?) with an invocation (Skutsch, p.366f.); its content and position are too uncertain to be of assistance.

A moment's glance at the text is enough to show that it is improper, and dangerous to talk about the 'halves' of the *Aen.*, when the author is at such evident pains to divide the epic here, and not at **7.1**. The 'irregularity' has attracted some attention (Basson, 97f., Fernandelli, 95f., Fraenkel, 146, Mariotti (**25-36**), 464ff., D'Anna (**1-4**),

207ff., Hinds (205), 109 and cf. further on **Erato**, *infra*), but no clear sense of an answer seems to exist.

Part of the solution is implicit in V.'s debt to *Od.* (cf. Knauer, 137, 227f.; Basson's objections (*loc.cit.*) are beside the point): the end of *Od.* 11 and the beginning of 12 corresponds precisely to that of *Aen.* 6, whereas the burial of Elpenor (12.8ff.) is a major element behind that of Caieta (7.1ff.). It is precisely at Circe's palace (7.5-24) that E. is buried and *Aen.*'s departure from Caieta (7.5-7) therefore corresponds to 12.142ff., and the saving breeze of 7.8 to that which bears *Od.* to the Sirens (12.167); it falls (12.168), as does *Aen.*'s (not till 27, once the danger from Circe is over and Trojan *pietas* rewarded). But that is not the end of the parallel sequence, for we have seen (25-36) that *Aen.*'s landing at the Tiber-mouth is heir to *Od.*'s return to Ithaca at 13.93ff. 7.1-36 therefore condenses a narrative sequence that passes from the first to the second half of *Od.*; with Odysseus on Ithaca and *Aen.* in the Tiber, a new phase in the action begins (as it does at AR 3.1ff!), which V., for motives not Odyssean but Argonautic, signals with an invocation. Curious that this should still have to be spelled out.

Another element of the 'answer' stands between plot, structure and geography (as Fraenkel senses): *Aen.* emerges from the Underworld at the N. end of the Bay of Naples; his Italian trials begin at the Tiber-mouth. What was to be done about the inescapable geographical interstice? Enough to ruin the end of bk.6, but, particularly if conceived in markedly Apollonian terms, a bridge, or passage, or caesura (vd. Mariotti) between his *Od.* and his *Il.*, in part perceptibly non-Homeric), at whose climax, the *Aen.* passes, via Erato, back into Homer.

37 nunc age A turn from Greek didactic (Kenney on *Lucr.* 3.417 cited *Nic. Ther.* 359 $\nu\tilde{\nu}\delta' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon$), 17 times in *Lucr.*, *G.* 4.149, *Aen.* 6.756; for the following construction, vd. **38 expediam**.

qui..quae../ 38 ..quis..fuerit Such sequences of relatives (on the form **quis**, cf. Fordyce, Dingel on 9.146) are characteristic of proemium-style, both poetic and historical: cf. *Hes. Theog.* 105ff., *Thuc.* 6.2.1, *Plb.* 1.1.5, *DH* 1.5.1, *G.* 1.1ff., *Aen.* 1.8ff., **7.642**, *Liv.* praef.9, *Tac. Ann.* 4.4.6.

reges Homeric, but also Roman, epic (cf. *Buc.* 6.1, Clausen, *THP*, 12f.) and also historical (Seymour, 94ff., Rawson, *RCS*, 169ff., Gleib, 179). Just possibly a link also to be sensed with the **reges** of the second proemium (642).

Erato V.'s motives for selecting E. and her function in the text here

have recently attracted an extraordinary amount of attention. Serv. comments *pro Calliope* (the chief of the Muses, Hes. *Theog.* 79, and her province is not yet restricted to epic: Hor. *C.* 3.4.2, Prop. 3.3.38f., Lucr. 6.94; vd. Thomas) and the substitution is not in itself incredible, as Housman's remarkable n. on Luc. 7.871 makes very clear (note *Aen.* 1.575 *Noto* for *Aquilone*); however, Serv. goes on to reveal ignorance regarding Erato and prejudice (transmitted to Fordyce) in assessing the lines that follow. SDan. adds *uel pro qualicumque Musa* and (cf. Fraenkel, *Kl.B.* 2, 388f. = *JRS* 39(1949), 153f.) this must derive from the schol. on AR 3.1 (the key Erato passage), a discussion of Rhianus fr. 19 Powell (Kyriakidis, 163). Vd. Kyriakidis, 170f. on the elusive Erato of Call. fr. 238.8 SH. The link of **Erato** with **erotic** poetry, or more generally with themes of love, is very well-established (Plat. *Phaedr.* 259D, AR 3.1ff., Ov. *AA* 2.16, *F.* 4.195, with Bömer's n., Kyriakidis, 168ff., Nelis, 268) and her appropriateness at the head of AR's story of Jason and Medea is plain. Hunter, 177, Nelis and, more summarily, Blänsdorf (1-4), 104 have made us realise that **7.1-45** are intensely Apollonian (as well as Odyssean); a sort of Hellenistic caesura (Mariotti) between V.'s *Od.* and his *Il.* Though the struggle for Lavinia's hand (and eventually for her father's throne, too) is not systematically developed in Apollonian terms, the precise allusion here to *Arg.* is entirely comprehensible in terms of a structure of imitation. Even more to the point (cf. F.A. Todd, *CR* 45(1931), 216ff., Hunter, 180, Pavlock, O'Hara, *bis; aliter*, Toll, Basson, not persuasively), Lavinia—once the grimly Iliadic themes of the proemium are concluded—is introduced as **iam matura uiro, iam plenis nubilis annis** (53), wooed by many (54-5), but in particular by the **pulcherrimus** Turnus (55-6), supported by his kinswoman, Amata, the girl's mother, **miro..amore** (57). Onto the scene is about to burst the very presentable widower Aeneas, whom we have known since 2.783 is to find a bride somewhere near the Tiber. Though the epic drama that ensues is not fundamentally elegiac or erotic (except sometimes, in V.'s generically-mixed epic, as e.g. Cairns, 151ff., Lyne *FV*, 115ff, *id.*, in McAuslan, 157ff. and Fowler in *Homo Viator* (674), 185ff. have done much to make clear) the *situation* is admirably suited to the patronage of Erato. Kyriakidis refers (164) to 'the absence of any mention of the element of love', which I find perplexing. Cf. Basson, 99ff., Feeney, 186, Nelis, 267ff., O'Hara, 184f., Hunter (11), 177, 180, M. Fernandelli, (25-36), 87ff., S. Kyriakidis, *MD* 33(1994), 197ff. (for Erato in Call. *Aet.* fr. 238 SH), and **37-45**, *cit.*,

C.Monteleone, *AC* 46(1977), 184f., J.J.O'Hara, *CJ* 91(1996), 268f., B.Pavlock, *Vergilius* 38(1992), 72ff., R.F. Thomas, *PLLS* 5(1985), 72, n.11, K.Toll, *QUCC* 33(1989), 107ff., Williams *TORP*, 35f.

tempora Cf. Liv.1.32.4 *temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numae*, Tac. *Hist.*1.1.4 *rara temporum felicitate*, *Ann.*1.10.1 *tempora rei publicae*, *OLD* s.v. §12. Definitely 'circumstances' rather than 'chronology' (cf. Basson, 105f.). Even if we punctuate after **tempora**, it may be (Townend, *infra*) that **rerum** is sensed with both nominatives.

rerum/ 38 ..status M₂P₂ and Serv. take **tempora rerum** together, a Lucretian clausula (5.1276 *sic uoluenda aetas commutat tempora rerum*, *Ov.Tr.*1.1.37f. *iudicis officium est ut res, ita tempora rerum/ quaerere*). The case (cf. G.B.Townend, *CQ* NS 19(1969), 339) in favour of the Lucretian clausula appears at first sight attractive: the members of the tricolon grown in orderly fashion; the rare pause at 5D is also avoided, as is the postponement of **38 quis**, which occurs if we punctuate after **tempora** and seems unattested in formally structured proemia. As if that (cf. Henry 3, 479f.), or any of the above, really mattered very much or stood up to thoughtful examination, shocked though some Italian scholars (cited, **773**) are by transalpine dissenters' lack of respect for the authority of the new Paravia edition, and even of Sabbadini. The pause is not so rare as to be unacceptable (Norden, 390, n.1 is unreliable; cf. rather Winbolt, 54f. and note e.g. 5.624, 633), and the tricolon (disyll. noun, trisyll. noun, etc.) is sensed even with pause at **tempora** (as first championed by Peerlkamp and Henry), while the postponed pronoun is scarcely a serious consideration. Much more to the point is the distinct historiographical flavour of **rerum..status** (Fraenkel, 149, with n.2, Basson, 104f., G.P.Goold, in *Author and audience in Latin literature* ed. T.Woodman and J.Powell (Cambridge 1992), 116, with 243, n.24, *Alambicco*, 106, Mynors *per litt.*, against the undecided and eventually misguided Horsfall 1971, 14f.). Fraenkel, *cit.* notes the closely similar use of $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\iota\varsigma$ in the proem., *Plb.*6.11.2; so *status* at Tac.*Ann.*1.2.2 *rerum statum* (where vd. Goodyear; cf. too *Hist.*1.4.1 *qualis status urbis*, 1.11.3 *rerum Romanarum status*); Goold cites 22 instances of the phrase and Henry, without PHI 5.3, a mere 7; to be fair, not all (but many) are in historians! Liv.8.13.2 *iam Latio is status erat rerum* is so close to V. as to bear, did one wish it, upon arguments about priority. Certainly in a context whose dense use of historians' language is becoming apparent, it would be mere folly to cling to the late antique sense-division.

38 Latio antiquo Technical (Plin.*Nat.*3.56, *CIL* 10.1, 498f.) for L. when limited to the coast between Tiber and Circeii, but that sort of geographical precision is altogether alien to V.'s usage; cf. rather 11.316 *antiquus ager*, 1.12 *urbs antiqua fuit*, 1.375 *Troia antiqua*, etc. (*EV* 1, 196).

aduena.. / 39 ..exercitus A. used of Hercules (10.460), Aeneas at Rome (10.516), and bitterly of Aen. the outsider in a Rutulian's view (12.261; cf. *Buc.*9.2); not, therefore, a synonym for *externus*, but not (vd. **36**) a term to suggest necessarily, in V.'s mouth, 'invader' or 'aggressor', though the word can (*supra*) carry that implication: Liv. 4.3.13 after all uses it of the foreign kings of early Rome. Marked hyperbaton gives **a.** special prominence. The noun indeed is used only here of the Trojan exiles/colonists. Cf. 5.824 and the amusing selection at *OLD* s.v. §2c for **e.** used in a non-military sense. Nevertheless, 'in all but a technical sense he is the aggressor', writes Nisbet (*Coll.Pap.*, 138 = *PVS* 17(1978-80), 55 = Robertson, 229 = Harrison, *OR*, 384; cf. (for example) O'Hara(**817**), 215, and Toll(**38**), 108). The epic hero who denies his destiny, and sails on up the Italian coast because it is not ethically acceptable conduct to land at the Tiber mouth still awaits his bard. More seriously, V. (in contrast to earlier versions of the episode) does go to the very greatest lengths to avoid assigning guilt or responsibility (cf. my remarks, *Companion*, 155ff.), at least in the eyes of a reader not already convinced. The antithesis of **aduena..exercitus** and **urbes..longa placidas in pace** does of course appear perspicuous (cf. O'Hara, *cit.*), but this is, after all, Virgil: Aen. with about fifteen ships, against Agamemnon's 1186 (cf. Austin on 2.198), is no Eisenhower of the Tiber landings, and his intention (at least as viewed by Jupiter, oracles, seers, Latinus and the poet) is not to wrest a new homeland from its occupants by violence; Latinus indeed will *offer* them (**260ff.**) far more than they hoped or dreamed. 'Army of invasion' is not quite right, therefore. Readers of the *Aen.* also know by now that the peaceful cities of Latium have fierce inhabitants, who will fight a great war against the Trojans (1.263f.; cf. 1.5 *bello*, 4.615, 5.730f., 6.86ff., 890) and the apparent Saturnian innocence of **46** will be (vd. n. there) swiftly undercut in detail. Unsurprisingly the simple verities of **38**><**46**, good Italians vs. brutal invaders, evanesce in an instant, as in V. they usually do. Trouble there will be, but it does not advance our understanding to cog the dice against Aeneas by simplifying V.'s presentation of the issues.

classem/ 39 appulit Acc. *praetext.*19 uses the vb. of a shepherd driving sheep; V. then applies it in a nautical sense 'to cause to put in' (1.377, 3.338, 715).

39 cum primum *Bis* in *Buc.*, *bis* in *G.*, *quinquies* in *Aen.*; Cat.64.243, *quinquies* in *Lucr.*; Cic.*Progn.*fr.4.7.

Ausoniis..oris For the toponym, cf. **623**; for **oris**, cf. **270**, **564**, **647**.

40 expediam Cf. *Lucr.*2.62 *nunc age...*66 *expediam*, *Varr. LL* 5.7 *nunc singulorum uerborum origines expediam*; *Lucr.* is most partial to the verb (13x; also *ter* in *G.4*), which is found in prose introductions also at *Mela* 1.2, *Tac. Hist.*1.51.1 (*nunc expediam*), *Ann.* 4.1.1(*id.*). Like **reuocabo**, **dicam**, **dicam**, a declaration of intent (notably delayed after the invocation; cf. Feeney) in the 'cyclic' (as against Homeric) manner (fr.9, p.76 Davies; cf. *Aen.*1.1 *cano*, Brink on *Hor. AP* 137, Williams *TORP, cit.*, Fraenkel, 148f.; Mariotti (**37-45**), 465).

primae..exordia pugnae Cf. **542 primae commisit funera pugnae**; V. therefore refers precisely here to the sequence of events which leads up to the first battle (**45-539**, near enough, as *Serv.* realises); not enallage, as Conington and Basson, 110 suggest. Part and parcel of his contemporary and historiographical preoccupation with the analysis of *causae* (cf. **482**, **553**), and particularly close (e.g.) to *Pollio's* narrative of the marriage-alliance between Pompey and Caesar among the *causae* of the Civil War (*Hor.C.2.1.1-4*, with *NH*, n. on **317 coeant**). The pleonastic idiom (synonymous adj. and noun) is of a familiar type (*Gudeman* on *Tac.Dial.*11.3, *Löfstedt* 2, 179f., *Horsfall* 1971, 87): cf. *Enn.trag.*210f. *neue inde nauis inchoandi exordium/ cepisset*, **371 prima origo**; *Fordyce's* n. here shows that the pleonasm is common in poetry as well as prose. **E.** also at *trag. inc.*181, and 11x. in *Lucr.*

reuocabo 'Recall to mind, revive the memory of', *OLD* s.v.§13b; an intellectual extension (V's own, apparently) of the literal 'call back' at 5.167.

41 tu..tu *Gebetstil:* cf. **335**.

uatem 'The word was ennobled in the Augustan period to describe the poet in his inspired aspect' (*NH* on *Hor.C.1.1.35*), much discussed (cf. *Fordyce* here, *Skutsch* on *Enn.Ann.*207, *J.K.Newman*, *The concept of Vates in Augustan poetry* (*Coll.Lat.*89, 1967), 37f. *et passim*. The *Aen.* is rich in references to its author (*Heinze*, 370ff.), but only here does V. call himself *uates*, a hint both at the great solemnity of the

occasion and at the difficulties raised by V.'s use of the noun elsewhere in quite other, epic (and antiquarian) senses (**68**, *EV* 5*, 456ff.).

diua The $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ of *Il.*1.1, *Od.*1.10; the bond of Muse and bard is sealed by the anaphoric pronoun, even more powerful than direct juxtaposition would have been. Cf. the *diuae Camenae* of v.2 of Naev.'s 'epitaph' (Büchner, *FPL*, p.40).

mone Long realised to entail an etymological play, between the suppressed *Musa* (cf. the invaluable list of such suppressions, O'Hara, 79ff.) and (*memini*)/*moneo* (Horsfall 1971, 87, O'Hara, 185, after La Cerda, etc.): cf. Varr.*LL* 6.49, *Aen.*1.8(with O'Hara, 115), **7.641**, **645**.

dicam.. / 42 dicam The verb so used at e.g. Val.Aedituus fr.1.1, Cic.*Arat.*120, Lucr.5.273, *Buc.*8.5, 8.8, 10.6, etc.(cf. Salemme, *EV* 2, 46). Wills, 64, n.38 suggests that V. is seeking to avoid the repetition of *bella*, by repeating the verb instead, but that is to ignore the irregular but elaborate 'pentecolon' of objects, with repeated verb in the first two members, and **bella** variously amplified through the last four members. The ritual anaphoric **bella** of e.g. **461** is quite another matter (*pace* Wills, 63).

horrida bella So the Sibyl had warned (6.86); cf. too 10.408 and **603** for V.'s range of epithets for war. Much more than the bristling of spears is implied.

42 acies Possibly, like **37**, **42 reges**, anticipating the second proem in bk.7(**643**).

actosque animis in funera 'Driven by their courage to their deaths'; the nouns in powerful, causally related antithesis. The whole expression seems created out of simple, common words, and quite *ad hoc* (so too PHI 5.3)for this grim context of tragic anticipation.

reges Cf. **37**.

Tyrrhenamque manum So at 11.450 (in both cases with forms of *totus* following), cf. Moskalew, 87f. and Dingel on 9.11 *Lydorumque manum* for similar phrases; the extent to which lexicon, convenience and the natural gravitation of certain words to certain sedes inevitably impose some degree of 'formulaic composition' may be still be clearer to those who have actually taken (and take) pleasure in writing hexameters. V. might refer to Mezentius, to Tarchon, or to both: certainly, to the northwards expansion of the conflict.

totamque.. / 44 Hesperiam Cf. **543** and **maior** below for the geographical 'facts'; only limited hyperbole (as Serv. notes).

sub arma coactam Though the verb often indicates 'muster,

recruit'(cf. 8.7f. *undique cogunt/ auxilia*) and that is how *OLD* (s.v. § 3a) understands this passage, we should look also (look rather, even) at 12.581, where Aen. protests that he is *ad proelia cogi*, forced to fight. Though Italy is not as peaceful as **46** suggests, and the Trojans are not short of martial experience, both parties are driven to war in some measure by external forces (Juno, Allecto); cf. **341-539**, **341-72** on the complex issue of the predisposition of (some of) V.'s characters to strife. For the prepos., cf. Sall. *Iug.* 18.12 *sub imperium suum coegere*. **44 maior.. / 45 maius** Repetition of the adj. with variation: cf. **386**, Wills, 284. An expansion of the preceding thought (**totam..Hesperiam**); the scale of what follows is greater in both in geographical range (Mantua to Apulia) and in numbers involved (cf. Toll (**38**), 109). Cf. *paulo maiora canamus* at *Buc.* 4.1, and the *uastiores altitudines* which awes Livy at 31.1.5; also *id.* 7.29.1 *maiora iam hinc bella..dicentur*. Ammianus (15.9.1) quotes this line before embarking on his excursus on Gallic geography. **Maius**, though, also in an Homeric sense: *Il.* was viewed as 'greater' than *Od.* cf. Longin. 9.11ff. (with Russell's notes and vd. W. Bühler, *Beitr. z. Erklärung der Schrift vom Erhabenen* (Göttingen 1964), 44ff.; cf. Eustath. *Praef. ad Il.* 7.5f. vdV ἀνδρώδης μὲν ἢ Ἰλιάς καὶ μένοτέρα, A. La Penna, *Maia* 50(1998), 147ff.) and V. now enters upon his (greater) *Il.* (a burden he had already shouldered at *G.* 3.8f.). When Prop. writes (2.34.66) *nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade* did he have this line in mind? A problem bound up both with discussion of Gercke's unhappy theory that V. began with bk. 7 (Gercke (**167**), 74; see e.g. Paratore here; Fedeli, *EV* 4, 319f. ignores the issue. Against Gercke, trenchantly, Günther, 59) and with attempts to find an absolute date for bk. 7 (**604-6**); clearly Prop. knows *Aen.* 1.1f.; also either 3.274ff. (Binder, 214) or 8.675ff., or both! Possibly, then, but not demonstrably, a verse echoed by Prop., quite irrespective of Gercke's fantasies.

rerum mihi nascitur ordo O. (the noun common in Lucr.) is used by V. in the sense of 'sequence' at *Buc.* 4.5 *novus saeculorum nascitur ordo* (to all appearance, a non-significant echo), *Aen.* 3.376 (cf. Keudel, *TLL* 8.2.954.60f., Lenaz, *EV* 3, 880); this is good prose usage (Cic. *Div.* 1.125 *ordinem seriemque causarum, de orat.* 1.23) and notably *Fam.* 5.12.5 *ordo ipse annalium*; the unsurprising historiographical flavour is confirmed by Cic. *de orat.* 2.329 *perspicua narratio..ordine temporum seruato*. **45 opus** Cf. (e.g.) (Plaut.) *Cas.* 7, Cic. *Orat.* 33, 238, Ehlers, *TLL* 9.2.850.30; also other concrete, but non-literary, works of art (5.284; cf. *EV* 3, 863f.).

moueo Cf. Enn.*Ann.*403 (with Skutsch's n.), Hor.*C.*3.7.20 *fallax historias mouet* (with Bentley's n.), *Aen.*1.262, 3.34, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1544.73.

45-57 A neat, lucid and wonderfully unobtrusive *archaiologia*, elegant particularly in its transitions. Its position and function recall Hdt. 1.1ff. and Thuc.1.2-19 (cf. A.J.Woodman, *Rhetoric in classical historiography* (Beckenham 1988), 7), likewise following statements of intent in proemia; *Aen.*9.77ff. is of more limited relevance. Note too Sall.*Cat.*6-13, *Jug.*5.4-6, *Hist.*1, fr.7-13, and Plb.1.3.1-6, in justification of his starting-date. Lucian *Quomodo historia* 55 refers to the importance of the transition from proemium to narrative (cf. **54 petebant/ 55 ..petit**). Contrast such information presented in (?) prophetic (Enn.*Ann.* 1, vv.20-2) or dialogue (*Aen.*8.314ff.) form. Digression to accommodate background information is itself in the best epic tradition (cf. Heubeck on *Od.*1.10 and the index of the three vols. of Cambridge commentary (1988-92) s.v. digressions, Kirk on *Il.*6.215-31, Griffin on *Il.*9.447ff., AR 1.633, 2.194, Mehmel, 79f., Fränkel, *Noten*, 637f.), but the Homeric digression does tend to be specifically explanatory or paradeigmatic. Prof. Nancy Felson drew my attention to Pind. *Pyth.*9.68ff., with temporal changes closely similar to V.'s. But it is no surprise, after the strongly historical tone and content of the proemium, that V. continues in a manner that seems to owe at least as much to Clio as to Calliope.

rex..Latinus As eponym of the Latins (cf. **650**), attested from ps.Hes.*Theog.*1013 (for dating, cf. **5-24**); incorporated by Callias (Sicilian; early c.3BC) into Rome's foundation legend (*FGH* 564F5, 840F14, Gruen(**579**), 15f., etc.), but not necessarily into the Aeneas-legend before Cato (cf.**52** and **409** on the (at least partly) spurious *Orig.*fr.11; Schroeder's comm. on *Orig.*bk.1(1971) remains sober and valuable). His role in *Aen.* is a striking novelty (Heinze, 172f. states the essential with matchless clarity), though his genealogy (*infra*) is Italic. It will become clear that for V. he governs the Latini from the *arx Laurens* (Horsfall, *EV* 3, 141f.), though for the moment the poet prefers not to be specific. On L., vd. index s.v., Balk (a little disappointing), Pace, *EV* 3, 131ff., Buchheit, 86ff.. Note **rex../ 46 ..regebat**: cf. **193, 706f.** for V. and the simple *figura etymologica*.

arua..et urbes Cf. **629** for the urbanisation of V.'s Italy (note **104, 384, 549**); this polarity of town and countryside is regular: 3.418 *aruaque et urbes*, **682, 739**.

46 iam senior Handier than *senex* in the hexameter, for which, in

V., it serves as a synonym (Austin on 2.509, Martina, *EV* 4, 769). Too old, therefore to fight (as he does in Cato, *Orig.*, fr.9, 10, DH 1.64, Liv.1.2.2; cf. Schwegler 1, 287, Balk, 116f., Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 473), against the future partners of the Latins, or to die in battle before Aen. and Lavinia are married. But by the outbreak of war, he has already offered Lavinia to Aen. as wife (though the condition of **266** has not been met) and has consequently checked his wife's plans for her nephew Turnus. Though Lat. seems to abandon an active role in events at **600**, we discover shortly after that this is not so (cf. **611**, **618**) and, as the result of his underestimated but unbowed passive opposition, it is Juno, not he who has to open the Gates of War: Lat.'s quiet obstinacy is taken rather further than recent readers of the text quite realise.

longa placidas in pace Von Kamptz (*TLL* 7.2.1637.19f.) compares the *longa pax* of Liv.42.11.6 and Vell.2.110.2; also e.g. Tac. *H.*1.67.2. The *urbes* alliteratively *placidae* (cf. Ov.*Tr.*1.8.37), not for much longer. At 8.325 V. writes of Saturn *sic placida populos in pace regebat*, but that does not mean that the adj. is necessarily used in enallage here (so *EV* 4, 129; the echo is recorded but not discussed as significant in Moskalew). Lat. will emerge as having in some sense emulated his ancestor. For this second 'potential' Golden Age, cf. **49**, **180**, **202**, Balk, 12, Buchheit, 92, Glei, 271, Thomas (**747**), 101f., Wifstrand Schiebe, 14ff., Pace, 298f.(Numa). But that is only half the picture, or even a little less; Lat. will emerge, even in bk.7, as a warrior too (cf. **421**, **423**) and his people as very well used to war (cf. index s.v. war and peace in Latium). Possibly both versions were traditional: for war, cf. Liv.1.1.5, DH 1.57.2, but we cannot be certain that Naev.*Bell. Poen.*fr.11 refers to peaceful pre-Trojan Latium (cf. R.Godel, *MH* 35(1978), 277ff., Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 474, *Alambicco*, 95). An ambivalence so flagrant can hardly be dismissed as carelessness or accident (so, well, O'Hara(**817**), 215ff.): Latium is therefore both 'innocent' and 'not innocent' and V. explores the moral issues raised by the Trojans' arrival by juxtaposition of opposites. A difficult technique, but the issues too are difficult. No neat answers are offered and—beyond, *exempli gratia*, R.Moorton, *AJP* 110(1989), 101ff., E.Potz, *Wü.Jhb.* 16(1990), 101ff.—I do not cite here the ample bibliography of usually oversimplified accounts of V.'s view of war and peace (cf. further **38f.** on **aduena exercitus** and vd. Glei for a serious discussion of the topic).

regebat Cf. *supra* **45**, **rex**.

47 hunc..genitum The pronoun is V.'s discreet way of entering the digression to provide 'background information'. For **g.**, cf. **679**. In the Greek tradition, L.'s ancestry is wonderfully fluid (vd. the summary at Schwegler, 1, 215f., n.21): cf. [Hes.] *Theog.*1013, DH 1.43.1, Justin 43.1.9. The genealogy Saturn-Picus-Faunus-Latinus is already present at Varro *de gente* fr.27Fracc.; however, the heading *Laurentum reges* in Aug.*CD* 18.15 is not itself Varronian (one would expect *Aboriginum*), but surely reflects Virgil's terminology (*EV* 3, 141), as the citation of *Aen.*8.321-5 on the same page renders yet more likely. Evidence contaminated by the very text it is cited to elucidate is a common enough phenomenon: cf. *CR* 37(1987), 193 on the presence of V. himself in the *OGR* and when Just.43.1.5f. includes Saturn before Picus, he may be dependent on V. (cf. F.R.D.Goodyear, *Atti* 2, 167ff.) for this very detail! Wifstrand Schiebe, 153ff. ignores such (and other) complexities. Cf. **170-91** for (?) inconsistencies.

Fauno Cf. **81f.**; a deity of flocks and forests, from which he might even speak (**81-106, 90**); he had been Evander's host (Just.43.1.6), as his son means to be *Aen.*'s.. Cf. *EV* 2, 480f., Wissowa, 208ff., Boas, 184ff..

nympha..Laurente More, almost, of a problem than **650**, where Tu. is called *Laurens*. Ignored by Horsfall, *EV* 3, 141f. and too hard for *EV* 3, 373, while Carcopino suggests (538f.) that her realm might once have stretched beyond Minturnae (note *ILS* 2976, near Pisaurum). At that, V. could well have known the name, but not its local limitations. *Per poeticam licentiam* Serv.; Wissowa, 49, n.6 takes the same view!

Marica *Dea litoris Minturnensium iuxta Lirin* Serv., correctly; cf. Latte, 192, Wissowa, *loc.cit.*, P.B.Harvey, *Athen.*86(1998), 483. Just possibly her place in this genealogy is explained by Serv. *ad Aen.*12.164 and Lact.*Inst.*1.21.23 (if these texts depend on some far older source): both identify her with Circe, and Circe was Latinus' mother at [Hes.] *Theog.*1011. Perfectly credible but hardly ancient contamination between Lat.'s Greek and Latin genealogies.

48 accipimus 'I have read [probably] in Varro' (cf. on **47 hunc..genitum**); given that we actually have the probable source of this genealogy, it seems fair to say that—as in many similar instances—V. is using an established technique for referring to it (*Alambicco*, 124, translating *PLLS* 6(1990), 54), though my discussion of the actual source behind V. is deplorably hasty and confused). Not really a continuation of the historiographical tone.

Fauno Picus pater For **P.**, cf. **171**. Cf. 10.76 *cui Pilumnus auus, cui diua Venilia mater* for the omission of *est* in a genealogy; this compression is Homeric (cf. *Il.* 6.154, 20.240, 21.189 for the addition of a generation in a genealogy, in various ways, without an extra verb).

parentem After **pater**, parechesis or paronomasia between near-synonyms, as an alternative to polyptoton. For Saturn as father of Picus, cf. *Ov. Met.* 14.320, *Sil.* 8.439f.; the reference at *Aug. CD* 18.15 is not proof (so Wifstrand Schiebe, 155, correctly, after Fraccaro, ed. *Varr. De gente*, p.176f.) that this addition to the genealogy is also Varronian in origin

49 te..tu Visible polyptoton (cf. *Buc.* 5.34) in contrast with the preceding, and more discreet **Fauno..Fauno** (abl. then dat.), to honour Saturn as founder of the line (cf. Wills, 331). Apostrophe with anaphora of *te* is far more common (**596**, **759**, *G.* 3.1, 4.465 etc.).

Saturne Cf. **46**, **180** (main discussion), **202**.

refert Picus of course is the subject, and it is he who 'claims' Saturn as ancestor (for **r.** used thus, cf. *G.* 3.121 *et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenae*, *Ov. Met.* 13.141, Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 498). A dialogue is thus set up for the reader between V., Saturn and Picus (cf. E. Block, *TAPA* 112(1992), 19ff., Williams, *TI*, 185ff.); compare e.g. 10.139f. (V., Ismarus and the witnesses of his skill), **389** (V., Lavinia and Bacchus).

sanguinis ultimus auctor Cf. 3.503 *quibus idem Dardanus auctor*, 4.365, 6.650, *Ov. Am.* 1.3.8, *si nostri sanguinis auctor eques*, *TLL* 2.1204.40f. (Bögel).

50 filius huic.. prolesque uirilis Theme and variation, significant not so much because it is the male heir to whom the throne would normally pass, but because, as Boas well noted (86), the succession of a (foreign, *externus*—cf. index, s.v.) son-in-law is so common a motif in early Roman history (Numa and Titus Tatius, Serv. Tullius and Tarq. Priscus, Tarq. Superbus and Serv. Tullius).

fato diuum Cf. **584 fata deum**.

51 nulla fuit The use of *nullus* in expressions like *nullus sum* ('I'm done'; marginally stronger than *non*) is not exclusively comic (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 208) but occurs also in Cic. (early speeches, letters and in limited contexts, *KS* 1, 236, *LHS*, 205, Löfstedt, 2, 370f., Landgraf on *Cic. Rosc. Am.* 128) and cf. too *Cat.* 8.14, 17.20, *Hor. Serm.* 2.2.90 ('not a'); here in a passage of formal, historiographical recapitulation, though, may be explained by its use in Livy (*LHS, cit.*, 24.36.8) and, unsurprisingly, in Sall. (*Cat.* 52.21, *Jug.* 86.3, *Or. Lep.* 9).

primaque..iuuenta The contrasting force of this *-que* is of a familiar

type (Austin cites 6.260, 737f.; cf. Horsfall 1971, 15, quoting 10.343f., Fordyce, LHS, 481). Cf. Cic.*de cons.*fr.2.75 *primo iam a flore iuuentae*, Aen.9.181 (Euryalus) *ora puer prima signans intonsa iuuenta*, Prop.3.5.19 *in prima..iuuenta* (cf. TLL 7.2.741.28, Heck). One is surprised that the whole expression does not have an epigraphic *Nachleben*.

oriens The use is hitherto Ciceronian (*Rep.*2.21, *Div.*2.89, Löschhorn, TLL 9.2.1000.52f.); of dust, war, fire, water, *mos*, sedition in Livy and so not demonstrably ‘historical’ in tone here.

erepta Cf.2.738 *fatone erepta Creusa* of which Hoogma(805), 246 lists the CLE derivatives. Setaioli (251) suggests that Am. is hounded by a Fury on account of the story to which 51 might seem to allude: Serv. there comments *per transitum tangit historiam. Amata enim duos filios, uoluntate patris Aeneae spondentes <Laviniam SDan.> sororem, factione interemit*. Hence, he continues, V.’s **erepta**; SDan. adds *hos alii caecatos a matre tradunt, postquam amisso Turno Lavinia Aeneas iuncta est*. Cf. Boas, 85, Cardinali (343), 267, La Penna, EV 1, 126, Fantham in Stahl, 136, Paratore on 51. On *tangit historiam*, cf. Alambicco, 57, n.9, C.Lazzarini, MD 12(1984), 129, D.B.Dietz, TAPA 125(1995), 69, n.22. Virgil seems to allude to a story that Serv. knows, which alone proves little, let alone that the lost son was (vd. *supra*) of Euryalus’ age. Serv. is partial (H.D.Jocelyn, LCM 17.7(1992), 110) to reporting ‘the fag-ends of a long historical tradition’; cf. Thomas, 208-10 for vigorous good sense on this tawdry miscellany (contrast Dietz, *cit.*, 79). The versions in Serv. and SDan. are distinct and belong clearly to a phase in the story later than V.’s here, nor are they present in DH or OGR. The narrative form of the surviving daughter is in itself common enough (Boas, 85, n.32). That some form of the stories related in Serv./SDan. was known to V. cannot be excluded, but the careful reader will view them and their relevance to the text of V. with deep suspicion, not least because DH too states specifically in his ample account (and without narrative ornamentation) that ‘some say’ that Lat. had no male heir (1.73.2).

52 sola..filia So, notes Boas, 88f. Rhea Silvia, and Julia; of course the single daughter does focus the reader’s attention on the erotic potential of the situation and the marked hyperbaton signals that her uniqueness will be crucial to the plot. Lavinia is not named, like Amata (56); neither is (yet) important enough (for L., vd. 72); this is good Homeric usage (Heinze, 376f., Boas, 83, Austin on 1.92, where Aen. is first mentioned; so too Juturna is introduced periphrastically at 10.439 and named only at 12.146). L. is the female eponym of

Lavinium and is attested in (Cato) *Orig.* fr. 11 (where vd. Schroeder and cf. **409**: there may be pre-Virgilian material in this text, but it is in part post-Livian. For other annalistic attestations, cf. Richard on *OGR* 16.5, Schwegler 1, 284ff.); her integration into the Aeneas-legend derives from the growth of Lavinium's importance as conduit of Rome's Trojan origins (cf. Boas, 80, E. Bickerman, *CP* 47(1952), 66f.). Gruen (**783**), 23ff. now denies even more energetically than *RMM*, 19ff. that this importance could be much older than—Cato.

domum et tantas..sedes Theme and variation, not idly: the suitor who wins this daughter will also win the succession. Cf. **422f.**, **469f.**, **578f.** for the interplay of patriotic and romantic motivations; Turnus will emerge from V.'s mixing of ambitions as more complicated and less single-minded; the 'plot' too will become less personal and more political. Cf. the *columba* of 5. 214, *cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi*.

seruabat 'Kept to' (cf. *CLE* 52.8 with T.E.V. Pearce, *Eranos* 72(1974), 26ff., and M. Massaro's excellent commentary in *Epigrafia metrica latina (Quaderni di Inv. Luc. 1, Bari 1992)*, 109ff., *Aen.* 6.402, *EV* 4, 814) and (so Fordyce) 'maintained the position of the establishment..as heiress'. This sense ('keep up', if you will) is also in line with Virgilian usage (2.702 **seruate domum**, *seruate nepotem*).

53 iam..iam Cf. **790**.

matura uiro Cf. Hor. *C.* 1.23.12 *tempestiua..uiro* (not to mention 2.5.1f., 3.11.11f.); vd. NH, P.A. Brunt, *Italian manpower* (Oxford 1971), 137, Treggiari (**805**), 398ff., B.D. Shaw, *JRS* 77(1987), 30ff.: the minimum legal age at Rome was 12 (assumed to be the age of puberty; vd. *infra*), but in practice (Shaw, 43; Treggiari, 40f. for nuptials before puberty) girls tended to marry a little later: Nabokovian readings of the situation are therefore not encouraged, though Hor.'s imagination (*supra*) is clearly a little engaged that way.

plenis..annis Perhaps not just (again) theme and variation; Serv. remarks *non est iteratum, sed secundum ius dictum, in quo et ex annorum ratione et ex habitu corporis aetas comprobatur. primum ergo ad habitum, secundum ad annos pertinet*. Cf. Treggiari, *cit.*, 39ff. (on literary, social and medical factors, which confirm the justice of Serv.'s remarks). For **p.**, cf. *OLD* s.v. §9c 'fully developed'.

nubilis And therefore in some sense *nubenda quoque* (cf. **564**, **764** for the linguistic issue and Treggiari and Shaw, *citt.* for the distinct usages of law, verse and *mos*). The adj. *bis* in Cic., *bis* in *Dig.*: V. has a precise point to make and neither *-ilis* endings nor *nubere* are unacceptably prosy; he thus uses the flat, exact, quotidian word required.

54 multi illam Williams compares Cat.62.55 (vine ‘wedded’ to elm; perhaps a relevant association) *multi illam agricolae, multi coluere iuuenti*, but cf. too *ib.*42 *multi illum pueri, multae optauere puellae* (with Wills, 280f.; cf. **7.236**). We should also look further back, to Pind.*Pyth.* 9.107ff. τὰν μάλα πολλοὶ ἀριστῆες ἀνδρῶν αἴτεον / κύγγονοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ξεί- / νων (cf. **366**) and further still to *Od.*6.34f. (Athene to Nausicaa) ἤδη γὰρ σε μνῶνται ἀριστῆες κατὰ δῆμον / πάντων Φαιήκων.

magno e Latio Cf. **38, 342**; the adj. is conventional magniloquence: cf. *G.*1.173f., *Aen.*7.4, 1.569, 4.345.

totaque.. / 55 Ausonia There was competition beyond Ardea: cf. **4, 39, 85, 104f.** (etc.) for V.’s systematic enlargement of the scale of the conflict. This is to be a conflict on the scale of the Trojan War, and its later resonances and implications will be no less (cf. **224** and index s.v. civil war, respectively). Tu. will claim to fight for all Italy (**469**); a task inextricably bound up with his partly successful wooing, against the rest of Italy!

petebant / 55 ..petit Cf. αἴτεον, μνῶνται, *optauere*, *supra* (cf. too Treggiari (**805**), 126f.). Not a ‘pursuit sequence’ (Wills, 333f.), but repetition with verb-shift, linking (Wills, 300) ‘past and present: was and is’. Note first that the repetition draws the reader almost imperceptibly out of the *archaeologia* into the main narrative and suggests (**petebant**) that (whatever we make of **53**) the ‘siege’ has been under way for a little while. Still more important, the tenses used do suggest very clearly, as does the conative **properabat** (**57**, with Serv. *ad Aen.*12.31), that no settlement has yet in reality been reached, whatever mother and suitor may want or hope. A conclusion clinched by the **sed..obstant** of **58**, meaningless if a formal engagement had already occurred. **Petit** naturally understood with **ante alios..omnes** as well as with the adj.(as Paratore rightly notes). Cf. **97, 423**.

ante alios..omnes The first four words of this v. used earlier by V. of Aeneas in the hunt (4.141, Moskalew, 103; cf. too 1.347 with Austin’s good n.). An epicism taken up by Livy? Not so much 5.42.5 (Austin) as (Fordyce, but the stileme is not a favourite) 1.15.8 *ante alios acceptissimus*. See Wölfflin (**586**, 1933), 176. The interlaced word-order makes it very clear that it is his looks that give Tu. the advantage (both with mother and with daughter, we may suppose). Cf. *Buc.*3.78 *Phyllida amo ante alias*, *Aen.*8.590 (Venus) *quem..ante alios..diliget*.

pulcherrimus Cf. **473, 649, 783** for Tu., **649** for, unexpectedly, Aeneas (potentially, therefore, erotic/Eratic rivals; cf. Clausen, *THP*,

23, and, for heroic beauty in the *Aen.*(just a little overdone) in general, **477f., 761.**

56 Turnus Cf. **409, 783** for his name, role and antecedents.

auis atausque Cf. Varr.*Men.*63 *auis et atausi nostri*, Cass.*Var.*11.39.5, *TLL* 2.1014.47 (Ihm). The detail at least of the Argive side of Tu.'s ancestry will become important, for a brief moment (**371f.**) on Amata's lips. Cf. further C.J.Mackie, *CQ* 41(1991), 261-3 with A.Traina, *Poetae latini* 4(Bologna 1994), 91f.). Unexceptionable heroic mentality (cf. **474 atausi reges**, 12.649, *Il.*20.200ff. with Edwards' comm.; Finley (**274**), 82 remarks of Thersites 'a man without a... patronymic'. Cf. too Seymour, 106f.). Overdone, though at *Aen.* 11.341, 12.529f.).

potens Not just a pretty face; already a warrior (**421, 423, 474**) of note, and, though it is not an issue of which V. makes much till the very end of the poem (12.22, 934), naturally one day the heir of his father Daunus, king of the Rutuli. Cf. *TLL* 10.2.2.278.55 (Kuhlmann): no close analogies.

regia coniunx Cf. **52 filia**: Amata will be named when her role in the narrative requires it: vd. **341-72, 343**. The formulaic phrase prophetically of Lavinia, 2.783; of L. as bride for Tu. with irony at 11.371 (cf. Moskalew, 84). The Roman mother, as we shall see (**402**), was expected to have a voice in such situations, in which plain opposition between husband and wife (as here) will not, presumably, have been unknown!

57 adiungi generum Cf. Cic.*Fin.*3.68 *uxorem adiungere*, Hey, *TLL* 1.707.50.

miro..amore Cf.3.298 *miroque incensum pectus amore* (altogether asexual, unlike the *mirus amor* of Hor.*Epd.*16.31). "Now Amata's *mirus amor* is not for Turnus, but for acquiring him as a son-in-law"(Cairns, 68f.); contrast "Amata's 'strange love' for Turnus"(Mankin on Hor. *cit.*). The learned battle will be fought on other fields (cf. Traina (**343**) against Lyne, *FV*, 13ff., who curiously does not cite this passage in support of 'a passion which Amata incipiently feels for Turnus', *cit.*, 15). Both Lyne (14) and O'Hara (186) seem to sense some erotic charge in the play between the name Amata (whose link with *amare*, if any, is, so far as the etymological evidence goes, ritual, not incestuous) and the queen's **amore**, if not for Tu.'s forbidden person (for Cairns renders the Latin correctly, and Mankin does not), then for the match between her daughter and the hero from across the fields. If Amata is also the hero's aunt (cf. **343, 366**; pre-Virgilian), via his

mother Venilia, the plot thickens further (on *materterae*, mothers' sisters, vd. Treggiari (805), 127, citing Cic.*Div.*1.104 for a matchmaking aunt, Dixon (402), 33f. *et passim*; cf. also M.Bettini, *MD* 2(1979), 25ff.), though V.'s use of the imprecise **consanguineo** (366) might almost seem a means of distancing himself from the close and exact relationship. While Am.'s enthusiasm for the match is clearly considerable (and vd. Treggiari (805), 125ff. for the passions matchmaking aroused among V.'s readers, or their parents) and crucial to the plot, I have yet to be convinced that there is a shred of real evidence to suggest that her warm enthusiasm is meant to be taken as having overstepped the bounds of propriety! Cf. the vigorous discussion pub. at *LCM* 2(1977), 138f..

properabat With pass. infin. also at 264 (vd.n.); cf. 4.309. The choice of verb does nothing to resolve the issue raised in the previous note.

58-80 It has long been realised (Boas, 91, with bibl., Paratore on 58) that while Faunus' oracle comes to V. in part from the written sources on the Aen.-legend available to him (DH 1.57.4 at 81-106), the coupled portents are new. They are also important in the later development of the narrative (cf. 58 **obstant**), for both V., authorially (583f.), and Latinus (12.27f.) will cite them as sufficient reason for rejecting Turnus' suit (despite the military assistance he has supplied, but clearly not in the face of any sort of formal engagement: cf. 421-4): not to save his honesty or good name in the face of a broken engagement, but to leave him a royal, serious, dignified figure in his relations with wife and with neighbour/ally/suitor of daughter's hand. Cf. Boas, 96ff., Buchheit, 94f., Grassmann-Fischer, 64ff., Balk, 20ff..

58 sed Cf. 78: 58-80 are marked by ring-composition (cf. 168) as a single unit, and we should therefore do well to insert a new paragraph in the text here and not, as conventionally, at 59.

uariis..terroribus Bees and flames contrasted; both the ring-composition and the explicit status (81) of the consultation of Faunus as a consequence of the earlier portents show that we have a diptych, not a triptych of warnings. **T.** in the transferred sense (*OLD* §1c) of something that causes terror (cf. 8.705, 9.202, Lucr.5.1307, 6.218).

portenta deum Cf. 80; the phrase may even derive from Cic. *carm.*Hom.1.24 (if not earlier).

obstant Cf. 4.440, 6.438 (and e.g. Lucr.2.280): long before Lat. realises that the gods are pointing positively to Aen. as Lavinia's husband, they indicate (at explicit and authorial level) that Turnus is

not the right man (cf. **583f. infandum contra omina bellum/ contra fata deum**, 12.27f. *me natam nulli ueterum sociare procorum/ fas erat, idque omnes diuique hominesque canebant*, Grassmann-Fischer, 74f.; the *ira deum* of 11.233 may also be relevant); quite how Lat. takes his wife's enthusiasm for Tu. is never made explicit: irrelevant, and a sub-epic issue.

59 laurus erat Cf. **483**: not so much ecphrasis of Lat.'s palace or its garden as the application of the manner of ecphrasis to narrative (note **64 huius**). For V. alone, the tree that gave the Laurentes their name (**63**; Horsfall, *EV* 3, 141; Carcopino, 235, n.2 advances no serious objections). The bay (G.Maggiulli, *Incipient siluae* (Roma 1995), 336, etc.) is exceptionally rich in associations, with Roman cult, with Virgil's Priam (2.512ff.; a shared symbol of rule (Balk, 23f.), perhaps) and with Augustus (*RG* 4.1, 34.2, *Plin.Nat.*15.129f., 136f., *DC* 53.16.4, etc.). The ecphrasis of Lat.'s palace (**170ff.**) will prove equally rich in Roman resonances, and the bay wreaths on the *postes* of Aug.'s house (from 27 BC) are likely to be specially relevant in view of the numerous 'Palatine' associations that will emerge (cf. **170-91**). Cf. J.Thomas in (ed.id.) *Les imaginaires des Latins* (Perpignan 1995), 49ff., Bömer on *Ov.F.*3.137, Weinstock, 19ff., Boas, 113ff..

tecti medio Cf. **563, 566**, 3.354 *aulai medio*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.587.76. **Tectum** will introduce the ecphrasis at **170**. Some analogies between V.'s vision of Lat.'s palace and a great Roman house (even the princeps') do exist (**170-91**) and Aug. took seriously what grew in his *impluvium* (Suet.*Aug.*92.1).

in penetralibus altis *Penetrabile est omnis interior pars domus, licet sit intacta* Serv.; *ter* Lucr., *semel* Cat., *ter* Hor.(as noun/adj.); 11x in V., *quater* of the palaces of Troy in bk.2.

60 sacra comam A familiar transference: cf. *trag.inc.*221, *Cat.*4.10 *comata silua*, 12, *G.*4.122, *Aen.*2.629, 12.413, *Hor.C.*4.7.2, *Maec.fr.*ii André = *Sen.Ep.*114.5, *Corn.Sev.fr.*10. On the acc., cf. Fordyce. The golden bough had been *dictus sacer* to Hecate (6.138).

multosque..per annos An obvious collocation: cf. *G.*2.208, 4.208, *Aen.*1.31, 715, 9.85 *pineae silua mihi multos dilecta per annos*), but above all 2.714f. *antiqua cupressus/ religione patrum multos seruata per annos*. Cf. **172 horrendum siluis et religione parentum**, 8.597f. *ingens..lucus../ religione patrum late sacer*, 12.766, Boas, 99f. and further **64 quam.. inuentam** for reverence paid to trees.

metu Theme and variation; **m.** takes up **sacra**: cf. *Acc.trag.*303, *Varr.res div. fr.* Ic, VIg (SDan. *ad Aen.*1.505), *Hor.C.*1.35.37 *metu*

deorum (with NH), Bulhart, *TLL* 8.910.34. Cf. 2.715 *supra* (*religione*, which is how Serv. glosses here), **606 formidine**, Boas, 105, *EV* 4, 630 and notably J.H.Waszink, *RAC* 8, 668ff..

seruata Cf. *Lucr.* 1.1029 *magnum seruata per annos*, *Aen.* 2.714f. *supra*, *EV* 4, 814. I am not sure quite what the echo of bk.2 tells us (cf. **59 laurus**); perhaps, even, nothing: the result of V. adorning in similar manner the palaces of two venerable monarchs, with economy of linguistic and visual means.

61 quam..inuentam Bellincioni (*EV* 2, 1003) rightly picks up a number of passages in which ‘finding’ implies a sense of divinely-inspired discovery (8.43 *inuenta sub ilicibus sus*, **7.680**), as here: a fortunate discovery and a proper sense of reverence for what is found (cf. Vollmer on *Stat.Silv.* 1.3.59, Cairns, 64, Boas, 113 for other sacred or portentous trees within the house; note Gruppe, 880, n.2 on the Erechtheum). The sequence **quam ..ab ea** is regular Latin idiom (KS 2, 324, LHS 566, Munro on *Lucr.* 1.720, Kroll on *Cic.Orat.* 9, Fordyce), though not common in poetry (cf. *Lucr.* 1.718-21, 4.963f., 5.895-8, *Cat.* 65.21 *quod -23 illud*).

pater../ 62 ipse..Latinus Cf. **92, 274, 593**. The double hyperbaton is exceptional (contrast **92 pater ipse..Latinus**): Lat., as founder of the (nameless) city, and as in the full sense ‘father of his people’ merits every dignity that *dispositio verborum* can bestow, especially since he acts here with exemplary scruple and piety (Cairns, 64; cf. Balk, 24, Boas, 127f.).

primas..arces P.: ‘for the first time’: cf. **118, 554**. *Arx pars pro toto* in such passages (like, often, *moenia*) for *urbs* (*Vergilius* 35(1989), 26, *EV* 1, 804). Cf. **149** and Horsfall, *EV* 3, 141ff.: no repetition here of my demonstration (not the first) that V. neither names nor locates this city (cf. **151, 162**). Note **171**: there is a formal inconsistency between the city’s recent founding (here) as against antiquity and treasures (there), just possibly to be resolved (Rosivach, **170-91**) by the hypothesis of an ambivalence between Lat.’s citadel as seat of government and simultaneously as the residence of the Latins’ rulers.

cum conderet Cf. **145**; a key term (*Vergilius, cit.*); Lat. is just as much a *ktistes* as *Aen.*

62 ferebatur Cf. **208**, 1.15, 6.893: here note the impf.; V., that is, does not hint at (often invented) sources (cf. *PLLS* 6(1990), 49f. *Alambicco*, 118f.) but sets in epic time the story that attached to the bay.

Phoebo Because the tree was sacred to Apollo (*HHApoll.* 396, Bömer *cit.*, **59**, *EV* 3, 144, Boas, 117) and perhaps because V. had in mind

not only the Augustan associations of bay(**59**) but the princeps' special predilection for Apollo (Boas, 117f., Weinstock, 15, Galinsky (**174**), 297ff.).

sacrasse Cf.6.18 *tibi, Phoebae, sacrauit, et saepe*, Fugier, *EV* 4, 630.

63 Laurentisque..nomen Apposition, without attraction of **L.** to the dat.(**colonis**), as at *G.*3.147, 4.271, *Aen.*1.267f., 9.593 (a usage by now faintly archaic, LHS, 90f., Landgraf on *Cic.Rosc.Am.*17 *Capitoni*, Löfstedt 2, 108f.): cf. here *G.*1.137f.(dat. unmetrical, as at *Aen.*10.200), *Aen.* 3.18, 693f. (no dat.), O'Hara, 75f., Fordyce. Cf. **59 laurus** for the etymology (with O'Hara, 186) and note O'Hara 83f.(with **761-77**, 12.411-9, etc.) on the key terms of an etymology used to frame a whole section of text. For *Laurentes* within *Latins* as a whole, cf. *EV* 3, 141f.

ab ea For *a(b)* in 'naming constructions', cf. O'Hara, *cit.*(*Aen.*1.288, 3.335, etc.); cf.**757** for oblique cases of *is* in *Aen.*: here to achieve, perhaps, a prosily 'scholarly' tone.

posuisse *EV* 4, 200 compares ὄνομα θέσθαι; contrast 8.329 (same words in the sense of 'lay aside a name').

colonis Cf. **410**, **422**.

64-70 The bees here are not definably a 'good' or 'bad' omen. Lat. has some faint notion of the Trojans' arrival (**167**), but that we have not yet been told; the local *uates* (that is, *haruspex*) offers a reading notably close to the original portent and agreeably ambiguous after the Greek oracular manner (cf. on **uirum, dominarier**). Indeed, the *uates* does seem more generally to be speaking in Greek terms: cf. Photius s.v. *χειρήν*: *χειρήν μὲν φίλον ἀγγέλλει, ξεῖνον δὲ μέλι-κα*, and see Paus.9.40.2 (follow where the bees led), Plut.*Mor.*96B (bees and Timesias of Clazomenae's passage to Abdera), Philostr. *Imag.* 2.8.6 (Athenians to Ionia). Bees foretold Dionysius I's becoming ruler of Syracuse (*Cic.Div.*1.73, *Plin.Nat.*8.158), though to Artemidorus (*Oneir.*2.22) they are less favourable (but not to generals). Swarms of bees foretold the principate of Antoninus Pius (*SHA* 3.5) but at Rome, they are a *dirum ostentum* and portend great events (*Plin.Nat.* 11.55), military defeat (VM 1.6.12: Pompey at Pharsalus), the end of republican freedom (*Cic. Har.Resp.* 25 *ut a seruitio caueremus*), the death of a consul or ruler (and thus rule for his successor! *Tac.Ann.*12. 64.1, the passage from Claudius to Nero). But the *uates'* reply, like the whole scene, **107ff.**, is firmly in Greek colonial terms and it is not helpful (Balk, 22) to introduce notions of the bees' commonwealth as symbolic of human states (as in *G.*4). However,

readers determined to see death and ruin implicitly overhanging Lat., Amata and Turnus from the first may prefer to take these bees in the Roman manner and manipulate the *uates'* interpretation accordingly. Cf. C.O.Thulin, *Etr.Disciplin* 3(Göteborg 1909), 98ff., Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.73, *RAC* 2, 278(L.Koep, etc.), Boas, 135ff., Grassmann-Fischer, 64ff., Balk, 20ff..

64 huius..summum Cf.G.3.314, 460, 4.321f., 385, 539, *Aen.*5.180 (with Williams on *ib.*695), 8.67, 9.120, and **86**.

apes..densae Cf.G.4.75, of a thick swarm of bees (cf.Traina, *EV* 2, 26 on G.1.382, rendering Gk. πυκνῶ). There is some play between **apes** and **apicem**, though less than G.Wijdeveld, *Mnem.*3.10(1942), 79 suspects (cf. O'Hara, 285 on the sense of Serv. *ad* G.4.257).

mirabile dictu Cf.**78**, Varr.*Atac.*fr.14.5 (*uisu*), Cic.*carm.*Hom.1.20, G.2.30, *Aen.*1.439, 2.174 (with Austin's n.), 3.26 *horrendum et dictu uideo mirabile monstrum*. It has long been realised that such parentheses were characteristic of Lat. *Prodigiensstil* (or at least of V.'s version thereof; cf. *infandum*, *horrendum*, *nefas*, H.Kleinknecht, *Herm.*79(1944), 70f. = *WdF*, 432f., Grassmann-Fischer, 72, n.47): Livy's usage is much more limited than V.'s, just to *mirabile* and largely confined to the first decad (vd.1.39.1, 24.10.11, Austin, *cit.*, modified by PHI).

65 stridore ingenti I. of sound: Acc.*trag.*392 *et saepe*, Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1540.3. S. of bees, G.4.310, 556, *Aen.*12.590, Traina, *EV* 4, 1035f..

liquidum trans aethera On the adj.(primarily = 'clear'), cf. Nosarti, *EV* 3, 231ff.; NH on Hor.*C.*2.20.2; Lucretian (5.212, 500) as well as Ennian (*Sat.*4). For **a.**, cf. **281**, **288**. Given that the participle is most likely to be polyvalent, it is no accident that the adj. too is suggestive of the Trojans' voyage over the ocean, *liquidum* in another sense (5.859).

uectae The verb, in the light of the analogy drawn in **69f.**, is unsurprisingly one often used of the Trojans' voyage (1.524, 6.692, **7.228**, etc.).

66 obsedere A Virgilian variation on prodigy-language, which used *considerere/ insidere/ sidere*; cf.F.Luterbacher, *Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil* (Burgdorf 1904/Darmstadt 1967), 51. No inherent hostile sense (A.Traina, *RFil.*118(1990), 493, n.3 = *Poeti latini* 4(Bologna 1994), 143, n.13), *pace* Serv. *uerbum oppugnationis*.

apicem Not technical in such contexts; cf. rather Varr.*RR.*1.48.1.

pedibus..nexis Cf. apparently G.4.257 *pedibus conexae*, but the context there (moribund bees) is very different and Mynors points rather to Varr.*RR.* 3.16.29 *conglobatae* in the context of swarming.

per mutua Similar to *mutuo* (LHS, 178) or *mutuum* (Lucr.3.801 *et saepe*; cf. also Cat.45.20 *mutuis animis*). Serv. glosses well *inuicem* and Goold translates as ‘reciprocal’ at Manil.2.516. **Per** might be described as ‘modal’ (LHS, 240f., Fordyce).

67 examen The standard term for a swarm of bees; the passages collected by Grassmann-Fischer, 65, n.14 do not show that it was a *Terminus der Prodigiensprache*, but rather that the language of prodigies did not eschew normal terminology! There is more than verbal play between **e.** and **69 agmen** (bees and Trojans, that is, are linked also by language), for if the agreed derivation of **e.** from *agere* was sensed by V.(O’Hara, 187), as the orthographical evidence I collect at **703** suggests it may have been, then **e.** and **a.** were felt to be cognate terms.

subitum Cf. **120 continuo**: this suddenness was a standard part of prodigy-descriptions.

ramo frondente Cf. **135**, *trag.inc.221*.

pependit Cf. 5.511 *innexa..pendebat*, Colum.9.12.2 *glomerata pependerit* (bees), Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.7.1032.3.

68 continuo Cf. *supra subitum*.

uates Used, as often, for *haruspex* (a word only *bis* in V.), consulted in the case of bee-prodigies (Boas, 145, D.Porté, *Les donneurs du sacré* (Paris 1989), 162f.): *uates*, in fact, is often used for interpreters of portents (5.524), or entrails (4.65, G.3.491), not to mention (e.g.) Helenus, Cassandra, the Sibyl, the poet himself (**41**); cf. *EV* 5*, 456, Heinze, 167, n.3, Ogilvie on Liv.2. 42.10.

externum.. / 69 ..uirum The first of seven instances of this key adj. in bk.7: cf. Halter, 38, **424**; the noun is mildly ambiguous, suitably so in the context, for clearly it can suggest both ‘a foreign man’ and ‘a foreign husband’. This is the first indication received by Lat. (while the reader may have suspicions from **52** on) that a marriage between Tu. and his daughter is not divinely approved, irrespective of Amata’s enthusiasms.

cernimus Cf. Wulff, *TLL* 3.874.43: the Sibyl’s *cerno* (6.87), and Cic.*Cat.*4.11 *cerno animo..insepultos aceruos ciuium* (vd. further *Div.*1.114, precisely of *uates*, *Fam.*5.12.2) prove not so much association with portents as the verb’s suitability to non-ocular vision in general and vatic utterance in particular. Balk, 26 wrongly points to **c.** as a term of *Prodigiensprache*. This is after all a passage where V.’s ability to impress us with the apparent sacrality of commonplace terms emerges so very often.

inquit Cf. 2.520, 5.670, 741, 8.113, 9.781 for this clearly handy structuring of the verse.

69 aduentare The verb at *Enn. trag.* 68, but otherwise comedy and prose; in e.g. Sall. often suggesting a hostile intent, but that is not inherent to the word (cf. *Caes. BC* 1.14.1). Aeneas' '*adventus*' has been compared with Hercules' and Augustus' (cf. 8.201, *Ov. F.* 1.240, Binder, 19f.), but the sense of triumphal entry seems distant here. Possibly the vb. is chosen to take up **38 aduena**.

partes..easdem A quarter of the sky, in augural and haruspical language (*Cic. Div.* 1.31, 2.42, *Liv.* 1.18.7, *Plin. Nat.* 2.143, *Paul. exc. Fest.* 244.6, *SDan. ad Aen.* 2.693, *Serv. ad Aen.* 8.427, Boas, 144). Swarm and strangers come from the Tiber; both make for Lat.'s citadel (cf. 12.567ff.); Grassmann-Fischer (66) suggests that the *uates* refers to the Trojans' return home ('from the same to the same'), but that is not compatible with the subtle parallelism drawn between Trojans and bees (who are not said to be flying in a large circle).

petere Cf. **343**, **362**, etc..

agmen V. elegantly uses a word that can be used both of the Trojans (**144**) and of bees (*G.* 4.59, 167), not to mention ants (4.404), elephants (*Enn. Ann.* 502) and birds (*G.* 1.381, *Aen.* 1.393, 12.249). The bees have already reached (**67**) the bay-tree, so it is the Trojans' *agmen* of which the *uates* now speaks.

70 partibus ex isdem Neither the commentators nor Wills' study of repetitions touch on this remarkable double polyptoton (but cf. **75** and Grassmann-Fischer, 70, n.33 for some faintly comparable descriptions of portents); 4.678-9 **eadem me ad fata uocasses, / idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset** is remarkable, but is only triple repetition of the pronoun (cf. *Pacuv. trag.* 91f.) and *Cic. Div.* 2.30 (*eodem..eundem..eadem*) is hostile polemic, not augural language (likewise *ib.* 92, 93, 146)! Prolonged study of PHI 5.3 suggests that V.'s language here is unique, and its effect is entirely that of drawing attention to the closeness of the parallelism between bees and Trojans.

summa..arce In some sense symbolic of Latinus' power and authority (cf. **61**, 8.1 and 8.98, 653, of the Capitol). **S.** as at **171**.

dominarius The solemnity of the *uates*' interpretation is given added force by the archaic infinitive, though elsewhere (cf. Fordyce, Görler, *EV* 2, 264) its use seems to lack any such purpose. The verb (*Acc., trag. inc., Lucr.*; cf. 1.285, 2.327, 363, 3.97, 6.766) looks ahead to Aen.'s rule as Latinus' successor, after the end of the poem, a hint perfectly compatible with the role of Aen. as *externus uir*, which Lat. does not (yet) pick up.

71-80 The setting of a portent in the context of a ritual act is traditional and conventional (cf. 3.24ff., 5.84ff., *Obsequens* 575, 588, 617AVC, etc., Kleinknecht (64), 72/434, Balk 27 n.3, Grassmann-Fischer, 70f.). The form of the portent is also notably rich in resonances: we think of the flame which plays harmlessly about Iulus' head (2.681ff.) and of the infant Servius Tullius, *caput arsisse ferunt*, again quite harmlessly (Liv.1.39.1f.; cf. Cic.*Div.*1.121, with Pease's n.); note further Liv.25.39.16, and Ov.*Met.*15.847 (flaming hair in Caesar's ascension, cf. Weinstock, 373). V.'s coupling of portents augments the king's, and the reader's, sense of tension and anxiety, for both prodigies are in some sense disquieting (80) and the interpretations offered (69f., 79f.), though not incompatible, do not point in exactly the same direction (cf. Balk, 30). V. almost discreetly here introduces the crucial motif of torches (with smoke, and flame); cf. Grassmann-Fischer, 69ff.: at 319ff., 388, 397 and 456ff., we shall return to this symbol both of marriage and of war. This second portent V. describes with extreme formal care (cf. Halter, 34ff., Balk, 31f.), in five parallel phrases (anaphoric participles in the central one, two pairs of infins. before and after); the references to the light of the fire and to the focus of the flames and smoke likewise point to the centrality of 75. The poet even passes from one assonance to another (note e.g. the predominance of a in 71-2 and of u in 76-7), and the alliteration of c and f may derive in part, as seems not to have been noted, from Lucr.6.690f. (cf. 71 bis, 74, 77 for Lucr.'s importance to V. here).

71 praeterea 94x in Lucr. (+2 spurious passages), *trag.inc.*86.

castis..taedis Enallage, according to Fordyce, citing 4.637, 5.745 (so too Hor.C. 3.23.20), as cases of transference from the officiant's *pietas* to the objects employed. But the objects can just as well themselves acquire the *pietas* of their user (Traina, *EV* 4, 96; cf. Bailey, 86f.). Serv. here comments *piis* (so *puris* on the *manibusque piis* of Dido at 4.517) and we may compare Cat.64.384 *domos..castas*, Cic.*Leg.*2.45 *castum donum deo*, not to mention Cat.68.79 *pium..cruorem*, Tib.2.2.3 *piatura*. Even to an enthusiast for Virgilian enallage, F.'s case here seems weak. Cf. 388, 457: torches will become of prime importance in bk.7, and Lavinia's will thereby acquire retrospective significance.

adolet dum altaria Anastrophe of the conjunction (cf. G.3.63, *Aen.*1.453, 8.454, 10.381 (with Harrison's n.), 12.570) gives some special prominence to the ritual action (whatever it is; perhaps some sort of preliminary offering or purification of the altar: Boas, 150,

Wissowa, 417). The phrasing is Lucretian (4.1237 *adoletque altaria donis*) and the verb (originally = 'burn') is, as also in Lucr., *cit.* and G.4.379, *Aen.*1.704 (where vd. Austin), transferred to the altar on which the offerings are burned (cf. Fordyce's long n., *EV* 1, 29). Smoke fills the *tecta* at **77**, yet Roman altars are regularly out of doors (Wissowa, 475, Latte, 386); Boas' answer to this apparent problem (151ff.)—that Lavinia is tending the domestic hearth—is too far from the plain sense of the Latin and we must conclude either that normal rules did not apply here or that the volume of smoke was such that it rolled through the palace too. Williams' note suggests that he (and perhaps not he alone) had toyed with the idea that **Latinus** might be subj. of **adolet**; intolerably obscure change of subject.

72 iuxta genitorem Cf. **82, 122, 134**: Lavinia is too old to be thought of as a *camilla* and both her visible long hair (**73**; contrast Ryberg (**615**), 52) and impending matrimony, to an uncertain mate, prevent us from thinking of her as a Vestal. In short, we would do best not to try to explain her precise role in Roman terms.

adstat Often assimilated to *astat* etc. in the codices: cf. **181** for the orthographical and editorial issue.

Lavinia uirgo Cf. **318, 362, 389**, Cairns, 163, but **L.v.** is a natural clausula of a familiar type (Moskalew, 84) and the description of Lavinia as *virgo* is hardly to be taken as a significant element in her characterisation.

73 uisa The entire description (to **77**) depends on this verb (*est* omitted): two pairs of infins. with repeated **accensa** at the centre (cf. Halter, 34ff. for a minute analysis). We are all spectators of the portent.

nefas Cf. **64** for V.'s use of exclamations in prodigy-descriptions. **N.**, however Roman in tone, is used in the Hellenistic tradition (and not that of the Latin annalists) of involving the reader in emotional reaction to the events narrated, and expresses the spectator's sense of horror at the anomaly of a ritual act interrupted by a strange and unnatural event. Cf. 8.688 *sequiturque, nefas, Aegyptia coniunx*, Mankin on *Hor.Epd.*16.14, Grassmann-Fischer, 72, n.47, Boas, 176; *EV* 3, 677 is not satisfactory.

longis..crinibus V. could perfectly well have written *passis..crinibus* (as 1.480), but did not; if he had, then we might have suspected a *supplicatio*, as response to the bee-portent (cf. *Liv.*26.9.7, Latte, 245f.). As it is, cf. **75, 391**; V. refers to Lavinia's hair also at 12.605. Cairns, 162 interprets this long hair in lyric terms, while Boas (170f.) hunts

for religious significance. Cf. rather Hom. εὐπλόκαμος, καλλιπλόκαμος.

comprehendere..ignem *Hypallage* comments Serv.(who notes it only here and at 354 in bk. 7): at G.2.305 *ignis* is the subject, and in Caes. huts and ships take fire (*BG* 5.43.2, *BC* 3.101.5; vd. e.g. Fordyce). But here Lavinia herself is still the grammatical subject and it is the king's daughter herself who appears to catch fire. Halter (35) notes how *i.* corresponds to **Volcanum** (77), as **flamma** to **lumine**. Are we supposed to imagine that it is the altar-flame that leaps up to surround her? It *was* significant when the altar-flame blazed up (*Buc.*8.105, *G.*4.385 (with Biotti's n.), *Paneg.Mess.*133f.; cf. S.Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer* (Christiania 1915), 137f.), but V. prefers not to spell out that that is just what happened here.

74 omnem ornatum The noun at Laev.fr.18.3; in comedy and prose, but not Cat., Lucr., Hor., Prop.; in V., cf.1.650, *bis* in Tib.(+ corpus), *bis* in Ov.*Ars.* Avoided because too quotidian? Because of possible confusion with the participle? Because the specific item was preferable? Here the reference would appear to be to the jewelled *corona* of 75: both lines refer to L.'s hair and to just one other item. So, well, Cairns, 163, n.49; Halter, 36 separates the ornaments, suggesting that V. now passes to specifically royal insignia, but this smacks of excessive elaboration of detail, while Fordyce takes *o.* of the hair itself, without citing parallel instances. V. had used *o.* of a gift—that had been Helen's—made by Aeneas to Dido. Though it is indeed Lavinia who fires a second war, as did Helen, her role is by comparison altogether passive and modest (cf. Lyne in McAuslan, 157ff., *WP* 80ff.); I wonder if we are really meant to infer that her get-up was so splendid as to break hearts as far away as Ardea (cf. Grassmann-Fischer, 73), with terrible results. For the retained accusative, cf. R. Thomas, *Vergilius* 38(1992), 136f., Harrison, *Aen.*10, p.290f..

flamma crepitante The verb, as Macr. notes (6.4.5) Lucretian and the sound-effect too (6.155 *flamma crepitante crematur*); cf. G.1.85 *atque leuem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis* Neither hearths nor bonfires are normally quiet; V. here specifies a brisk, crackling flame.

cremari Cf.295: unrealistic distinctions between Virgilian verbs of burning at Grassmann-Fischer, 76, n.70.

75 regalis..comas The hair already described as long (73), with, consequently, more spectacular effects here; the lofty adj. (only *ter* in V.; at Naev.*trag.*24) for gen. draws our attention to the exalted standing (and, consequently, future importance) of the portent's object.

accensa..accensa Partly asyndetic anaphora (the second *-que* is omitted): cf. *Aen.*10.313f., **327**, **516**. Grassmann-Fischer, *cit.*(**70**) scents *Prodigiensstil* (*tacet* Wills) and quotes 3.392(=8.45) *alba..albi*, 5.85 *septem..septena* (not close, but both passages are asyndetic, as portent-lists regularly are in Livy; cf. Luterbacher (**66**), 57ff.). V. knows his *Prodigiensprache* but applies it, mercifully, with a light and imprecise (or impressionistic) pen (cf. **64 mirabile dictu**, **66 obsedere**). Cf. **392** for the fire-imagery.

coronam/ 76 insignem gemmis Not Homeric (Seymour, 86) but Etruscan and oriental, as the antiquarian/historical tradition recognised (Liv.1.8.2, DH 3.62.1, 6.95.4, L.Bonfante Warren, *JRS* 60(1970), 59, Weinstock, 272). Just possibly, though, this crown (*EV* 1, 898 ignores the difficulties) is connected with Lavinia's descent from the Sun; her father, as grandson of Helios, was entitled to a solar crown, as V. realised (12.163, Weinstock, 69). Cf. Lucr.1.929 (=4.4) *insignem..coronam*, **7.655 insignem palma**.

tum At the outset, then, flames alone, as in 2.680ff., Liv. 1.39.1ff. (cf. Buchheit, 95: the two evident analogies; see **71-80**); the clouds of smoke thereby acquire special significance.

fumida Cf.**457**, **465**; Lavinia herself is 'wreathed in smoke'(cf. Halter, 36; the adj. of the sky at Lucr.6.644): not really enallage.

lumine fuluo Manil.2.942 has the *fuluus ignis* of the sun at dawn; cf. Edgeworth, 131, André, 134f.. Here both smoke and flames are involved, though, and the adj. is applied to the murky halo of *light* about the princess (*perperam*, *EV* 2, 607)!

77 inuolui Cf.Enn.*trag.*41 *fax obuoluta sanguine atque incendio*; note too *G.*2.308 *totum inuoluit flammis nemus*, 3.85 *uoluit sub naribus ignem*, *Aen.* 2.706 *propiusque aestus incendia uoluunt*, 8.253 *inuoluitque domum caligine caeca*. Cf. Lucr.6.394 *uoluitur in flammis innoxius*, 691 *uoluit caligine fumum*: V.'s rolling waves of anger are Lucretian (cf. **462-6**, Traina, *EV* 5*, 625) and so too, we find, his waves of smoke, flames, darkness. Yet here, the waves are not of smoke, but of a strange light.

totis..tectis Abl. of extension (**300**, **793**). The stock phrasing (**59**, **168**, **170**, **193**, **342**, **585**, **600** of Lat.'s palace) loses its conventionality as smoke swirls through the whole building (cf.**71**).

Volcanum spargere Neither the metonymy (cf.**111**), nor the verb (used both of colour, **191**, *Buc.*2.41 and of light, 4.584, 9.459, not to mention blood, limbs, water, honey) would be surprising, were not the subject still Lavinia herself.

78 id..horrendum Cf.3.26 (cited, **64**), 4.454, 8.565 *horrendum dictu*, still firmly in the realm of poetical *Prodigiensstil* (**64**).

uero Cf. **519** and Fordyce here: climax, not contrast.

uisu mirabile ferri More poetic *Prodigienstil* (cf. **64**); probably intended as ring-composition (so too **62 ferebatur.**, **78 ferri**, as well as **58 portenta**, **80 portendere**), coupling the portents. Cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 271f., Fordyce on **15**, Harrison on 10.267, for ample bibliography on the historic infinitive.

79 namque Unelided; cf. **765**.

fore *Enn. trag.* 261, *Pacuv.*, *Acc.*, *trag* and *praetext.*, *sexies* in *Lucr.*, *bis* in *Cat.*, *ter* in *Cic. poet.*, *octies* in *Aen.* Cf. **270**.

inlustrem Cf. **181**, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 431, for the irresolvable orthographical problem. The case for imposing assimilation in V., against the (general) evidence of the capital mss., is not very strong. Possibly **76 lumine** offers an etymology (O'Hara, 187), while 6.758 *inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras* provides excellent comment; the thorny antiquarian question of Lavinia's descendants, which V. faces with elegant inconsistency (contrast 1.267ff., 6.760ff., with Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 471f., *RMM*, 23, *Vergilius* 32(1986), 9, *Alambicco*, 97), complicates evaluation of Lavinia's future fame, but **80 ipsam, sed** does make it clear that **79** is necessarily positive, and unambiguously so, in tone, though it does not spell out that *Aen.* and Lavinia will be ancestors of the kings of Alba!

fama fatisque An (uncommon) alliterative noun-pair: cf. 8.731 *attollens umeris famamque et fata nepotum*, *Tac. Agr.* 42.3, Wölfflin (**692**), 54 = 258: interesting inasmuch as the paired words are etymologically cognate (for *fama* and *fari*, cf. *Varr. LL* 6.55, O'Hara, 187).

canebant Cf. **271 canunt**; the *vox propria* for seers (Heinze, 167, n.3, Fordyce; cf. 5.524, *Cic. Div.* 1.115, *Nep. Att.* 16.4, *Liv.* 1.45.5); while the subject-less verb at **271** looks like rhetorical generalisation from Faunus' words, here we supply (if we must) *uates*, from the closely parallel **68**.

80 ipsam Note pause after self-contained first-foot spondee, with enjambement; V. devotes all the techniques at his disposal for throwing this word into relief: cf. Austin on 4.185, Harrison on 10.116f.. Williams' idea that the subject of **portendere** might be the distant **id** of **78** is deplorable, with this **ipsam** intervening.

populo The warlike subjects of Lavinia's father were always going to have to suffer for Rome's future fame: cf. 1.263f. *populosque feroces/contundet*, 5.730f. *gens dura atque aspera cultu/ debellanda tibi Latio est*, 6.890f.; 9.343, 11.451, 12.131, 223 as well as **7.319**, **693** show V. unsurprisingly a poet often explicitly aware of the high price nameless spear-fodder has to pay on the epic battlefield.

portendere Cf. **58, 256.**

magnum..bellum Cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 189 *duello..maxumo* (military parody), *Tab. Triumph. Aemil.* = Liv. 40.52.5 (179 BC), Cat. 37.13, *Aen.* 2.193, Liv. 4.58.11, 8.13.15, *TLL* 2.1848.28 (B.A.Müller/Hey), 8.134.19ff. (Bulhart). Cf. Jupiter's *bellum ingens geret Italia* (1.263).

81-106 Careful readers of these lines from Heinze on (Rehm, Boas, 194, Weinstock, Steiner, Highet, Wacht, 197; so too Horsfall 1971) have noticed that in V.'s account there coexist a number of disparate elements (listed summarily here; details, *infra*):

(i) Descriptions of Greek incubation oracles (notably Lyc. 1052ff., *Drium*).

(ii) Descriptions of Greek necromantic consultations, overlapping with (i).

(iii) The Italic tradition of the admonitory voice from the forest, often associated with Faunus.

(iv) The ἐπιχώριος δαίμων who appeared to Lat. at DH 1.57.4.

(v) Stock elements of the description of a Charoneion, or Plutoneion, where (i) and (ii) are regularly sited. While (i), (ii) and (v) do all regularly coexist (as a few hours spent with Pausanias, Plutarch and Strabo make clear), the other two elements are altogether extraneous, which makes assertions (Palmer, Briquel) that V. is describing (with the precision, almost, of PW!) the actual oracular practice at Albunea difficult to evaluate with respectful attention.

If then we contemplate the passage as another typically Virgilian poetic construct, its topography likewise may turn out to owe more to Helicon than to modern mapping techniques (cf. Clausen on *Buc.* 9.57f.). The name 'Albunea' may in origin have indicated the white (**albus**) incrustations of sulphur so typical of (v) above (cf. the stinking Aquae **Albulae** in the plain below Tibur; vd. **517**). Albunea, moreover, was the name of the Tiburtine Sibyl (Varr. *res div.* fr. 56a); Hor. *C.* 1.7.12 does not make it clear that one of the cascades at Tibur was also called A. (vd. Giuliani). There are no grounds, genealogical, topographical or onomastic, for supposing that Lat. has to hasten 25 miles into the territory of Catillus and Coras to consult his father's oracle; if the Laurentes had had an oracle (where one of their own rulers spoke), it would presumably have been in their own territory! Cf. Carcopino, Tilly, Guarducci, Castagnoli; the objections of Lyngby and Balk are peculiarly weak. The site now called for convenience Albunea is 6 km. NE of Lavinium (cf. F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium* 1 (Roma 1972), 10); it was known in antiquity (Vitr. 8.3.2 on sulphur-springs *in*

Ardeatino), but the name depends on PsProb. *ad G.1.10 oraculum eius [sc.Fauni] in Albunea, Laurentinorum silua*: Wissowa (PW 1.1337.42ff.; cf. Rehm, 77, Balk, 124) realised that this could be an *autoschediasma*, an ingenious transference of a known name to an unnamed site, or just a clever guess. In practice, V. himself may have done the same thing as his commentator—that is, he may have taken an entirely appropriate, familiar name and applied it to a nameless *plutoneion* known to exist, conveniently, quite near where the poet has envisaged Latinus as living. Cippi bearing dedications to Neuna, Neuna Fata and Parca Maurtia were found just over 50 years ago, along with the alleged dedication to *Lari Aeneae*, at Tor Tignosa, 10 km. NE of Lavinium (cf. Horsfall, *RMM* 17, Schilling, *EV* 1, 787ff., Castagnoli, *ib.*, 85; I say ‘alleged’, after discussion with Prof.T.J.Cornell, when he had recently tried to make out the lettering on the *cippus*) and much has been made (cf. Palmer) of the vicinity of V.’s oracle, likewise NE of Lavinium (only 6 km., if correctly identified) to these dedications (which are indeed to potentially oracular deities). But Albunea and Tor Tignosa are hardly close enough (4 km. apart: further, after all, than St.Peter’s from the Rome synagogue!) for their proximity to entail religious significance, as though both belonged to one single group of cults (so Palmer) and the *cippi* may be left out of (serious) debate. Cf. Balk, 120ff., Boas, 195ff., D.Briquel in *Les bois* (761-82), 85ff., Carcopino, 299ff., F.Castagnoli, *EV* 1, 84f., J.Champeaux, *Kernos* 3(1990), 109, F.Coarelli, *Santuari* (761-82), 104f, L.Deubner, *De incubatione* (Leipzig 1900), C.F.Giuliani (670-77), 24f., M.Guarducci in *Studi.. G.Funaioli* (Roma 1955), 120ff., Heinze, 176, n.6, Hightet, 104, n.14, H.Lyngby, *Eranos* 63(1965), 90ff., R.E.A.Palmer, *Roman religion and Roman empire* (Philadelphia 1974), 80ff., Rehm, 76f., Steiner, 59ff., B.Tilly, *JRS* 24(1934), 25ff., M.Wacht, *RAC* 18(fasc.138, 1997), 197, S.Weinstock, PW 6A. 833.45ff., T.Yoshimura, *Nouv.Clio* 7/9(1955/7), 428ff.. See too Horsfall 1971, 88ff., *Alambicco*, 152ff.. No Albunea in *Neue Pauly*.

81 at Lat. is **sollicitus**, much as the subjects of **79 canebant** had been (cf. O’Hara *DOP*, 206 s.v. ‘prophecy, mood of recipient before’, and the particle is no more adversative than a weak Greek δέ (cf. **691**, *EV* 1, 441 for ‘transitional’ *at*).

rex The threat of **populo magnum portendere bellum** bears directly on Lat.’s royal duties; old he may be, but after the two portents, his action is swift and appropriate.

sollicitus monstris Standard procedure: Liv.1.56.5 *hoc uelut*

domestico exterritus uisu Delphos ad maxime inclitum in terris oraculum mittere statuit, 5.15.3 (*prodigium* > mission to Delphi), 22.57.5, as it had been for the Greeks (e.g. Ael.VH 3.43, DS 17.10.1f.). **S. quinquies** in V.; *bis* in Pacuv.trag., *sexies* Lucr., *semel* Cat.. Cf. **270** for **m.** used in the ‘etymological’ sense of *id quod monet*; cf. Stok, *EV* 3, 574f.(who notes, after Grassmann-Fischer, that V.’s portent-terminology is poetic not technical—just as we would expect).

oracula A single oracle (cf. Baer, *TLL* 9.2.869.54, G.2.16, *Aen.*2.114; sing. unusable in hexams.); cf. **81-106**, **85** for its presence in the Roman Campagna.

Fauni/ 82 fatidici genitoris Cf.47; V. plays here with the etymological connexions of Faunus with both φωνή / and *fari* (Varr.LL 7.36, Serv. *ad Aen.*7.47, SDan. *ad Aen.*81 ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς *dictus, quod uoce, non signis declarat futura*, O’Hara, 188). Cf. Macr.Somn. 1.3.8 *cum in somnis parens uel alia sancta grauisue persona.*; the dream appearance of father to son is not only Ciceronian (*Somn.Scip.*) but already familiar in the *Aen.* (4.351ff., 5.722ff.), yet here Faunus will declare himself (**95**) *more suo*, and hardly in a sleeping vision. The adj. Varronian (LL 6.52) and *ter* in Cic.; cf. 8.340, 10.199 (with bilingual play on **Mantua**).

adit Cf.Ov.*Met.*13.677, 15.631, Dittmann, *TLL* 1.624.20.

lucosque Given the exact parallelism of **adit** and **consulit** and the immediate proximity of **l.** to **nemorum quae maxima**, which defines Alb. as a *nemus*, near-synonym of *lucus* (cf.Cat.Agr.139, Coarelli, 174, J.Bodel, *AJAH* 11(1986/[1994], 11) it emerges that Alb., for V., is a sacred grove (cf. Guarducci, Briquel, *citt.*). The right home, too, for the voice of Faunus (**81f.**, **95**), as TCD notes, with decision, which a waterfall could never be.

sub alta/ 83 ..Albunea Hardly ‘under’(Carcopino, 299), not least because that would detach the oracular grove from Albunea; rather, ‘deep in’ (cf. 9.244 *uidimus obscuris primam sub uallibus urbem*, 11.23 *Acheronte sub imo*, Austin on 6.273, Kroll on Cat.51.9, Rothstein on Prop.1.14.12, *OLD* s.v.§2, LHS 297 (‘tief in’), Guarducci, 123. The preposition reinforced by **alta** (cf. **95**): the forest is not merely high, but large enough to contain ‘depths’ as Lucr.5.41 *siluas..profundas* (cf.G.2.391, **7.515**); the *stabula alta ferarum* of 6.179 are indecisive, but cf. Cat.63.13, *ite ad alta..nemora*, Mantovanelli, *EV* 1, 121. Balk, 125 offers no objections of substance to this interpretation.

consulit Cf.Cat.Agr.5.4 *haruspicem, augurem, hariolum, Chaldaeum ne quem consuluisse uelit*, G.3.491, *Aen.*4.64, Ov.*F.*2.713. Compare the Sibyl’s *consulta* (6.151) and vd. La Penna, *EV* 1, 878f..

nemorum quae maxima The plain sense of V.'s Latin (cf. Balk, 121 for some older views) is that Albunea, for him, is (as he has just said—theme and variation—in faintly different terms) a *nemus*, and not a fountain *vel.sim.(ergo* Hor.C.1.7.12 is writing about a different place): cf. Rehm, 76, Horsfall 1971, 90. Compare the *aesculus, nemorumque Ioui quae maxima frondet* (G.2.15): that *nemus* is neut. and both *aesculus* (there) and *Albunea* (here) fem. is in no way awkward. For attempts at distinguishing *lucus* and *nemus*, cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, 258f., Fedeli on Prop.4.9.24, Grimal, *Jardins romains*, 66, n.5, G.Schoenbeck, *Der locus amoenus* (diss.Heidelberg 1962), 55f.; *EV* 4, 757 is altogether inadequate.

sacro/ 84 fonte Cf. **797f.**; here the spring is presumably sacred to Faunus, but the language is appropriate to most genres and contexts: cf. *Buc.*1.52, *G.*4.319, NH on Hor.C.1.1.22. *Nullus enim fons non sacer* comments Serv.. Also, though, a regular element in the ritual of incubation: cf. Lyc.1053, Strab.6.3.9 (the stream of Podalirius, at Drium), Paus.1.34.4 (spring of Amphiaraus at Oropos), 2.27.6 (Asclepius at Epidaurus; cf. Xen.*Mem.*3.13.3), 9.39.7 (Trophonius at Lebadia); cf. too 3.26.1, Deubner, 22f., Wacht, 207.

sonat A delight to readers in thrall to Hor.C.1.7.12 *domus Albunae resonantis*, but not enough, we have seen (**81-107**), to justify the transfer of the whole episode to Tivoli. Conventional (and that it is hardly now true of the correctly located Albunea is entirely irrelevant, for the cave really does seem once to have been more dramatic (Tilly, *cit.*, also quoting earlier descriptions) than when Miss Tilly and I returned, with Dr. and Mrs. Cornell, in 1977! Cf. Hor.C.1.17.12, 4.9.2, *Epd.*2.27, Prop.4.9.35, Ov.*Met.*3.161.

saeuamque..mephitim Cf. **570 pestiferas**; such places not only do smell foul, but the vapours are toxic, and not only in literature (vd. Austin on 6.240-2, Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.79 *mortifera*, C.G.Hardie, *PBSR* 37(1969), 32f.): the rare visitor to Ampsanctus used to be warned in strong terms and large letters of the risks, though Albunea is far less perilous (cf. Plin.*Nat.*2.236 *natura saeuit*, of Etna; the adj. suggests generally 'savage', not specifically 'toxic'). **M.** not only a goddess venerated at (e.g.) Ampsanctus (**563-71**) but as a common noun indicates the sulphureous vapour such *spiracula* emit; the connexion of malodorous *Plutoneia* (object of Varro's marked interest; cf. **563-71**) with incubation oracles is to be expected, for it is in such places that this world and that below (home of the heroes and chthonian deities to be consulted, Wacht, 183) are in closest contact: cf. Ganschietz (**563-**

71), 2384.7, Gruppe, 935, A.Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divination* 1(Paris 1879), 330f., F.Cumont, *Lux perpetua* (Paris 1949), 94, R.Ginouvès, *Balaneutike* (BEFRA 200, Paris 1962), 337, E.Rohde, *Psyche* (Eng.tr.1925), 92f., J.H.Croon, *Mnem.*4.20 (1967), 225ff., Wacht, 207f., 210. **M** preserves the spelling **-ph-**, against the **-f-** of **PR**; cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 419f. on the tendency of the capital mss. to this Latinising substitution. Serv. favours a Greek acc. in *-in*; unwelcome: NW 1, 316f..

exhalat At Pacuv.*trag.* 363, *quinquies* in Lucr.(smells, smoke, mist, etc.; cf. *G.*2.217 and at *Aen.*2.562 transferred)

opaca At Cat.63.3, 32 of woods; *bis* in Cic.*Arat.*. Cf. not the welcome shade of **36** so much as the gloomy shadows of Ampsanctus (**565 atrum**), or even, within the appropriately dark and menacing entrance (6.238f.), the sequence 6.283, 633, 673 with Reeker, 68f., Rehm, 78f.: not so much a way of overshadowing the prophecy of **96-101** (let those who will take it thus! **80** is disquieting enough), as a conventional detail of the Plutoneion-type of conventional landscape in which such oracles (cf. **81-106**, **saeuam .. mephitim supra**) are sited; note the threatening *umbrae* of 1.165, 311 (with *EV* 5*, 378; **o.** is 'higher' than *umbrosus*, Clausen on *Buc.*1.52).

85 hinc.. / 86 ..huc For such partial anaphora, cf. *Buc.*1.51ff., 7.11f., 9.39ff., 59f., *G.*2.4, 514, 3.288, *Aen.*3.707f., 714f., 4.252f., 6.295f., 788ff., **7.240f.**, 12.743ff., 772. Contrast Wills, 110f. for gemination proper.

Italae gentes Cf. 9.132f.. The normal prosody of the adj., while the first vowel of the noun has been necessarily lengthened (from Call.*H.*3.58); cf. Fordyce, Horsfall (**359**), 174. Cf. the frequent hyperbolic use of *populi* (**247**, **384**, **693**, etc.); though we have learned a good deal of late about Italic oracles of one sort or another (cf. Champeaux, Yoshimura), it remains truer than ever (Wacht, 195, 197f.) that incubation proper was virtually unknown in central Italy: apart from the slight evidential standing of our passage, note Serv. *ad Aen.*7.88 (Jupiter Capitolinus, commenting on Plaut.*Curc.*266) and, for temples used for dream-interpreting, Schol.Pers.2.56, Suet.*Aug.* 94.4, Marc.Aur.1.17.18; we would also expect incubation at the shrine of Asclepius on the Tiber Island (cf. the responses recorded at *IG* 14.966), and Plaut.*Curc.*246ff. may reflect not the play's Greek original, but usage in a cult which had arrived at Rome in 293 (Wacht, 194). Drium (**83f.**) and Avernus (cf. Soph.fr.748 Radt, Plut.*Mor.* 109C(?), Bouché-Leclercq (**84**), 3(1880), 367f., Hardie (**84**),

32, Deubner, 6, n.2, Wacht, 210) belong primarily to the more richly Hellenised south.

omnisque Oenotria tellus Hyperbole-and-variation (cf. the clausula *Saturnia tellus*): note **179 uitisator** for the S.Italian Oenotri, whose name comes to be used as a synonym for *Itali*; though Italus was called king of the Oenotri as far back as Antiochus (**178**), the identification of Oenotria with (most of) Italy is not explicitly pre-Augustan: cf. 1.532 = 3.165, passages so close to DH 1.35.4 as to suggest (Musti, *EV* 2, 317) dependence on common sources. For this spread of a local name, cf. Clausen's admirable note on *Buc.*9.13.

86 in dubiis Cf. Publil.Syr.141, 227, 652; Lucr. has (*ter*) *in dubio* (note KS 1, 228ff., LHS 152ff. for adjs. transformed into nouns and cf. **64**).

responsa petunt Cf.6.151 *dum consulta petis*; **r.** is the standard (not the specifically oracular) term (*G.*3.491, *OLD* s.v., §2a). Cf. **92**.

dona.. / 87 cum tulit Cat.64.34 *dona ferunt*; perhaps to be thought of in terms of cakes and libations (cf. *Ar.Nub.*506-8, Herodas 4.90f., Philostr. *Vit.Ap.*8.19, Max.Tyr.*diss.* 8.2Hob., Deubner, 42f., Wacht, 219, H.W.Parke, *Greek oracles* (London 1967), 83f., *id.* and D.E.W.Wormell, *Delphic oracle* 1(Oxford 1956), 32).

sacerdos Another anomaly, in close succession. Incubation-sanctuaries were well-staffed (Paus.9.39.7f., 10.33.10), and at specialist centres of medical incubation there were expert priests (Strab.14.1.44 on Acharaca; cf. Wacht, 194), not to mention wizards of one sort or another at oracles of the dead (Lucian, *Menippus*, 9f.; cf. **89, 91** for the contribution of necromancy here) yet it is the enquirer in person who must necessarily 'incubate' (Horsfall 1971, 94). Though it will emerge that the **sacerdos** of **86-91** does much the same as Lat. himself at **92-5**, that does not make Lat. a 'priest-king'(Balk, 35f.). The double description of the ritual is a Virgilian mannerism (**616f.**, which, however, describes explicitly a ritual continuity both heroic and Augustan, in a manner comparable to his treatment of the *lusus Troiae*), aimed perhaps both at integrating more fully antiquarian detail and epic narrative and at giving the poet two chances to flaunt (and in subtly varied detail) his discreet (but once at once recognisable!) transmutation of Varro *res div.*, or the like!

87 caesarum ouium The sacrifice of black rams was an integral element of the ritual of incubation (Lyc.1050, Paus.1.34.5, *et saep.*, Boas, 208ff., Deubner, 40f., Wacht, 221), and V. is about to explain the use to which their skins were put. Here and at **93** the sheep are designated feminine (and that is *not* here the result of some linguistic

convention, as in Ital. ‘una pecora’, ‘un montone’; cf. Renehan(145), 214), though the oracle is Faunus’: that might appear to violate the rule of *dis feminis feminas.*(Wissowa, 412f., Bömer on Ov.F.4.650, who reproves Ov. for breaking the said rule at F.2.361), but the ‘rule’ is not itself universally binding (8.640f., Latte, 380, Briquel, 86, NH on Hor.C.1.4.12, G.Capdeville *MEFRA* 83(1971), 302f.), and anyway does not apply so strongly in the Greek world of V.’s literary sources (Wissowa, 420, n.3, P.Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig 1910), 191ff., specially in the case of chthonian deities). For c., cf. 574.

sub nocte silenti Cf.4.527, the same clausula and note 6.268 *sola sub nocte; sub nocte sexies* in V.(a recent development in usage, LHS, 279). The natural time for inducing an incubatory dream.

88 pellibus..stratis Cf. 1.700 *strato..ostro*, 8.367f. *stratis.foliis; s.* alone becomes the grand epic term for ‘bedclothes’: 3.176, 513, 4.392, 8.415; cf. 94, 277. The *incubator* (Tert.’s term) lay down on the freshly-flayed skin. It is really not quite clear whether it was there to intensify contact with the lower world, or to protect the *incubator* from baneful influences (Wacht, 221; cf. Bömer on Ov.F.4.654, Deubner, 40f.).

incubuit Gk.ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι; specific, if not positively technical language, as at Plaut. *Curc.* 61, 266, Mela 1.46, Fest.326.16, Tert. *Anim.*49.2; the term survives, as in M.Hamilton, *Incubation* (London 1906).

somnosque petiuit Cf.8.405f. *placidumque petiuit/..soporem*. Detailed reports suggest that the visions appeared most often between sleep and waking (cf. 91 **colloquio**). Cf. 754 for the plur. *somni*.

89 multa modis simulacra.. uolitantia miris Cf.Lucr.1.123 *simulacra modis pallentia miris* (after Enn.—Plautus and Ter. are interesting but irrelevant—, with *Od.*11.601ff. behind him; cf. Skutsch, p.155) = *G.*1.477; cf. Ogilvie on Liv.1.57.6, Austin on 1.354 (exceptional) and Löfstedt 1, 60ff. for the poetic history of this splendid alternative (here enhanced by multiple alliteration) to the mundane *mire*, *sexies* in V. and censoriously called a cliché by Harrison on 10.822. The impalpable flutter of the spectre attracted V. (cf. 378) to the frequentative (itself Ennian, *Epigr.*18V *uolito uiuos per ora uirum*) at 6.293, 329; cf. Pasqualetti, *EV* 5*, 612.

uidet Just as Aen. saw the denizens of the Underworld (6.323, etc.): the reader who has just heard/read bk.6 will be in no doubt that Lat. is (also) in direct contact with the lower world. Cf. 91 **Acheronta**; these details derive from the very real overlap between incubation

and necromancy (cf. **84 saeuam ..mephitim**, Gruppe, 935f., Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational*, 111, Hardie *cit.*(**84**), 32, Wacht, 209f.). **90 et uarias audit uoces** Note multiple *uoces* and *dei*; contrast the single voice of Father Faunus at **95** (cf. G.1.476, Liv.1.31.3, 2.7.2, 5.32.6). At unambiguous incubation oracles, it was of course the *deus loci* who spoke to the *incubator*, amid all the circumstantial details of the ‘conventional’ divine apparition (cf. Deubner, 10, 11ff., Wacht, 221f., E.J. and L.Edelstein, *Asclepius* 2(Baltimore 1945), 150f.). Here Briquel compares (87) the *saepe Faunorum uoces exaudita*e of Cic. *ND* 2.6 (where vd. Pease’s n.; cf. *Div.*1.99 *uoces*, 101 *Fauni auditi*, Lucr.4. 581-3). At Enn. *Ann.*207 *uorsibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant* Skutsch detects in the plur. the contempt perceptible at Lucil.484, but notes that a pluralisation does later take place (Lucr.4.580, *Aen.*8.314 *haec nemora indigenae Fauni nymphaeque tenebant*); the Cic. passages he of course cites, without, however, saying whether he detects in them pluralisation or disdain! We might look for both and may wonder whether the tone of Cic.’s plural is quite what is wanted here. Incubation was employed to listen to various deities (Gaia, Nyx, Dionysus, as well as Asclepius: Wacht, 183f.): basically one at a time, though, and only one divine voice per oracle, though Trophonius at Lebadia—cf. **91 Acheronta**—may have indulged in some additional effects (on T., cf. R.J.Clark, *TAPA* 99(1968), 63ff.). Even the dead at *Od.*11.43 had but one cry; perhaps more to the point the *uoces* of *Aen.*6.426 (compare 4.463): if Lat. is perceived as in some way in direct contact with the Underworld (cf. **91**), then V. may perhaps envisage him here in dialogue with a wider range of deities and heroes.

fruiturque Cf. 8.468 *licito tandem sermone fruuntur*, imitated Ov. *Pont.*1.4.54 *colloquioque frui*.

deorum/ 91 colloquio The noun at Lucr.4.598 (common in prose); it will be clear from **90 et uarias audit uoces** that these *dei* are not clearly identifiable (and that could even have been what V. would have wished).

imis..Auernis Cf. 5.732 with Williams’ note, 6.126 with Austin’s n.: the Underworld as a whole (and V. uses as often the alternative neut. plur. form; NW 1, 722). Cf. G.4.471 *Erebi de sedibus imis*, *Aen.*6.404, 459, 11.23 *Acheronte sub imo*.

Acheronta The Underworld as a whole (cf. **312**) and its denizens: the interaction of necromancy and incubation (cf. **84 saeuam..mephitim**) at its completest. Paus.’ autoptic description of the shrine of

Trophonius at Lebadea (9.39.5ff.; cf. Plut.*Mor.*590B), may serve, for all its attempt at cool sobriety, to convey the effect that one of these oracles could in practice have on the eyes and ears of an intelligent visitor.

adfatur Not the (extant) language of an incubation oracle (e.g. *IG* 14.966)(but note **544** for its literary history); the *incubator* is after all normally asleep (or nearly so), while Latinus seems only just to have lain down and **95** certainly does not suggest a dream. This is the language of V.'s garrulous Underworld (cf. 6.455, 538, 666), or Homer's. Incubation oracles seem almost efficient (though that may reflect the outlooks of Strabo and Pausanias), and entirely one-sided; here V. has introduced quite other elements into the picture, and others too (cf. Steiner, 61) have been struck by the similarities with bk.6.

92 hic et tum Cf.**86** for this passage and **616** (see Balk, 35 for V.'s attention to minor stylistic variation between the two accounts).

pater ipse..Latinus P.i. of Portunus, 5.241, of Jup., *G.*1.121, *Aen.*6.780; Latinus as *pater*, also at **274**, **593**, **618**: here as father of Lavinia even more than of his people.

petens responsa Cf. (reversed) **86 responsa petunt**.

93 centum The *geminas..oues* of *Ov.F.*4.652 (his reworking of this scene, after all) is both more realistic and a nice bit of fun at V.'s expense: cf. Wölfflin, *ALL* 9(1896), 186, Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 786, *Aen.*1.634f.. But this untimely hecatomb is in keeping with the rude magnificence of **275** and **538f.**

lanigeras *Enn.sat.*66V, *Acc.praetext.*20, *quinquies* in *Lucr.*: a (?)rather worn piece of old, high language, *quinquies* in V.(cf.**631**).

mactabat Originally, 'to honour with sacrifice' but the offering took the honorand's place as the direct object (LHS, 35; cf. **71 adolet**). Cf. Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*299, *EV* 3, 304f. and Fordyce's long n. here. Why imperf.? Perhaps to indicate the long business of the hecatomb, preliminary to the still longer incubatory vigil. Note **87 caesarum ovium**, here elevated in every possible way.

rite Cf.**5**; 16x in *Aen.*. Cf. too *Enn.Ann.*615, *Lucr.*1.495. Equivalent to (**247**) **more**, often with added sacrality (cf. *EV* 4, 510f.).

bidentis *Sexies* in *Aen.* in a sacrificial context; helpfully defined by Hyg.(fr.3GRF= Gell.16.6.14) as a sacrificial beast (not necessarily a sheep, though clearly so here), with eight teeth of which only the (central, lower) two are no longer the original milk teeth Cf.M.-A.Kugener, *Mél.P.Thomas* (Bruges 1930), 493ff., Boas, 219f.. The facts 'much discussed by closet veterinarians' (Pease) were plainly set forth

by Henry on 4.57: a sheep whose two central teeth (in the lower jaw) alone are visible is perforce in its second year of life (*Anglice*, I would add, 'hog' (yes!) or 'hogget'; still current).

94 atque harum..tergo Did one try to envisage this scene realistically, and not in terms of Homeric magnificence, untimely mirth would supervene. **T.** is 'collective singular' (Löfstedt 1₂, 12ff., LHS, 13f., Görler, *EV* 2, 269f.) and in hendiadys with **s.u.**.

effultus Cf. 8.367f. Evander takes Aen. and *stratisque locavit/ effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae*. The *simplex*, oddly, *quater* in Cic.*Arat.*, always the ppp..

stratisque iacebat/ 95 uelleribus Cf. **88 pellibus incubuit stratis**; used of the wool or of the skin, wool and all (*EV* 5*, 474); in Lucr. (6.504) and Varr.*Atac.fr.*13.1 (of clouds), but of real sheep Varr.*RR* and *LL* (once each) before *Buc.* and *G.*. I cannot quite see why edd. do not put a full stop at **uelleribus**.

subita..uox The adjective, in such a context, adds to the portentous quality of the voice (cf. **120 continuo**) while the voice itself reveals that V., who began with the (essentially Hellenic) description of an incubation-oracle, concludes in terms of the equally familiar (and typically Italic) but entirely distinct supernatural voice from the forest: cf. **90 uoces**, Boas, 184f., Briquel, 77ff., Latte, 50f. and **81-106** for its place in the Aen.-legend. That in some contexts **F.** appears also to have been associated with the Underworld (Porph. *ad Hor.C.* 3.18.1) is barely if at all relevant.

ex alto..luco Cf. **82 lucosque sub alta...**

reddita..est Cf. 3.40 (from Polydorus' tomb) *uox reddita fertur ad auris*; the active common in the sense of 'utter in reply'.

96 ne pete..natam sociare Faunus speaks to his son (**97**) with a specificity in marked contrast to the **uates'** grandly obscure warnings at **69-70**, and also in terms far less alarming (though cf. **98 sanguine**); it is after all with his own family's future that he is concerned. Faunus' father Picus was also oracular, but V. is cautious in his use of oracular or totemic animals (cf. *Alambicco*, 21f., *Vergilius* 35(1989), 13). The prohibition (cf. **202**, Serv. on 6.544, Austin on 2.48, 6.74, LHS, 340, Pascucci, *EV* 3, 681 for this handy but archaic construction) resolves the problem that has tormented Lat. since his entry into the narrative and he remains true to the orders received: **255ff.**, **269ff.** (repetition in an unfinished passage, as will emerge, not legitimate emphasis upon a feature of crucial importance), 12.27f. *me natam nulli ueterum sociare procorum/ fas erat* (cf., in matrimonial contexts, 4.16,

Liv. 1.9.14, *EV* 4, 914). The infin. after verbs both causative and expressing desire (or, the contrary, hesitation) is particularly dear to V. (so after eg. *ardeo, tendo*; LHS 346, Görler, *EV* 2, 271).

conubiis..Latinis For the prosody of the noun (on which vd. 555), cf. 253. The plurals in this line and the next refer not to potential polyandry but undeviatingly to Turnus (clearly the front runner by now, despite 54 **multi**, 55 **ante alios**); that is clear if we look ahead to 98 **generi**—Aeneas, beyond doubt (though there is a typical tendency to generalise and perhaps a touch of oracular mystification; cf. 359, Löfstedt 1₂, 39ff., LHS, 16. Heinze, 176, n.7 rashly prefers a genuine plural). **C.** is (cf. 264 **iungi hospitio**) abl. rather than dat.. 97 **o mea progenies** Cf.10.471 *Sarpedon, mea progenies* (cf. Harrison on 10.30 for this grand noun inherited from Cat. and Lucr.; possibly a mantic hint: cf. 257); never used by Anch. to Aen.. Cf. 360 for the tone of **o**. Contrast the grim (*λευγαλέην*) warning received by Aeetes from *his* father Helios (AR 3.597ff.). Aeetes keeps it secret (594; cf. 103); Lat. has no reason to.

thalamis..paratis Cf. 253, 388. It is quite clear (and will become clearer) that Tu. never was affianced to Lavinia in V.'s view of the matter (cf. 55, 423), and Faunus here does not depart from this fundamental detail of the plot; as Serv. remarks (on 12.31) Lat. would not have bothered consulting him if the match had been settled. Amata, of course (56f.) thinks that Tu. would be the perfect choice and it will become clear that Lat. has taken, cynically even, practical advantage of his wife's candidate (cf. 423 on this sub-plot). **Paratis** then, not officially, before gods and monarch, but rather (Fordyce) 'at hand' (cf. *OLD* s.v. *paratus* §1, with ample instances and note NH on Hor.C.1.31.17 *frui paratis* 'often misinterpreted; the meaning is not *quae paravi* but *quae in promptu sunt*'), or even 'fixed, arranged' sc. '(unofficially) by Amata': cf. 1.362, 557, 4.75, 5.513, etc. and in particular 366. The verb lacking in *EV*

neu crede Not with *natam* understood, but in the common use with simple dat. of 'trust to' (with frequent implication of risk, *EV* 1, 923): cf. *Buc.*2.17, 3.94f., *G.*4.48, 192, *Aen.*2.48, 11.283f., 807f..

98 externi..generi Cf. 256, 424: this crucial motif is advanced for the second time (cf. 68); we shall have to wait for the old king to work out this prophecy in terms of his reaction to the Trojans' arrival and of his recollection of the story of Dardanus (cf. 255).

uenient Cf., in the same vein 1.283, 6.85, 10.11. The **ueniunt** of some c.9 mss. ('melius' Serv.) is notably lacking in appeal.

sanguine The common stuff of oracle-language (Norden on 6.87 *et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno*; cf. *Vergilius* 35(1989), 10, *Alambicco*, 81ff.: a stylistic register to which V. is notably partial). **S.** primarily, of course in the sense of ‘bloodline’ (cf. **271**, O’Hara, *DOP*, 57, 63) but O’Hara (63) is clearly right to see a small ugly oracular hint of ‘bloodshed’ and we should not have had to wait until 1990 for this to be spelled out!

nostrum/ 99 nomen in astra ferant Quoted by Lat. at **271-2**, where vd. comm..

quorumque a stirpe Cf. **293, 579; a Rabc; ab MP** and the remaining c.9 mss.. The usage of the capital mss. in cases of *a/ab* before *st-* is as follows (‘on such a point I doubt if the Carolingian mss. help’ Mynors *per litt.*): *a stirpe* uniformly at *G.2.312, Aen.3.94, 9.603*; at *G.1.171 AMPR* give *a* and only **M₂ ab**; at *Aen.1.626 a PR, ad/ab M; at 8.130 exactly as at 1.626. Note too *G.4.14 a stabulis PR, ab M*, 8.207, 9.566 *a stabulis* all mss.. At that point I can see why Mynors here preferred to follow **R** in isolation, out of respect for the clear usage of the capital mss. in the nine parallel instances (*aliter*, Horsfall 1971, 15f., contumacious and ungrateful!).*

nepotes../ 101 uidebunt Cf. 6.757, 864 *magna de stirpe nepotum, EV* 3, 705f.. We shall shortly see that the sun as witness is a *locus* of Hellenistic panegyric (**101**; cf. n. on **218**); here the Romans shall themselves see (cf. 1.258, Venus as future witness) whatever the sun itself sees, under their sway. The redoubled motif, **uidebunt..aspicit**, is not entirely felicitous.

100 omnia Cf. **258 totum quae uiribus occupet orbem**; Christ, 57 notes Plb.8.4.6 τῆς ἀπάντων ἡγεμονίας, but is wrong (missing this passage as he does) to say that there is no comparable material in Latin before *Ov.F.4.859, Tr.2.323*; cf. too *Vell.2.31.1, Curt. 9.3.7*.

sub pedibus Cf. Dio 43.14.6: at his triumph in 46, Caes. did not notice his statue on the Capitol with the globe at his feet (on the problems and the Roman history of this image, cf. Weinstock, 41, 42ff. and note too *Buc.5.56 sub pedibus*, which might even refer to Caesar). The image of the down-trodden enemy has a formidable history (alien to Greco-Roman art ‘of the best period’, as Fraenkel, *infra*, notes), from Tutankhamun’s actual footstool, the Behistun relief of Darius, and the OT (*Psal.110.1* ‘until I make thine enemies thy footstool’, *Deut.33.29, Josh.10.24, Isiah 66.1*), to the figure under Shapur’s horse as Valerian submits and the commonplaces of late antique and Byzantine panegyric, literary and visual (cf. Mac-

Cormack (**812**), 56, 128, pl. 56, A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Strasbourg 1936), 43ff.). In the texts, cf. the use of *protero* (Hor. C.3.5.34), *conculco*, πατέω (*Apoc.* 11.2), ἐπεμβῆναι ποδί (Soph. *El.*456; cf. *Ar.Nub.*450) and Lucr.'s *pedibus subiecta* (1.78 with Munro's admirable note; cf. *G.*2.492). Cf. further Fraenkel on *Aesch.Ag.* 907 and *Horace*, 160f.. To be understood with both **omnia** and the coupled *infin.*..

qua Cf. Hor. C.4.14.5f.o, *qua sol habitabilis/ illustrat oras*, Tib.2.5.58f., Petron.119.1f., Luc.1.17.

sol..recurrens Returning regularly every day (cf. Hor. C.4.7.12, Ov. *F.*2.854); the Romans will therefore rule everything from ocean to ocean (vd. next note) and from sunrise to sunset (cf. **218**, with full discussion, **606**). The interwoven word-order appropriate to the majesty of the sentiment.

utrumque.. / 101 ..Oceanum Cf. Prop.3.9.53 *utroque ab litore* (with Mynors on *G.*3.33), Ov. *Met.*1.338 *utroque..Phoebo*, with Lee's note, 15.829f. *utroque.. / Oceano*; the Ocean in E. and W. therefore sets the limits to Rome's rule (but were that not enough, there are always islands: cf. Flor.1.45.16, **225f.**): cf. Antipater, *GP* 329, Philip, *GP* 2666ff., *Aen.*1.287, *Paneg.Mess.*147, Tac. *Ann.*1.9.6, NH on Hor. C.1.12.56, Christ, 51f., Brunt (**258**), 107ff.; for a summary of the debate, cf. Horsfall in *Orazio: umanità, politica, cultura* (Convegno.. Gubbio 1992; pub. Perugia 1995), 23ff..

aspicit Cf. **218**.

uertique regique In **u.**, Fordyce, with atypical subtlety, correctly suspects polyvalence: everything rotates (astronomically) under Roman sway (cf. *G.*1.239, *Aen.*2.250, *OLD* s.v. §1) and everything also depends upon Rome's nod (*OLD* §2; note (not in F.) 10.528f. *non hic uictoria Teucrum/ uertitur*, Ov. *F.*1.120). Williams' 'overturned' is inexplicable; not linguistically unvirgilian (**407**), but the image of Roman *nepotes* gloating over a world crushed beneath their legions' jackboots (near enough what the phrase thus interpreted must in the end imply) is quite false to both poet and princeps: 10.736 or 12.533f. (dead or dying victims underfoot) are Iliadically appropriate to scenes of battlefield horror, and not (seriously, and objectively, not) to the Alexandrianising rhetoric of early Augustan national exultation, as careful study of Christ, Stuttgart 1938(!), will confirm. With **r.**, cf. 6.852 (with *SO* 68(1993), 39); indeed **uertique regique**—astronomy apart—could be taken as variation-by-hendiadys on *regere imperio*.

102 haec responsa Taking up **86**, **92** and the actual response.

patris Fauni Cf. **96, 97**.

monitusque Introduced by V. into poetry (4.465, etc.: *sexies* in Aen.; cf. Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1421.47), and certainly handier than *monita* (cf. NW 1, 646); cf. Liv.5.51.6. Technical language (or so at least *moneo*: Grassmann-Fischer, 44, n.44; *EV* 3, 564 inadequate).

silenti/ 103 nocte Cf. **87 nocte silenti**; elegant variation.

datos Cf. 1.382 *data fata*; cf. *dare dicta, uerba, uoces, sonitum*, etc.; *EV* 2, 116, *OLD* s.v. §§26, 27.

non ipse suo premit ore On the mutual attraction of *ipse* and *suus*, cf. Austin on 6.780, Leo *loc.cit.* (**428**: a comparable phenomenon).

Premitt ore: the parallel material (cf. the markedly similar **119**) suggests, just as does the explicitly contrasted **104-5 (sed.)**, a sense of ‘keep within his mouth’, ‘maintain silence on’: Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1080.14 (as equivalent to *ore fauere*). Contrast the secretive Aetes: **98**, Hunter on AR 3.594.

Latinus Given added weight by separation from **ipse**: the king does not hesitate in the face of the domestic difficulties Faunus’ answer will create (cf. **97**); just what he *does* do is not made clear, but he does *not* look for a solution in delay and secrecy.

104 circum..uolitans Cf. G.1.377 *lacus circumuolitauit harundo*, after Varr. Atac. fr. 14.4; cf. too Lucr. 2.329, *EV* 5*, 613; V. does relish tmesis of disyllabic prefixes (**559, 588f.**). We may also recall the *simplex* at **89**. Rumour, that is, like ghost or bird: so 9.473-4 *uolitans pennata..Fama*, and not that far from the image on Fama in bk.4.

late Cf. **486, 525, 681**; given that V. is committed to the recreation of Iliadic magnificence, but in circumstances almost rustic and modest, such words are essential to the representation of *ingentia bella*.

fama Cf. **392, 549**; we think not so much of the elaborate allegory of bk.4 as of the realities of historical experience undergone by V.’s readers. I am far from sure that we are justified in writing **Fama**; **fama** was quite dangerous enough, especially when the news was that Turnus was out of the running (an aspect of the plot to which V. returns at **421ff.**).

iam../ 105 ..tulerat, cum Rumour had already taken effect, by the time the Trojans moored: not the end of an historical digression (Williams), so much as a subtle and fleeting hint on V.’s part that the explosive news of Turnus’ fall from favour had *already* made the rounds by the time the Trojans make their (happy and triumphant) landfall. Turnus will affect to make little of the news (**436ff.**), but he is not its only recipient: all central Italy now knows that, in Lat.’s

view, the gods (let us not forget **68-70**) have decided against Lavinia's favoured suitor, and the king never goes back on that conviction. Cf. 3.589, 655, 4.7, 5.84, 693, 6.45, 190, 372, 8.97, 276, 408, 11.903f., 12.941: to be viewed in the context of the narrative advantages of the plpf. (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 273). Nelis (280) well notes that the Argo long remains (2.1281ff., 3.575ff.) hidden in a marsh, while the Trojans moor only seventy lines after sighting the Tiber estuary: V. binds the oracular revelation to Lat. and the Trojans' arrival into a single sentence: a theatrical climax to his terse account of passions and tensions in the *arx Laurens*. Cf. Görler (**25-36**), 172f.

per urbes/ 105 Ausonias Cf. **623**: all of central Italy S. of the Apennines. Cf. **384, 549, 601** etc. for the epically necessary preconception of an urbanised Italy.

Laomedontia pubes Cf. 8.18; no mandatory and inescapable reference in either passage, it is recognised, to the heavy criminal inheritance of L., of which V. makes so much elsewhere (E. Henry, 200, n.31, Moskalew, 173, n.81). Cf. **219, 521** for **p.** in the sense of 'young fighting men'.

106 gramineo ripae..ab aggere **A.** apparently first here of a raised river-bank (and the gen. defines what sort of *agger* it is). The line imitated, *Ov. Met.* 14.445. The grass is not simply ornamental (cf. **341, 589, 753** for adjs. in *-eus*) for it will become significant in the all-important picnic, **109**.

religauit..classem Cf. **201, 431**. At 9.118 the ships are still moored, not drawn up on shore.

107-147 (i) The story-type. It has long been clear (cf. Carcopino, 590f., Heinze, 84f., Pease, Schmid, Harrison, 133, Horsfall 1989, *Alambicco*, 97) that the distinctive colouring of the episode, like many others, particularly in *Aen.* 3 (cf. too **his..agris, 206**), derives ultimately from the literature of Greek colonial foundations, in two details in particular, first, the driving force of hunger (**113, 124, 128**; cf. Horsfall 1989, 13, citing *Plut. Mor.* 297B, Polemo, *FHG* 3, 126, fr.39; Harrison, 147 notes the absence of explicit references to hunger in the parallel versions of this story, excepting *OGR* 11.1, but they are all briefer than V.'s) and secondly the inexplicable term prescribed by an oracle for the colonists' wanderings (Pease, 9, Horsfall 1989, 12f., citing e.g. DS 12.10.5) which is resolved by a verbal and/or material ambiguity (e.g. DS *cit.*: *medimnos* a local name for 'water-pipe', *Strab.* 13.1.48: a Kenning for 'mice', *Plut. Mor.* 294E: 'wooden dog' = 'dog briar', DS 8.23.2f.: vine(fem.) twined round wild fig(masc.) =

‘female wedded to male’). **Mensas (116)** does not guarantee that the story begin in a Latin-speaking environment (for, given that the link with Umb. *mefa* is not certain, it could render faithfully the **τραπέζα** of DH’s sources, in the ambivalent oracular tradition) and we cannot even be certain that the story was born with reference to Lavinium/Alba: I do not refer to the trivial variants, SDan. *ad Aen.* 7.631, Tzetz. *ad Lyc.*1250 but to some basic uncertainties that the story provokes, particularly if one looks at V.’s account in practical terms, §iv.

(ii) History of the story. Cf. Boas, 221ff., Ehlers, 167f., Harrison, 135ff.. Its antiquity (contrast the far ampler tradition on the white sow of Alba) rests not so much on Lyc.(?)1250-8 (cf. **123**) or Conon (*FGH* 26F1) 46.5 (Augustan) as on the sources used by Strab.13.1.53, DH 1.55.2-4 (where the reference to Dodona probably derives from Varr.*res div* 2 (appx., fr.1) cited by Serv. *ad Aen.*3.256) and *OGR* 10.5 and 12.1 (‘Domitius’ remains mysterious, though not for that reason fictitious). That the story (which, as we shall see—(iv) and (vi)—contains many variants) was an action of the cakes used in the cult of the Penates at Lavinium is a scholarly fancy (so Boas, 223ff. and Scheid, *ad fin.*, rightly against e.g. Ehlers, 167, n.10, Fordyce on **116**; numerous further refs. *ap.* Boas, 224, n.11); Serv./ SDan. *ad Aen.* 3.257 *maiores.. habebant in honore deorum, panicias scilicet* (cf. *ad Aen.* 1.736) just could be right but is not localised, nor limited to that one cult.

(iii) Ritual problems. Scheid is perfectly right to question the commonly held view that the Trojans have been driven by hunger to eat a meal in some sense sacred (*OGR* 10.5 *sacratas* is not binding for V. and there is no guarantee that TCD on 3.255 or Serv. on 3.257 are right to take these ‘pittas’ as sacred cakes; cf. **109**). **Violare (114)** belongs to a pattern of studied euphuistic overwriting (**112, 3**), which characterises V.’s manner here, as should have been made clear by the parallel **nec parcere (115)**. While **liba (109)** and **augent (111)** do often enough belong to the lexicon of ritual acts, their very use does not perforce render the whole context sacred, as Fordyce seems even to suggest for **mensas (116)**. Once Aen. realises the picnic’s importance in destiny’s plan, it will indeed acquire a marked sacral tone, but far too much has been made of V.’s unloved and misunderstood ‘writing up’. At Call.*H.*6.108 Erysichthon eats the heifer that his mother *intends* to offer to Hestia, but his impiety appears not to be increased thereby. And (cf. Boas, 227, **114** below) the narrative context prevents us from ascribing—here, of all places—a sacrilegious act to Aen..

(iv) Gastronomic problems. The issue is far from trivial, for there is no sort of comparable use for bread known at Rome (cf. **109 adorea liba** for the terms used; inconveniently, a *libum* is not a flat, platter-like comestible at all), though we may note that Eng. ‘trencher’ can be of either of bread or of wood (S.Mennell, *All manners of food* (Oxford 1985), 51) and is neatly used by Gavin Douglas here in his translation (vd. *OED* s.v.). It also makes very little sense to use bread (or celery; vd. *infra*) as plates for eating wild fruit (**111**; Athen.4.149A, compared by Scheid, is very different) and Strabo *cit.* indeed refers to ‘meats’ in his account of the episode. If the Trojans really were eating bread, what was so odd about it (**112, 114, 116**)? The setting is anyway post-heroic (**109**) and the menu would have appalled Odysseus (**111**). Nothing quite fits. A suspicion is aroused that the story as used by V.—or by his proximate source—has been subtly but significantly altered in transmission. *OGR* 12.4 refers to plates of *apium*, celery (cf. Clausen on *Buc.*6.68, Mynors on *G.*4.121), *DH* 1.55.3 to *κέλινον* (celery, again), Dio *ap.*Tzetz. *ad Lyc.*1232 to hard bread or celery: alternative rationalisations of ‘tables’, or two distinct versions?

(v) Relationship to bk.3. There appears to be a major discrepancy between the version related here by V. and that of bk.3 (250ff., 394f.). I have pointed out (bibl. *ad fin.*), after Carcopino, 590f. and Boas, 222f., that the author of the tables prophecy is very variously attested and that the variation in V. itself follows the good Hellenistic usage of alluding to more than one version of the story narrated (*Vergilius* 37(1991), 35); in particular, the oracular role of Anchises (**122f.**) found here but not in bk.3, is, like it or not, a literary bow to Naevius and Ennius. Too much, though, for Günther (80ff.) or Primmer (399, n.5). So be it, and indeed more should have been said (to Dr. Günther’s most elegant and ingenious critique of my view of Virgilian inconsistencies, I offer some reply in *RFil.* 125(1997), 468ff.). We shall discover a splendid instance of *ungeschehenes Geschehen* later (**540-640**) and Nesselrath’s expression is helpful here too (cf. Harrison, 160): V. did not *narrate* the episode in which Anch. unravelled the latent ambiguity in Celaeno’s prophecy (and the phrasing of **123** does nothing to impede this interpretation) but only offers a back-reference to it now in Aen.’s recollection (shortly after a long conversation with his father about future events in Italy). Celaeno and Anch. offer appropriately phrased versions, hostile (after the slaughter of her cattle) and encouraging, of the same *Ur-text* (Prim-

mer, 398; cf. Harrison, 157, Block, 234f.) and the only problem is (Primmer, again, 406ff., agreeably argued) to locate that encounter, if we must, at some precise point in the narrative (?cf.6.890). The number of back-references here present is in itself significant and apparently unremarked (**110**, **122f.**, **128**): had 7 been written before 3, three references back to a prophecy not yet composed within 20 lines are not easily explained. But it should not be supposed that the episode is after all simple and unproblematic: cf. **133-4** and **146-7** for some tricky moments. The hemistich (**129**) can be accepted as a sign of incompleteness, even if (*pace* Günther, 21f.) it has no bearing on V.'s (hypothetical) uncompleted attempts to 'reconcile' bks. 3 and 7. (vi) Epic antecedents. Od. prays (13.356) to the beloved nymphs of his homeland on reaching Ithaca (Knauer, 341); compare and contrast **137f.**; the prayers coincide structurally but the contents are necessarily opposed. Knauer rightly thinks also of Od.'s uncertainty at 5.445, on arrival at Scheria. The arrival at Ithaca was much in AR's mind at the end of *Arg.2* (local nymphs, but Earth is significantly added; cf. **136f.**). It will be clear, however, that upon this sub-structure V. has erected a *Kreuzung* of elements of the most varied origins (Roman ritual, Greek oracles, bucolic, the Aeneas-legend). Cf. E.Harrison, *PLLS* 5(1985), 147ff., A.Primmer, *WS* 108(1995), 397ff., Berres, 212ff., Blänsdorf (**1-4**), 93f., 104, Büchner, 373, D'Anna (**122**), 58ff., Gleis, 313, Grassmann-Fischer, 39ff., Günther, 20ff., Heinze, 89ff., Klingner, 501ff., Mackie, 144f., O'Hara, *DOP*, 25f., Fordyce on **116**. On the story, cf. also Boas, 221ff., A.S.Pease, *CP* 12(1917), 1ff., B.Schmid OSB, *Stud.z.griech. Ktisissagen* (diss.Fribourg 1947), 189ff., W.Ehlers, *MH* 6(1949), 166ff., J.Scheid, *EV* 3, 485f. C.Dougherty, *Class.Ant.*11(1992), 28ff.. Steps towards my position are outlined in Harrison, *OR*, 472, *Vergilius* 33(1989), 12f., *Alambicco*, 99f. **107 Aeneas** Returns to the narrative (last mentioned at **5**) briefly but for a role of the highest importance in terms of the Trojans' destiny (and scrupulous observance of cult usage). The verse divides into three natural sections: one component (in human terms) per section.

primique duces Cf. **152** for the general absence of an hierarchical stucture in V.'s Trojans.

et pulcher Iulus Cf. 5.570, 9.293, 310 and **7.477f.**

108 corpora..deponunt Lucr.1.258 *corpora deponunt*.

sub ramis..arboris altae Lucr. again, 2.30 = 5.1393 *propter aquae riuom sub ramis arboris altae*. Cf.Theocr.12.8, *Buc.*1.1, Tib.2.5.96, NH

on Hor.C.2.11.13, Horsfall 1971, 99 and **109 per herbam** for the pastoral character of the whole scene.

109 instituuntque dapes The verb *bis* in Lucr. and *semel* in Cat.; the noun at 'Liv. Andr.' fr.37Bü., Acc.*trag.*218: any sort of meal, not necessarily of a sacred character. The epic hero could not cook on board and thus ate promptly on landing (*Od.*9.87, Seymour, 306f.); so too Aeneas, but in a bucolic setting (Klingner, 503).

adorea Cf. Plin.*Nat.*18.81 *far quod adorem ueteres appellauere*, *CGloss.* 5.6.10=5.44.31, *TLL* 1.813.33f.(Kempf). Clearly emmer, not spelt, Mynors on *G.*1.73, N.Jasny, *Wheats of classical antiquity* (Baltimore 1944), 112. Cf. J.André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine.*(Paris 1961), 53, T.F.R.G.Braun in (ed.J.Wilkins, etc.), *Food in antiquity* (Exeter 1995), 34f.. The older word (the noun *ador(eum)* and the adj. *adoreus*) avoided in *G.* and only here in *Aen.*, in a context of increasing ritual complexity.

liba Technically a cake of *far*, oil and honey, used in offerings (so Serv. here and cf. Cato, *Agr.*75; 'Opferkuchen' to Wissowa, *passim*): the size of small buns (Ryberg(615), 40 and pl.X, carried by the Aen. of the Ara Pacis, when about to sacrifice the sow), when used in such contexts and clearly not what V. has in mind here. 'Pizza' cries J.Ades (*CJ* 64 (1968/9), 268), 'chapatis' retorts Gransden (*Virgil's Iliad* (Cambridge 1984), 51), 'focaccia' asserts Ranucci (*EV* 3, 876f.). 'Pitta' counters Braun, *cit.*; at least he knows (as do I, as a regular consumer) what emmer bread tastes and looks like (not, indeed like pitta!). Bakery aside (not to mention emmer soup, still a delectable staple in rural Umbria), V. uses an archaising adj. and a noun from the lexicon of sacred offerings (a dozen instances in *Ov.F.*, e.g.) for an item of quite different appearance (and 'pitta' will do very well for flat bread on which food is heaped) on an initially non-ritual occasion.

per herbam Cf. the popular picnic in the Campus Martius on 15 March, *Ov.F.*3.525f. *plebs uenit ac uirides passim disiecta per herbas/ potat*; also *Aen.*3.224, 9.164, Lucr.5.1392, Tib.2.5.95f., *Ov.F.*1.401f.. There is, as Griffin (492, 1985), 102f. (cf.*ib.*20f.) well notes, a marked pastoral element in the scene here: the pretty boy, the tree, the meal on the grass. So again, we will discover, in Iulus' hunt (476ff.).

110 subiciunt Cf. 2.235f., 5.103 *subiciunt ueribus prunas*. Only hypallage in the sense that—logically and in the real world—the food is placed on top of the **liba**.

epulis Actual foodstuffs, not the meal in general (so rightly Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.701.48); something rather more sumptuous than swiftly for-

aged *poma agrestia* is normally intended in the latter sense (cf. *G.*4.378, *Cic. Tusc.*5.97).

sic Iuppiter ipse MPR and the consensus of the c.9 mss.; **ille M₂** and one c.9 ms.(n) but also Priscian (*ter*), *SDan. ad Aen.*1.617, TCD. Usage is clearly in favour of **ipse** (cf. *G.*4.149, *Aen.*3.222, 4.268, 270, 9.128, 12.725) and neither 2.779 nor 10.875 really support **ille**. Mynors *per litt.* retains 'a lingering misgiving': '**ipse** is such a *very* odd word..I..should be happier if I could explain **ille**'. But V.'s usage is clear enough and **ille**, though an interesting and curious error (possibly by reminiscence of 2.779/10.875), has no serious claim on our attention.

monebat Cf. 102. The cross-reference (in the poet's mouth, alerting the reader; cf. **122f.**) to 3.251f. (Jupiter tells Apollo, he Celaeno and Celaeno the Trojans) is clear (note the *mensae* to follow at 3.257) and offers little comfort to those who believe that the version in bk.3 is later than that in 7 (cf. Günther, 43, n.104, against Berres, 229, etc).

111 et Cereale solum Cf. *Isid. Orig.*11.1.115 *sed et solum dicitur omne quod aliquid sustinet*, *Serv.* here and on 5.199. This is good kitchen-Latin (*sensu strictiore*: *Cato Agr.*76.1, 77, 82) for (*OLD* s.v.§1b) an undercrust and is used widely—at all levels -for various kinds of base and substructure (cf. 5.199, 10.102, *OLD* s.v.§1, Lenaz, *EV* 4, 932f.). The adj. *quater* in V.; note particularly 1.177 *tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma* (vd. *Quint.*8.6.23): corn and the means to make bread, in similar language; such adjectives are a refinement of metonymy (vd. Pease on *Cic. ND* 2.60, Lunelli-Kroll, 38, Fordyce on **113**): cf. *Neptunia* (8.695), *Volcania* (10.408), *Martia* (**182**).

pomis agrestibus Language lofty enough for the exceptionally fastidious Tac. (twice, even: *Germ.*23, *Ann.*15.45.6); possibly there lurks here an almost whimsical recollection of Lucr.'s more specific account of the diet of primitive man, 5.939ff. (cf. *G.*2.36, 500f.). Fruit-trees are mentioned often enough in *Hom.*, but the heroes' actual diet is very short on vitamin C (Seymour, 213f.). This meal is decidedly anomalous; contrast the grilled venison of *Aen.*1 (Görler, 169, who suspects that the slaughter of deer may be 'saved up' till **476ff.**).

augent Religious language, for *EV* 1, 398 and Fordyce (cf. *Plaut. Merc.*676, *Varr. LL* 5.112, etc., Hickson, 69f.). Here, though, the Trojans are hungry and on short rations (**113**); they heap (cf. 9.406f.) their flat bread with the results of their foraging and though V. has begun to use words with a religious flavour (**109 adorea liba**) the prophecy has yet to be fulfilled and the dramatic surprise of its fulfil-

ment in the course of a particularly frugal dinner (*not* a ritual banquet) is reduced if the air is already rendered heavy with premature sacrality.

112 consumptis..aliis Cf. **116**, **125**. The verb common in prose, but cf. Lucr.1.226, etc..

hic Cf. **435**.

forte By pure chance—no game, as on the Tunisian coast, and not much wild fruit in season—the ravenous Trojans actually eat their (?)pittas; sadly, we really do not know (though we may guess, **114**) why, in epic or culinary terms, this was so odd.

uertere morsus So Helenus at 3.394 *nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros*, Sen.*Ira* 3.1.5 (the angry mind) *in se ipsa morsus suos uertit*. ‘The expression of these lines, to our taste turgid and pretentious’ grumbles Fordyce (on **110ff.**; contrast Austin on 1.177): on this singular mode of writing, cf. Horsfall, *Maia* 41(1989), 251ff., Russell on Longinus 43; also *EV* 5*, 34ff.. The mannerism of ‘writing up’ in flowery language the humble activities of life grew out of the desire to avoid *uerba humilia*, fed on the comparable phenomena of periphrasis and ‘Kenning’, and grew into a poetic game (at which Tac. also played), which V. relished (cf. 1.174ff., 701f., **7.462ff.**, 8.181, 9.326, *Maia cit.*, 252; vd. Heyne here and A.Perutelli, ed. *Moretum*, 34f., E.J.Kenney, ed. *id.*, xlvii^f) but which never acquired a generally accepted name in antiquity, whence the obscurity in which it has lain. We should rather stop grumbling and look to the combined effect of an improvised meal (in a pastoral setting) described in a consciously anti-Homeric manner that balances realism of detail and irreproachably high language as the scene for Iulus’ fateful joke (**116**), itself in the tradition of colonisation-legends, with all its grand consequences (note the ample religious detail), both immediate (from the authorial comment, **117f.**, on) and longer-term. The *Kreuzung* of elements, levels, literary traditions is exceptionally complex and it does not help to protest against a major component on grounds of modern taste, when it does so much to help set up the great *coup de théâtre*.

113 exiguam in Cererem Casually, after **111**, it seems (cf. **554**), rather than studied adj./cognate noun repetition (Wills, 240f.). This looks like carelessness to modern readers and may have served to augment the unease roused by V.’s euphuism (though *panem* is far too low a word to be used here, not having been legitimated by Cat. 59.4). Cf. Ov.*Ib.*114 *exiguumque petas ore tremente cibum*, *Moretum* 112.

penuria..edendi The noun *bis* in Lucr.; the use of the gerund per-

haps mildly archaic (cf. *Enn.trag.*210, *Lucr.*5.1225, LHS 375), but it has a majesty missing in *cibi*.

adegit The verb Lucretian; note *Aen.*6.695f. *tua tristis imago/ saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit*.

114 et uiolare While the verb can of course be used of sacrilegious acts (e.g. 2.189, 4.27), acts to which it is applied are not perforce sacrilegious (e.g. 11.255, 12.67) and *Aen.* can hardly be thought to encourage his men to impious gluttony as mainspring of this peculiarly hallowed occasion (vd. e.g. Scheid, *cit.*; *aliter*, Williams' infelicitous n. here) nor in retrospect do the Trojans undertake ritual purification after the impious violation of their sanctified trenchers. Cf. Horsfall 1971, 101. V.'s 'euphuistic' language throughout **110-4** should have alerted careful readers of the passage to the risk that V. might very well be using a word stronger than the occasion quite required.

manu malisque audacibus An improvised alliterative noun-pair (cf. **284**); at 3.257 only *malis absumere mensas* but here the moment of fulfilment and the peculiar stylistic character of the context calls for elaboration. Not *manu* in the common (**127, 143, 664, 688**) weakened sense but quite literal (cf. **455**): *audacia* in picking the *mensae* up and *toujours l'audace* in devouring them. The adjective does not perforce carry a sense of (reprehensible) hardihood (cf. 8.110 and note the mocking tone at *Cic.Fam.*9.20.2); the question of just what was so surprising in the Trojans eating their trenchers, if they really were of perfectly edible emmer and not necessarily sacred, remains, unless the very form and essence of the joke (however fatuous we may think it!) meant that even an otherwise most palatable loaf of emmer became 'a table' by the very fact of some other part of the meal being placed on top of it by, since hungry Trojans travelled without picnic furniture! Cf. **116 etiam**.

orbem/ 115 fatalis crusti Cf. 12.670 *oculorum orbis*, 925 *clipei..orbis*. The adj. perhaps both looks back to Celaeno's prophecy and forwards to its imminent fulfilment; here there is an element of oxymoron not present in e.g. *fatalia arua*: 'the voice of destiny's round trencher' (I hardly exaggerate; the sonorous adj. 12x. in V.; *semel* in *Lucr.*(5.876), and note *Hor.C.*1.37.21, 3.3.19). **C.** possibly at *Hor.Ep.* 1.1.78; *crustula* ('cakes') much commoner in all Latinity. V.'s hunt for variation and synonyms (this being the most complex, given the detail added by **orbem**) creates special problems: he has already called the *mensae* **liba** (**109**) and now uses another word rather too sugges-

tive—were we looking for a merely clear and lucid account—of the pastrycook’s. ‘Crust’ does not enter into it (*pace* Paratore; Serv. *ad* G.3.360—a spurious distinction between masc. and fem.—and OGR 10.5 *crustam* are not decisive).

patulis..quadris The third expression in three lines for ‘pittas’ (*vel sim.*); cf. Juv.16.39 *patulo..libo* (sacral). The adj. *ter* in Lucr.; the noun can designate both the lines marked on the top of a loaf (*panis quadratus*, Athen.3.114E) or bun (Kenney on *Moretum* 47f., West on Hes. *Erga* 442; eight segments were normal in antiquity) and the segment itself, whether of bread (Sen. *Ben.*4.29.2, Juv.5.2, Mart.6.75.1, 9.90.18) or of cheese (Mart.12.32.18). But V. might also be using *quadra* as synecdoche for the whole (and more manageable) ‘pitta’. Serv. thought **q.** could also designate ‘table’; while square tables did survive, in the army (Varro *LL* 5.118), there seems to be no other evidence in favour of this extrapolation.

nec parcere Cf. **260 nec sperno**: litotes (cf.10.880).

116 heus Markedly colloquial and colourful in tone; Watt rehabilitates Forbiger’s comment: *neque dolentis Iuli est ut Serv....ad 1.321, neque ludentis et faceti remque insolitam cum ioco notantis..*[citing Markland] *sed, quod iam Cerda perspexit, Iulus simpliciter alloquitur socios exclamans: en quid facimus? mensas etiam consumimus?* This use of *heus* in questions is common enough in Plaut.(*Capt.*592, 830, *MG* 178, etc.) and has been reinstated in both Mynors and Geymonat, while the use to draw the hearer’s attention (Mensching cites *Rhet.Her.* 4.14, 65, Hor.*Serm.* 1.3.21) is so brusque (“ere”) as to grate here. Cf. W.S.Watt, *Glotta* 41(1963), 142, E.Mensching, *RhM* 113(1970), 265ff., Hofmann-Ricottilli, 116ff., Austin on 1.321.

etiam So was there really something out-of-the ordinary in eating the trenchers? Habitually under/overcooked? Flavoured by the ashes? Made with grain from the bottom of the sack? Cf. **114**, though I cannot prove that the whole episode must perforce be the expansion of a trivial joke!

mensas *Mefa* is the Umbrian equivalent to lat. *liba* (*Tab.Iguv. passim*) and it has long been suspected that V. is playing on *mefa/mensa* (Bücheler, *Umbrica* (Bonn 1883), 60f., etc., Boas, 229). But V. helps us with dialect-plays and this one, by his standards, is too hard (cf. index s.v. gloss), nor do we have any idea whether (e.g.) Varro knew about *mefa* and whether V.’s ‘educated reader’ would thus automatically have chuckled at the double meaning bun/table. Others (Mackail, *CR* 28(1914), 89f.; cf. Boas, 228, n.29, Fordyce) have suspected an

etymological link of *mensa* with *metior* (hence ‘portion’): nice enough, did it rest upon anything secure (or even insecure!) in the text of V.. I have suggested (107-47, §1) that these ambivalent tables belong instead to an altogether clear tradition in the language of colonisation-oracles. On *mefa* etc., vd. Leumann, 197, O’Hara, 188, Scheid, *cit.* (107-47), B.Vine, *HSCP* 90(1986), 111ff.; older bibl. in Fordyce and Horsfall 1971, 101f.

consumimus? Cf. 112, 125.

inquit Iulus According to DH 1.55.3, the speaker was one of Aeneas’ sons or ‘tent-mates’. Addison (cited by Heinze, 266, n.2) remarked that ‘such an observation, which is beautiful in the mouth of a boy, would have been ridiculous from any other of the company’. But that is not the point at all: V. is writing of a κληδών, a fortuitously significant remark, notably so if made by a child (cf. *Call.Epigr.* 1.14Pf., *Plut. Aem.Paull.* 10.7, *Cic.Div.* 1.103f. (with Pease’s n. on *ib.* 2.84)—vd. also *Liv.* 5.55.2 (with Ogilvie’s n.), Fraenkel on *Aesch.Ag.* 1653—, Boas, 237, Horsfall 1971, 100, Stockinger (120), 106, n.62, 120, T.Sinko, *Eos* 20(1914-5), 8f.). The name Iulus, as an alternative for Ascanius, is perforce the founding hero of the *gens Iulia*, and the identification with Asc., the ‘legitimation’ of the *gens*’ descent from Aeneas. Cf. Weinstock, 5, Horsfall, *RMM*, 22f., T.P.Wiseman, *GR* 21(1974), 153ff.

117 nec plura, Cf. 599; in particular, compare 6.408 *nec plura his*. On ellipse of verbs of speaking, cf. Löfstedt 2, 244ff., LHS, 424.

adludens ‘Joking’ (*Cic.de orat.* 1.240, *Phaedr.* 3.19.12, *Suet.Iul.* 22); ‘allusion’, whether to the original prophecy (Serv.; here *et saepe*) or to Aen.’s imminent exegesis (Paratore) does not enter into it: it is the jest that is significant, however we view its role in the tables-story as a whole.

ea uox.. / 118 prima Cf. 2.280, 3.246, 4.621, 12.64 etc. in the sense of ‘speech’ (*EV* 5*, 634 (b) appears confused); the adj. in the common, almost predicative sense of ‘was the first to’: cf. *Buc.* 1.44 (with Clausen’s n.), *Aen.* 4.169, Kruse *TLL* 10.2.9.1348.71, *OLD* s.v. §4 (with Görler, *EV* 2, 270).

audita A peculiarly Virgilian and economical use of the participle when a less terse author would indulge in a clause (cf. 1.386, 10.503f., 578, 12.242f., Görler, *EV* 2, 270, LHS 393).

laborum / 118 tulit finem Cf. 1.241 *quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?*, 3.145, P.McGushin, *AJP* 85(1964), 225ff.; quite possibly (so Forbiger) the verb *simplex pro composito*, for the prose *finem afferre*

(e.g. Cic. *Marc.* 1, *Phil.* 5.20). True enough, at least at sea; *sed terrae grauiora manent*.

primamque Not in quite the same sense as **prima**; here, rather, ‘at its outset’ (cf. **354**, **406**, **542**). For the pattern of the polyptoton, cf. Wills, 418.

loquentis ab ore Cf. 4.79 *narrantis ab ore*, 12.101.

119 eripuit Not ‘stopped his utterance’ (Conington, Williams), for Asc. has already done that himself (**nec plura**), but (Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.791.64ff.) *subito exceptit*; cf. Soph. *Aj.* 16 φώνημ’ ἀκούω καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενί, Val. Max. 1.5.3 *arripuit omen*. *Intellexit ac tenuit* says TCD, undramatically but sensibly. At all events, a vigorous alternative to the prose *omen accipere* (Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1.103).

pater As father of Asc. and of the Trojans at large (contrast **274**, **593**, **792**).

stupefactus *Quater* in V., always the p.p.p. (cf. *tremefactus* (*quinquies*), *calefactus*, *liquefactus*, *labefactus*, *patefactus*, *tepefactus*); hitherto prose (Cic., Liv. 5).

numine Cf. **385**.

pressit Taken by most interpreters as variation upon **eripuit** (vd. *EV* 4, 255, 256), in the sense of ‘stopped’. Though we have just seen that **e.** does not after all mean ‘stopped’, **pressit** yet could do: at **103 non ipse suo premit ore Latinus** and 9.324 (*uocemque premit*) the sense of ‘silenced’ is attested and I suspect that here Aen. too calls for silence (*premit uocem*) not from the now silent Asc. but (perhaps stretching the expression a little, from self to others) from all those others who have not yet grasped the crucial point of what his son has just said (cf., for such ritual silence, 3.112, 5.71, L. Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 13, Wissowa, 417). The (possible) alternative to this sense of ‘caught up, held, checked in silence’ (with a gesture?) would be ‘came down on it, secured it, held it fast’ (cf. 4.148, 6.197, *EV* 4, 255).

120 continuo Cf. **68**, of the *uates*’ interpretation of a prodigy, and 9.118, 731 of the prodigies themselves (explicit speed; so *Il.* 8.247, *Od.* 20.103; cf. **67**, **95**, *G.* 4.499, 554, *Aen.* 2.680, 692, 3.137, 225, 5.522, 8.81, 12.249, Liv. 1.16.1, 40.45.2, H. Stockinger OSB *Die Vorzeichen im hom. Epos* (St. Ottilien 1959), 160). The adverb in Acc. *semel*, Cat. *semel*, Lucr. 15x. There follows Aen.’s only speech in the book, drawing the positive conclusion latent in Celaeno’s threat at 3.255 and giving the necessary orders (cf. Feeney, (**263**), 215 = Harrison, *OR*, 184).

salue.. / 121 ..saluete Cf. 5.80 and Cat. 64.23f.; possibly ritual in origin (cf. Liv. 1.32.6, 8.5.8, Wills, 291, n.1). Could there also perhaps

be an echo of *G.2.173 salue, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus* (Brenk, *EV* 4, 668)?

fatis mihi debita Cf. 3.184, 6.66f. *non indebita posco/ regna meis fatis*, **7.145 debita moenia** and for the same notion of a ‘fatal debt’, also 6.713f.; vd. De Nonno, *EV* 2, 1.

tellus Not often used of the Trojans’ promised land (3.95, 477, 4.275f. (Iulus) *cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus/ debetur*, 6.877, 10.650).

121 uosque’ ait ‘o In ten other passages in *V. uos, o*, without interposed *ait*. *Ait* comparably at 3.480, 11.459.

fid So only here of the Penates; *spes o fidissima Teucrum* Hector’s ghost had called Aeneas (2.281). Possibly Aen. is thinking of the Penates’ appearance to him at 3.154ff..

Troiae..Penates Cf. 2.747 *Teucrosque Penatis*, 3.148 *Phrygisque Penates*, 603 *Iliacos..Penatis*, Radke, *EV* 4, 16. On Timaeus’ reference to the Lavinates’ claim to possess ‘the Trojan pottery’ (*FGH* 566F59), cf. Horsfall, *RMM*, 16, E.Gruen, *Studies in Greek culture and Roman policy* (repr. with corr., Berkeley 1996), 11f.; the presence of objects claimed to be the Trojan Penates at Lavinium is after all the egg from which the Roman claim to Trojan ancestry is eventually hatched. It may be relevant to remember that figures of the Penates were naturally present at the meal (5.62, Wissowa, 162).

122 hic domus, haec patria est *Hic amor, haec patria est*, Aen. had said to Dido, of Italy (4.347), supposedly recalled here (R.J.Schork, *CP* 91(1996), 61f., who also finds *Italiam* lurking in [*mih*]i *talia!*). And 2.241 *o patria, o diuum domus Ilium?* When Evander says to Aen.(8.39) *hic tibi certa domus* he just might be echoing the present line, too (Moskalew, 114). Here *V.* prefers to avoid *haec domus, haec..*; 1.717 is not comparable. Cf. too Wills, 76f. and Traina on 12.259: that passage and e.g. 6.791 reflect a natural affinity between repeated deixis and various forms of exalted revelation or declaration; 5.637f. does not, *pace* A.Perutelli, *MD* 4(1980), 63, n.12 prove that the stileme is distinctively oracular.

genitor../ 123 ..Anchises Whatever the relationship of these lines to bk.3.(vd. **107-47**, §5), it is at least clear that *V.* has in mind here (as *passim* in bk.3) the old poetic tradition of Anchises’ prophetic powers, attested by Naevius (the phrasing at *Bell.Pun.fr.9*; *qui [Anch.] ubique diuinus dicitur* presumably exaggerates), as we have known only since 1925 (a happy discovery by J.J.H.Savage) and even more vigorously by Enn.(*Ann.* 15f.); whether *OGR* 11.1 has any evidential value, indep-

endent of its debt to the present passage, is quite uncertain. Cf. H.T. Rowell, *AJP* 78(1957), 1ff, G.D'Anna, *Ancora sul problema della composizione dell' En.* (Roma 1961), 50ff., M. Barchiesi (1-4), 102, 493, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 15, Wigodsky, 23, Harrison (107-47), 158ff.. *Genitor* is Ennian (*Ann.* 108, 444; cf. 306).

mihi talia.. / 123 ..reliquit Cf. 110, 128: the sequence of three explicit back-references within so short a space is most remarkable (107-47, §5). Naev. had Anch. leave his son *libros futura continentes*, but nothing here suggests that Aen.'s inheritance was other than verbal *fatorum arcana* (cf. Venus, too, as O'Hara remarks, at 8.534).

namque For the anastrophe of particles (adopted in Lat. as an Hellenistic mannerism), cf. Fordyce's n. here (or on Cat. 23.7); add LHS, 506, Marouzeau (662) 3, 105.

123 nunc repeto Cf. 3.184 *nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro* (derived from this passage, for e.g. Paratore; cf. *EV* 4, 52f.): the expression is elevated into poetic usage by V., apparently. But it is not clear whether Aen. is talking about prophecies or about interpretations (*pace* Heinze, 89f.) and to cite Lyc. 1252 *μνήμην παλαιῶν λήφεται θεσπιμάτων* (used of this very story) in exegesis of V. (so Heinze, *cit.*) is risky, now that we may reasonably suspect that it is [Lyc.] who may himself be—in the problematic 'Roman' section—using this passage of V. (S.R. West, *JHS* 104(1984), 127ff., *CQ* 33(1983), 129f.).

fatorum arcana Cf. 1.262 *et uoluens fatorum arcana mouebo* (with Austin's n.), 6.72f. *arcanaque fata/ dicta meae genti* (the Sibylline books): V. refers precisely to things *spoken* to an 'initiated' few, secrets which, now that they have been fulfilled, he can reveal verbatim. **A.** not attested in poetry before Hor. *Epd ter*, *C. quater*, and *quater* in *Aen.*, but this looks like accident.

124 cum te..uctum / 125 ..coget Cf. 1.376, 6.335, 692 for the way *ueho* lends itself to such neat but weighty participial phrases. *Ago* visibly but not explicably less so. Note 3.56f. *quid non mortalia pectora cogis/ auri sacra fames?*

nate Used *ter* by Venus, and *decies* by Anch.; not by Aen. (cf. Feeney, 120).

fames So 3.256 (Celaeno), 367 (Helenus), 7.128, in the tradition of (107-47, §1) Greek colonisation oracles.

ignota ad litora Cf. 149: 'unknown' is relative, for Aen. will arrive in Latium knowing at least some toponyms of his destined land, though he will not yet 'know' it, in the sense in which he once knew the rivers and hills of the Troad.

125 accisis..dapibus Almost an oxymoron, given (**109**) the luxurious connotations of *dapes*; the verb introduced into poetry by V. and at 2.627 of a tree nearly felled. At Hor.*Serm.*2. 2.114 contrasted with *integris opibus*. ‘Demolished’, perhaps. At 3.257 V. uses *ambesas*, which has crept into **R** here.

consumere mensas The infin. of the same verb (*sexies* in Lucr.), already used in narrative and exclamation (**112, 116**); *absumere* at 3.257. The noun (here climactic) in Celaeno’s mouth at 3.257 and (**107-47**, §1) the key to the oracle/riddle.

126 tum Or, put negatively, *sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem* (3.255): Celaeno’s disagreeable manner and the threat of *dira fames* there blind the Trojans to the fact that they have been told (and they have, truthfully, as Helenus confirms, 3.394) that table-eating will be the very last challenge they have to face before their long-sought first urban foundation in their promised land.

sperare domos Cf. 3.137, 4.311; cf. *Vergilius loc.cit.*(**127 tecta**) for V.’s use of the language and themes of colonisation stories. It is remarkable that *hope* for their promised land does not fire the Trojans on their travels: they have been promised a destined home, but—for 1.451, 4.235, 271 prove nothing (cf. P.Colafrancesco, *EV* 4, 995f.)—*en route* do not speak in terms of actual hope on their own part for a new homeland.

defessus The Trojans’ fatigue is a regular theme of their nostos: 1.157 (with 168, 178; a remarkable concentration), 3.78, 85, 145, 276, 511, 568, 710, 5.41, 615, 717; cf. *EV* 2, 504, Della Corte, 55 (‘the Trojans, unlike the Greeks, were natural landsmen’; cf. *Aen.*11.255ff., though, for Diomedes’ view), *Vergilius, art.cit.*, 11. Cf. Axelson, 29f. for the high poetic status of (*de*)*fessus*.

ibique This recollection, perhaps deliberately, does not correspond precisely with Celaeno’s original text (3.255, *supra*): she made table-eating a precondition in terms of chronological sequence, and here it is cited as a means of localising the first settlement; the imprecision is hardly significant (**107-47**, §v).

memento Forms of the perf. imper., like the ‘fut.’—e.g. *sunto*—(Leumann, 570f.), are extremely rare in V.: *memento* at moments of high solemnity: only 2.549, 6.851 in *Aen.* (cf. NH on Hor.C.2.3.1), while *Buc.*3.7 and *G.*2.259 are notably less striking; cf. *sunto* 4.624.

127 prima..tecta Cf. 3.17 *infra*; it was at 3.134 that *Aen.* had first tried to build *tecta* (cf. *Vergilius* 35(1989), 27).

locare Cf. 1.428 (Dido), 1.247 (Antenor), 3.17 *moenia prima loco* (*Aen.*),

4.266 (Aen. at Carthage), 374 (Dido of Aen.); see *Vergilius cit.*, 25ff. for the vocabulary of colonisation in *Aen.*.

manu Contrast the specific and literal **114**.

molirique aggere Cf. **158**; *moliri* governs variously 1.424 *arcem*, 3.132 *muros*, **7.158 locum**, **290 tecta**. Here it is both *tecta* and *agger* that are built, so there is an element of hypallage in the phrase; certainly, the houses are furnished with a rampart, but that is not quite the force of the verb.

128 haec erat illa Cf. **255**, **272**: unmistakably a back-reference (**122f.**); cf. Horsfall 1971, 37, Fordyce. The imperfect is possibly a Grecism of idiom: 'was all along', as Fordyce notes (cf. NH on C.1.27.19, LHS, 316).

fames The quoted Anchises therefore refers precisely to Celaeno's words at 3.255.

haec The repeated **haec** might suggest a repeated gesture by Aen. towards the remains of the meal as he concludes triumphantly his citation of his father's interpretation, having established definitively the positive implication of Celaeno's words.

nos suprema manebat Perforce the same implication of the impf. as in **erat**; the verb as used at **319** and the adj. predicative (cf. *EV* 4, 1081).

129 exitiis MP, Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.395, **exiliis** recc.. R.D. Williams argues for **exiliis** at *CR* 11(1961), 195f., after Burman and Ribbeck, rather unconvincingly (cf. Horsfall 1971, 16, Fordyce; 10.850 is quite another matter: vd. Leumann, *infra* and Harrison *ad loc.*): *pace* Williams, the Trojans were not limited to one *exitium* (the fall of Troy), for the word can be used both in the plural and of less-than-cataclysmic disasters (though not in V., Lucr., or Hor.C.); here 'vi debilitata i.q. miseriae infortunium', Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.1530.21. The plural is old, too (Plaut.*Bacch.* 1093) and the non-terminal sense (for which Fordyce cites Cic.*Mil.* 3, *Leg.* 1.34) likewise (*trag.* 231, 327; common in amorous contexts in Plaut.). It looks as though both V.'s use of the plur. and the weakened sense are to be defended as archaic. Of course **exiliis** (cf. 2.780, etc.) would give a perfectly adequate meaning (and its lack of ms. authority is no insuperable objection), but is rather *too facilior* after the heavy emphasis on the theme of settlement at **126-7**, while **exitiis** is interesting in its resonances, which naturally include trapezophagy, even if (cf. **117 laborum**) they are actually by no means at an end.

positura modum Cf. Hor.C.1.16.2f. *modum/ pones* ('the word often

comes close to meaning *finis*' NH), *EV* 3, 556. For the problem of incompleteness, cf. **107-47**, §5; for hemistichia, cf. index s.v..

130 quare agite Cf. **429**, *G.2.35*, *Aen.8.273*; possibly with ἄλλ' ἴθι in mind. There follows (**132**) a jussive subjunctive (cf. 3.114, LHS 471).

primo..cum lumine solis Cf. *Enn. Ann.265 lumine solis*, *Lucr.1.5 lumina solis*, Austin on 6.255, 8.68f. *orientia solis/ lumina*, 6.735 *supremo cum lumine*.

laeti Compare the dawn of this very day, **35**: Aeneas, **laetus**, enters the Tiber-mouth. A key word (as E.Henry, 155 and I try to make clear) until Juno notices, **288**.

131 quae loca Cf. **148-50** (where Virgilian and Odyssean comparanda are discussed): at the next dawn, scouts indeed go and search out **urbem et finis et litora gentis**.

quiue habeant homines The verb Homeric in origin (**696**); cf. 8.602, *EV* 2, 824. Cf. 1.308 *qui teneant (nam inculta uidet) hominesne feraene*: the differences between Aeneas' scouting in North Africa and here will become apparent in some detail. For *-ue* in the (common) sense of *-que*, cf. LHS 503, and Fordyce here.

ubi moenia gentis Cf. the **urbem** and **gentis** of **149** and the **moenia** of **153**.

132 uestigemus The verb *sexies* in *Aen*; Ennian (*Ann.41*) and much handier in the hexameter than the realistic, military *explorare*.

a portu diuersa Cf. *Ov.Ibis* 173 *in loca ab Elysiis diuersa fugabere campis*, but attested in prose before V. (*Caes. Gall.6.25.3*, 7.74.1, *Civ.3.41.4*, *Sall.Cat.52.13*, *Iug.46.4*, 101.2), though perhaps not quite so distinctively as to make the usage here one of V.'s calculated militarisms of language.

petamus Cf. **323**, **343**, **362**, etc..

133 nunc After citing his father (**124-7**), *Aen.* interprets the present scene in the light of Anchises' words (**128-9**); thereupon, thanksgiving to the gods (**133-4**) take second place, rather surprisingly, to orders for the next morning (**130-2**).

pateras libate Ioui The verb (Gk. λείβειν) signifies to pour or to offer (solids or liquids), with a wide range of constructions, in the literary language of Roman ritual acts (*EV* 3, 207; WH and EM differ in emphasis); cf. here 3.354 *libabant pocula Bacchi*, *Liv.23.24.12* (and contrast 12.174 *paterisque altaria libant*). The *patera* is a shallow dish (NH on *Hor.C.1.31.2* quote *Macr.5.21.4*, *planum ac patens est*) universally employed in making libations (Ryberg (**615**), *passim*, W.Hilgers,

Röm. Gefässnamen (Düsseldorf 1969), 242ff.). Jupiter (3.251) was the original source of Celaeno's message and will react (**141-3**) with ample approval (Grassmann-Fischer 53,118). The sequence of events between **133-4** and **146-7** seems rather simpler than once it did (notably to Horsfall 1971, 20): Aen. gives the order for libations (whether to the **primi duces** or the **Troiana agmina** or to all and sundry is an unnecessary issue, *pace* Mynors, *per litt.*), but they have not been performed quite yet when the narrative breaks off at **147. precibus uocate** Cf. *G.1.42 uotis..uocari*, 1.157, *Aen.1.290*, *Hor. C.4.5.13.uotis ominibusque et precibus uocat*. Not the standard language of ritual.

134 Anchisen genitorem Cf. **122f.**: the prayer to Anch., despite the intervening hemistich, must surely belong to the same compositional sequence as Aen.'s crucial recollection of his father's interpretation of the prophecy, for the interpretation and the formal act of gratitude are inseparable. Cf. too the prayer of 5.98f.. Aen. himself will include his parents in a polarised appeal at **140**; here, though, he is giving orders to his men, though their prayers may (if we are looking for formal order in the narrative) be thought of as subsumed in his (*pace* Horsfall 1971, *cit.*).

uina reponite It is clear (Horsfall 1971, 21, Fordyce) that the verb does not imply that the wine has been removed and is now replaced! Rather, [more] wine is brought out, to its proper place, for libations (**133**) and celebrations (**146**): cf. *Hor.C.1.9.5f. ligna super foco/ large reponens* (with E.Fehrle, *WS* 49(1931), 106 and NH; *large* is utterly unsuited to replacing fallen logs!), *G.4.378f. pars epulis onerant mensas et plena reponunt/ pocula* (with Mynors' n.; on the subtly different *repostae* at *G.3.527* he is even better!), *Aen.4.392 stratisque reponunt* (with Page's n.).

mensis But the Trojans had no tables and therefore ate their 'pittas', as we have just been told. Given that the first half of this line is bound up intrinsically with the fulfilment of Anch.'s words, this is not the moment to suggest that **uina reponite mensis** belonged to a different phase of composition. Either, then, *dormitauit Maro quoque* or Aen. has emerged from the world of wanderers or colonists and their oracles into the familiar proprieties of the Romans' own social behaviour, ritual acts and language: Aeneas *imperator*, or the Trojans' second Hector, as he has become again of a sudden, cannot be seen sitting on the grass, eating blackberries off a piece of pitta, on which he is also balancing his cup. Görler (**25-36**), 168, n.14 acutely notes some equally anomalous tables at 1.216.

135 sic deinde effatus Cf. **274**, 2.391 *sic fatus deinde*, 5.14 *sic deinde locutus* (with Williams' n.), 5.400 (*id.*), 12.195 *sequitur sic deinde Latinus*. Wagner *QV* 25.7) curiously thought *deinde* was displaced and should be taken with *implicat*, but the doubled adverb here (not in Cic. or Lucr.) is probably a reminiscence of Hom. ὦς ἄρ' ἔφη and similar expressions.

frondenti..ramo Cf. **67**; for adjs. in *-ens*, cf. Leumann, 438 (in V., cf. *florens*, *ardens*, *pallens*, *potens*, *silens*, *torrens*, etc.). See 3.81. Wreaths were indispensable in the performance of most ritual acts: Bömer on *Ov.F.*4.656, Appel, 191, Ryberg (**615**), 44, 47 etc., M.Blech, *Studien zum Kranz* (*RVV* 38, Berlin 1982), 302ff..

tempora.. / 136 implicat Cf. 4.148 *implicat auro*, Lygd.6.64 (Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.642.50f.). The verb *ter* in Cat., *bis* in Lucr.. The natural affinity between *tempora* and 5D led Marouzeau (*TSL*, 317) to a particularly neat analysis of 'des sortes de groupes ou clichés rythmiques', with *t.* in Virgil also followed by *myrto*, *lauro*, *quercu*, *ramis* (5.71, 8.286), *uitta*. Easy, natural and a powerful potential source of tedium in lesser hands.

et geniumque loci Cf. 5.95 *incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis/ esse putet* (where Serv. notes *nullus locus sine genio*; cf. *ad* 5.85, 2.351, Paul.exc.Fest.84.6f.). The *genius* (<*gigno*>) starts as the embodiment or spirit of the individual, and spreads (by the late republic) from the *paterfamilias* to the *domus*, *familia*, *collegium*, etc.; cf. Wissowa 175ff., Latte, 332f..

primamque deorum / 137 Tellurem The weightier second member of the pair; Aen. passes from the tutelary deity of the spot to the much wider-ranging Tellus, in origin perhaps a deity of crops (as her repeated association with Ceres suggests) and only later, under Greek influence, assimilated to Terra Mater (cf. *EV* 5*, 74f., Wissowa 192, Latte, 71f.). The primacy of Γαῖα is as old as the cosmogony of Hes.*Theog.* 116f. (where vd. West's notes); cf. *Hom.Hymn.*30.1, Aesch. *Eum.*1f., but the Tellus here perforce most present is the land of Italy. At AR 2.1273, Jason enters the Phasis and pours libations Γαίη ἐνναέταις τε θεοῖς (Clausen, *THP*, 152, n.11, Nelis 281).

Nymphasque Water-deities; cf., by a common explicit etymological link, *lympa*, water and archaic *lumpā* (cf. 3.34 *nymphas uenerabar agrestis*, 8.71 *Nymphae*, *Laurentes Nymphae*, Wissowa, 223f., *EV* 3, 735, WH, EM, *ILS* 3858). Also (see **107-47**, §vi *supra*) Odyssean.

et adhuc ignota.. / 138 flumina Cf. **149**: the rivers Tiber and Numicus are to be thought of as, roughly, the *fines gentis*; they are only

relatively unknown (cf. **124**), for though the Trojans know they will reach the Tiber, they have not until this minute discovered that they are at last in the right country, and have had no means of ascertaining the local toponyms (cf. Günther 21, n.37)! For the run-on dactylic *flumina*, cf. **303**, **387**, **808f.** (a favoured disposition, but not always one of specific effect); the rivers are paired with the water-nymphs and the longer element follows.

precatur Enn.*Ann.*58, etc., Hickson, 47ff. (though she only considers prayers cited in OR and the elaborate stylistic structure of this prayer perhaps for the same reason eludes Highet; compare 8.288ff. and *EV* 4, 252).

138 tum Noctem The object of sacrifice at 6.250 (*matri Eumenidum*) and Ov.*F.*1.455, but as a deity she is, as Bömer's n. there explains, rooted in poetry, not cult (cf. **331**). Here, though, not altogether idle, for the Trojans have finished dinner at nightfall, on their first night in a strange, though promised, land, and this particular prayer, though fragile in terms of cult-usage, is admirable characterisation.

Noctisque orientia signa Once again the weightier second member of the pair, linked by polyptoton (cf. Lucr.5.1190 *luna dies et nox et noctis signa seuera*, Willis, 260; *signa* as stars Ennian, *Ann.*414), which confirms the role of this pair as 'scene-setting': not so much a question of prayer to the stars (whether as in the case of *Caesaris astrum* or understood astrologically! Cf. Weinstock, 371f.) as oblique confirmation that the stars are even now rising (so already Mackail). Cf.8.68f. *orientia solis/ lumina*, 12.114 *orta dies*.

139 Idaeumque Iouem Cf.**207**; any doubt about which Ida is meant will soon vanish. The prayer to Jupiter will be answered with remarkable speed (**141**).

Phrygiamque..matrem The arrival of the cult of *Mater deum magna Idaea* at Rome in 204 BC (Bremmer, *RMM*, 105ff., Gruen (**121**), 5ff.) is inseparable from the growth of the Aeneas-legend (Horsfall, *RMM*, 21, Gruen, 118f.). Though the cult contained orgiastic aspects the Romans (like the Latins in *Aen.*) deplored (cf. Dickie, Horsfall, *cit.*, **748f.**), they were quite ready to take advantage of the veneration the Magna Mater (a Near Eastern Earth-goddess discreetly reinterpreted for Greek and Roman readers as another Rhea; so from Hipponax fr.156West) had long exercised and V. represents her as a loyal helper of the Trojans (cf. T.P. Wiseman in (ed. T. Woodman, D. West) *Poetry and politics in the age of Augustus* (Cambridge 1984), 117ff., G. Arrigoni, *EV* 1, 770ff.). The coupling with the Trojans' own Jupi-

ter (cf., after all, *Il.*3.276, etc.), sharing the same mountain with, in some sense, his own mother Rhea (cf. 9.83, 93) is entirely natural and appropriate; it was also Jupiter who, in origin, had given Celaeno the message about the tables (3.251; cf. **133**).

ex ordine *Sexies* in V.; cf. **177** and Lenaz, *EV* 3, 880, who draws attention to the frequency with which *ordo* is used to denote the due order of religious ceremonies. We do not know why the local nymphs should stand before Jupiter and the Magna Mater: Fordyce's preference for 'in succession' over 'duly' I fail to understand.

140 inuocat As **137 precatur**, the verb again governs two coupled pairs of deities. *Quater* in *trag.fr.* and *semel* in *praetexta*.

duplicis..parentis For *duplicis* as a loftier and often handier *duo*, notably of things naturally paired; cf. 1.93 (*palmas*), *Lucr.*6.1146 *duplicis oculos*, *Cic.Arat.fr.*20.1 (*umeros*).

caeloque Ereboque For the polar expression (specifically here an antithesis of darkness—*vd.*4.26 with Pease's n.—and light), Hardie *CI*, 310f. compares **312** and 4.24ff.(and add 6.247). *Aen.* addresses prayers to his mother similarly at 3.19, 6.196f.; the only OR prayer is 1.326-34. He has just bidden his men call on Anch. in prayer (**133f.**); 5.59 is not necessarily addressed to Anch. and this passage (Bailey, 295, n.1) is then the only reference to prayer to the dead in *Aen.* (though the idea is in itself unremarkable; cf. F.Bömer, *Ahnenkult u. Ahnenglaube* (Leipzig 1943), 14, Weinstock, 291f., Wissowa, 232, n.9, 282ff. on veneration of the *di parentum*). *Aen.* has just been conversing with his father in Elysium (6.679ff.), but Erebus is here used of the underworld in general (cf. *G.*4.471) and it is in Erebus that the Sibyl says to Charon that *Aen.* will meet Anchises: 6.404 *ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad undas* (cf. 6.671, *EV* 2, 363).

141 hic Clearly temporal, as at e.g. **144**, **173**, **479**. The *augurium maximum* (cf. **146f.**) follows at once, in approval of the prayer, in confirmation of Aeneas' interpretation of Ascanius' κληδών (a riddle deriving in origin from the *pater omnipotens*; cf. **139**, Grassmann-Fischer, 53) and more generally in benediction of the Trojans' arrival in their promised land (cf. Block, 98, O'Hara *DOP*, 58 for the narrative motif of confirmation in V.).

pater omnipotens Cf. **770**; this was the title used at 3.251 and it was he too who had thundered in approval at 2.689ff..

ter A nice warning against reading this passage too closely in terms of Roman religious usage; the triple thunderclap is epic (*Il.*8.170 with Kirk's n.; cf. *G.*4.493 with Mynors' n., Grassmann-Fischer, 110,

Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 783; at *Ov.F.3.369 ter tonuit sine nube deus* Bömer refers in general terms to *Dreizahl*) and does not belong to Latin portent-usage.

caelo..ab alto Cf. *Acc.trag.531 alto ab limine caeli*, and compare also *Lucr.6.287f.*

clarus Serv. comments *in serenitate, quod est augurii, nam in nubibus causa est*, wrongly. Thunder in a clear sky is of course an omen with a very long history (cf. 8.523, 9.630, Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.541*, Pease on *Cic.Div.1.18*, NH 1, p.376), but (1) *purus*, *sudus* and *serenus* are the adjectives used (in a field governed by unusually rigid conventions of language) and (2) however much we have learned of the oddities of V.'s usage, *clarus intonuit* is simply unacceptable as 'thundered from a clear sky' (Horsfall 1971, 17f., Fordyce). 'The sky was cloudless (*clarus*) until Jupiter himself made a cloud with a blow of his hand'; so, alas, Williams. The adjective is to be taken adverbially in the sense of 'loudly': cf. *Naev.trag.13 suo sonitu claro fulgoriuit Iuppiter*, *Aen.2.705*, 3.519, 5.139, Munro on *Lucr.5.947* (right and amusing).

142 intonuit Used at *Cic.Marius fr.3.12*.

radiisque..lucis et auro Rays, inevitably in some sense comparable to those of the sun (25) of golden light: hendiadys, clearly (Serv.: cf. 172, Dingel on 9.26); Bell (261) compares e.g. *G.2.192 pateris libamus et auro*, 3.56 *maculis insignis et albo*, *Aen.1.648 pallam signis auroque rigentem*, 8.436, 9.707 (particularly common with *auro* on account of the metrical difficulties of *aureo*). Golden, too, as though of the sun (*G.1.232*, 4.51, etc.).

ardentem../ 143 ..nubem It is (138, 148) night, which renders the fiery cloud yet more spectacular (cf. 8.622f., *Liv.28.15.11* for the effect of bright sun against dark cloud; note too 8.392). It blazes, as the good bees, *ardentes auro* (*G.4.99*); the verb's frequent application to the heavenly bodies should be warning enough that **a.** is not automatically to be taken negatively (cf. 345), i.e. here as a suggested threat (fire of war, and the like). To compare the dissimilar 1.42 *ipsa Iouis ..iaculata e nubibus ignem* (*EV* 3, 773) is not enough to convert this *nubes* into some (unusual kind of) *fulmen*, though that interpretation has a long history (*alii* in Serv. here, *Lact.Plac. on Stat.Theb.3.320*). *Fulmina*, like thunder, have their own specific language (vd. e.g. Grassmann-Fischer, 18) and nothing is gained by reducing this exceptional portent to familiar terms. The Romans filled their skies with blazing supernatural wonders (cf. Ogilvie on *Liv.3.5.14*) and I can only suggest that V. here conjures up another, quite *sui generis*.

143 ipse manu Cf. 5.241 (of Portunus' intervention, direct and 'physical' as here).

quatiens The *nubes* is not therefore still, nor is it moved as though by the wind: the verb suggests quick, jerky motion (cf. 11.656, 767, 12.442, Liv.10.41.8 of weapons; also of shields); Jupiter intends his sign to be seen for what it is and we are not encouraged to think of it in terms of natural phenomena, however singular.

ostendit ab aethere Cf.8.524 *vibratus ab aethere fulgor*; the verb also used of e.g. the dawn (G.4.544, with Lenaz, *EV* 3, 902).

144 diditur Cf. 8.132 *tua terris didita fama*; the verb 15x. in Lucr. (*dis+do*).

hic Cf. 141.

subito Cf. 120 **continuo**; in part, we are still within a sequence of miraculous happenings, which unfold with abnormal speed; in part, the news spreads so fast because that is how it really happens, as V. spells out at 4.174.

Troiana per agmina Cf. 152 **ordine**; though the Trojans are not to be thought of as eating their tables by ranks (**agmina** as e.g. 648), V. might be hinting e.g. that they eat in groups (cf. 146 **certatim**), under their respective **primi..duces** (107). They are still an expedition in a strange land and (cf.6.86f., 890, etc.) they have no reason to expect an entirely peaceful reception.

rumor Cf. 549.

145 aduenisse The infin. after **rumor** and comparable nouns peculiarly Virgilian (cf. 256, Austin on 2.10). Cf.11.687f. *aduenit qui uestra dies muliebribus armis/ uerba redarguerit*, Liv. Andr.Odus.fr.23 Bü. *dies adueniet*.

diem quo Cf. LHS 10f., R.Renehan in *Style and tradition. Studies.. Clausen* (Leipzig 1998), 212ff. on the general context of gender-variation in Latin nouns (*dies* 17x masc. and 20x fem. in V.); metrical convenience is irrelevant here (contrast the nom. at 149) and *dies* is not a fixed, final day; masc. is therefore, given V.'s usage, likelier (cf. Fraenkel, *Kl.B.1*, 64f., LHS *cit.*, Harrison on 10.256f., Austin on 4.169 for much further bibl.).

debita moenia Cf. 120, 127 **tecta**. It is not just the authorial voice, or the careful reader, or the anxious Aeneas who recognises the Trojans' destiny as city-founders; the joy at realising that seven years of *errores* are over and that destiny, as revealed by oracles, is even now paying her debt to the wanderers is general and passes rapidly through the whole body of Trojans.

condant Cf. **303**, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 26: the original key term (1.5) for founding the city that would one day be the Trojans'; the subjunctive of purpose, peculiarly so.

146 certatim A favourite with V. (13x); clearly Catullan (64.392) in origin. The *agmina* compete (to hunt out reserves of food and) to get the dinner going again.

instaurant epulas I. *cum aliquid ad pristinam similitudinem reficitur* Paul.exc. Fest.98.29f. (while Serv. *ad Aen.*2.15 notes that buildings *ad antiquam similitudinem facta* are said not be not *restaurata* but *instaurata*); used often (as here) in contexts ritual or very nearly so (*EV* 2, 991; imprecise), but it is quite misleading to impose on most instances of the verb in V. a basic sense of 'performing a ritual over again to remove or prevent a flaw' (so Fordyce, citing Henry on 3.62, who insists rightly, however, that *i.* is *not* peculiarly and intimately a religious term, noting e.g. 2.451, 679, 10.543). **E.**, we have seen (**110**), can mean either a (rather grand) meal or 'food'. It may (despite Horsfall 1971, 20ff. and Fordyce) now become a little easier to understand what is happening: at **133-4** Aen. ordered his men to bring out wine, make libations, and call on Anchises in prayer. He then prays on his own account and Jupiter responds with fullest approval. There are now far ampler grounds for celebration than existed at **133-4** and craters of wine appear (as ordered at **134**); it seems as though the Trojans have, after all, the means to dine (or at least drink) like heroes (no pitta and blackberries this time!) and somehow or other they restart dinner (cf. Seymour, 510f.: given **147**, it is attractive to suppose that there will now be libations to Jupiter (**133**) at the beginning of the restarted dinner, *more Homeric*). The narrative **146-7** is in fulfilment of the orders given at **133-4**, but, given Jupiter's reaction to Asc.'s wit and Aen.'s good memory and *pietas*, the scale (and language) is appropriately grander and more festive.

omine magno/ 147 ..laeti Cf. **130** for **laeti**; contrast 12.72 tears, restated as *omine tanto*: here, the phrase is non-technical and the choice of adjective may be meant—if the original term was not too technical—to suggest the *auspicium maximum* (of thunder on the left, in the augurs' language, according to SDan. *ad Aen.*2.693; cf. Catalano, *EV* 1, 403, Buchheit, 98, n.392, Harrison (**107-47**), 161f.).

crateras..statuunt On the orthography of *c.*, cf. W.V.Clausen, *CQ* 13(1963), 85ff. and Skutsch on *Enn.*Ann.532, 621: here V. certainly uses the Greek plur. (*Enn.*532), not the (vulgar) fem. 1st. declension, not least given the Homericising flourish that concludes the passage.

The verb used of mixing-bowls also at *Buc.*5.68 (of oil, as an offering), *Aen.*1.724 (of wine, as here). Cf. Seymour, 228f. for heroic usage (rather frugal).

uina coronant Cf. *G.*2.528 *socii cratera coronant*, *Aen.*1.724 *crateras magnos statuunt et uina coronant*, 3.525f. *tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona/ induit impleuitque mero*. An old problem, that of the interpretation of Hom.'s *κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο πότιοι*, as becomes clear from the ancient commentators (and Eustathius) on *Il.*1.470, not to mention *Athen.*1.13DE, 15.674F (indeed 673ff.): did the phrase mean 'they garlanded the craters' or 'filled them to the brim'? Both interpretations would have been in keeping with ancient usage: for garlanding, cf. Smith on *Tib.*2.5.98, *Stat.Silv.*3.1.76, *Tert.Resurr.*16 (the obvious sense of *ἐπεστέψαντο πότιοι*); for filling, cf. S.West on *Od.*1.148, who cites *Il.*8.232 and *Alcm.fr.*19.1f. PMG.; add for comparison Lat. *stipo*. At *Aen.*3.525f. V. manages to take both sides in the discussion (cf. A.Hollis, *HSCP* 94(1992), 273)! See Thomas on *G.*2.528, M.Mühmelt, *Griech. Grammatik in der Vergil-erklärung* (München 1965), 49, Horsfall 1971, 18f., *RFil* 119(1991), 213. And here? If we are to be honest and respect the learned debate behind V., we have no idea at all, and that may even have been likewise the reaction of the 'educated Augustan reader', if V. has in some sense hedged his bets.

148 postera.. / 149 orta dies 12.114 opens with the same two words as **149** (possibly a reworking of of *Cat.*64.376 *orienti luce*). Initial *postera* frequently marks the passage from night to the next day (e.g. 5.42; cf. Moskalew, 66f.).

prima..lampade The *lampas* of dawn/day is in origin Lucretian (5.402, 610, 6.1198); cf. *Aen.* 3.637, 4.6, *EV* 3, 102f.. *Fax* from *Enn.trag.*243 (with Jocelyn's n.; for the Greek antecedents see too LSJ s.v. *λαμπάς*). This is the dawn envisaged in *Aen.*'s orders at **130**.

lustrabat..terras Cf. **391**, 4.6 (*infra*) and 607 *Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras*. At 4.6 Serv. remarks *aut inlustrabat*[i.e. *simplex pro composito*] *aut re uera 'lustrabat' id est purgabat* (sc. after the darkness of night) and SDan. *uel circumibat*, comparing 8.231. Possibly 1.607f. *dum montibus umbrae/ lustrabunt conuexa* (cf. Austin on 1.453) is slightly in favour of accepting SDan.'s explanation for all three passages. At 4.6 *Aurora postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras*: V. refers to the day *after* the banquet in *Aen.*1, that same long day of Ilioneus' earlier diplomatic activity, so closely parallel to that *not yet* unfolded here. V.'s dawns (and dusks) are sometimes elaborated with care and specificity

(**25ff.** is an excellent case), sometimes rather drily repetitive (cf. Moskalew, 67, La Penna, *EV* 1, 75f.): here, dawn opens a brief sequence of yet greater joy and promise, while Dido rises already enamoured. The repetition is perforce of limited significance (cf. Moskalew, 161). Inexplicably, Aeneas' precise timetable interested both Bentley (*RhM* 35(1880), 313) and Heinze (341).

149 urbem et fines et litora gentis The *urbs* will be described at **170ff.**; it is at last firmly located: in, that is, the poet's imagination, and, for good reason, not even upon the 1:25000 IGM map; cf. my full discussion at *EV* 3, 141ff.. **Fines** is agreeably polyvalent: while 8.473 (cf. *EV* 5*, 157) shows a trace of V. using the Tiber as a boundary in his mental map of mythical Italy, there is no sign that the Numicus was conceived in the same way (*pace* Sini, *EV* 2, 528, where V.'s language is even claimed as legal and technical!) and the noun can equally well denote 'territory' (so **469**, Gualandri, *EV* 2, 527), which is in some sense 'defined' by its rivers, in correct ethnographic usage (cf. Thomas, (**747**), 15f. on this register both V. and Hor.). **Litora** can refer to both rivers and sea (**477**) and both are features of this landscape, while **gentis** could indicate the Latins (of whom the Trojans have near enough heard: 6.875, 891) or the Laurentes (likewise familiar: 6.891; vd. *infra*). To reach the approximate area in which Latinus' city is conceived, Aeneas' scouts have just under 20 miles to travel; Della Corte (246) engagingly suggests that a man's rapid (**156**) pace is 5 km. per hour (fractionally over three miles!), but Italians are still often surprised at how fast foreign legs appear able to move. V. passes immediately to the intelligence report. The Trojans' first full day in their promised land opens slowly, with marked Homeric duplication (cf. some more clearly marked cases, Sparrow, 67, Moskalew, 109ff.) of orders and action: here cf. (with some formal variation of verbal detail) **131f.** (Aen. gives orders to explore at dawn **quae loca quie habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis/ uestigemus et a portu diuersa petamus**) and **150f.** in which city (**habitare**), **litora** (sea, Tiber and Numicus) and **fines** (territory, defined by the two rivers) and inhabitants (**gentis**) are duly reported. Not all this information is entirely new and the **ignota** of **124, 137** is to some degree relative or dramatic (if not actually misunderstood by modern readers: vd. Grassmann-Fischer, 50 and nn. *ad loc.*): Aen. is expecting the Tiber from 2.781f. and 6.87, the Laurentes and Latinus' city from 6.891, the natives' valour from 5.730. Scouting (of itself both sensible and traditional; cf.

the closely comparable sequence at 1.305ff., after the manner of *Od.* e.g. 9.88ff., 10.100ff., 147) confirms predictions and at **212ff.**, Ilioneus has very good reason to be sure he is in the right place. Cf. Günther, 21, n.37 for terse good sense at last, after a long, depressing and ultimately vain hunt for ‘inconsistencies’.

150 diuersi explorant This neat use of *diuersus* (no similarly economical Greek equivalent) is surprisingly old: Pacuv.*trag.*224, Lucr. 4.1210, and also military prose (Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1576.20). The verb (familiar in historical prose) is brought into high poetry by V. (*bis* in *G.*, *sexies* in *Aen.*).

haec./ 151 hunc..hic Cf. 6.788, 789, 791 (*huc..hanc..hic..hic..hic*); here the eager deictic sequence suggests the scouts pointing to Aeneas, and V. to the reader, as though on some invisible and implicit sketch or sand table! Cf. 6.8 *inuentaque flumina monstrat*.

fontis stagna Between Lavinium and the sea, the stream passes through low-lying country: *OGR* 14.2 *stagnum*, Ov.*Met.*14.598f. *tectus harundine* (possibly, Castagnoli suggests, = the *Laurentinis paludibus* of Vell. 2.19.1 and the *palus Laurentia* of 10.709, where Harrison conflates marsh and woodland). Cf. **242 fontis uada sacra Numici**; it is the stream, not the spring that is important in Roman cult and thus to the associative memory of V.’s readers, so either **fontis** is used for *fluuii* (cf. Luc. 3.235, 5.337) or the **stagna** are those eventually produced by the water from the *fons*. Serv. here is out of his depth and flounders entertainingly.

Numici Always paired with the Tiber by V.; for identification and further discussion, cf. **797f.**

151 Thybrim fluuium Cf. **303** for the form of the name; with the apposition here (cf. Naev.*trag.*65, LHS, 427), contrast the defining genitive of **714**.

fortis..Latinos *Dura atque aspera cultu* was how Anchises’ ghost had described them at 5.730. Homer’s Trojans were almost, but not entirely, a match for the Achaeans (cf. J.Griffin, *Homer on life and death* (Oxford 1980), 4, E.Hall, *Inventing the barbarian* (Oxford 1989), 21ff., 29f.). Now, Virgil’s Trojans, though outnumbered, have all the advantages of experience in the face of the Italians’ simple, disorderly (noble, tragic) valour (cf. *GR* 34(1987), 48ff., *Alambicco*, 87, 95, *Companion*, 173f.; contrast J.O’Hara (**817**), 206ff.). Cf. 10.238 *forti..Etrusco*; praise, but not in ample measure (contrast 5.729). “King Latinus rules over *Latini* from the *arx Laurens*; the *ager Laurens* is part of *Latium*, while *Laurentes* often denotes the indigenous Latin enemies of Latinus

in general” (Horsfall, *Athen.*78(1990), 526 f.= *AION* Sez.ling.13(1991), 24f.; fuller, but less clear is my article *Laurentes* in *EV*; 12.240 is anomalous and not easily explicable). Cf. further **170**.

habitare In explicit fulfilment of the orders given in the **habeant** of **131**. The verb in poetry at Cat.69.6, Hor.*Epd.* 16.19 (but not *C.*), *ter Buc.*, *bis G.*, 11x *Aen.*, *quinquies* in Prop.. For the Virgilian extension of acc. and inf., cf. **578**, KS 1, 674, Görler, *EV* 2, 271.

152 tum The swift result of the scouts’ report: Aen. is quite sure he is in the right place (**149**). The embassy is Apollonian in origin (Hügi, 75, Nelis, 282ff.): Jason himself goes to King Aeetes, bearing the herald’s sceptre (3.197f.); Argonauts remain under arms and Trojans fortify their camp.

satus Anchisa S. probably felt as archaic (**656**, Norden on 6.125, 331, Acc.*trag.*653₄, *trag.inc.*102): because of the nom. *Anchisa* at (e.g.) Naev.*Bell.Poen.*fr.25.1, the other first-declension forms may have acquired a disproportionately archaic feel: cf. Roby 1, 163f., NW 1, 513f., Leumann, 458 for the abl. in -a. Cf. Moskalew, 82 for V.’s use of this variation for ‘Aeneas’.

delectos Cf.4.130 *delecta iuventus*, 5.717, 9.162, etc.; the language of public life, as at Caes.*BC* 1.64.4, Tac.*Ann.*6.42.1.

ordine ab omni For the synaloepha, cf. **308**. Serv. comments *ex omni qualitate dignitatum: quod apud Romanos in legatione mittenda hodieque seruata*. Cf. Thomas, 269 for such notes in Serv. and *EV* 1, 152ff., *Alambicco*, 135ff. for V.’s usage in the matter of anachronisms. The Senate did sometimes send legations of mixed rank (P.Willems, *Le sénat* (Louvain 1883), 492, n.1, Liv.4.52.7 for non-senators); V.’s language does not permit us to contemplate an epic variation upon mere differences of status among *patres*, for in the terminology of Roman public life, that would not be expressed by *ordines*! With V.’s usage here, Lenaz (*EV* 3, 880) shrewdly compared 11.331, where the Latins send *centum oratores prima de gente*, but the Latins, unlike the Trojans, are not a small body of colonists. Aen. *could* here be behaving like a Roman consul, but the *ordines* at his disposal are evidently limited: V.’s Trojans are lacking in any clear and stable hierarchy (Horsfall, *GR* 34(1987), 51f., *Vergilius* 35(1989), 16f.), though V. does refer to *proceres* (3.58) and to *primi duces* (**107**). Ladewig thought the expression was military, without explaining quite how; certainly the Trojans are not drawn up on the Tiber bank like ranks and files of legionaries. My suspicion is rather that V. used **ordine** in the sense of ‘bank of oars’ (5.120, 271, Liv.24.34.7, Lenaz, *cit.*§5; here virtual

synecdoche for 'ship!') and refers to representatives from each of his un-numbered remaining ships (ca. 15: cf. 1.220ff., 381, 5.699, 6.334ff.). That may seem a little abstruse, but not, I hope, obscure, in its broad lines, to readers who do/did not pick up the nautical reference and read these words in a political or legionary key ('a representative legation'). Fordyce's suspicion of a *tibicen* seems an unnecessary lapse into defeatism and *TLL* s.v. unfortunately does not clarify the issue.

153 centum Clearly epic magniloquence (*EV* 3, 787); for the facts, cf. Willems, 494ff., Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* 2₃, 684f.); contrast Jason, Telamon and Augias!

oratores An amply-attested and explicitly recognised archaism: cf. Calboli, *EV* 3, 869f., Varr.*LL* 7.41, Balk, 42, n.1, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.*202. Language and spondaic rhythm invest Aen.'s first diplomatic moves on Italian soil with ancient majesty.

augusta ad moenia regis Only twice in *Aen.* does V. use the adj. *augustus*, here and at **170 tectum augustum, ingens** Though the word has been faintly rendered as 'majestic' (**153**: V.J.Rosivach, *CQ* 30(1980), 148, n.38; **170**: Camps (**317**), 153, n.14), Latinus is introduced as a sort of proto-Numa (Pace, 296ff.; cf. 304 for Aug. himself) and Serv. quite properly comments here *augurio consecrata*, referring forward also to **170** (cf. Horsfall 1971, 104f., Fordyce): before the city was founded, omens had been taken; so Enn.*Ann.*155 *augusto augurio postquam incluta condita Roma est* (with Skutsch's n. on the *figura etymologica*), Liv.1.6.4ff., Bömer on Ov.*F.*4.814, Suet.*Aug.*7.2, Paul.exc.Fest. 2.3ff., H.D.Jocelyn, *PCPS* 17(1971), 48ff.. Though it is Trojan, not Latin religion that will prevail in the eventual fusion of the peoples, V. represents the Latins as godly in their own right (cf. **170-91, ad fin.**, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 24f., **7.601ff.**!). 'Hallowed', therefore, at least: the adjective only *bis* in *Aen.*; discreet avoidance of over-much contemporary official language?

154 ire iubet Corresponding to the Homeric προίειν πεύθεσθαι; the verb taken up with formal care at **156 iussi**.

ramis..Palladis Cf. Call.*Iambi* 194.66ff.Pf., G.1.18f. *oleaeque Minerva/ inuentrix*, with W.Frentz, *Mythologisches in Vergils Georgica* (Meisenheim 1967), 30ff., *EV* 3, 836, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*3.14.1: the introduction of the olive was Athena's claim, against Poseidon, to possession of Attica.

uelatos Cf. 11.101 *uelati ramis oleae*, Plaut.*Amph.*257 *uelatis manibus orant*, Liv.30.36.4 [*navis*] *uelata infulis ramisque oleae* (Gk. ἔξεν τεμμένοι;

vd. *infra*). Though *uelare* is often used in the sense of ‘encircle’ (cf. NH on Hor.C.1.35.22), V. certainly does not mean that the Trojans are here crowned with olive-wreaths. At **237**, Ilioneus declares **praeferimus manibus uittas** and on 11.101(*cit.*), Serv. comments *non coronati..sed instructi et ornati, id est in manibus oliuae ramos ferentes*, comparing 5.366 and the Homeric $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu \chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$ (*Il.*1.14; cf. J.Pley, *De lanae..usu* (RVV 11.2, Giessen 1911), 60ff., J.Servais, *Ant. Class.*36(1967), 426ff.). Suppliants carry *uelamenta*, olive-branches wound with fillets (Liv.29.16.6 (*ut Graecis mos est*), 30.36.5, 35.34.7, etc.; cf. Gruppe, 880, Aesch.*Eum.*43f., *Suppl.*21f., 191f., 334: Gk. $\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\alpha$; visual evidence confirms the texts: Servais, 427, n.41, with e.g. CVA Wien 1.3.1, pl.22.1); the phrase *cum infulis et uelamentis* designates part and whole (Liv.25.25.6, 30.36.4, 37.28.1, Tac.*Hist.* 1.66.1, 3.31.2) and *ramos oleae et uelamenta alia supplicum* (Liv.24.30.14) must perforce refer to the same draped branches. With this sense of *uelatus* as ‘carrying *uelamenta*’, cf. *praetexto*, Prop.4.1.11 (for ‘wearing the *praetexta*’), *paludatus* ‘wearing the *paludamentum*’ (and perhaps even *Paluda*; vd. Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*220). **Ramis** is no paradox after **uelatos**, correctly understood, though *EV* 5*, 476 may be cited to exemplify the confusion into which most students of this passage have fallen; V. may be influenced by the Greek idiom $\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma \kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$ (Soph.*OT* 3, again clarified by the visual evidence cited above; contrast Jebb (impeccable) and Dawe *ad loc.* on this hypallage). See Horsfall 1971, 23f., Fordyce.

omnis Contrast Jason: he alone (**152**) carries the sceptre; the scale and uniformity of V.’s embassy may be felt tediously conventional and ‘Roman’ (even ‘film’ Roman!), but we should arguably concede it a certain style and splendour.

155 dona..ferre uiro Cf. **296**; **uiro** for *regi*, just used (**153**). Cf. $\delta\omega\rho\alpha \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ (*Il.*6.293, etc.). Standard diplomatic usage, both epic and actual (Seymour, 113, Finley (**274**), 64f., M.Citroni, *EV* 2, 130, Liv.30.17.10, 13, etc.); compare Aeneas’ sending for appropriate gifts to bestow upon Dido, 1.643ff. (the storm has ruled out a more conventional diplomatic timetable).

..que..que Cf. **470**.

pacem..exposcere The compound already at Enn.*trag.*151; Aen. knows he is in the right place (**149**), and knows too (or at least has been warned, over and again) that he will have to fight once he has got there (5.730f., 6.84ff., 890), but the war will not be of his making. Veterans of Troy do not look for more battles (cf. 11.255ff.).

Teucris Latinus (of course; just like Dido: cf. **167**) will know who the Trojans are (**195f.**); Aen. sends his request as a famous suppliant.

156 haud mora *Octies*, parenthetically, in V. (from G.4.548; cf. Norden on 6.177); cf. *nec mora*, *nusquam mora*, and similar expressions. *Nec mora nec requies bis* in Lucr..

festinant Enn.*trag.*395; common in comedy and prose; similarly after *haud mora* at 6.177 (but there transitive; here cf. rather 2.373).

iussi Taking up **153 iubet**; cf. 1.63, 3.697, 4.703: an unobtrusive indication of obedience to orders.

rapidisque.. / 157 passibus Enjambement and stop at 1D (**808f.**) a familiar technique for conveying speedy action; after **festinant**, **r.p.** theme and variation (cf. 6.263, 11.907 and adverbial expressions with *uiribus* + adj., while *manibus*, *cursu* tend to be used without adj., though cf. **676**).

feruntur Cf. **673**.

157 ipse Given the careful formal structure of these lines (**154 iubet**; **156 festinant**; **157 designat**; **161 cernebant**), no risk of obscurity; no more is there at 2.479, ten lines after Pyrrhus was named (*EV* 4, 313)!

humili..fossa The Trojan *castra* will have walls, gates, *uallum*, *agger*, *turres* (Carcopino, 363, n.3), but this shallow ditch (cf. Tac.*Ann.*1.61.3) is not only a trace for the walls but, as Serv. seems to realise (paraphrasing as he does *sulco*), also hints at a ritual act, the drawing of the *primigenius sulcus*, essential for the proper foundation of a Roman city, according to the *ritus Etruscus* (1.425 *concludere sulco*, 5.755 *urbem designat aratro*, Bömer on Ov.*F.*4.821, Carcopino, 368, Rehm, 43, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989),17), described in detail by Cato, fr.18 (vd. Schröder's comm.) and Varro *LL* 5.143 (also using *fossa*). If a plough seems not here to be implied, it is surely because Aen. does not have the ritually correct cow and bull ready to hand and does the best he can (*pace* A.Primmer, *WS* 108(1995), 404; the choice of verb—see next n.—is strongly in favour of a ritual sense here). The ritual sense seen in **augustum**, **153** and that suggested here confirm each other; both parties are already committed to the forms of *pietas*. The word **fossa**, taken with **aggere** and **pinnis** will also suggest a more modern, and Roman, fortification (cf. R.G.M. Nisbet in Harrison, *OR*, 384).

designat moenia The verb technical for the drawing of the *sulcus*: cf. Cato, *Aen.*5, Ov.*F.* *citt.*, Tac.*Ann.*12.24.2, SDan. *ad Aen.*4.212, Manil.4.556. The Trojans' first city (it is repeatedly called *urbs*, 9.8, 48, etc., Carcopino, 365ff.) has *muri/moenia* in the narrative (9.37, 39,

etc., Carcopino, 365, n.5). Its site is on the E.bank of the Tiber, near the river's mouth (9.469, 10.260ff., etc., R.Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*₂ (Oxford 1973), 484ff., *id.*, *EV* 3, 903; the details in Carcopino, 357ff. are invaluable, the conclusions quite unacceptable, as Meiggs explained). After Carcopino (372ff.) and Castagnoli (*EV* 5*, 290), I incline (with, also, e.g. E.Henry, 62) to think that the new city/camp was actually named Troy in V. (a traditional name for the Trojans' settlement in Latium: vd.Castagnoli, *cit.*), but Woldemar Görler (in *Pratum Sarauiense* (ed.W.G., S.Koster, Stuttgart 1990), 176 and *per litteras*; cf. Rehm, *cit.*) has advanced an unexpectedly powerful case for scepticism.

158 moliturque locum Cf. 3.5f. *classem../..molimur*(cf.4.309), 132 *muros optatae molior urbis*, **7.126f. ibique memento/ prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta**, **290**, *TLL* 8.1359.22(Lumpe). Serv. comments here *praeparat*, intelligently; the Trojans are about to build a first *agger* and both Carcopino's 'fortifie'(358) and Salemme's 'munisce di costruzioni'(EV 3, 560) seem premature: after all, the object is **locum** and the verb looks to refer to some form of preliminary excavations or clearance (cf. G.1.494 *agricola incuruo terram molitus aratro*: 'heaving', Wilkinson).

primasque..sedes *Ideo 'primas' quia imperium Lavinium translaturus est* [cf. 1.264, etc.]. *et sciendum ciuitatem, quam primo fecit Aeneas, Troiam dictum secundum Catonem et Liuium* Serv., well (cf. Carcopino, 372-5).

in litore Of the river, as **105f.** makes clear, though very near the sea (**157**). Cf. Cat.35.4, *Aen.***7.477**, 8.83.

159 castrorum in morem V. likes (but did not coin; at *TLL* 8.1527.65 Buchwald notes no earlier instances, but see Cic.*Inv.*2.162) the adverbial expression (cf. *rite, more, de more*, Tremoli, *EV* 3, 602): see G.1.245, 2.250, *Aen.*5.556, 8.88, 282, 11.616, 12.401; also Hor. C.1.36.12. Aen. fortifies his *primas..sedes*: they will become both camp and *urbs* (Carcopino, 359ff., 365ff.).

pinnisque The ample material collected at (e.g.) *OLD* s.v.§4 does not quite clarify the word's exact sense: *pinnae* stand above a rampart or wall (Varr.*LL* 5.142), are relatively fragile (Liv.38.5.3) and are clearly not *chevaux de frise* (*vel sim.*), to discourage an attacker, so much as protection (merlons, *vel sim.*) for the defenders (Quadr.fr.85HRR). The military specialists (e.g. J.Harmand, *L'armée et le soldat* (Paris 1967), 113f.) are slightly perplexed.

atque aggere Cf. **127**, 9.43, 70, etc.; the classic Roman *agger* consisted of the earth thrown up by the digging of the *fossa*, and was topped by the *uallum* (and/or exotic *pinnae*!).

cingit Cf. Caes. *BG* 5.42.2, 7.19.1, 69.5, 72.2, etc.: good military language, though less common with just this construction (Liv. 7.39.8, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1064.44f.).

160 iamque We have watched the main body of Trojans dig, while their chosen *legati* travel; the latter have now arrived (cf. Krokowski (540), 17).

iter emensi Cf. 11.244; perhaps an expansion of Cat.'s *metiens iter annum* (34.18), though V.'s very use of *emetior* is stoutly denied at *EV* 3, 507!

turris ac tecta Not listed by Wölfflin as a conventional alliterative noun-pair (cf. 692; note that 460 too perhaps deserved inclusion); we shall hear more of both towers (11.466, 12.132, Carcopino, 291) and buildings (342, 413, Carcopino, *ib.*) in this majestic city: both the Trojans' camp and Latinus' capital are described within a continuum of urban development that runs from heroic Troy to Augustan Rome (Horsfall, *EV* 3, 142).

Latinorum For hypermetric synaloepha, cf. Harrison on 10.895; to his ample bibliography, add Cupaiuolo, *EV* 2, 377; it is sometimes forgotten that the younger Seneca disapproved (*ap.* Gell. 12.2.10 *quosdam uersus et enormes et aliquid supra mensuram trahentis interposuit*). At 8.448 *tela Latinorum*, we see that this was not the only way of fitting the word into an hexameter!

161 ardua Cf. 512 **ardua tecta petit stabuli**.

cernebant They saw, ever larger, as they drew near...V. relishes a whole range of balances and effects of sound and rhyme achieved by paired 3plur. imperfects (1.35, 3.140, 5.159, 6.213, 7.34, 698, 8.641, 674, 9.369, 371, 10.222, 756). For sing., cf. 488f., 754f., 782.

iuuenes Aen. was ordered to retain with him only younger men of fighting age (5.713ff.; on *iuuentus*, cf. 672, 812 and contrast 162: the young warriors of both sides meet peaceably before the clash of 523ff.); inevitably, his *legati* are not experienced senators!

muroque subibant **MP**, Serv. (his lemma gives dat. and he comments 'alibi per accusatiuum..per datiuum enim figuratum est') against **murosque** **R**, by echo from 9.371 (Geymonat), where **PV** have *muros*, against *muro* **MR** ('ex *Aen.* 7.161' Geymonat!). Not a circular argument, but coexistence of two constructions (so e.g. Fordyce, citing 6.13(acc.), 8.125(dat.); cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 266, 268), which leads **R** astray and can confuse even **M**.

162 ante urbem Space for ritual at 3.302, 8.104. Here, though, the Trojans arrive—at the Campus Martius, near enough (cf. Hor.

C.1.8.4ff.(with NH), 9.18, 3.7.25ff., 12.7ff., *Serm.*2.2.9ff., Strab.5.3.8, Suet.*Aug.*83; DH 5.13.2, DC 52.26.1ff.), where the young Latins' sports are described in markedly Augustan language (Norden, *Kl.Schr.*, 373, W.H.Willis, *TAPA* 72(1941), 404f., J.P.V.D.Balsdon, *Life and Leisure* (London 1969), 160, Horsfall 1971, 105f., W.W.Briggs, *Stadion* 1(1977), 278ff.; see likewise **170-86**): they prefigure the 'best' of later Italy and their attitude to the moral value of athletics is impeccable (cf. Hor. C.3.2.3, 24.54ff.): Numanus Remulus' Latins (9.606 *flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu*) value sport as training for banditry (cf. **746-9**), while Latinus' *iuuentus* take exercise because it is good for them—but also will make them better warriors on *der Tag* (Marquardt, 121, Schenk, 317, n.62, Horsfall, *Lat.*30 (1971), 1111 = Harrison, *OR*, 308, M.Dickie, *PLLS* 5(1985), 188ff., E.Eyben, *Restless youth* (London 1993), 81ff.). V. nowhere names Latinus' city; the appellation 'Laurentum', found in many modern books and some Greek texts, is the result of misunderstanding (of *Laurentum* gen. pl. or of *Laurenti* dat./abl.sing): to my rather ample discussion at *EV* 3, 142ff., add A.Grandazzi, *BAGB* 1979, 301ff. and cf. **151**. It is still not quite clear to me *why* V. favoured this anonymity (perhaps he wanted to keep Lavinium for Aen.s foundation and there simply was no other name), but there can be no serious doubt that no town of *Laurentum ever existed, whether in V. or on the Roman map.

pueri Cf. **575** and note Serv. on 5.553 *aut poetica licentia confundit aetates, ut modo pueros, modo iuuenes dicat...* (cf.R.Scarcia, *EV* 2, 396): Pallas, Nisus, Euryalus, Lausus, Marcellus are all called *pueri* (Fasce, *EV* 4, 342); the only major *puer* to survive in *Aen.* is Ascanius. *Pueri* play with the top (**379**) and share Silvia's love for the stag (**484**); they also hunt (9.605). At 17 they become, by the Roman rules, *iuuenes* (though in practice there is some flexibility) and liable to military service (Serv. here, Scarcia, *EV* 2, 397, Marquardt, 123ff., J.Néraudau, *La jeunesse.*(Paris 1979), 147ff.).

primaewo flore iuuentus The adj. is Catullan (64.401) and, more to the point, Cic. has *primo iam a flore iuuentae* (*de cons.*fr.2.75); the expression has a notable epigraphic *Nachlass* (Hoogma (**805**), 298f.).

163 exercentur equis Hendiadys or not? Breaking in chariot teams (*infra*) is unproblematic, but the **equis** here are not necessarily the chariot-horses that follow; the Latins do have cavalry (**624f.**) and just might here be practising, though the limited use of cavalry on Latinus' side—Camilla's is the only contingent specified in the Catalogue and narrative: vd. **804** and Malavolta, 154—makes hendiadys

rather likelier. *Qui in Campo Martio exercebantur* comments Porph. on Hor.C.1.8.8; the verb here used as a middle (cf. Cic.*Tusc.*2.56 *exercentur athletae*). Cf. **782**.

domitantque..currus As often (cf. Fordyce), **c.** is, by brachylogy, 'the team'(or 'chariot and team'; cf. Bell, 180, Wulff, *TLL* 4.1520.42; for Homeric usage, cf. Seymour, 674, n.1): *G.*1.514 (where vd. Mynors; *EV* 1, 679 minimises), 4.389 *iuncto bipedum curru .. equorum*, *Aen.*12.287 (vd.Traina), 350. The frequentative verb probably a Virgilian coinage (cf. *G.*1.285).

in puluere Sybaris, *patiens pulueris atque solis* falls in love and *deserit Campum* (Hor.C.1.8.4 with NH, *trag.inc.*207; cf. Gk. κόνιςτρα, arena in a wrestling-school): also a standard element in the epic and tragic and historical battlefield (**625**; Tac.*Hist.*2.99 echoes Hor.*cit.*, memorably; cf. too *EV* 4, 350).

164 aut..aut Cf. Il.2.774f.: the Achaeans, after their muster delight in discus/light spears/bows on the sea shore; Virgil elaborates (Pinotti, *EV* 3, 176).

acris..arcus The adj. surely a transference from the arrow (πικρὸς ὄϊστός), and not from the archer (so Serv. on 9.662); rightly, Zucchelli, *EV* 1, 15 (*perperam*, Fordyce). For the assonance (the same vowel, though the second is naturally short, followed by the same consonants in reversed sequence), cf. Fordyce on **491**.

tendunt Two successive spondaic words convey the heavy effort of drawing a stiff bow: cf. 5.489, 9.606, 11.859, Hor.C.2.10.20 (*tendere* also of aiming at Varr.*Atac.* fr.7.1).

lenta../ 165 spicula Cf. **186**, **626**, **687**; spears light enough to be whippy (cf. 11.650, 12.489; so too of *uimen*, *uitis*, *salix*; cf. Pinotti, *cit.*) and a contrast, if not precisely of weaponry effectiveness, at least of tone, achieved with **acris**.

lacertis/ 165 contorquent The abl. is important to the sound, not the sense: a word *ter* in Lucr. and common in prose: cf. **503**; in a limited sense, the muscles of the upper arm (10.339), Boscherini, *EV* 1, 901, but then of the arm in general or to denote muscular effort. The vb. (Pacuv.*trag.*186, Lucr. *quater*, Cat.64.107) indicates clearly the use of a throwing-strap (**731**).

165 cursuque Not only epic and Hellenic, but good Roman (DH 7.73.3, Cic.*Leg.*2.38, Liv.9.16.13. Hor.C.3.12.9 *neque pugno neque segni pede uictus*, Marquardt, 121).

ictuque Taken by Serv. and TCD (not to mention Rubenbauer,

TLL 7.1.164.39) as a further reference to spear-throwing: unnecessary duplication, for V.'s language can perfectly well refer to boxing (Conington, Horsfall 1971, 25, Fordyce): cf. 5.377, 444, 457; itself a good old Roman sport (DH, Cic., Hor. *supra*, Plut. *Cat. Mai.*20.6). Cf. Housman on Manil.5.167 (a similar problem).

laccessunt Normally a transitive verb (cf. 10.644, Liv.10.10.9); at 10.716 the object is easily supplied from 714 (*Mezentium*) and here too we should supply *alius alium*, rather than posit an anomalous intransitivisation.

166 cum No accident that the fateful news breaks in upon a scene vigorous, Roman, traditional—and potentially warlike (cf. **162**). Cf. for the *cum inuersum*, Günther, 48, n.127 and (e.g) Williams on 5.84f., Görler, *EV* 2, 274f..

praeuectus equo One of the riders (?) of **163**, sent to reach Latinus before Aen.'s *legati* (TCD). The verb perhaps at Acc. *trag.*128; at Liv. 9.35.7, 10.36.6 (exactly V.'s phrase), etc. and not securely a Virgilian coinage.

longaeui regis cf. **46 iam senior**. The adj.: Gk. μακρόβιος; in Prop. and Ov. and probably a Virgilian coinage (cf. Scarcia, *EV* 2, 397).

ad auris So of news from *Buc.*3.73 (*octies* in V. and already *ter* in Lucr., *semel* in Ter., *bis* in Plaut.).

167 nuntius..reportat Contrast *Aen.*1: Ilioneus and his shipwrecked companions have had rough treatment from the Carthaginians, before they reach the capital (539ff.); here a scout (cf. 9.193, 11.511) gives the old king time for proper ceremony and consideration. The latter's city is well-established, though, while Dido is still supervising the workmen (1.504, Balk, 42f.). Serv. (on **195**) is worried about just how Latinus knows who the Trojans are (so too later editors, summarised by Balk, 58f.; cf. A.Gercke, *Entstehung der Aen.* (Berlin 1913), 90); the **aequore** of **196** indicates that the scout's news is not exactly fresh, and the Trojan scouts of **150f.** will not have passed unobserved. How—1.522f., Gercke, *cit.*—does Ilioneus know Dido is a queen? I hope never to have to read an epic in which all such questions are answered. Athene caustically tells Odysseus that they have heard of Troy at Ithaca (Od.13.248). *Porto* colloquial and epic, rare in *Kunstprosa* (Lenaz, *EV* 4, 224), but *reporto undecies* in Cic. speeches, and *ter* in the *philosophica*, *ter* in Caesar, 14x in Livy, *quater* in Tac.. Note also Cat.46.11.

ingentis.. / 168 ..uiros Heroes were much bigger than ordinary

men (*Il.*12.447f., *AR* 3.1365ff. with Hunter's n., *Aen.*12.899f. with Traina's n.); the scout's reaction, though, is not heroic, but that of a Roman when confronted by the northern barbarian (Horsfall 1971, 106). Strabo saw 'mere lads' from Britain in the city, six inches taller than the tallest Romans (4.5.2; still true until ca. ten years ago!). Cf. the *Gemma Augustea*, or *Tac.Germ.*20.1, with Anderson's n., A.N. Sherwin-White, *Racial prejudice..* (Cambridge 1970), 57f., J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Romans and aliens* (London 1979), 214f.). Trojans were not all Phrygian degenerates (cf. next n.).

ignota in ueste Note the marked assonance, given the (unchallenged) nasal pronunciation of -ng- (vd. e.g. epigraphic *congatus*, *singifer*, etc.). We are used to hearing of the unity of the Homeric world (e.g. Seymour, 25); a little too much so: it is very helpful to learn of the subtly different Trojans and their markedly odder allies (Griffin (532), 3f., Hall (151), 19ff.). But explicit difference in dress singles out the barbarian from tragedy on (Hall, 70, 76, 84) and Gallic trousers and cloaks offended the Roman (Sherwin-White, *cit.*, 58f., Balsdon, *cit.*, 220). Phrygians too dressed strangely, and some of a civilised man's natural disgust is discharged at the Trojans' expense in the *Aen.* (Horsfall (162), 1114 = Harrison, *OR*, 312, *RFil* 117(1989), 57ff., *Vergilius* 35(1989), 23); nothing as bad as here as Chloereus' trousers (11.777), or the sleeves, bonnets and ribbons condemned by Numanus Remulus (9.616), not to mention the Trojans' favourite colours (*ib.*614), but still a typically Roman reaction (cf. *EV* 1, 153).

168 aduenisse So of Aeneas himself, **269** and cf. **69**.

ille../ 169 imperat Mounted scouts and prompt orders: though old, Lat. is still fully in control of the situation; more so, indeed than was Dido in bk.1(505ff.). Serv., though, notes that Roman procedure with respect to envoys from an unknown power, was more cautious: envoys not known to be friendly were not admitted within the *pomoerium* (Mommsen *StR* 3.2₃,930, Willems (152), 485f.): the reader, therefore, with Roman usage in mind, will note that Latinus is going almost rashly out of his way to show goodwill.

intra tecta uocari Cf.1.520; the object is supplied from **168**. Note the stately ring-composition with the end of the ecphrasis **192f. tali intus templo diuum patriaque Latinus/ sede sedens Teucros ad sese in tecta uocauit**. Cf. Balk, 44; vd. also (e.g.) *Aen.*9, ed. Hardie, index s.v., *EV* 4, 1043ff..

169 et solio..auito So Dido at 1.506 *solioque alte subnixta resedit* (with Wistrand (170-91), 206); cf. here **177 ueterum effigies ex ordine**

auorum: awkward, arguably, if the city was founded by Latinus (61), but V. avoids consistent clarity on this point (cf. Balk, 46ff., Rosivach (153), 146, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 26) and might even be suggesting that Lat. had adorned his new palace with a selection of ancient symbols, quite like the princeps himself (cf. T.P. Wiseman in *L'urbs* (CEFR 98, Rome 1987), 397f. = *id. Historiography and imagination* (Exeter 1994), 101f.). Augustus received a Jewish embassy in the temple of Palatine Apollo (Jos. *Ant.* 17.301 etc.; cf. Mommsen, Willems, *cit.* at 168f.). The adj. in Cat.(25.8).

medius consedit Cf. Telemachus, *Od.* 2.14 ἔζετο δ' ἐν πατρὸς θώκῳ. Cf. 1.698 *mediamque locavit*, 5.76 *magna medius comitante caterua*, 290 [*se*] *medium tulit*, 622 *mediam se..infert*, 6.667; the verb at Cat.37.14, Cic. *Arat.* 373.

170-91 V. has in mind here antecedents both literary and actual: while we think both of Alcinous' palace (*Od.* 7.86-132), and of Aetes' (AR 3.213-48, itself Odyssean in inspiration), we should not exclude details of the great Roman aristocratic houses of V.'s day (Wistrand, *infra*; cf. 169, 175, 177, 183), and alongside the many analogies with the Capitol noted by Camps, *infra* (cf. 170-75 *passim*, 177, 183, 184, 186), we should set similarities hardly less striking with the Palatine, so acutely present to the imaginations of V. and his contemporaries (cf. 169, 171, 172, 174, 183). The richness of V.'s sources or models here will necessitate a certain fulness of comment. See Balk, 45ff., Blänsdorf (1-4), 97, Camps, *CQ* 9(1959), 54, Carcopino, 288ff., Della Corte, 256, Heinze, 397, R. Moorton, *TAPA* 118(1988), 253ff., Pace, 303f., Reeker, 141ff., Rosivach (153), 140ff., H.T. Rowell, *AJP* 62(1941), 264ff., D. Scagliarini Corlàita, *EV* 1, 687f., C.C. Van Essen, *Mnem.* 3.7(1939), 230f., Wiseman (169), E. Wistrand, *Eranos* 68(1970), 204ff..

A real inconsistency between the kings portrayed here and the genealogy of Latinus V. offers at 48ff. has been suspected (Della Corte, 256f., Balk, 47, Fordyce on 189; contrast Moorton, 254f. and Rosivach, 140ff.). In the earlier passage V. sketches Latinus' genealogy; here the palace is represented as containing *both* a sequence of **au** and also (the) **alii..reges** of the Aborigines (cf. 181), who have been implicitly supplanted by Latini/ Laurentes in the *Aen.* We are not invited to reconcile these two categories (who might even be identical!) but their very existence suggests the unwisdom of accusing V. of offering his readers conflicting versions of the details within so short a space. Moorton manages to reconcile V.'s various genealogies

of Latinus (cf. also 12.164; M. could be right, at that), while Rosivach (151) prefers a deliberate discrepancy, to emphasize, respectively, the peaceful and warlike aspects of V.'s Latium. I agree with R. both (46) that the 'inconsistency', at least between war and peace, is present and that it, like many others (*Alambicco*, 91ff.; so too 107-47, §v, O'Hara(817), 216) is quite deliberate, but wonder whether the very scope of the two passages is not sufficiently different to eliminate the need for any specific explanation.

For V.'s ecphraseis in general, cf. 563-71 and index s.v.; Putnam (475-539, 1998) concentrates on those of works of art (and Silvia's stag). Latinus' city is in sharp contrast to Dido's: though more immediately hostile, it is not a *moral* danger and its *pietas* is almost a match for the Trojans' own. Though Jupiter declares *morem ritusque sacrorum/ adiciam* (12.836f.) and Aen. himself announces *sacra deosque dabo* (12.192), they refer in particular to the Trojan penates. Romans were not religious imperialists and it would be deeply anomalous for V. to suggest that Trojan faith was to supplant Italian tradition (cf. Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 24); indeed, his whole portrayal of the Latins' religion (cf. 153) points to its solid future contribution to Roman cult.

170 tectum augustum ingens Cf. 4.181 *monstrum horrendum ingens*, 3.658, 12.897 *saxum antiquum ingens* (all with asyndetic adjs., multiple synaloepha, climactic *ingens*) and less closely 6.283, 552. **A.** in the technical sense (cf. 153): the *regia* is (174) a temple, and *augusta uocantur/ templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu* (Ov.F. 1.609f., with Bömer's n.). We should not exclude (791) the possibility (given that the previous word too is used in an etymological sense) that V. refers to an edifice not only majestic but also the sanctuary of the *gens* itself.

centum sublime columnis 4.240 *sublimem alis*, 6.357 *summa sublimis ab unda*, and 11.722 *pennis sublimem* suggest the palace is raised high (cf. Cavajoni, *EV* 4, 1053f.) on its hundred columns. **C.** is a conventional large number (539; cf. *EV* 3, 786) and the reader is free to think either of Jupiter Capitolinus or of Apollo Palatinus, without benefit of ground-plans and numismatic representations.

171 urbe..summa 'In the acropolis' or 'in the highest part of the city' (Forbiger, Carcopino, 292); we may think of Capitol, Palatine, Troy (*Il.*6.257, 22.172), even of some hill remembered in the Roman Campagna (cf. 61).

Laurentis Latinus himself is *Laurens* (342); so too his mother Marica (47); here his grandfather as well. Cf. Horsfall, *EV* 3, 141: the

Laurentes were the people that lived near Lavinium, both before and after the foundation of the *regia/tectum*.

regia Even a hint at the Regia in the Forum? So Pace, 304, Rosivach, 147f.. Cf. **175** (sacrifice of the ram, with Macr.1.16.30, Wissowa, 516, n.2), **182ff.** (arms displayed and honoured: cf. Gell.4.6.2, Serv. *ad Aen.*8.3, Wissowa, 516, n.3). But *regia* in the normal sense of 'palace' will suffice (F.Castagnoli, *EV* 4, 422) and we may want even to think of Augustus' own *domus* on the Palatine (**174**). Is this palace the same as Latinus'? (So Plessis-Lejay). And how does its hallowed antiquity (**169**, **172**, etc.) square with the foundation of the *arces* by Latinus (**61**; cf. **169**)? Not to mention the application of the name **Laurentis** to Picus, two generations earlier than Latinus, who conferred the name (**63**); Rosivach, 146f. deals briskly with such cavils (cf. also Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 22f.); to suppose the refoundation by Latinus of an earlier city on the same site (cf. Carcopino, 254ff.) is an ingenious hypothesis (and one not clearly wrong) that may help eliminate any residual scepticism.

Pici Cf. **48**, Moorton and Rosivach, *cit.* (**170-91**) and *EV* 4, 92f., Bömer on *Ov.F.*3. 291ff., Richard on *OGR* 4.3. As a bird (cf. **189ff.**) the *picus* was augural, sacred to Mars, and totem of the Picentes; as a divinity/primitive ruler, attested from Val.Ant.fr.6HRR, Varr.*res div.* fr.35, 217 on (cf. *pontificales libri ap. Serv.* on **190**, Schwegler 1, 214f., Cornell(**763**), 305; we may recall that the genealogy at **48** is clearly Varronian: fr.217 *cit.* and *de gente* fr.27 Fracc.).

172 horrendum Cf. **78**; the wood may be wild and untrimmed (cf. 8.348 and even **746**; *EV* 2, 857) but, much more to the point, it rouses awe (Grassmann-Fischer, 94, 4.454, 6.10, etc.), as dense woodland regularly did (cf. Rehm, 79f., Horsfall, *PBSR* 50(1982), 50f.) in a Roman's breast.

siluis Cf. 9.86 (Troy; cf. 2.300 Anchises' house *arboribus..obtecta*), *lucus in arce fuit summa*, 1.441 (Carthage) *lucus in urbe fuit media*. A *lucus* (when used as 'grove') is smaller and more usually sacred than a *silva* (cf. **82**, **778**; present in Rome too: cf. Liv.1.8.5, *Ov.F.*3.431 for the Capitol, Cic.*Div.*1.101 for the Palatine), but *silvae* within the city may be taken to suggest a more rustic environment and even perhaps a recent foundation.

religione parentum An ancestral *religio* (cf. **608**) clings to these woods, whose presence renders the 'palace' *horrendum* (and might also account for its location): hendiadys (vd. Henry, index, s.v., Bell, 261, **15**, **751**). Cf. 8.597f. *est ingens ..lucus../ religione patrum late sacer* (cf.

2.715, of a single cypress, *religione patrum multos seruata per annos*; see **178**).

173 hic../ 174 ..hoc../175 hae..hic Geminatio of the adverb encloses gemination with gender-variation of the pronominal adjective, giving an impression of fourfold repetition; cf. *huc..huc* enclosing triple *hic* at *Buc.9.39ff.* and *hic..hic[advbl.]..hoc* (*Aen.1.16f.*). Note that for **hae** **MP, R** has **haec** (fem.sing., presumably; mysteriously printed by Geymonat: Spallone, *EV* 4, 750 shows that either sing. or plur. could stand, and we therefore follow the weight of ms. authority).

sceptra accipere The sceptre, impeccably Homeric (cf. **247**), just possibly imported into Rome from Etruria (Mommsen, *StR* 1₃, 424f., Weinstock, 67, Latte, 152, n.3). The infinitive is rich in implications, reflecting as it does a long discussion at Rome over the ultimate source of regal authority (cf. **606 patres** (and 6.818f.), **617 iubebatur**, **727 misere patres**, 11.379, 12.206ff., *Athen.78*(1990), 524 = *AION Sez.ling.13*(1991), 20; the latter version is preferable); Latinus had received his right to rule from the Latin *patres*.

primos..fascis As symbol of regal/consular authority their Etruscan origin (supported by the finds, and cf. *Flor.1.1.5*) was debated in antiquity (Mommsen, *StR* 1₃, 615f., *EV* 2, 468, Bömer on *Ov.F.1.81*, Ogilvie on *Liv.1.8.2*, 2.1.7ff.); **p.** in the sense of ‘at the beginning of their reigns’. In our attempts to disentangle the associations of this passage, it may help to note that the consul, preceded by his *fascis* (*Ov.F.1.79-82*; vd. Bömer’s nn.) went from his house to the Capitol on taking up office.

attollere The lictors’ action is transferred to the king himself (cf. 6.859!).

174 regibus Cf. *Athen./AION cit.* on the way in which V.’s epic notions of kingship usually (but not always) triumph over the antiquarian tradition.

omen erat On the second syllable of *erat* lengthened *in arsi* at the caesura (diastole), cf. Fordyce’s long note and (more amply yet), F.Cupaiuolo, *EV* 2, 43f..V.’s phrase appears invented *ad hoc* (imitated, *Luc.7.341*); the sense is clearly that of an habitual act, hallowed by omen (Di Mauro Todini, *EV* 3, 841 acutely compares the *primis../ominibus* of 1.345f., where vd. Austin and cf. *Ter.Andr.200 ea lege atque omine*; contrast Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.577.3), which just might also suggest the *inauguratio* of a Roman king (*Liv.1.18.6ff.*, Latte, 141).

illis Hoc naturally long (*hocc* being the original spelling, Leumann, 220) and in prose would have been *haec* (while here **templum** at-

tracts the gender, Bell, 374); in mannered (?) juxtaposition with **illis**: anaphora of **regibus** was too excited for this passage, and the self-contained spondaic fourth foot may have been heard to convey appropriate heavy solemnity (cf. **291, 408, 625**); Ovid might have written e.g. *ibi curia regis et aedes!*

curia We have already seen that the Latin *patres* are perceived to have a certain importance (**173**; vd. further index s.v. elders of Latins) and it makes excellent sense for them to have a regular meeting-place. Roman usage required the Senate's meeting-places to be *templa..per augures constituta* (Varr.*ap.*Gell.14.7.7, Mommsen, *StR* 3, 926, n.6, Willems (**152**), 157, n.4) and it frequently did meet in actual temples: e.g. of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, of Honos and Virtus and of Fides on the Capitoline, in the Temple of Palatine Apollo (vd. next note) and elsewhere on the same hill (vd. Suet. *Aug.*29.3, DC 40.49, Serv. *ad Aen.*11.235, Willems (**152**), 159f.; a hint here at the Curiae Veteres below the Palatine seems unlikely).

templum Not in any augural sense (though that is implicit, *supra*); we have seen that it was excellent Roman usage for the senate to meet in temples and for ambassadors to be received therein too but the association of palace and temple can hardly have failed to suggest the juxtaposition of the *domus Augusti* and the Temple of Palatine Apollo (Ov.*F.*4.951ff., Vell.2.81.3, Suet.*Aug.*29.3, etc.; cf. B.Tamm, *Auditorium und Palatium* (Stockholm 1963), 56f., P.Zanker, *Power of Images* (Ann Arbor 1990), 67, K.Galinsky, *Augustan culture* (Princeton 1996), 217f.).

175 sacris sedes epulis E. is dat. (cf. *G.*4.8, *Aen.* 3.167, **7.110**) of the heteroclite fem. plur. of neut. sing. *epulum* (cf. NW 1, 823f.)! In contrast with the simplicity of the old offerings which so much impressed DH (2.23.5; cf. Athen. 6.274Bf.), the pontifical colleges dined in unblushing splendour (cf. NH on Hor.*C.*1.37.2, 2.14.28); note (e.g.) the Epulum Iouis on the Capitol (Wissowa, 423, H.H.Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies* (London 1981), 30, 186f.) and the Senate's banquet there after a triumph (Liv.45.39.12f.). Cf. Wistrand, 216 for the private tradition of the Roman aristocracy in its architectural context.

ariete caeso On the consonantal i (and consequent lengthening of the a), cf. now S.Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881, *id.*, *Nuovi contr.*, 173; the Greek **Paeoniis**, **769**, will not prove to be comparable. A ram is sacrificed at (e.g.) *Catal.*14.7 (?), Varr.*LL* 6.12, *RR* 2.1.10 (Suovetaurilia); cf. Ausfeld, *TLL* 2.571.24ff. and Serv. here. The ram is a delicacy unsurprisingly missing from the pontifical menu at Macr.3.13.12, nor

does Apicius suggest how it might be rendered fit to eat. For **c.**, cf. **87, 574.**

176 perpetuis..mensis The adj. as equivalent to *longis* (cf. the *scamnis..longis* of Ov.F.6.305; so Paratore): cf. 8.183 *perpetui tergo bouis*, and, of time, *Buc.*4.14, *Aen.*4.32; this sense seems to have been elevated from prose usage (*OLD* s.v.§1a) by V.

soliti..considerere The participle characteristic of V. in ethnographic vein (cf. **741**). Serv. realised that the detail of the Latins sitting at table was highly significant and I hope to have read his note with proper attention (1971, 107, *EV* 5*, 448, *Alambicco*, 113; cf. **641-817**, §vii for V.'s general debt to Varro in this kind of antiquarian detail). Homer's heroes sat (Seymour, 209), but the Eastern habit of reclining conquered, except in Crete and Sparta (Varro, *infra*, *Athen.*1.17Eff., 4.143Aff.); in Italy likewise, the *strenuus uilicus* (Colum.11.1.19) continued to sit, except on feast-days, and the Arval Brethren too dined sitting (*Acta* ed.Henzen, 21.2, with 23). So Varro: *maiores..nostri sedentes epulabantur*, after Cretan and Spartan usage (*de gente* fr.37Fracc.); cf. SDan. *ad Aen.*1.79, Ov.F.1.305f. with Bömer's n.. Women and children continued to sit, after men began normally to recline (Varr.*de vita* fr.30Rip.).

patres Cf. **611, 727**, both times in passages of marked antiquarian interest; for these Italian *patres* see also **214, 372** and **173 accipere**. The king, *more Homeric*o, dines with his elders.

177 quin etiam Cf. **299, 385.**

ueterum..auorum 'Forbears of old'; for the adj., cf. **254, 795**: somewhere between the grandiose and the redundant (cf. Tib.1.1.42, 10.18).

effigies Cf. 3.148 *effigies sacrae diuum*, R.Daut, *Imago* (Heidelberg 1975), 104ff..The Varronian dogma (*res div.*1, fr.15, 18, with full discussion and bibliography in Cardauns, **443**) that early Roman religion was aniconic was not accepted universally (contrast Prop.4.1.5, Ov.F.1.201, DH 2.18.2, Plin.*Nat.*34.33); the remote figures here depicted are, though, specified as primarily ancestors, not divinities (though cf. Rosivach, 151 on the **templo diuum** of **192** and Lat.'s 'divine ancestors'). To have statues of your ancestors at home was post-Augustan usage (Mayor and Courtney on Juv.7.124f., Rowell, *cit.*, 265, n.27); here V. cannot have in mind the Forum of Augustus (Castagnoli, *EV* 2, 562f., after A.Degrassi, *Epigraphica* 7(1945), 88ff.; decisively, against Rowell, *cit.*), but may hint at *imagines maiorum* in a Roman *atrium*, and even at the historical statues in the Temple of

Jupiter Capitolinus (App.*Civ.*1.70, Suet.*Cal.*34; cf. Rosivach, 149f.), not to mention his own mental image at G.3.34f.! Cf. now H.I.Flower, *Ancestor masks* (Oxford 1996), 55, n.118.

ex ordine In visual and ('and therefore', even) chronological sequence (cf. 6.754), apparently, though we shall see very shortly that the details might seem to raise problems. Compare Juno's temple at Carthage *uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnans*, Lenaz, *EV* 2, 880 (so already G.3.34f, 4.507, *sexies* in Lucr.).

178 antiqua e cedro For the prepositional phrase, cf. Pease on 4.457, Clausen on *Buc.*7.31 *leui de marmore tota*, G.3.13 *templum de marmore*, LHS, 261. On the (common) hiatus at caesura, cf. (with Fordyce) *EV* 2, 886f., Clausen on *Buc.*3.6, Harrison on 10.136. *Cedrus* is ambiguous, irresolubly so (Meiggs (382), 410-6): the word refers equally to cedar ('of Lebanon') and juniper (common in central Italy), though for sculpture (*ib.*, 308f., 311f.) cedar is marginally more likely, if rather less readily available, as though that mattered, in primitive Italy. Exactly as at 2.714f. *antiqua cupressus/ religione patrum multos seruata per annos* (a passage in V.'s mind at 172), the wood of the statue not merely old but ennobled by its antiquity (the clear similarity of the two passages denied at *EV* 1, 196!). As at 176, it seems clear enough that V. here nods at the sentimental-antiquarian tradition of primitive wooden statues (cf. Smith on Tib.1.10.17f. and 2.5.28, Prop.4.1.5, Hor.*Serm.*1.8.1f.).

Italus Cf. 1.533 (= 3.166) *Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*. King of the Sicels at Thuc.6.2.4, of the Oenotri (Antiochus, *FGH* 555F2,5 = DH 1.12.3, 35.3; cf. Arist.*Pol.*7.9.2f.); Sicelus the son of Italus at Philistus, *FGH* 556F46 = DH 1.22.3. Cf. Bérard (735), 437ff., D.Musti, *EV* 2, 317f. and 3, 34f.. The expansion of the name to the N. is slow and irregular: Timaeus(?), behind ps.Arist. *Mir.Ausc.*78 (as far as Circeii, but contrast Ephorus and Thphr.); Cato, fr. 85HRR and Plb.2.14 (with Walbank on Plb.3.26.3f.): at last, from the Alps S., after the definition achieved by the second Punic war; cf. Musti 3, 36f.. What is odd is Italus' presence (if he is eponym of all Italy) just here in Latinus' palace, unless V. still thinks of him as in some sense a king of those Siculi/Sicani who ended up in Latium (795, D.Briquel, *REL* 70(1992), 72ff.).

pater..Sabinus The title has possibly a hint of 'ancestor'(cf. 372), but is more clearly to be understood as an all-purpose honorific (cf. 685, 792) for a remote and reverend figure (cf. *EV* 3, 1018ff.). It is not at all clear why the Sabines' eponym should be here in Latinus'

palace, unless V. is thinking of him in Varronian terms (cf. next n.) as king of the adventurous Oenotri from the S., who could be thought to have settled the whole region.

179 uitisator An Accian compound (*trag.*241). Serv. *ad Aen.*3.165 was so worried by the ascription to Sabinus' of Saturnus' *falx* that he took the whole verse, absurdly, to refer to Saturn and E.Courtney prefers to transpose his way out of a sequence of very minor difficulties (*BICS* 28(1981), 22). The correct explanation (Poucet 1963, 191ff., developed by Horsfall 1971, 25f., but re-stated too briefly at *CR* 28(1978), 163 to be taken up by O'Hara, 188; cf. too *EV* 4, 627) seems to be that the *falx* (v.*infra*) is a common attribute of agricultural deities (Saturn, *Fest.*202.17, etc., Priapus, *G.*4.110, etc., Silvanus, *Mart.Cap.*5.425) and Sabinus counts as such, for Varro: *Oenotria autem dicta est uel a uino optimo quod illic nascitur[uix!], uel ut Varro dicit [fr.397GRF] ab Oenotro rege Sabinorum*. Oenotrus here is far outside his usual stamping-ground of Bruttium/ Lucania (cf. Musti, *EV* 2, 318) but is tied to Sabinum by etymology: cf. *Lyd.Mens.*1.5 *Καβίνος ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον γεωργίας φερωνύμως ὠνομάσθη· τὸ γὰρ Καβίνος ὄνομα σπορέα καὶ φυτευτὴν οἴνου διασημαίνει*. Poucet acutely noted that this etymology made no sense as Greek and a Latin (Varronian, even) etymology is perfectly credible in Lydus (cf. E.Flintoff, *Atti Congr.int.studi varroniani* 2(Rieti 1976), 367f.): perforce of Sabinus-*sero/seui*. *Pace* Briquel (178), 88, a little 'pansabinism' really does seem here to seep into V.. The inferiority the wine then (cf. NH on *Hor.C.*1.20.1) and now is irrelevant when V. is writing in etymologising, Varronian vein, and perforce, the Romans had to drink it before the conquest of Campania (Perret *ad loc.*)!

curuam..falcem On technical aspects of the *falx uinitoria*, cf. K.D.White, *Agricultural implements.*(Cambridge 1967), 93ff., Mynors on *G.*1.157.

seruans sub imagine A difficult expression, not entirely understood (cf. Horsfall 1971, 26f., Daut, 104ff.). Below his face, or in its scabbard, suggests Serv., weakly. TCD favours the first of Serv.'s suggestions, *Non.*329.11 the second. Henry throws his energy into a losing cause: 'in the character, office, role' of *uitisator*. But Fordyce, Daut and I agree altogether that the other instances of *sub imagine* (*Aen.*6.293 *sub imagine formae*, *Ov.Met.*1.213, 3.250, 13.714,14.759, *F.*6.613, etc.—19x in *Ov.*; likewise *quater* in *Manil.*) are not quite comparable, for they all contain either an adjective or a dependent genitive and the evident suggestion, *pace* Henry, is of 'show, form,

appearance (even pretext)'. 'In representation' concludes Fordyce; *etiam imago factus falcem retinet* Conington, cited with approval by Horsfall 1971. Likewise Daut. None of us could cite an exact parallel when we wrote, nor can I now, yet that need not mean we are all wrong.

180 Saturnusque senex Italy is *Saturnia terra* in *Enn. Ann.* 21. Saturn himself is identified with Kronos as early as *Liv. Andr. fr.* 2, 12 Bü.. Cf. West on [*Hes.*] *Erga* 173a-e and Lehnus on *Pind. Ol.* 2.72ff. for how Kronos' rule over a Golden race (cf. West on *Erga* 111) turns into his rule over the (Western) Isles of the Blessed. Saturn joins the list of central Italian culture-heroes at *Aen.* 8.319ff. (and note *G.* 2.538); cf. *DH* 1.34, 36.1, Schwegler, 1, 212f., Bömer on *Ov. F.* 1.234, Binder, 84ff.. The origin of this account is not Virgilian, but earlier, if not definitely securely annalistic (Wifstrand Schiebe, 19-28, less hypercritical than her earlier account, *Vergilius* 32(1986), 43ff.): cf. *Enn. Euhem.* 5V, with E. Fraenkel, *Kl. Beitr.* 2, 58, Cass. Hem. fr. 1HRR (though Tert. twice refers, improbably, to Cassius 'Severus'), *DS* 5.66.3ff., *Nepos Chron.* fr. 1HRR, *Varr. res div.* 1, ed. R. Agahd, 51, and the *alii scripserunt* of *Aug. CD* 18.15. *Senex* as *Silvanus*, (*G.* 2.494) and *Charon* (6.304 *iam senior, sed cruda deo uiridisque senectus*); cf. *Serv. ad G.* 4.402 (grey-haired sea-deities; cf. the *Peneos* of *Ov. Met.* 2.243, with Bömer's n.). Vd. Martina, *EV* 4, 768.

Ianique bifrontis Cf. **607**, *EV* 2, 723f. (G. Freyburger), Wifstrand Schiebe, 73ff.. The double association of Janus with both Janiculum (8.357, *Ov. F.* 1.245f. with Bömer's n.), and with Saturn is not securely Varronian (*Aug. CD.* 7.4 is not specific; Fordyce on 8.357f. is optimistic), while *Fest.* 430.30ff. and *Macr.* 1.7.19f. are late Augustan (Verrius Flaccus, *Hyg.* fr. 6HRR). Why Janus should stand among the kings of Latins/Aborigines is not clear, except perhaps if the association with Saturn is solidly *pre-Virgilian*. The epithet also at 12.198; it at least is probably Varronian and very likely much older (*res div.* fr. 233; cf. p. 203 Agahd). In some sense, enallage: Janus is visibly *bifrons* in his artistic representation.

imago Here as unproblematic synonym for *effigies*; for the repetition, with variation of sense, cf. **554** (and Austin's classic note on 2.505 is particularly helpful on this repetition with sense-change; cf. now Wills, 469f.)

181 uestibulo Cf. 2.469, 6.273. We would do well to remember the warning offered at *Gell.* 16.5.11f. on V.'s cavalier use of architectural terminology (cf. Scagliarini Corlàita, 687f., Wifstrand, 196ff.), and

marked elements of change and flexibility in usage of the terms *fauces* and *uestbulum* (Wistrand, D.S.Robertson, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, (Cambridge 1945), 384 s.v. *fauces*); the sensible conclusion (so Scagliarini Corlàita) is that we should avoid tying V. down to a measured architect's drawing of Latinus' palace.

adstabant FMR; astabant P. There is some variation in codd. (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 387: cf. 2.303, 3.194), but Geymonat's reluctance to impose 'correct' assimilation in the face of the mss. is comprehensible. Leumann, 194f. well explains the editor's problem, with reference to Plautus. For the verb, cf. **72**, 9.677, 12.92.

aliique ab origine reges It has long been realised (from Serv. to O'Hara, 188; cf. Leumann, 402, *EV* 1,6, J.Linderski, *Vergilius* 38(1992), 6, Briquel (**178**), 76, n.37) that V. thus refers etymologically to the Aborigines, otherwise unsuited to hexameter poetry (cf. **695**, **729**), implicitly rejecting other explanations of the name (Linderski, 7f., Horsfall *Alambicco*, 50, *Athen.*78(1990), 525, *EV* 3, 141, and in Harrison *OR*, 474f.; cf. N.Golvers, *Anc.Soc.*20(1989), 193ff.) and bowing to the race he has perforce excluded from *Aen*, replacing them with Latini/Laurentes (cf. **170-91**).

182 Martia..uulnera Cf. *M.tela* at *Buc.*9.12, *G.*4.71, *Hor.Ars* 402, *Tib.*1.2.68; the adj. an exact metrical substitute for the *hic manus* of 6.660(*infra*). As at **533** (but unlike **757**) the ms. evidence is for the orthography *uu-*, and I am hesitant to standardise (cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 439); V. is likelier to have written *uo-*(Leumann, 49) but just might have 'modernised'(as *Mon.Anc.* does).

-que F₁ PR; qui FM. Synaloepha of *qui* is exceedingly rare (*G.*1.201, *Aen.*1.378, 388, 2.663 (none of plur.), Norden, 457, Hellegouarc'h, (**676**) 245f., Soubiran, 405f.), and the sub-group of wounded monarchs of the Aborigines is not easily integrated into V.'s iconographic programme, while the separate category introduced by **-que** may either be an anticipation of the suffering that Latinus' people will have to undergo before reconciliation with the Trojans or a stopgap not developed by V.(Sparrow, 102; Moskalew, 126 misses the problem). And what are 'Orphic' heroes—vd. *infra*—doing in the Roman Campagna?

ob patriam pugnando Exactly as of the band of blessed heroes at 6.660 (cf. *P.Bonon.* 4.102 καὶ δ' αὐταὶ μὲν ὄλοντο φίλους δ' ἐκάωσαν: the existence of a pre-Platonic source of 'Orphic' character behind V. and *P.Bonon.* has become likelier: Horsfall, *ζPE* 96(1993), 17f.). The formulation is curiously rare in actual epitaphs

(Lattimore, 152, 240, *Companion*, 208, n.113; cf. too Hor.C.3.2.13, 4.9.52, *Epic.Drusi* 235f. *perit../.pro patria*), while the expression *ob rem publicam* is notably more familiar in prose authors (and Plaut. *Curc.*399): Cic.*Sest.*83, *Phil.*9.4, 5, 16, *Fin.*2.63, *de orat.*2.249 *ex uulnere ob rem publicam accepto*, Tac. *Ann.*2.86, 6.15, Szantyr, *TLL* 9.2.17.16f.. **passi** Cf. 6.660, Liv.38.21.8.

183 multaue..arma We have seen (**46, 170-91**) that V. here—and in all the description of the palace/temple—sticks firmly to the warlike vision of early Latium; the two conceptions are far too amply distributed for one or other to have been eliminated in some grand final revision and both serve a clear purpose!

praeterea Cf. **71**. In second place, as often (TCD renders *autem*).

sacris in postibus For dedication of spoils in a temple or grand private dwelling, cf. *Companion*, 176 (note that many discussions of the topic are quite insufficiently informed), 2.504f. *barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi*, 5.393 *spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis*, 8.196 (gross travesty), 721f.(Palatine Apollo; cf. *RG* 21.2: there and *in Capitolio*; see too Plin.*Nat.*35.14, Liv.40.51.3 *et ab his columnis, quae incommode opposita uidebantur, signa amouit clipeaque de columnis et signa militaria adfixa omnis generis dempsit*), Gallus 2.5, Hor.C.4.15.6ff., *Ep.*1.18.56; private dwellings: bay and *corona ciuica* (Augustus, *RG* 34; cf. Plb.6.39.10); spoils: Tib. 1.1.54 with Smith's n., Mayor on Juv.7.125, Plin.*Nat.*35.7, Petr.30.1, Wiseman (**169**), 394f. = 99f..

184 captiui Cf. Prop.2.1.33 *captiuis..aquis*, Liv.7.37.13 *signa captiua*, Caes.*BC* 2.5.1, Sall.*Hist.*4.69.8, etc. of captured objects.

pendent Cf. 5.393, and of lighter offerings 8.197, *Buc.*7.24. The Homeric chariot can be picked up, at least by Diomedes (*Il.*10.505); possibly the weighty rhythm is meant to suggest a more robust, proto-Roman model.

currus Cf. **163, 804**; note gilded chariots (not booty) dedicated on the Capitol, Liv.35.41.10, 38.35.4.

curuaeque secures For axes, cf. **510, 627**; it is of course the blade that is curved outwards.

185 cristae capitum Lucretian (2.632 *terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas*); the crest by common synecdoche for the whole helmet (Wulff, *TLL* 4.1210, 4ff.). Turnus' helmet is itself is triply crested (cf. **785** for details).

portarum ingentia claustra Cf. the **centum aerei ..uectes** of **609**, *Carm.Bell.Act.*62 *portarum claustra*, Liv.5.21.10, 6.33.12; it is, pre-

sumably, the massive bolts or bars that are dedicated, rather than the gates themselves, though I know of no actual parallel.

186 spicula Cf. **165**, **497**(arrow, not spear), **626**(principal n.), **687**.
..que..que..que Cf. **470**; here note both the triple repetition of *-que* (cf. Wills, 377ff.) and the lengthening of the first member of the triplet, before **cl-**, which does not, of course, ‘make position’ (Wills, 376f., 380): Homeric and Hellenistic, but if there is allusion either in the lengthening or in the triple repetition (absent even in the catalogue of Alcinous’ orchard; cf. **170-91**), it has not been identified. Cf. further, Fordyce.

clipei Cf. **639** etc.. See **183 sacris in postibus** for shields dedicated on the Capitol.

erepta..carinis *Carina* (‘hull’) is (Ennian) synecdoche for ‘ship’ (**431**). Cf. 11.679 for the verb used again of a process (flaying) not at all as swift as (e.g.) drawing a sword from a scabbard, but speed and heroic vigour are implied here.

rostra While toothed rams of bronze are a calculated anachronism (F.H.Sandbach in Harrison, *OR*, 450 on 5.143), the ram itself was invented by Pisaeus, son of Tyrrhenus (Plin.*Nat.*7.209; cf. 10.157: an agreeable echo of the ‘Etruscan thalassocracy’); V. therefore is not anachronistic at least here, within his own chronology and the learned material available to him. It is altogether irrelevant that the ram was in use in the Mediterranean well before Hom.(Gianfrotta, *EV* 4, 584ff.)! At Rome, a regular form of trophy: the *Rostra* in the forum and various *columnae rostratae* (cf. Serv. *ad G.*3.29, Liv.42.20.1 for the Capitol, but not in V.’s time).

187 ipse../189 Picus Cf. **171** for Picus; ring-composition, within that of **168-9**, taken up by **192-3**. The marked hyperbaton prepares us for the one detailed description in the entire ecphrasis, that of the palace’s founder, a description which in turns prepares us for Latinus himself, sitting in state as he welcomes the Trojan embassy (cf. too **169**).

Quirinali lituo For the adj., cf. **612**; like the *trabea*, the *lituus*, a staff (possibly of Etruscan origin, Latte, 157, n.3) with one curved end, held by the augur in his right hand (cf. Liv.1.18.7, DH 2.70.2), is frequently associated with Romulus, along with the *trabea* (cf. Liv., *cit.*, Ov.*F.*6.375 with Bömer’s ample note and Fordyce here), though it was Numa who was credited with founding the augural discipline (cf. Pace, 302-4 on elements of Numa in V.’s Latinus).

parua../ 188 ..trabea Cf. the **Quirinali trabea** of **612**; Picus here

anticipates the dress of Latinus' Roman successors, who will undertake the task that L. there rejects. Note that at 11.334, Lat. offers Aen. his throne and *trabea* as symbols of his desire for peace. We cannot tell whether P. is here dressed as a king or as an augur (Suet. distinguishes different types of *trabea* for each category), nor do we know why his is specially cut short (Alföldi(815), 44 thinks of a short cavalry cloak).

sedebat Cf. **169 consedit**; note that augurs, like kings, sat (the evidence collected, Horsfall, *CR* 34(1984), 227). On the rhyming verbs, cf. Fordyce, *EV* 4, 501.

188 succinctus Cf. 6.555, 10.634, 12.401, and Ennian (*Ann.*519, 527); the adj. ('girt'; *succingo* is not attested) naturally with **trabea** and by zeugma with **lituus** (not a garment): vd.Bell (313). *Errasse Hyginus Vergilium scripsit* (fr.5 GRF = Gell.5.8.1-2): even worse than usual (had he *never* seen a zeugma?); Gell. ingeniously (and unnecessarily) suggests that **lituo** is an independent abl. of description.

laeua The shield naturally carried in the left hand (DH 2.70.3).

ancile The figure-of-eight shield carried by the Salii (and stored in the Regia: cf. **171**), and associated with both Mars and Quirinus (Liv.5.52.7). See Bömer on Ov.*F.*3.259, Ogilvie, p.98, *EV* 1, 162f.. That the *ancilia* (Liv.5.52.7; cf. Bömer on Ov.*F.*6.445) were among the *pignora imperii* might be taken (Buchheit, 187) as adding to the solemnity of this scene, but I sense that V. has applied enough antiquarian sacrality on the surface here to exempt us from further erudite excavations (cf., though, **246**).

gerebat Cf. **658** (and **816** of a quiver).

189 Picus Cf. **171**.

equum domitor Cf. **651, 691** (not significant echoes, *pace* Wills, 183, n.25).

capta cupidine The participle markedly *sermo amatorius*: cf. Ter. *Andr.*82, Hor.*Serm.*2.7.46, Prop.1.1.1 (*EV* 1, 653, 961).

coniunx Proleptic, as at *Buc.*8.18, *Aen.*3.331, 9.138, 10.722; that this usage ('*coniunx*' *uero non quae erat sed quae esse cupiebat* Serv.) might apply to females as well as males disturbs Fordyce.

190 aurea Both Serv. and TCD think of the adj. as nom. (cf. Hor. C.1.5.9), but the sense-unit is complete at *coniunx* and the idea is clearly a bad one; clearly synizesis (Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 880; cf. **303**); with the golden wand, cf. Gk. χρυσόραπις (and NH on Hor. C.1.10.19). Cf. C.Weber, *CJ* 94.4 (1999), 317ff. (adj. as nom.!).

percussum More vigorous at **503** and often; cf. though Plin. *Nat.*

15.12 *qui cautissime agunt* take a *harundo* and, with *leui ictu*, *percutiunt ramos* of their olive trees.

uirga The *caduceus* of Mercury at 4.242; Circe's wand at *Od.*10.238, *Ov.Met.*14.278 (cf. Gruppe, index s.v. *Stab*, Pease on 4.242). I have wondered (*Omnibus* 3(1982), 13) whether a popular etymology of the poet's name may not have contributed to his mediaeval fame as a wand-wielding magician.

uersumque uenenis Cf. *Pan.Mess.*61, *Ov.Am.*1.8.13, *F.*1.369, *Met.* 4.422, 15.215 for the verb without *in*, in the sense, *tout court*, of 'transform'. At 19, C. uses **potentibus herbis**; here, the potion is more explicitly maleficent (cf. 341, 354; Medea, too, *Hor.C.*2.13.8, etc.). Neither Fordyce, in his useful n. on triple alliteration in the second half of the hexameter and its Saturnian origins (cf. *id.*, pp.289ff.) nor the scholars he cites (add Austin on 6.844) remark that V. here employs it twice in successive lines!

191 fecit auem Theme. Cf. (for acc. of predicate; with *feri*, vd. e.g. 5.620) *Cat.*13. 14, *Buc.*9.32f. *me fecere poetam/ Pierides*. There just might be an etymological play here, between Circe and κίρκος (O'Hara, 291; Boas, 41, though, cites only Hesych. in (indirect) support and hawks are very different from *pici*).

Circe Consumed with desire for Picus, the husband of Canens (of Pomona, according to Serv.), she was rejected and turned P. into a woodpecker (*Ov.Met.*14.320ff.). Fordyce acutely noted that 282 and 12.164 suggest that V. knew a different version: horses of the stock of Circe's father, the Sun, were in Latinus' possession and that implies a Circe not at all spurned but who rather became, by Picus, mother of Faunus, Latinus' father. Cf. Moorton, 253ff., Rosivach, 150 and *EV* 4, 92f., Though we have seen (171) that Val.Ant. was interested in Picus, V.'s source here is altogether unclear (cf. 195-211). Cf. further, C.P.Segal, *TAPA* 99(1968), 435f..

sparsitque coloribus alas Variation. Cf. *Buc.*2.41 *sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo*, *Liv.*41.21.13, *Sen.Ben.*4.6.2. The abl. plur. does seem to point (almost too closely!) to the black-and-white striations on the primaries of the green woodpecker, and could just as well refer to the flecks on the wings of the greater and lesser spotted woodpeckers, while the augural *picus Martius* is usually identified as the great black woodpecker (all four species present in Italy); cf. J.André, *Les noms d'oiseaux* (Paris 1967), 128ff., T.S. Mackay, *AJP* 96(1975), 272ff. on *pici*.

192 tali..templo diuum Cf. **174**; here the gen. and the resumptive **t.** add nothing but (alliterative) grandeur.

intus Still an adverb (**t.**is therefore a local abl.), on the way to becoming a preposition (LHS 278, Fordyce, against Munro on Lucr. 4.1091).

patriaque../ 193 sede sedens Cf. **169**, 11.334 for Latinus' throne. Of the statues, only Picus (**187**) is explicitly seated. For the *figura etymologica*, cf. **707 agmen agens**, Austin on 6.247 *uoce uocans*, Wills, 245f.. An archaism to Serv. (*ad Aen.*12.680; cf. Wills, 245, n.15), and if that was how V. saw the phrase, its use on this solemn occasion (with further alliteration of **t** in the same line) makes perfect sense.

193 Teucros..uocauit A subtle variation on **168f.**: there Lat. gave orders for their admission, while here he actually bids the Trojans enter himself.

ad sese in tecta Intra tecta at **168**; cf. **347**, 12.849 *Iouis ad solium saeuique in limine regis* (and note Plaut.*Capt.*478 *ad adulescentes in foro*).

194 atque haec..placido..edidit ore Cf. Cic.*carm.*Hom.1.29 *edidit haec Calchas*, *Aen.*5.799 (cf. 693), Tib.1.4.73. Note in particular 11.251 (Diomedes) *placido sic reddidit ore*, **7.451 rabidoque haec addidit ore**, 2.593, 9.5, Hightet, 1974, 219. Ilioneus addresses Dido *placido sic pectore* (1.521; vd. Austin) and there SDan. well draws attention to V.'s *mos* of signalling the tone of the speech to follow (cf. C.Lazzarini, *SIFC* 3.7(1989), 83f.; Berres, 71 is unconvincing). The turn of phrase is in origin archaic (cf. Austin on 1.614) and the adj. *can* mean 'benevolent' (as it surely does here, though clearly not at 1.521): cf. 3.266, 4.440, 578, Ov.*F.*6.259 (Numa), *Met.*8.703, Austin on 1.127, Fordyce here, *EV* 4, 129.

ingressis Cf. 8.317 *parto*, 12.356 *lapsoque*, 465 *congressos*: participles used to their limits (here of depon. verb, in oblique case and as noun!) add greatly to V.'s economy of style (cf. **196**, *EV* 3, 995f.).

prior The privilege of rank (cf. 1.321, 6.341, 387, 8.469, 9.319).

195-211 So Aeetes addresses Jason (Nelis, 284), Telamon and Augias, as guests in his splendid palace; it is Jason who matters least, for his companions (and their father Phrixus) had come originally from Colchis and now—like the Trojans, in a sense—return home (AR 2.1093ff.), while Aeetes had accompanied his sister Circe to the distant Tyrrhenian shore (3.312), where she still lives, as V. has just told us (**187ff.**): Hunter on AR 3.311-3 suggests that AR might have known some such story as we find here in V., which cannot be excluded, but the poet offers no further details of Circe's exile in the

far W.(cf. Nelis, 260f.). Cf. further Balk, 58ff., Buchheit, 159f., Hight, 113, 251f.. Latinus knows who the Trojans are, and who Aeneas' forbears were, yet asks what the exiles want and how they have reached Pratica di Mare (or thereabouts). Foreknowledge, however attained, is introduced in preparation for Lat.'s swift, generous and catastrophic reaction; ignorance (**197ff.**) is equally an epic inheritance which in practice serves to advance the dialogue.

195 dicite Cf. Hom. εἶπ' ἄγε, etc., *Aen.*6.669.

Dardanidae As at 3.94, V. uses this synonym for 'Trojans' with the specific point of introducing the Dardanus-story. *Ac si diceret 'o cognati'* comments Serv., acutely.

neque enim nescimus As at **581**, introducing a litotes (for there *leue* is the very opposite of Amata's effect); *enim* after the negative has something of the force of 'really': Austin on 1.198, Perutelli on VF 7.456. Cf. 1.299, 9.552, 12.227 for the litotes and **167** for the alleged inconsistency involved, into which Serv., like Gercke (**167**, 151), sinks his teeth; intelligently enough, in truth (vd. Balk, 58f. for later stages of the debate).

et urbem/ 196 et genus Lat. can be expected (**222ff.**) to have heard of the Trojan war and does know a great deal about the descendants of Dardanus (**205ff.**). Note Dido, 1.565 *quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem..?*

auditique For the partic., cf. **194**; *audio* as 'I hear of' is common enough (cf. Fordyce, *OLD* s.v. §8a, *Cic.Lig.1 nouum crimen..et ante hunc diem non auditum*). Lat. has heard of them from his scouts, and anyway, as we have just seen, knows a good deal about the Trojans; the alleged inconsistency with **167ff.** does not hold water.

aduertitis..cursum Cf. *G.4.117 terris aduertere proram*, *Aen.*6.410, **7.35**, 8.101; *Cic. Arat.133* has *aduersam..puppim*.

aequore Like **300**, **ponto**, the 'abl. of extension' (vd. **353**)..

197 quid petitis? 'Are you pirates?' they ask in Hom., as Conington notes (*Od.*3.71ff., as in *Macr.*2.8.2, or 9.252ff.: cf. here ἢ τι κατὰ πρῆξις); see Gomme/Hornblower on *Thuc.*1.5.2, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 21, Xenophanes fr.22.4DK.

quae causa We might say 'motive'(cf. *EV* 1, 715); see 8.112, 11.250 for other *causae* which move men to travel.

rates../ 198 ..uexit Just possibly there is an echo of **24** (Neptune) **fugam dedit et praeter uada feruida uexit** (so Lopez, *EV* 5*, 469), except that we really do not want to be reminded of Neptune's benevolence at this point. **R.** is Ennian (*Ann.*378, 515) and tragic.

cuius egentis ‘Confused’ laments Conington, ‘illogical’ growls Fordyce. The label ‘anacoluthon’ (307) might have salved their sensibilities; within the question **quae causa...**, V. embarks on another (*cuius egetis?*), except that this new question lurks within the syntactical structure of the first one. Cf. the *omnium egenos* of 1.599 (also 1.384 *ipse ignotus egenus*, 4.373). The exiles need (their promised) land and something more than *mensae* to eat (cf. 107-47, §i) and Latinus’ question shows a first hint at comprehension of their situation (which is not the same as just knowing somehow who they are).

198 litus ad Ausonium For Ausonia and related names, cf. 623; the shore of the promised land prominent from 7.1 (cf. 124, 149, 158, 215, 229; from 1.3 on!).

tot per Cf. 328 (**tot..in**); the anastrophe makes the phrase more ‘interesting’ (V. also uses *per tot*) and gives **tot** some additional prominence.

uada caerula The noun in origin ‘shallows’ (cf. 728f.); used as yet another synonym (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 263) for ‘sea’ at least from Cat. 64.6 (cf. *Aen.* 5.158, 10.208, 11.628; of waters of a river 6.320, 7.242, 8.91); the adj. of the sea at Cat. 64.7 and often in V. (Scaffai, *EV* 1, 602f., Harrison on 10.209-11, André, 162ff., Edgeworth, 107ff.): a dark blue-green, under the influence of *κυάνεος*.

199 siue..seu As disjunctive, not in high poetry before Lucr. (LHS, 503).

errore uiae Taken up at 215 **regione uiae**; note 6.532 (Deiphobus to *Aen.*) *pelagique uenis erroribus actus?* Latinus will need a little longer (a fine touch, this) to remember that there is no mistake and that the Trojans are in fact returning to their homeland.

tempestatibus acti Taken up at 213 **fluctibus actos** (cf. 1.333, 9.18, Hor. *C.* 3.7.5); **t.** not specifically stormy weather in surviving Enn. (*Ann.* 446, 541), but this looks like chance: so used by Plaut. and Lucr. (6.642). Cf. 223, *EV* 5*, 79f..

200 qualia multa A striking grecism (Görler, *EV* 2, 263, Lunelli-Leumann, 157ff.): cf. (and there seems to be nothing else) Cic. *Div.* 1.121 *qualia permulta*, Suet. *Iul.* 20.1; but V. is thinking in terms of epic οἷά τε πολλά (*Od.* 5.422, 11.364; cf. Horsfall 1971, 29, Fordyce, Mynors on *G.* 1.184 *quae plurima*) and the phrase takes up the entire content of the preceding line (LHS, 431f.).

mari..in alto Cf. *G.* 2.479, *Aen.* 5.799, 10.197; Ennian (*trag.* 264).

nautae patiuntur Cf. 1.3f. (etc.); see Lattimore, 199ff., NH on Hor. *C.* 1.3.12ff., 14.3, West on Hes. *Erga* 618ff., Smith on Tib. 1.3.37-40 for this commonplace of the risks likely to attend any sea-journey.

201 fluminis..ripas Cf. **106, 495**; not the *litus Laurens*, an inhospitable landfall (cf. Fab.Max.Servilianus.fr.1HRR), however hallowed in the annalistic tradition (whence *Aen.*1.1, after all) but the enclosing safety of the river's banks (cf. *Vergilius* 32(1986), 12, *EV* 2, 143, 5*, 156, *Alambicco*, 49f.); cf. further **303**.

intrastis Cf. 3.254 (even the Harpy Celaeno admits that *ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit*; cf. 3.219), 500f. (Aeneas speaks: *si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arua/ intraro*).

portuque Cf. **291**: we know already (**106**) that the Trojan ships are moored to the river-bank (cf. 9.118, *EV* 4, 229); the word carries a hint of security (cf. the proverbial *in portu nauigo*, Otto, 285; carried further, **598**).

sedetis In the sense of 'ride at moorings', not exactly paralleled (10.301, of beaching, is very different, *pace EV* 4, 749). 'Nautical language', only in the sense that the same verb (here translated perforce in three different ways) can also be used of grounding, *Ov.F.*4.300, *Vitr.*10.16.9, *Luc.*8.726.

202 ne fugite..neue The imperative thus negated is archaic in flavour by V.'s time (**96**). On the human plane (excepting, that is 1.298f.), no word of *hospitium* between *Aen.* and *Dido* till 1.731 (cf. 753), when they are already dining; here Latinus urges the Trojans not to shun his *hospitium*: both oxymoron and allusion (cf. **229ff.**, Horsfall in Harrison *OR*, 471, *Alambicco*, 65), to versions in which the Trojans take instantly to pillage with war as the fair and prompt result (e.g. Cato, fr.10aHRR). Not senile overenthusiasm but—the contrast with *Dido* apart (cf. **167**)—unexceptionable generosity, entailing a new version of the encounter (cf. R.Monti, *The Dido episode*, *Mnem.Suppl.*66 (1981), 84).

hospitium Cf. 10.494f. (Turnus of Lat.) *haud illi stabunt Aeneia paruo/ hospitia*, *EV* 2, 861. Ilioneus and the reader are alike ignorant of the scale of this *hospitium*: a wife and a kingdom, no less.

ignore Cf. 8.627, 10.907 with Serv.: litotes as marked assertion. Either (Fordyce) there is ellipse of *esse* (cf. 3.602; see Harrison on 10.121f., Görler, *EV* 2, 274, LHS, 419f.) or (less probably) the verb is used in the sense of 'take no note of' (cf. 5.849).

Latinos/ 203 Saturni gentem Latium was where Saturn **latuit** in exile (cf. **47ff.** for his progeny there established): 8.322f., O'Hara, 207. Virgilian, not Varronian: contrast Varr.fr.394GRF: Italy *latet* between Alps and Apennines, while Saufeius (GRF, p.438) thought of lurking cavemen, *latuerunt incolae*. There Sat. established a golden age

(8.324f.; cf. *OGR* 3). Evander too (though no friend of Latinus, **421**) had reached Rome as an exile (8.333ff.) and Latinus had therefore excellent local precedents (cf. Binder, 87) for offering generous terms. **haud uinclo nec legibus** At least since Page, commentators have noted the elegant double antithesis **uinclo**><**sponte sua** and **legibus**><**more** (cf. too **aequam**, taken up by **se..tenentem**). Cf. Austin on 1.327 for *haud..nec*, but neither he, nor Fordyce, had access to modern tools: cf. *G.*2.83, *Aen.*1.327, 3.214, 628, 5.399f., 749, 8.414, 10.732 and thus hardly a rarity. **V**: cf. 4.16, 59 (contrast *Lucr.*3.83 and see Lunelli-Leumann 161f.).

aequam Just, law-abiding (cf. NH on *Hor.C.*1.12.57, Cairns, 65). A discrepancy has been suspected with 8.322 (Saturn) *legesque dedit* (while before him, 316 *neque mos neque cultus erat*): cf. Serv. here, Balk, 12ff., Binder, 90, Cairns, 63ff., Pace, 303, B.Reischl, *Reflexe griech. Kulturenstehtungslehren..*(diss.München 1976), 32, n.5. It is unhelpful to think in terms of a Latium that has somehow maintained the justice inculcated by its divine benefactor (contrast e.g. *Ov.Met.*1.89), though Saturn's Golden Age is in other aspects over; rather, Latinus speaks with a ruler's natural pride in his people, whom he claims are just without the necessity of obedience to laws. Characterisation, not political theory, perhaps with some thought of Numa: cf. Pace, 298f., 302, *Cic.Rep.*2.26.1, and notably *Liv.*1.21.1 *ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat ut fides ac ius iurandum pro (?) legum et poenarum metu ciuitatem regerent*, which **V**. may be supposed to have known. Cf. too *Sall.Cat.*9.1 *ius bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura valebat*, *Ov.Met.*1.90 (the Golden Age) *sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat*, *Stat.Silv.*3.5.88 *morum iura uiris solum et sine fascibus aequum* (cf. B.Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit, Spudasmata* 16 (Hildesheim 1967), 124, 207, et *passim*). For peace and war in this gold-plated age, cf. **46**.

204 sponte sua *Principio*, wrote **V.**(*G.*2.10f.), *nullis hominum cogentibus ipsae [sc.arbores]/ sponte sua ueniunt* (cf. too *Buc.*4.45).

ueterisque Cf. **177**, **254**, **795**, Évrard, *EV* 5*, 524, Fordyce here.

dei..more There was no *mos* in Latium before Saturn (8.316). Cf. 6.223 *more parentum*.

se..tenentem Cf. *Plaut.Merc.*1016 *qua se lege teneant*, *Cic.Orat.*132 *ut me ipse non teneam*, *Hor.Serm.*2.3.324 *teneas, Damasippe, tuis te*, *Petr.*58.4 *uix me teneo*, *Tac.Ann.*2.55.5 *nec Plancina se intra decora feminis tenebat*, *OLD* s.v. §19a.

205 atque equidem Cf. **311**: the faintest of underlinings given to the fictive 'element of personal reminiscence' in what follows.

memini The most elaborate of V.'s distancing mechanisms (cf. *Alambicco*, 124f., which improves *PLLS* 6(1990), 54f., and, more fully, *Athen.*66(1988), 32-4; see too *RMM*, 100 and in *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart 1993), 139. Note now S.Hinds, *Allusion and intertext* (Cambridge 1998), 1ff.. On Lat.'s lips, the reminiscence sits hazily but plausibly in all its Nestorising grandiosity; on V.'s page what follows acquires exceptional thematic and 'political' importance in the plot (**206-11**) and yet the poet nowhere else does so much to suggest that this is an account which he expects us to take as profoundly apocryphal. Cf. the delightfully arch *Ov.F.*5.646 and R.Thomas *MD* 29(1992), 44ff. on *G.*4.125ff. *memini me../.uidisse* (with *Companion*, 71f.).

fama est obscurior annis Every word increases the distance between text and credence. On the common formula, *fama est*, vd. my discussions cited in the previous n.(and it is clear that the use of the formula can, but need not, be (cf. **48**), a bow to an actual source); now (cf. *5.*302 *quos fama obscura recondit*, *Ov.F.*6.103f.) it is elaborated, with due advantage taken of Latinus' advanced age (**46**): the *fama* has grown vaguer thanks to the many years since Lat. heard it from his 'oral sources' (cf. *Cic.Cat.*43 *infra*) and the *anni* are thus both, I suspect, its and his (*G.*3.95 is simpler).

206-11 The Corythus-story has attracted much attention recently: cf. Horsfall, *RMM*, 89ff., with the helpful criticisms of Dingel (**207**), 89ff. and Jocelyn (**207**), 77ff.; vd. also D. Musti, *EV* 1,998ff., M.Cristofani *ib.*, 905f. (and Buchheit, 151ff. remains admirable, little though we agree). Here I touch only on the question of V.'s sources (or invention): the narrative introduction (**205-6**) is in itself entirely inconclusive, for it could as well be disguise of an invention as proclamation of indebtedness. Whether *Lyc.*1239 παλιμπλανήτην δέξεται Τυρρηνία is in any way relevant is as little clear as when *Lyc.*(?) wrote those words (cf. *RMM*, 101). The cippi of the Wadi Milian (**207**), if they are read correctly, are strongly in favour of the story's existence in the early c.1 B.C. If, though, they are set aside as of uncertain interpretation, then *Plin.Nat.*3.63 *Corani a Dardano Troiano orti* (cf. *RMM* 98f., Jocelyn (**207**), 95) does look very like an ornamental development of the story to which V. refers so frustratingly. Virgil's own references to Dardanus become at several points both easier and more satisfying if the story of Corythus is already familiar to his readers (*RMM*, 99f.). And lastly 'we can believe that at least by 29 B.C. Virgil was familiar with a story putting Dardanus' origins in

Italy' (so Jocelyn (207) on the references to D. in the Servian tradition). But to that source I should not now wish to put a certain name and date nor can I suggest the historical and ideological context to which it might have belonged. SDan.'s citation of 'Varro' for the 'return', *reduxisse* of the Penates to Italy remains (*ad Aen.*3.148, with Horsfall, *RMM* 102 and Jocelyn (207), 90, n.68, 96f.), if it is not (Buchheit, 164, accepted by Jocelyn) a Virgilian invasion of Serv.'s citation of Varro, which I can see it might be: if SDan. then really does cite Varro (and clearly here he may, though we are not quite sure that he truly does!), the discrepancy with Varr.ap.SDan. *ad Aen.* 3.167 is not impossibly awkward, given that Varro often demonstrably *did* cite alternative versions. At least I remain convinced that V. was no Etruscologist (cf. now *Alambicco*, 143; *contra*, Timpanaro, *Nuovi contr.*, 396, n.16, A.Pfiffig, *Jahresheft öst.arch.Inst.* 58(1988), Beiblatt, 177ff., R.Wilhelm, in *The two worlds of the poet* (Detroit 1992), 129ff.).

206 Auruncos..senes Garrulous old men (all in some sense descendants of Nestor) are a regular element on such occasions: cf. *Cic.Cat.*39, 43 *saepe audiui a maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant*, *Lael.*88, *Ov.F.*2.584, 4.378, 6.399, *Daniel* 7.9, *Lucian Philops.*11, Horsfall, *Athen., cit.*, 33. Reverence—real and romanticised—for oral tradition links hands with exploitation—not necessarily humorous (but cf. the chorus in *Ar.Vespae*)—of the stock figure of the reminiscent greybeard. Their geographical origin adds to the fun; not so much Campanian (727) as in some sense palaeo-Latin (795; cf. D.Briquel, (178), 87): we may understand roughly how Lat. talked to them, but we do not ask just who they were nor where or when they lived, nor how they knew the tales of quite another area.

ita ferre Cf. 765, 9.155, (?)6.822.

his..agris So *Aen.* can return home to the land of Dardanus' origins yet as an unquestionable foreigner, *externus*, lead Etruria's forces and marry Lavinia; **his** is conveniently elastic (*RMM*, 89, *RFil.*119(1991), 188ff.; cf. F.Cairns, *LCM* 2(1977), 113 and the discussion printed, *ib.*, 130ff.); Jocelyn (207), 85 prefers greater rigour. This motif of the 'return home' is familiar in colonisation-legends (Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 10f., A.S.Pease, *CPh.*12(1917), 10, n.8) and is exploited by V. notably in *Aen.*3 and 7; Aeneas' journey is, that is, a *nostos* as and when it suits the poet (*RMM*, 98ff., M.Bonjour, *Terre natale* (Paris 1975), 476ff., W.Suerbaum, in *Festschr. G.Radke* (Münster 1986), 280ff., Wilhelm (206-11), 137).

ortus Cf. 3.167, **7.240 hinc Dardanus ortus**, 1.626, 9.92. So in *trag.* (inc.102) and *Lucr.*(6.909).

207 Dardanus Grandfather of Tros, who was greatgrandfather to Priam and Anchises. Why D.? In part because already in *Hellanicus* (*FGH4F23*; cf. Robert, 2, 391f.) it is he who arrives at Troy from over the sea to the West, though only from Samothrace! Perhaps also because the name of D. was familiar to V. as having associations with Etruria. Such associations do indeed seem to have existed, as we have known from N.African cippi (*tartanium* is legible) since 1969 (found in N.Africa, because of the flight to Libya of Cn.Papirius Carbo's followers from Clusium in 82, *App.BC* 1.425): see D.Musti, *EV* 1, 999, Horsfall, *RMM*, 98.

Idaeas Phrygiae..ad urbes The old epic preference for adj. over gen., notably of places and people; there is mild enallage (and a slightly more 'choice' expression) as a result (for 'Phrygian Ida', cf. *G.*4.41, *Aen.*3.6, 9.80; see too 10.158: Mt. Ida dominates the Troad, which is what V. means by 'Phrygia', *EV* 2, 593). The poetic plural (cf. **445**) refers to Troy alone (cf. **364**), though both J.Dingel (*Philol.* 139(1995), 92) and H.D. Jocelyn (*Sileno* 17(1991), 85f.) express doubts and Dingel ingeniously cites *Il.*20.216ff. (founding of Dardanie); all the same, his case for a real plural here, when nothing is gained by precise and arcane allusion to *Il.*, is not entirely convincing.

penetrarit R; -uit FMP. There are some remarkable indicatives in *Aen.*(cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 273), perhaps none more than the *mersit* of 6.615, which appears dependent on *doceri*, but is in fact probably the verb of a relative clause (vd. Austin's excellent note); **R**, though, is sometimes right in splendid isolation (vd. index s.v.) and to introduce the indicative into the text (so Geymonat), when—apart from weight of ms. authority—there is no special reason to do so (or hitherto unrecognised justification, such as Austin *cit.* adduces for 6.615), is to create a Virgil even odder than we have learned him to be: here, unacceptably so! For the vb., cf. **363**. Iris, sent by Juno, re-uses V.'s phrasing in addressing Turnus: 9.10 (where vd. Dingel) *extremas Corythi penetrauit ad urbes*.

208 Threiciamque Samum 'Virgil's most prosaic line', chortles Fordyce, without pausing to consider what the point of these drily learned words might be. Explanation starts from *Call.fr.*583 (=Plin. *Nat.*4.73): Callimachus said that Dardania was the ancient name of Samothrace, and Paus.7.4.3, cited by Pf., explains that the fleeing Samians settled on an island off the Thracian coast, whence the

name S. (*Il.* 13.12f.); hence a metonomasia and very possibly a Callimachean allusion too (O'Hara, 23ff., 88ff., 189)! And if Dardanus reaches the N. Aegean from Italy, the mention of Samothrace *after* his final destination below Phrygian Ida is ingeniously riddling hysteron proteron.

quae nunc..fertur Unmistakable markers of Virgilian name-play: for **nunc**, cf. **3**, **412**, **708**, O'Hara, 90, n.346; for **fertur**, cf. 3.210, 5.602 *dicitur*, 6.235, **7.671 dictam cognomine**, 12.845, etc..

Samothracia Atticus (fr.1HRR = Schol.Ver. *ad Aen.* 2.717; cf. Fest. 439.5) has Aen. collect the Penates from the island on his way W., a deviant version not provably derived from Hemina (fr.5HRR with G.Wissowa, *Herm.* 22(1886), 38f. = *Ges.Abh.*, 106f., S.Weinstock, PW 19.1.451.38ff., Suerbaum(206), 276ff.; Paratore's n. here is profoundly confused and has misled many). But the island's role as the place of origin of the Trojan Penates, conventionally brought to Troy by Dardanus, is amply attested (*EV* 4, 672, Varro, *res div.frr.* 205, 206 with Cardauns' notes, DH 1.68.4) and V. here nods briskly at its importance.

209 hinc From Samothrace/Troy; contrast **206 his..agris**: we have a sort of geographical chiasmus, for while **206-8** start from Italy and finish at the Hellespont, **209** starts at the city D. founts and looks back to the land of his birth.

illum..profectum Cf. **255**, 1.340, 3.615, 8.51: the participle's metrical shape encourages an element of hyperbaton.

Corythi Gen. of *Corythus* or *-um* (for Jocelyn (207), 84, n.30 might be right, against Horsfall, *RMM*, 89, n.3): the name of a city, or a king, or both (Jocelyn, 84ff., Dingel(207), 92, Horsfall, *RMM*, 91, n.13). The location of C. is deeply unclear (Jocelyn, 87, Dingel, 96) and my quondam enthusiasm for the proto-humanist identification with Corneto/Tarquini (RMM, 89ff.) was prolix, prolonged and ill-advised. Yet if the story (206-11) was not invented, it must have had some sort of localisation in Etruria, though there is no guarantee that V. had any very clear ideas about where that was and there is no good reason to assign a privileged position to Silius' guess (Cortona), for there are no grounds for supposing it is any more than just that.

Tyrrhena ab sede Cf. **324**; the noun can be qualified either by a toponym (562, 1.270, 3.687) or by a ruler's/inhabitant's name (324, 454, 2.742, 3.452, 8.463, 9.9), though not all the instances cited are themselves perfectly unambiguous; the adj. does not affect the issue, but sets up a tension with Latinus' **his..agris** for those who cannot forget maps when they read poetry..

210 aurea..regia Cf. G.1.503 *caeli..regia*, Ov.*Met.*1.257 *regia caeli*; the metal is traditional: cf. Janko on *Il.*13.523 and *Il.*8.442 for Zeus' throne of gold.

nunc After his travels and labours, the founder of Troy, a son of Zeus by Electra, ends himself deified (of Dardanus, attested apparently only here): cf. Romulus-Quirinus. Contrast 6.650 (with Jocelyn (207), 88, n.55). Cf. Weinstock, 272f., 282ff..

solio Standard issue for gods: cf. Harrison on 10.116, Seymour, 202. Ptolemy Lagus also gets one: Theocr.17.17, if Bergk's correction $\theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ for mss. $\delta\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is right.

stellantis..caeli Cf. Lucr.4.212, Cic.*de cons.*fr.2.36 (cf. Leumann, 583 for such adjs.).

211 accipit Cf. 1.289f. *hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum/ accipies securo*, Epic.*Drusi* 213f. *te fulmine pollens/ accipiet cupidi regia magna Iouis*, Luc.1.45ff. *te../..praelati regia caeli/ excipiet*.

numerum diuorum altaribus auget Numerum P, with **numero** as an afterthought; also found in γ ; **numerum** codd.. **Auget FMPR**; **addit $\omega\gamma$** . The brusque change of subject leads to confusion (Horsfall 1971, 30, Fordyce): the subject of **auget** cannot be **regia**, clearly, and must perforce be **Dardanus**. The change of subject is significant: Fordyce well compares 12.351; cf. LHS, 733 on its archaic character, and here possibly used to give a flavour of spoken language, Lindsay, *Synt. of Plautus*, 8f.. Dardanus increases the number of the gods, by means of the altars (sc.raised to himself; Bögel, *TLL* 2.1344.57 prefers a dative of advantage, inexplicably); compare Liv.1.7.10 (*Herculem*) *aucturum caelestium numerum*, 25.1.8, Plin. *Nat.*31.4, *ILS* 64. A scribe (of **P** first; others follow) puzzled not only by the change of subject but perhaps also by the exact place of **diuorum** in the structure of the whole was quite reasonably tempted to tinker his way out of (imagined) trouble.

212 dixerat Twenty-four times at speech-end in *Aen.*, always as first-foot dactyl.

dicta But only here does V. go on with 'category-shift'; Wills (314) notes Lucr.4.880f. *dicam..dicta./ dico* and adds that 'participial resumption is rare in V.'(314, n.8).

Ilioneus 'Il. and Achates..modestly active in 7-12; the former a sort of representative Trojan, as his name indicates'(GR 34(1987), 51). An *amicus* of Aen.(1.610f.), a competent warrior (9.569f.), Ascanius' advisor in Aeneas' absence (9.501) and above all Aeneas' ambassador to Dido in bk.1 (cf. *EV* 2, 913f.).

sic uoce secutus The clausula *uoce secutus* at 1.406 (and 9.17), in an entirely different sense. The line is banal, but novel.

213-48 *Commiserationem breuem esse oportet, nihil enim lacrima citius arescit*, and curiously, Milanese (*infra*) commends Il.'s *brevitas*, in keeping with the precepts of *Rhet. Her.*2.50, but Il.'s reply is more than twice as long as Latinus' speech, and a line longer even than his balancing address to Dido in bk.1. The Trojans (*narratio* after a minimal *exordium*) have reached central Italy of set purpose (**213-27**); that both answers Lat.(**197ff.**) and distances the situation from Il.'s in bk.1. Insistence on the greatness of Troy (at least as famed as Rome herself will be) and the drama of her fall (cf. **217**) are elements proper to the *miseratio*. Lat. claimed to know the Trojans' *genus* (**196**); Il. (**219f.**) gives special weight to Jupiter's presence. Il. appears to ask little (contrast bk.1, where the Trojans need only the means to continue) but the divinely-commanded reality entails more than a *sedes exigua* and he knows it (**229**). The Trojans are properly-behaved, grateful and on a sacred mission. Their request will therefore not be easy to refuse, not least since hitherto the Trojans have turned down (or so they claim) others' requests that they stay and help. Dardanus' descendants have returned to Dardanus' land, in keeping with Apollo's orders (contrast **205-11**). Il. arrives in the certainty that the Trojans have reached their promised land; he deals a formidable range of arguments, from a strong hand, and there could be no greater contrast with bk.1. His *uelamenta* (**154, 237**) contain no hidden sword, but at his back is a great warrior (**234**). No trace of a threat, and ample, honourable gifts in conclusion, but no trace of an anticipated refusal, either. Nelis (285f.) has noted a wide range of motifs that V. derived from Argus' speech to Aeetes at AR 3.320-66, beginning with a reversed 'motto'(3.320f.><**7.214f.**), including the Argonauts' distinguished ancestry and respectable intentions, and culminating—like Il.—in a substantial request (the Golden Fleece:: land for a settlement). He points additionally to Jason's own speech to Aeetes (3.386-95): innocent intentions, fame to result from timely offer of help, and (389) a δαίμων who sent him. Cf. Balk 62ff., Buchheit 188, Cairns 64f., Highet 53ff., 259, G.Milanese, *EV* 2, 914, Moskalew 161 n.60, 163, Schenk 371f..

213 rex Cf. **45**; voc. without *o* also at 2.77 (fourth word); contrast the statelier *O regina*. Here the closely attached appositional phrase—the equivalent of an Homeric epithet—eliminates any hint of brusqueness in rhythm or tone: cf. 6.264 *di, quibus..*, Winbolt, 8f..

genus egregium Cf. **556** (the same phrase, used with scorn).

Fauni Cf. **47**; either Ilioneus knows because the scouts (**150**) have found out or because it is both convention and good manners in the epic world that such information should, whether instinctively or automatically, be present (cf. 1.619, *Od.* 7.146 explained by 63, Harrison on 10.581-2).

nec.. / 215 nec Exactly balancing the twofold insistence on will and plan in **216**. The Trojans have been damaged, delayed but not distracted by storm (contrast the *nostoi* of 11.255ff.); Ilioneus eschews abundance of *loci miserationis* (despite the opening given him by Lat., **199**) and with dignity will limit himself to the fall of Troy.

fluctibus actos Cf. 1.333 *fluctibus acti* (Aen. to Venus), **7.199**.

atra..hiemps FPR; hiems M: like the -p- in *dempsi, sumpsi*, that in *hiemps* has no reason to exist, except that that was how the Romans tended to (sound and) write it (Sommer, 245, Leumann, 212, 222); though the grammarians do not like it (NW 1, 217), it would be unreasonable purism to throw it out. In the sense 'storm' (rather than 'winter'), *h.* at *Acc. trag.* 412 and occasionally in repub. prose (e.g. *Nep. Att.* 10.6): perhaps both a sailors' term and an imitation of the two senses of Gk. *χείμων* (EM), it becomes one of the standard poetic synonyms for 'storm'. The adj. used of *imbres, tempestas, turbo* by V.- not to mention clouds; not just black but menacing: André, 49, Edgeworth 77, 81.

subegit A favourite with V. (*EV* 1, 56 records *octies* in this sense); from *Lucr.* (3.1077, 6.737, with just that infin. which V. finds so neat and swift with causative verbs (Görler, *EV* 2, 271).

uestris succedere terris Cf. **231, 239**, and the *uestris..oris* of 1.535, alongside Ilioneus' sing. to Dido herself at 524. This is not a remarkably early *pluralis reuerentiae*, but rather a passing hint at the presence of Latinus' *patres*. The verb a favourite, often with the implication of reaching a haven at last (**36, 501**, 3.276, 8.607); note also Dido to Ilioneus, asking them to enter her palace, 1.627 (cf. 8.123).

215 sidus Collective sing. (cf. *EV* 4, 842). Navigation by coastal landmarks or by the stars: for the latter, cf. 3.204 *totidem sine sidere noctes*, 3.515ff., 5.25, 853, 6.338 and Hainsworth on *Od.* 5.272-7, the only reference to stellar navigation in *Hom.* (see **8, 27, 109**, etc. for sailing by night). Cf. too D. Gray, *Archaeol. Hom.* 2 (Göttingen 1990), G, 13, A. Köster, *Ant. Seewesen* (Berlin 1923), 191f.); note also *Strab.* 1.1.6 with Seymour, 306, *G.* 1.137, 204-7, *Hor. C.* 2.16.3f., *Tib.* 1.9.10, *Acts* 27.20. Latinus' set of mind is, therefore, nearly post-Homeric, though that is

in itself common enough in V. (*EV* 1, 153, Sandbach in Harrison *OR*, 451f.). Here contrast 1.331f.: after the great storm, Aen. admits he is lost.

regione uiae **Regione** used in its etymological sense (i.e., reflecting an original link with *regere*, vd. EM) of ‘direction’ (cf. Horsfall 1971, 30f., Fordyce): compare Lucr.2.249 *recta regione uiai* (with Munro’s excellent n.), *Aen.*2.737 *nota excedo regione uiarum* (with Austin’s n.).

litusue The far older navigation by landmarks (cf. *Od.*3.159ff., 9.39ff., *Aen.*3.552, 554, 703f., **7.30 prospicit**). At *Od.*9.82, the narrative, quite explicitly, sails out of the real Mediterranean, for there are no more known landmarks; at 13.233, he naturally does not realise he has returned to the familiar world.

fefellit ‘Deceived [sc.us] in respect of’; so Colum.1. *praef.*24 *terrarum species ..quarum non nullae qualitate fallunt*.

216 consilio Contrast the *forte sua* of the storm by which the Trojans had reached N.Africa (1.377, Conington, La Penna, *EV* 1, 878).

hanc..urbem Latinus’ unnamed city; not itself the Trojans’ fated destination, but its necessary precondition: it is thanks to Latinus that the Trojans will pass from their camp to Lavinium (cf. *EV* 3, 142).

omnes ‘Expresses the national character of the movement’ (Conington, acutely); so at 4.294: the Trojans’ collective delight at being ordered to slip away from Carthage.

animisque uolentibus Read in a Stoic key by E.Henry, 86, 158 (‘they have come by choice because they know this is the will of fate’), but the idiom pre-exists both *Aen.* and Stoicising readings of V. and does not seem here to carry an inevitable touch of Porch (Sall.*Iug.* 73.3 *uolenti animo*, Cic.*Inv.*2.138 *quo animo, quo consilio, qua de causa*, *Fam.*5.2.9 *consilio eius animoque*). Il. makes the point that the Trojans are here thankfully and of their own volition (not, that is, *forte sua*); after seven years (or whatever) *en route*, a reasonable reaction.

217 adferimur Cf. (e.g.) Cic.*Verr.*2.5.39 *cum te..fortuna attulisset*, Ov.*Her.*12.14, 13x in V.. Typical omission of preposition (cf. 1.2, Görler, *EV* 2, 268).

pulsi regnis Cf. **579 se limine pelli**, 1.385 *Europa atque Asia pulsus* (Aen. to Venus in Africa), 3.121 *pulsum regnis cecisise paternis*, 3.249, 10.852; familiar *simplex pro composito*. (cf. *Acc.trag.*365). Milanese (*EV* 2, 914) well notes *Rhet.Her.*2.50 on the *miseratio*: *miseriordia commouebitur auditoribus, si uariam fortunarum commutationem dicemus: si ostendemus, in quibus commodis fuerimus quibusque incommodis simus*. Unsurprisingly, the praises of their mother city are a fixed element in the Trojans’ rhetoric on arrival (cf. Liv.1.1.8, DH 1.58.2).

quae maxima The adj. attracted into the relative clause (cf. 3.546 *quae maxima*, 5.728, KS 2, 312). We are about to see the systematic application to Troy of elements of the *laudes Romae* (cf. here **602**, Christ, 84); indeed similar language would be used of any major city: cf. NH intro. to Hor.C.1.7, C.J.Classen *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones*..(Hildesheim 1980).

quondam Cf. *Rhet.Her. supra* and 2.556!

218 extremo..Olympo The adj. is elusive until read in an Augustan panegyric key: compare, that is, **225**, G.2.171 *extremis Asiae iam uictor in oris*, Aen.8.727 *extremi.. hominum Morini* (in Aug.'s triumph), and e.g. Flor.1.40.31: as the sun travels from the furthest edge of the sky (for *Olympus* as *caelum*, cf. Clausen on *Buc*.5.56, Fordyce here and on 8.280) it beholds *even* there (vd.*infra*) either signs of Roman might or confirmation of the nonpareil greatness of Troy/Rome.

ueniens sol aspiciebat Dies (G.4.466) and *Hesperus* (*Buc*.10.77) likewise 'come', but the rising sun ('coming' as at Ov.Met.5.440, *F*.3.877) does look first on the *eastern* city of Troy (cf. **720**); cf. the sun as witness of Roman rule at **101** and Hor.CS 11f. (to the Sun) *possis nihil urbe Rome uisere maius* (with Tib.2.5.58 *qua sua de caelo prospicit arua Ceres*, Luc.7.422 *Titan..uidit* and the anon. epigram (*AP* 16.121) on Alexander, who subjected to the rule of Pella all the earth ἦν ἐφορῶσιν ἅπ' αἴθερος αἰ Διὸς αὐγαί): the sun is endlessly represented as measure of Rome's greatness—as at e.g. Hor.C.4.1.5f. *o, qua sol habitabilis/ illustret oras* (cf. Christ, 53ff., Bömer on Ov.*F*.5.557). See Sen.*Suas*.1 *passim*.

219 ab Ioue..Ioue../220 ..Iouis Theocr. only has double polyptoton at 17.1 (ἐκ Διὸς..ἐκ Δία); cf. Arat.1f., *Ciris* 398, *Buc*.3.60 (with Clausen's n.); Wills, 285ff. shows clearly the Hellenistic (and earlier) roots of triple repetition, but neither he nor I have found Jove's name so used. *Cum gente deorum* as Lat. later says, 11.305.

principium generis Cf. Ov.*F*.4.29. The first two members of the tricolon crescendo are a virtual hendiadys: Dardanus, leaving aside the late and local complications raised by King Corythus' invasion of his family tree (Serv. *ad Aen*.3.167, 7.207, Jocelyn (**207**), 91ff.), was a son of Zeus by Electra (*Il*.20.215, Hes.fr.177.13MW, *Apld. Bibl.* 3.12.1, Robert 2, 391), which gives the royal house of Troy an old and unchallenged descent from Jupiter (so Aeneas at 1.380 *Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Ioue summo*); while Lat. asserts that descent from Dardanus makes the Trojans Italian by origin, Il. replies that that same descent (*plus Ilioneus dixit quam Latinus* TCD! Cf. *id.*,

2.34.28f.) leads to the highest levels of Olympus. TCD's perception of the genealogy as a reply to Lat.'s Dardanus-story is irreproachable. But see Thomas (149), 101f., Balk, 62f., who view Il.'s words as an answer rather to Lat.'s **Saturni gentem** (203). Perhaps; I prefer to take **219-20** as Il.'s statement of the Trojans' qualifications to enter Saturn's land, and their divine forbears are cited as 'references' to accelerate their entry, rather than in ideological polemic with what precedes.

Dardana pubes Primarily the young fighting men of Troy, Il.'s companions on the embassy (cf. **521**, 5.599), who in some sense share in their sovereigns' august descent; *Dardanus* adj. is sometimes extraordinarily handy to the dactylic poet (**710**, NW 2, 34, Austin on 4.662).

220 gaudet auo Cf. 6.383 *gaudet cognomine terra*; Ov.F.6.176 *gaudet auem* [sc. a crane] just might take a witty peck at V.'s line. *Auus* is 'uncommon' in the wider sense of 'forbear' (Harrison on 10.201; cf. though **56**, **412**, G.4.209, Prop.4.11.30 and the use of *auitus*).

rex ipse Not only were ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες (Hes. *Theog.*96, Call. *H.*1.79f., NH on Hor.C.1.12.50), appointed and protected by Jupiter, but also often enough descended from him (cf. (e.g.) Hamilton on Plut. *Alex.*28.1, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.*166).

Iouis de gente suprema Cf. 1.380(**219**), 6.123 *et mi genus ab Ioue summo*, 10.350 *Boreae de gente suprema*, Enn. *cit.* (*Burrus..a stirpe supremo*). E.L.Harrison rightly remarks (*CR* 22(1972), 303) that from *Il.*20.208ff. it is Aeneas' patrilinear descent that is emphasized; nonetheless, through Venus, Aeneas was simply a grandson of Jupiter!

221 Troius Aeneas And this king of distinguished ancestry (almost too much so, in answer to a son of Faunus, **213**) is at last named (cf. 1.596, 6.403, Moskalew, 82); with calculated, flat formality Il. declares that it is by Aeneas' orders that he has appeared. TCD points out that the appeal to Lat.'s pity was more important and had therefore to come first (2.35.9ff.).

tua nos ad limina misit Cf. (of embassies) 3.155 *tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit*, 8.145 *supplex ad limina ueni* (with G.2.504) and note too 6.402, 636, etc. of temples (cf. *EV* 3, 225). The pronouns attract each other (cf. **427**, 1.250, 3.156, 4.307, Austin on 6.780).

222 quanta../ 223 tempestas A long and orderly sentence (**quanta..campos, quibus ..orbis**, parallel clauses each containing a participial phrase and dependent on **audiit**, whose subject is the 'anyone' hidden in the repeated **et si quem**): cf. *Companion*, 231,

Görler, *EV* 2, 273f., Norden, 378, Quinn, 428ff.. **T.**: cf. 11.423, 12.284, Cic. *de or.*1.2 *maximae moles molestiarum et turbulentissimae tempestates*, and the closely similar use of *procella* (vd. *Nep.Att.*10.6 with my n.), Quint.8.6.44 on Hor.C.1.14 (where vd.NH), Fraenkel on Aesch. *Agam.*819, and the use of (e.g.) κλύδων, τρικυμία.

per Idaeos.. / 223 ..campos The plains (Gk. πεδίων, rare in plur..Cf. the excellent map at Seymour, 526; nothing better in the Cambridge *Iliad*) below Mt.Ida (**207**); note the *Iliacis..campis* of 1.97, with 10.335, 582, Cat.46.4.

saeuis.. Origin of the Greek armada against Troy (cf. **372**, 2.331); Argive Hera is likewise *saeua* for V. (**287**, 1.4, etc.), but the adj. is applied both to Achilles and to Hector, both to Ulysses and to Aeneas (*EV* 4, 644).

effusa Cf. *G.*2.352, *Aen.*5.693, 6.241: the storm of war ἐκχυμένη from the clouds. Likewise of a hail or shower of weapons: cf. Harrison on 10.803-8.

223 ierit Fordyce helpfully compares 9.433f., 12.283f., 451f.; add *G.*2.344, *EV* 2, 322f.. In V., *ire* is as strong as the work it is given to do. For these forms of the perf., in -*ii* with the first *i* short, cf. **225**, **516**, 1.376, 2.174, etc., NW 3, 442ff..

quibus actus.. / 224 ..fatis Cf. **239f. nos fata deum.. / ..egere**, 1.32 *acti fati*; note also **199**, **213**.

uterque / 224 ..orbis For *o.* as 'continent', cf. Housman on Manil. 4.677 (Tanais as frontier between Europe and Asia), citing Luc.3.276; see too Porph. on Hor.C.3.27.75, Bohnenkamp, *TLL* 9.2.917.71, J.Vogt, *Orbis* (Freiburg 1960), 153f..

Europae atque Asiae So Aen. to Venus at 1.385 complains that he is *Europa atque Asia pulsus* and Juno asks (10.90f., where vd. Harrison) *quae causa fuit consurgere in armis / Europamque Asiamque..?* Cf. Hardie 311ff.. The Trojan War as the first conflict between the continents is Herod.'s view (1.1ff.; for Aesch., see Broadhead on *Persae* 185); cf. Cat. 68.89, Prop.2.3.36, Ov.*Am.*2.12.18, and for the history of the conflict so viewed in political rhetoric, cf. N.Loraux, *Invention of Athens* (Eng. tr., Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 70ff., A.Momigliano, *Terzo contributo* (Roma 1966), 491, P.Hardie, *JHS* 105(1985), 29ff., Griffin (**321**), 123f.=189; 49 and 31BC are rather a victory of West over East (6.831, 8.686). The phrasing is Apollonian (4.273, where vd. Livrea). **concurrerit** Cf. **520**.

225 audiit The paths of fair deeds have been opened καὶ πέραν Νείλοιο παγαῶν και δι' Ὑπερβορέους, there is no foreign city ἄτις οὐ..ἄττει κλέος.. (Pind. *Isth.* 6.21ff.; cf. 2.41, 4.40), Hor.

C.2.1.31f. *auditumque Medis/ Hesperiae sonitum ruinae*; the *locus* of the ruler/hero/city renowned or feared even in distant parts is widely attested: cf. Theocr.16.76ff., Plut.*Pomp.*70.5, *Comp.Dion Brut.*4.1, *Aen.* 6.798ff. with Norden, 322 and *Kl.Schr.*, 432f., Hor.C.1.35.31f., 3.3.45ff., 4.14.41ff., CS 53ff., Prop.2.10.13ff., Ov.*F.*1.717. *Quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem?* Cf. too 1.457.

et si quem.. / 226 ..et si quem The use of *si* + oblique *quis* is not at all rare (*Buc.*5.10, *G.*2.265, 3.489, 4.6f., 281, etc.), but in anaphora and with repeated emphatic *et*, appears quite unique. In successive lines, though with slight variation of *sedes*, and in **226** also with synaloepha of initial **et**, the effect is majestic (indeed monumental!) and imposes (Horsfall 1971, 111f.) a precise parallelism of thought between the two clauses. The two ideas are linked in just the same way at *Pan.Mess.*149f. *Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus/ Teque interiecto mundi pars altera sole. Nam..* (and the theory follows), *Sen.Ep.* 94.63 [Alexander] *it tamen ultra Oceanum solemque, Phaedr.*930ff. (vd.**226**); Hor.C.3.3.55f. contains an analogous but milder polarity. Here too therefore they must be interpreted in tandem and compatibly with current geographical theory and its panegyric application (Mynors, *per litt.*, and Fordyce miss the issue): islands, cut off by the Ocean, correspond to the Antoeci, cut off by the torrid zone.

tellus extrema refuso / 226 summouet Oceano Islands in the Ocean (cf. Prop.2. 10.17f., *Catal.*9.54) were regarded at least rhetorically as fair game for Roman dreams of expansion. After all, Britain had recently been invaded and three centuries ago Nearchus had explored islands in the Persian Gulf (Thomson, *infra*,132f., etc.). *Sen.Suas.*1 (*deliberat Alexander an Oceanum nauiget*) hangs out the bait (1.1; denied, 1.10): *aiunt fertiles in Oceano iacere terras*; Alexander's 'posthumous plans' contained vast nautical projects (R.Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* ch.33) and Curtius' Alexander thinks more generally in amphibious terms, (e.g.) 9.2.26, 3.22. Not to mention *Sen.Ep.*119.7 [Alex.] *scrutatur maria ignota, in Oceanum classis novas mittit*. After Alexander, Caesar, and Britain, naturally: *Vell.*2.46.1 *alterum paene imperio nostro (ac suo) quaerens orbem* (with Woodman's n.), *Flor.*1.45.16 *respexit Oceanum et quasi hic Romanis orbis non sufficeret, alterum cogitavit*; thereafter, Augustus (in theory and by diplomacy) and Claudius, *ui et armis*: NH on Hor.C. 1.35.30, Prato on [Sen.] *Epigr.*28.3, Christ, 32. Thule (*G.*1.30) too. **Summouet** 'keeps at a distance': cf. *Sen.Phaedr.*930ff. *te licet terra ultimo/ summota mundo dirimat Oceani plagis/ orbemque nostris pedibus obuersum colas*; OLD s.v.*submoueo* §7 gathers several geographical

instances (e.g. Mela 2.48, the Isthmus of Corinth *summouet* the Aegean and Ionian seas, Plin.*Nat.*3.132 the Alps *summouent* Germany from Italy) which entail the interposition of an actual barrier, not mere distance. Clearly **tellus extrema** could refer to a distant edge of land (so e.g. Caes.*BG* 1.1.6) and the far shores of mainland Eurasia (against which the waves of Ocean are of course flung) have their place in panegyric (Christ, 51ff.), but the parallelism, here and elsewhere, of the interposition of the torrid zone, as of the English Channel (or (?)Pentland Firth, in the case of Thule), suggested rightly to Serv. *ut est Britanniae et omnium insularum Oceani* (cf. TCD *ultra Oceanum*). The adj. is applied to remote islands, too: Prop.2.10.17 writes of the *extemis..oris* of Britain; cf. Vell.1.2.3 of the Isla de Leon (Cadiz) *extremo nostri orbis termino, insulam circumfusam Oceano*. **refuso..Oceano** (cf. Horsfall, 1971, 33, Fordyce) is likewise problematic: Serv. glosses *refluo*, but Henry points out that that sense is not possible for *G.2.163 Iulia quae ponto longe sonat unda refuso* nor for *Aen.6.107 tenebrosa palus Acheronta refuso* and prefers a sense of 'overflowing' or 'wide-spreading' (cf. Ov.*Met.*11.657 (?), Stat.*Silv.*4.3.73, Sil.11.508, etc.) for all three passages. This is feeble talk to use of wild Northern seas. Cf. rather **590**, Luc.2.617f. *si non uiolentos insula Coros/ excipiet saxis lassusque refunderet undas*, 8.797f. *situs est qua terra extrema refuso/ pendet in Oceano* with schol. *pendet: insulas dicit in Oceano sitas*, Stat.*Theb.*9.465f. (the Teumesius) *spumeus assultans fractaque refunditur unda/ et cumulo maiore redit*, Tac.*Hist.* 1.86.2 (the Tiber) *immenso auctu, proruto ponte Sublicio, ac strage obstantis molis refusus*. The Ocean is hurled back by those rugged, distant islands which have heard of the fame of Troy. The hiatus, at 2½, and after a Greek noun, is unremarkable (cf. **178**).

extenta../ 227 ..plaga The noun, in the sense of 'climatic zone', is well-attested (*OLD* §2c), but not so technical as to put off the poet: cf. also [Sen.] *HO* 67. For **e.**, *TLL* 5.2.1972.16 (Hiltbrunner) compares Ov.*Met.*1.43, 11.151.

plagarum/ 227 quattuor in medio Just as **563 Italiae medio**: V. refers to the zone lying in the middle of the [other] four zones. Polyptoton underscores the 'layering' of the five zones (cf. Wills, 191ff., on analogous instances). The Southern temperate zone, and its inhabitants were, like islands in the Ocean, a lively topic for debate (*G.1.237f.*, J.O.Thomson, *History of ancient geography* (Cambridge 1948), index, s.v. zones; see too J.S.Romm, *Edges of the earth* (Princeton 1992), 121ff.) and entered the conceptual framework of panegyric under Alexander (Norden, *Kl.Schr.*, 424f., citing Aeschines, *in Ctes.*

165; cf. J.Y.Nadeau, *CQ* 20(1970), 343f.); vd.6.795f., with Housman, *Class. Pap.* 2, 650ff., Christ, 53ff., *Pan.Mess.*150, 176, Petr.119.2. Cf. further **225f. et si quem**. Not so much Augustan plans for the subjection of Australia as the rhetorical extension to panegyric of geographical theory.

dirimit Cf. (in similar contexts) Sen.*Phaedra* 931, Luc.9.538; a word geographers like (*septies* in Mela; cf. Tafel, *TLL* 5.1.1259.36ff.).

solis iniqui Cf. Hor.C.3.1.32 *hiemes iniquas*, Luc.7.866; immoderately hot because the sun is too close (cf. NH on Hor.C.1.22.21).

228 diluuiο ex illo Cf. **223 tempestas** (and in between the real storm of **refuso**); the metaphorical use of **d.** an experiment not repeated until VF (6.394f., Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.2. 1191.56). *EV* s.v. and Fordyce *ad loc.* (and even WH; but not, of course, *TLL*) are quite wrong to suggest that the neuter form (as against Lucr.'s *diluuiēs*) is also innovative; *bis*, rather, in Varro (*ap. Serv. ad Aen.*3.578 and Aug. *CD* 18.10; hardly credible that in *both* passages the morphology in the citation is altered to that preferred by Virgil). Such oscillation in *di-luu-* (cf. too the various forms of *alluuiēs*, *inluuiēs*, *colluuiēs*) is not at all odd (Görler, *EV* 2, 264, NW 1, 761ff., LHS, 447ff., Kühner-Holzweissig (**726**), 479ff.). Serv. records (*alii hic distingunt*) the horrible notion that we might have to wait until here for a major break in sense. **tot uasta per aequora uecti** Cf. Cat.101.1 *multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectum*, dear to V. (cf. G.B.Conte, *Rhetoric of Imitation*(Ithaca 1986), 32f., for its Odyssean origins): G.1.206 (vd.Thomas), *Aen.* 1.376, 6.335 (where Norden unnecessarily suspects Enn. behind Cat.), 692. The size and number of the seas are given special prominence by the anastrophe.

229 dis..patriis *Quanta laude talis petitor dignus* TCD: Il. puts the gods first yet his plea (the Trojans are after all destined to build a city, as he knows) is cannily modest, and cannot be denied without impiety (TCD, again; cf. *Vergilius* 35(1989), 17, 24f.). These unspecified gods regularly occur in highly charged contexts: G.1.498 (vd. Mynors' n. for their identity—at Rome—with the Indigetes), *Aen.* 2.702, 9.247 (with Hardie's n.).

sedem exiguam The Trojans' situation is fundamentally altered from that at 1.551ff.; naturally, Il.'s requests are far more substantial here. Already at 1.205 *Aen.* reminds his men of the *sedes..quietas* which the *fata* have promised in Latium (note too 1.247, 557, 3.161, 185, **7.158**).

litusque../ 230 innocuum Serv. and TCD (followed by e.g.

Fordyce) take the adj. in a passive sense (*quo uindicato nulli possit noceri* Serv.), as at 10.301f. *donec rostra tenent siccum et sedere carinae/ omnes innocuae* (vd. Serv., SDan., Harrison). But an active sense of *non nocens* is far better suited to the context (cf. Wieland, *TLL* 7.1. 1708.73, comparing Ov.*RA* 251f., *Tr.*2.273; TCD hedges his bets): the Trojans, in part thanks to Paris, repeatedly fall under suspicion of banditry (vd. already Cato) and here as always insist that they are honest men (cf. Il. at 1.527ff., **7.361, 475—539**, 9.136ff.). The vicinity of **231 non erimus regno indecores** seems decisive. **Litus** here refers primarily to the bank of the Tiber (**105, 149, 157f.**), where the Trojans actually are, but two other allusions are probably latent: first, to the Trojans' annalistic landing-place on the clearly maritime *litus Laurens* (Q.Fabius Maximus Servilianus fr.1HRR, Liv.1.1.4, Horsfall, *EV* 3, 143), and secondly, as La Cerda noted, to lawyers' doctrine: Iust.*Inst.* 2.1.1 *et quidem naturali iure communia sunt omnium haec: aer et aqua profluens et mare et per hoc litora maris* (Serv. *ista enim communia sunt*; cf. Berger s.v. *litus maris*; Wagner's suspicion of a hint at *aqua atque igni interdicere* is less felicitous). Il. reproached Dido with *hospitio prohibemur harenae* (1.540; cf. 541 *bella cient primaque uetant consistere terra*) and here asks (**rogamus**) for shore, water and air **cunctis patentem** in rapid sequence.

230 cunctis undamque auramque patentem Water and air, though, are common property (cf. Berger s.v. *Res communes omnium*) in a far wider and older sense. Cf. Il.15.193, [Aesch.] *PV* 1092f., Andoc. 3.19, Menand.740.7f.Körte, Plaut.*Rud.*975 *mare quidem commune certo est omnibus*, Cic. *Rosc.Am.*72, *Off.*1.52, Ov.*Met.*6.349 (with Bömer's n.), Sen.*Ep.*25.4, Petron.100.1. Cf. Lucr.6.450 *caeloque patenti*.

231 non erimus regno indecores The adj. from Acc.*trag.*193, of uncertain morphology (Serv., NW 2, 168). At 1.527f. Il. declares explicitly *non nos aut ferro Libycos populare Penatis/ uenimus aut raptas ad litora uertere praedas*; here two negative compounds in successive lines serve discreetly to disavow the embarrassment of the temporarily homeless (Il.9.648, Soph.*El.*189, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 25) and the misconduct present both in V.'s sources and in Aen.'s family. *Non tales sumus ut pudeat te in amicitiam suscepisse Troianos* TCD. The repeated litotes and the pauses at 1½ and 3½ serve perhaps to characterise the studied modulation of the formal diplomatic address.

nec uestra.. / 232 fama leuis Cf. **581 neque enim leue nomen Amatae** (where, though, the adj. is not predicative). Il. neatly abandons his defensive posture: help offered to the (distinguished and respectable) Trojans will actually benefit the helpers' good name.

feretur Cf. Cat.63.68, Lucr.1.727, *TLL* 6.1.551.31f.(Hey).

232 tantique..gratia facti So **FMP**; **tantiue** RTCD(cf. **262, 264**).

The sequence *non..nec..-que* is attested at *Buc.*10.64f., *G.*3.174f., *Aen.* 2.534, 6.593f., 736f. and ms. authority for **-que** is unimpeachable. Note both the sentiment expressed by Aeneas to Dido, 1.607-10 and the language of Dido to Aeneas, 4.539 *et bene apud memores ueteris stat gratia facti?*

abolescet V. seems partial to the invention of inchoative verbs (Pascucci, *EV* 3, 700); Serv. grumbles that there was no call for an inchoative form here.

233 nec..pigebit Cf. *Il.*, 1.548f. *non metus, officio nec te certasse priorem/ paeniteat*. *Piget* only *quater* in V. but irreproachably Ennian (*Ann.* and *trag.*).

Troiam Ausonios Cf. **405, 709** and Harrison, p.288 for analogous juxtaposition of contrasting proper names. Whether **Troiam** here indicates (cf. **157**) the Trojans' first settlement, perhaps so called, or rather the Trojans themselves (*Troia pro Troianis*) or everything to do with Troy (roughly *res Troiana*) is quite unclear (cf. Rehm, 46, n.101).

gremio excepisse Cf. *Cic.Cat.*51 (of the soil) *quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit*, *Aen.*8.124, 10.867, *Liv.*1.22.5. The noun literally 'that which contains an armful', 'the space bounded by arms and chest'(EM). Regularly used by V. with strong affective force; cf. 9.261 *in uestris pono gremiis*, 8.713. So too, of places, *sinus* (*OLD* §6).

234 fata per Aeneae Cf. (only) *Prop.*4.7.51 *iuro ego fatorum nulli revocabile carmen*; note though too pleas *per fortunas*, *Cic.Att.*3.20.1, 5.11.1, 13.3 and oaths by (e.g. Caesar's) *tyche* or *genius* (Weinstock, 212ff.). Anastrophe perhaps to avoid the spondaic rhythm and to focus attention on **fata**.

iuro As at (e.g.) 6.458, 12.197; cf. Weinstock, *cit.*, Hickson, 107ff.. Even at 11.302ff. Lat. does not repent the welcome he offered the Trojans, ample reason though he had by then.

dextramque potentem Cf. *Ov.Met.*1.671f.. Again V. varies common usage, this time the appeal *per dexteram alicuius* (cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.933.18ff., Pease and Buscaroli on 4.314). For an actual parallel for the oath we must, I think, resort to *Deut.*32.40f..

235 siue fide Again, I suspect, elegant variation upon a familiar theme, this time from *Gebetstil*; so NH on *Hor.C.*1.32.1 *si quid*: 'such clauses in prayers give the reason (expressed with becoming diffidence) why the god should help the suppliant'. Cf. **366** for the right hand in pledges.

seu quis.. Possibly reminiscent of alternative titles/deities/sacrifices in prayer-language (Norden *AT*, 144, Hickson, 41ff., NH on Hor. C.1.2.33, 4.12). The polarity trust/war recalls Il. at 1.544f. *rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter/ nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis*; cf. too Il.2.273, Plaut.*Pseud.*1005f., Cic.*Fam.*7.5.3 (of Caesar) *manum tuam istam et uictoria et fide praestantem*, Deiot.8, Tac.*Ann.*13.54.5.

bello..et armis Cf. 1.545, *cit.*, 4.615, Cic.*Marc.*14, *Phil.*11.36f., *ad Brut.*5.1, Sall.*Hist.* 1.77.2, Liv.1.27.3, 53.9, 4.1.5, 8.13.11, 21.2.5, etc., Hor.C.2.1.2, 4: I have not searched systematically after the Augustan period. A stock phrase (cf. *ui et armis*; neither hendiadys, nor polar (contrast **444**), but ‘paired synonyms’ or pleonasm: the ancient terminology is unclear, likewise, *EV* 4, 140f., 887ff.): in both prose and verse, but not, it appears, very old.

est expertus The object carried forward from **234**; for the verb, cf. **434**, 11.396.

236 multi..multae Cf. Cat.62.42 *multi illum pueri, multae optauere puellae*; cf. **54**, Wills, 280f. for the suggestion (not convincing in all details) of a fuller imitation.

nos../238 et petiere sibi.. Cf. Evander at 8.196 (with *EV* 4, 52). Only Dido has actually sought the Trojans’ alliance (1.572; to cite Acestes’ help in 5 is only to make matters worse) and this ‘lie’ has attracted amused or scornful comment (Fordyce, Highet, 287; cf. **302**, **423**, *Companion*, 125, 196, 210); TCD more sensibly concentrates on V.’s concern to bring off a truly impressive statement (however imprecise) of the Trojans’ paradoxical popularity. For the motif of alliance in colonisation-narratives (like *Aen.*), cf. Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 20ff..

populi../ 238 ..gentes Cf. **725** for V.’s use of *populus*; a *gens*, in this context, is not significantly smaller, or larger (cf. **750**, **803**, *EV* 2, 659, 4, 218ff.). Rhetorical coupling of near-synonyms, again (cf. **235**).

ne temne quod The verb *simplex pro composito* (cf. Norden on 6.620, **7.351**); the *quod* construction common enough after *uerba affectuum*, LHS, 579, KS 2, 276f., though not in V.(cf. 5.651). *Multae: hic suspendenda promuntiatio est, quoniam interposuit rem necessariam* TCD (that is, that though we have come as suppliants to you, ‘others’ have sought us out); cf. *EV* 3, 973f. on parentheses in V.’s speeches and **202** for *ne..*
ultra ‘An action which goes some way beyond what was to be expected’ Fordyce (a good note, but A.Traina, *EV* 5*, 363f. is excellent).

237 praeferimus manibus Cf. Liv.8.20.6 *caduceum praeferentes*; cf.

8.116, 128, 11.332 (*praetendere*). The abl. superfluous on a strict view, but cf. **manu 114** *et saepe*.

uittas Cf. **154, 352**; olive branches with fillets on the end.

et uerba precantia Zeugma (branches and pleas). Many copyists did not like synizesis at line-end: **R** here gives **precantum** and cf. the apparatus at *G.4.221, Aen.6.33*. See the authoritative discussion of consonantalised *i* by Sebastiano Timpanaro at *EV* 4, 881.

238 uoluere adiungere Wanted (sc. but did not succeed, because of our mission to settle *here*; cf. **239**). Sc. **sibi** here too probably, despite the long parenthesis. The dat. is regular: cf. 8.13 *multasque uiro se adiungere gentes*; this is the language (regular if not exactly technical) of public affairs (*uiros earum uel adiungere sibi uel interficere* Sall. *Cat.24.4, OLD* s.v., §7b).

gentes M has nom.pl. **gentis**; rather the baneful influence of 8.13, as Perutelli notes, than the ‘interesting’ orthography (cf. *NW* 1, 382, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 405) that seduces Geymonat.

239 sed nos Taking up **236 nos**; ‘sought us out, but we’: here the pronoun is thrust forward into special prominence.

fata deum The will of the gods, expressed by their spoken word in oracles and visions (cf. **584**, Bailey, 225, Serv. on 2.54, Austin on 6.461).

uestras..terras Cf. **214**: the lands of Latinus and his council. Not a grandiose reference (cf. 3.170f.) to the Latins’ empire (though, Priam-like, L. does at times seem to have one, *EV* 3, 142) but a poetic plural (cf. 3.44, 396, 10.583, etc.).

exquirere Cf. *G.3.331, Aen.3.96 antiquam exquirite matrem (hoc dicendo ostendit difficultatem* Serv.). for the infin., cf. **393**.

240 imperiis..suis Cf. 6.461 *sed me iussa deum, 463 imperiis egere suis* (Aeneas to Dido; cf. Highet, 259). Jupiter regularly has *imperium* (e.g. 5.784); so too Aeolus (1.53f.), and the gods in general (4.282); thus the expression of their will carry likewise divine authority.

egere Cf. 3.5 *auguriis agimur diuum*; cf. 1.32, 6.379, 8.335, and, less closely, **223**. Not (cf. **216**) to be read in a Stoicising vein, nor echoed sarcastically by Numanus Remulus at 9.601 (*pace* Moskalew, 144); form and *sedes* are different.

hinc Long ago I fancied that this word might carry a precise topographical sense (i.e., that Latinus’ city and Corythus could not be *that* far apart: *RMM*, 91); no longer (vd.**209**). But D.’s descendant is now moored in the Tuscan river.

Dardanus ortus Cf. **206-11**; for the verb, cf. **206**. The last three

words of this line are also the last three words of 3.167: prophecy is fulfilled (cf. Moskalew, 112, 140).

241 huc After **hinc**: cf. Hor.C.3.6.6 *hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum*; inverted, Enn.trag.201, Ov.Met.4.342, 15.166.

repetit The subject of **r.** recalls the object to the subject's own location: cf. Cic. Dom.144 *qui.<me> repetistis atque reuocastis* (thus too *ib.*, 94, 141 and so too of Proserpina, G.1.39; see Page here); the subj. cannot therefore be (Delian) Apollo, except in defiance of normal usage (*pace* Fordyce, *EV* 4, 52). The parallelism of **hinc..huc..** (cf. **85f.**, 3.167 *hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus*) likewise does rather point to identical subjects for **ortus** and **repetit**. Serv. and TCD see this, but, alas, identify Dardanus and Aeneas (*Dardanus, id est Aeneas* Serv. and cf. further on 4.159, *Dardanum remeasse cum suis* TCD). An intransitive sense of 'return' is not itself that hard (*Culex* 105; cf. transitive *Buc.*7.39, *Aen.*2.749). But it is much easier to envisage Dardanus summoning the Trojans back to their *terra mater*: cf. Cicero and Proserpina *supra*. Apollo then (with an explicit and unexceptionable change of subject) adds his authority to the 'call of the homeland'.

iussisque ingentibus Deliis, quae magna constat fuisse remarks Serv.; weighty perhaps both in divine authority and in difficulty of fulfilment.

urget Of Pallas at 10.433.

Apollo God of oracles and hence colonists (Pease (**107-47**), *Vergilius* 35(1989), 10ff., Bailey, 165f.). It was after all Delian Apollo who first told the Trojans *antiquam exquirite matrem* (3.96; cf.—just possibly in deliberate evocation—**239**; see **240, bis**). Here the god presses, just as the forbear calls: in the same direction, but a little more authoritatively.

242 Tyrrhenum ad Thybrim Cf. **149, 663**.

fontis..Numici Cf. **150f., 797f.** for the polarity Tiber-Numicus and **797f.** for the identification of the latter. It is claimed (D'Anna (**122**), 24, Paratore) that this confident statement is incompatible with the sense of discovery of the same two rivers at **150f.**; the point is rather that the poet represents Il. as having digested the information swiftly: the Trojans were always on their way back to their *antiqua mater* and V. now adorns this sense of 'return completed' with recently acquired geographical detail.

uada sacra Cf. **151 fontis stagna Numici**. Easiest to take V. as referring here too to the swampy course of the Numicus in the

coastal plain, though both here and at **151** we might prefer to attribute to the poet not geographical precision, but two further instances of the *genitivus inhaerentiae*. The N.'s **uada** (cf. **728**) are **sacra** by anachronism and anticipation because of Aeneas' death by the stream's banks (**797f.**); cf. too Serv. *ad Aen.*12.139 (spring of Juturna). **243 dat tibi** Upon reflection, it becomes clear that there is no reason to posit a lacuna (Ribbeck) and that the subject must be Aeneas (of whom little word since **235**): the result not of our abilities to understand a special demand V. makes upon the sensitive reader, but of our capacities for recall and logical elimination! Günther acutely suggests (18-20; cf. 70, 75, 78; contrast the complexities of Berres, 298f.) that this is the beginning of an insertion, whose end is marked by the half-line, **248**: written to prepare the reader for Latinus' reactions at **251f.**, **261** and scrupulously added to the final text by Varius, as best he could. If the exegesis just offered of **241** is found unacceptable, that problematic line might be added to the heads of accusation.

praeterea Confirmation of the hypothesis of an insertion: V. looks back from Apollo and bk.3 to Ilioneus and bk.1 (647f.) *munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis/ ferre iubet* (cf. **246 gestamen**): this is not so much significant echo (cf. Moskalew, 163f.) as rapid quarrying from the earlier passage, with both hands.

fortunae..prioris Cf. [Sen.] *Herc.Oet.*227, *Tac.Ann.*2.63.4 and contrast the stock *munus fortunae* (e.g.*Nep.Att.*3.3).

parua.. / 244 munera Serv. remarks acutely *fortunae parua prioris bene medium tenuit: nam ne laudare uideretur, ait 'parua', ne deformaret, nam durum est aliquid ab infelicibus accipere, ait 'fortunae prioris'*. Enjambement lends added moment to the gifts.

244 reliquias..receptas Theme and variation. The first e of **reliquias** is lengthened *metri gratia*: cf. E.Bednara, *ALL* 14(1906), 330, Austin on 1.30, Leumann, 136, 560. A favourite expression (cf. 1.30, 598, 3.87 *reliquias Danaum*, 5.47, 787, 8.356, Austin, *cit.*, Powell on *Cic.Cat.*19). The verb at 6.111(Aen. saves Anch.), 1.178 (corn saved from shipwreck). Compare 1.647 (Aeneas' presents to Dido) *Iliacis erepta ruinis*.

Troia ex ardente Cf. 2.581 (the brilliant imitator), *Hor.CS* 41 *ardentem..Troiam*, *Tib.*2. 5.22.

245 hoc..auro Synecdoche of 'material for object'(cf. *G.*2.192, *Aen.* 1.739, *Prop.*3.17. 37, Harrison on 10.205-6 *pinu*, Austin on 2.112, Lunelli-Kroll, 38f., Bickel, *TLL* 2.1529.37f., *OLD* s.v.§4b, c); note the

gift of a cup at *Od.*4.591. The use of cups for pouring libations is both Homeric (Seymour, 513f.) and Roman (*G.*4.380, *Aen.*3.354, *EV* 3, 207, Wissowa 409ff., 501, n.1, Ryberg (615), 21 et *passim*).

pater Anchises The phrase *undecies* in *Aen.*; cf. the cup which had belonged to Anch. at 5.535 (also, 9.647). Anchises balances Priam, and family, monarchy: the gifts represent continuity of cult and of power, *pietas* towards father, gods and country (cf. E.Henry, 33).

libabat ad aras A gift which implies at least similarity of religious usage long before the concordat of bk.12 (cf. **167 ignota in ueste**, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 24).

246 hoc Priami gestamen erat Cf. **247 sceptrumque sacerque tiaras, 252 scepra ..Priameia**; *diadema dicit: nam sceptrum paulo post dicturus est* writes Serv., about to explain **tiaras** mistakenly as *pilleum Phrygium*, while TCD hedges his bets: *hoc est in sceptro et tiara*. Wagner, however, plumped for *sceptrum* (cf. VF 3.344 *scepra manu ueterum retinet gestamen auorum* and Prud.*Psych.*884). It does seem much likelier (Horsfall, 1971, 36, Forbiger, Henry, Fordyce, Vinchiesi, *EV* 2, 713) that the one word applies to all three items then listed; *gerere* can after all govern *uestes* (*Tib.*2.3.53) or *coronam* (*Varr. Men.*127) and while *Ov. Met.*13.116 uses the plur. *gestamina* of the items of Achilles' armour, I take the sing. here as in some sense generic or collective (cf. *OLD* s.v. *uestis* §2a; likewise at times *tegmen, habitus*). Forms in *-men* (e.g. *fundamen, tutamen*, as against *-mentum*) belongs to traditional poetic diction (J.Marouzeau, *Quelques Aspects..* (Paris 1949), 178, Vinchiesi, *cit.*). **cum iura.. / 247 ..daret** Cf. *G.*4.562, *Aen.*1.293, 507, 731, 3.137, 5.758, 8.670, Volc. Sedig.fr.3.2, *Hor. C.*3.3.44, *Ov. F.*1.38, 207, 3.62, etc., *Liv.*1.8.1, etc.; also common in surviving laws and in legal texts (Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1678.18ff., *Vocab. Iurispr. Rom.* 2.306.6ff.): the sense is, nearly enough, equivalent to *iudicare*. Priam, therefore, as Roman magistrate, rather than Homeric monarch.

uocatis / 247 ..populis Cf. **384, 693, 716, 725, 738**, 6.891: cf. the assembly of the ἡγήτορες of Priam's vassals or allies (Seymour, 108). At 5.758 the elders of Acestes' colony are summoned, *uocati* (by a herald?), to an assembly where Acestes likewise *dat iura*. This is not a specially democratic environment (*Vergilius* 35(1989), 16f.; but cf. Seymour, 101ff.. See also Fraenkel, *Kl.B.*2, 451f., Salmon, 78, 82, and Horsfall, *Athen.*78(1990), 524 = *AION* Sez.ling.13(1991), 20 for awareness of Italic usage)

247 more Only here in V. without qualification (contrast variously e.g. *G.*3.177, *Aen.*4.551, **7.159, 204, 616f.**, *EV* 3, 602), but clearly in the sense of 'in keeping with traditional usage'.

sceptrumque In Hom., a long staff, but already (*inter alia*) the symbol of royal power (Seymour, 85f.); Lat. (Pacuv., Acc. *trag.*, Lucr.) takes over the Homeric word, while limiting its application to regal authority and cognates (Paterlini, *EV* 4, 698f.). Cf. 1.647 the *sceptrum* of Ilione given to Dido. On **188** SDan. comments *septem fuere pignora quae imperium Romanum tenent: ..sceptrum Priami..*: after Latte, 292, n.5, the credit of this list has yet to be restored; C.A.Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan horses* (Oxford 1992), 6f. addresses other aspects of the Romans' regard for talismans. Buchheit's eloquent exposition (161f.; cf. Balk, 66f.) of the symbolic value of V.'s choice of gifts here rests on a shaky foundation, for we lack the necessary sense of probability that V. himself viewed P.'s sceptre (of high evocative value though it clearly must have seemed) as a *pignus imperii*.

sacerque tiaras *Tiaras* masc. and *tiara* fem. coexist in Lat.; likewise in Gk. (NW 1, 966, Leumann, 454). SDan. here unhelpfully calls **t.** a *pilleus Phrygius* (confusion also in TCD and more recently); the *pilleus*, probably of Etruscan origin, is a close-fitting hemispherical cap, while the Persian or Phrygian *tiara[s]* is much higher, conical, and with the top half bent forwards, except when worn by kings (Sen.*Ben.*6.31.12, etc.); it can (cf. Fordyce) be richly ornamented: cf. Hier. *Epist.*64.13 (shares Serv.'s error, but offers ample detail on the *tiara[s]*), Smith, *Dict.Ant.*s.v., O.Navarre, DS 5.1., 296ff., Larissa Bonfante Warren, *ANRW* 1.4(1973), 611, H.Bender in (ed.)Sebesta, Bonfante (**612**), 147, Courtney on Juv.6.516, 10.267. **Sacer** not because used for cult (TCD thinks it was used in Phrygian cult, which would not be a welcome association here, *pace* Balk, *cit.*) or dedicated to a god, nor because of itself an object of religious reverence (Fugier, *EV* 4, 629f.; her *Recherches sur l'expression du sacré* (Paris 1963) does not confront the problem), but, I suspect, because of the inherited (cf. *Il.*24 ed. C.W.Macleod, pp.21ff.) awe surrounding old Priam in his lifetime and the impious circumstances of his death (2.525, 550); his *tiara[s]* has acquired talismanic value for the Trojans (that is, the gift is, to them, sacred), whatever we make of Servius' *pignora imperii*.

248 Iliadumque labor Cf. *G.*1.325, *Aen.*1.455, 2.306, 8.439 for *l.* as 'a thing worked' (ἔργον more commonly so); kings were not clothed distinctively (Seymour, 86). Both Helen (*Il.*3. 125ff.) and Andromache (22.440f) wove and embroidered, as did both goddesses and common mortal women (Seymour, 135).

uestes The apposition makes this third gift the weightiest item of the tricolon. *EV* 5*, 520ff. and Bender, *cit.*(cf. *Alambicco*, 147) show that

clothes here are not mere garments: the present of a whole royal outfit—and Priam's at that—is, yes, a conventional epic gift, but one to be evaluated in terms of a code as yet only in small part understood, not least because clothing in *Aen.* has acquired (**167**) a non-Homeric dimension (cf. Fordyce here). Analogies with 1.647-55 (*Aen.*'s presents to Dido), given Priam's end, Rome's sack of Troy (4.669-71, not to mention Dido's own end) and the fate of Lat.'s own city (12.654-6, etc.) have attracted much attention (K.J.Reckford, *AJP* 83(1961), 265, M.C.J.Putnam, (**785**, 1970) 415=(**756**, 1995), 106f., Moskalew, 162ff., S.Frangoulidis, *Vergilius* 38(1992), 26ff., Nelis, 287) and *Aen.*'s presents here are thus now usually viewed as perforce ill-omened, symbolically threatening, doom-laden from the first, on account of their Trojan origin. Not how *Aen.* views the relics of his dear homeland, and arguably not how a Roman would have viewed a *pignus imperii* (cf. **247 sceptrum**). The 'signal' implicit in these gifts is also weakened by the faintness of the analogies with bk.1, however close the ends of the three cities. The unfinished line (cf. **702**) is (cf. **243**) a particularly clear case of the intimate link between hemistichs and those passages that V. never had time to work up.

249 talibus Ilionei dictis Cf. **445**; the gen. is regular (Leumann, 456, NW 1, 445f.), a monosyllabic termination by synizesis, after 150 years of Lat. poetic usage (Enn.*trag.*119 *Nerei*, spondee, Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 879f.).

defixa.. / 250 ..tenet ora Cf. *Il.*3.217 *στάσκεν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε, κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας*; cf. also AR 3.22 (Ricottilli (**251**), 25ff., Heuzé, 568-71). The participle, placed first, conveys both fixity and a downwards inclination: 6.156 *maesto defixus lumina uoltu*, 8.520 *defixique ora tenebant..*[522] *putabant* (but not 1.226), Liv.8.7.21 (cf. 9.38.13); with *simplex*, cf. too 6.469 *illa solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat*. For **tenet** cf. too 2.1 *intentique ora tenebant*. Within the hyperbaton, **obtutu** lends focus to **defixa** and **tenet** reinforces V.'s sense of holding a set gaze.

Latinus Because of Aetes' stormy reception of the Argonauts, Nelis (286) suggests that Lat.'s pause rouses tension in V.'s readers. Not at all: his first speech was richly benevolent and he pauses only to see if the pieces of the story really add up to their eventual total—that *Aen.* is also Lavinia's destined husband (as the Trojans may suspect—**314**—but cannot know), arousing only pleasant expectation in the Trojans as in the attentive reader. That disaster will result from this

benevolence is another matter; for another 35 lines we are not perforce in its chill shadow.

250 obtutu Cf. 1.495 *dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno*, 12.666 *obtutu tacito stetit*. Already at Pacuv.*trag.*395, Cic.*Arat.fr.*9.6.

soloque immobilis haeret The verb can of course indicate mental perplexity (1.495), but the whole context here is primarily physical, however indicative, also, of the inner monarch. Cf. Ov.*Met.*3.418f. *uultuque immotus eodem/ haeret* (with Bömer's n.). There is a sort of hypallage involved: if we compare (e.g.) 4.73 *haeret lateri letalis harundo* or 10.361 *haeret pede pes densusque uiro uir*, we realise that here it is not *Lat.* who is literally stuck (**haeret**); rather it is his *gaze* that is fixed or stuck to the ground. The adj. too presents a kind of enallage, for it is once again the immobility of *Lat.*'s gaze (*obtutus/oculi*, mentioned immediately before and after), and not of the king himself that is specified. The adj. is Ciceronian; perhaps first here in poetry (a very handy alternative to *immutus*); cf. 12.400 *lacrimis immobilis*, Liv.9.2.11 *immobiles silent*; see **564 nobilis**). See Ricottilli (**251**), 16, on the need to understand these difficult words in their context; she also well suggests, *viva voce*, that the present immobility of meditation anticipates, and leads to, the future immobility (**586**) of passive resistance.

251 intentos uoluens oculos 'Unschön' remarks Günther (19, n.32) of the repetition of **uoluens** here and in **254**; however, it is quite clear (**554**) that ancient sensibilities in this matter were different from ours, and L.Ricottilli *MD* 28(1992), 16ff. acutely takes up TCD's remarks here (*quoniam tacitarum cogitationum est mouere oculos, cum animi aestus per diuersa rapiuntur*) to suggest that the repetition is actually most deliberate, to remind us with particular force that the eyes are the window or mirror of the soul (**399, 447**). From TCD on (at least to Heuzé, 570), literal-minded readers of V. have wondered how the **immobilis** Latinus can roll his eyes (cf. Horsfall 1971, 37, Ricottilli, 18f.). Clearly this is a quite different movement from the frenzied **torquens** of **399, 448f.** (cf. 4.643; 4.363 seems to slip from contemplation into rage); TCD again scores high: *quasi toto cogitationis spatio immobiles oculi teneri potuissent, quod est contra naturam*. This slow rolling, indicative of deep thought (TCD *tacitarum cogitationum est mouere oculos, cogitantis est gestus* Serv., Ricottilli, 17, n.38): when Aen. is about to spare Turnus, he is described as *uoluens oculos* (12.939; TCD *tractantis fuerat signum; indices enim sunt oculi, qui tacito pectore sententia dubitante uoluuntur*). 8.618 *oculos per singula uoluit* is, I suspect different again, as Aen. slowly runs his eyes over his mother's extraordinary presents.

Polysemic, Traina well says of the gesture at 12.939 (cf. *id.*, *EV* 5*, 625). The adj. is explicitly proverbial: cf. Cic.*Flacc.*26 *quam maxime intentis oculis, ut aiunt, acerrime contemplerini*, Nielsen, *TLL* 7.1.2118.18, Otto, 250, Cic.*leg.agr.* 2. 77, Liv.23.9.6, Prop.1.3.19, Sen.*Contr.* 2.5.4. **nec.. regem/ 252 ..mouet** Cf. Cic.*Scaur.*45h *quem purpura regalis non commouit*, G.2.495f. *illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum/ flexit...*, Sen. *Dial.*12.16.3 *non gemmae te, non margaritae flexerunt*.

purpura../ 252 picta Previously described tersely as **uestes**; the noun used of shellfish, dye, cloth, clothing. Cf. N.-H. on Hor. C.2.16.35, André, 90ff., Edgeworth, 150, M.Reinhold, *History of purple..* (*Coll.Lat.*116, 1970): neither Homeric nor classical Greek as a mark of royalty, but Persian, and then Alexandrian. The partic. quite clearly suggests ‘embroidered’: cf. **277**, 1.711, 9.582, 614, 11.777 *pictus acu* (cf. *Il.*3.126, 22.441), Fordyce, Serpa, *EV* 4, 112.

252 nec..mouent Such repetition with number-shift is, Wills notes (295), not common outside the pathetic fallacy (but cf. **327**, **743**, 5.80, 10.429, 11.191, Cat.30.11, Hor.C.4.2.14ff.).

sceptra..Priameia Cf. **678**, **691**, Lunelli-Kroll, 44f., *EV* 1, 54, Harrison on 10.156: adj. from proper name for gen. is deep-rooted both in archaic Latin (prose and poetry) and in Greek poetic idiom from Hom. on. The form here first in V.(*ter*); it appears not to be attested in Greek (cf. Thomas on G.1.138, 279). For sceptres, cf. **173**, **422**.

tantum/ 253 quantum The correlatives *septies* in V. (and *ter* in Cat.; *tanto..quanto* tragic), but only here juxtaposed.

in conubio natae thalamoque Cf. **555**; it is still not clear (even to specialists at the highest level) whether the *i* of **c.** is short, or consonantal, thus lengthening the *u* (Timpanaro, *EV* 4,881; cf. Green (**334**), 402ff.). Neither Lat. nor Il. have mentioned Lavinia: not a word of her, indeed, since Faunus’ oracle at **96**; V. thus prepares us for the all-important offer at **253** by an authorial reference to Lat.’s deep reflections about her. For **t.**, cf. **98**, **388**, for **c.**, **555**.

moratur Cf. 9.439 *in solo Volcente moratur*, also Lucr.4.963 *quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati*, Hor.*Ars* 178.

254 ueteris Fauni Cf. **47**, **81**: though **u.** just might refer to Lat.’s ‘aged father’ Faunus (cf. 3.82, (?)5.39), the connotation is rather (cf. **177 ueterum..auorum**, **204 ueteris ..dei**) that of the venerable forbear: see *EV* 5*, 525.

uoluit Cf. **251**; cf. 3.102 *ueterum uoluens monumenta uirorum* (‘volgere nel

pensiero', Traina, *EV* 5*, 626), 1.305 *plurima uoluens*. *Voluto*, Traina observes, is more commonly intellectual (cf. Gk. ἐλίccω, κυλίνδω). **sub pectore** Cf. 12.831 *irarum tantos uoluis sub pectore fluctus*, 1.36, 6.101, 9.718, **7.457**: though these passages refer to emotion rather than reason, the *pectus* (specifically in the *praecordia*) is home of the *animus*, 'consciousness with all the variations of emotion and thought' (Onians, 169).

sortem Cf. 4.346 *Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes*, 6.72 *sortis arcanaque fata* (Sibyl), *Hor.Ars* 403 *dictae per carmina sortes* (Delphi: cf. Brink on *ib.*219). Not all-pervasive cleromancy (on which cf. Pease on *Cic.Div.*1.12), but the metonymy of *sors* for any oracular response (cf. *OLD* s.v. §3). It will emerge (**259-73**) that Günther (19, n.32) is right to object to Latinus mentioning the oracle twice (cf. **269**) within fifteen lines: though the future of his house (his principal preoccupation from **52ff.**) depends upon it, it will become clearer that duplication has here lurched over the boundary from licit emphasis to evident disorder.

255 hunc illum Cf. **128 haec erat illa fames**, **272 hunc illum poscere fata**, 3.558 *hic illa Charybdis*, 4.675 *hoc illud, germana fuit*, 6.27 *hic labor ille domus*. The first three passages cited refer to details mentioned by an oracle or prophet, while 4.675 looks back to Dido's speech at 4.634ff. and 6.27 to the preceding allusion to the story of Ariadne (5.588ff.), or even to Catullus(64.114f.). Cf. *Cic.Cat.*72 with Powell's n.. The *hunc illum* of *Tib.*1.3.93 is the dawn of which the poet has been writing and *Tac.Ann.*14.21.4 *hunc illum numine deum destinari credebant* refers to a pre-existing prophecy (Fordyce, Smith on *Tib., cit.*, Köstermann on *Tac.cit.*, Horsfall 1971, 37). Cf. Norden on 6.45ff., on the difference in usage between Greek and Latin epic on speech-openings in mid-line.

fatis In the 'oracular' sense; cf. **239**.

externa ab sede Cf. **98**. The motif of the *externus uir* is fully discussed at **424**. The three words **ab sede profectum** close **209**: it may be (Moskalew, 140) that V. uses the echo to indicate that Lat. now realises Faunus' prophecy is fulfilled by the arrival of Dardanus' descendant; alternatively, the poet worked up Lat.'s speech too in some haste—if Günther is right (19, n.32)—and this is but another sign of it!

256 portendi *Quater* in *Aen.*(cf. **80**; *Acc.praetext.*35, and it is only by chance that we do not have the vb. in (e.g.) *Enn.Ann.*. An entirely 'standard' or neutral term (unlike 'portend'!), common also in comedy and prose. Günther, *cit.* objects that we need here not acc.+ inf.

but indirect question. Latinus, though, is 'quoting' Faunus' oracle, and V. treats **sortem** as equivalent to a verb of speaking (cf. KS 1, 696, LHS, 359f., Görler, *EV* 2, 271).

generum Cf. **98**, **317**, **367**.

paribus.. / 257 auspiciis Cf. 4.102f. *communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus / auspiciis*; both there and here, Serv. pursues unrewardingly a reference to *comitia*, but comes eventually to the point (*ad Aen.*4.102): *iisdem auspiciis creati, licet non simul crearentur, parem tamen habebant honorem propter eadem auspicia: unde et consules pares sunt*, though one perforce is elected first. In short, a synonym for 'imperium' (Horsfall 1971, 113, Fordyce; 4.341, 11.347, Hor.C.2.15.11f. are analogous), from the language of public business (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 1₃, 91f., *OLD* s.v., §4). Cf. 12.190f., *Vergilius* 35(1989), 24 for this projected synoecism.

in regna uocari Cf. **578 Teucros in regna uocari**, 11.322.

257 huic Possessive with *esse* typically omitted (Görler, *EV* 2, 274).

progeniem..futuram The noun 13x in V.(but not in *EV*); cf. the mantic **97** and 6.790. It is the word Faunus applied to Lat. at **7.97** (as against **99 nepotes** for the offspring of Trojans and Latins). In Enn., Acc. *trag.*, Pacuv., *praetext.*.

uirtute.. / 258 egregiam Cf. 1.444f. *bello / egregiam*, 6.769f. *armis / egregius*. The adj. in Pacuv., Acc. *trag.* (advb. in Enn.*Ann*), *quater* in Lucr., *ter* in Cat.. At 1.566 Dido knows of the Trojans' *uirtus*, at 12.827 Jupiter refers to *Itala uirtute*. Laurenti, *EV* 5*, 564ff., Helle-gouarc'h, 476ff., and D.Earl, *Political thought of Sallust* (Cambridge 1961), *id.*, *Moral and political tradition of Rome* (London 1967), *passim* may help the reader who wants to know more of the word's ideological connotations; cf. P.A.Brunt, *Roman imperial themes* (Oxford 1990), 293ff. for *uirtus* as a precondition of dominion. Vd.Hor.CS 58, Christ, 154f. for its place in panegyric.

totum..orbem Cf. **100 omnia**, *Buc.*4.17 *pacatumque reget patriis uirtutibus orbem*. Taking up Il. at **225ff.**, Lat. uses the language of Augustan panegyric: cf. 4.230f. (Jupiter to Mercury: perhaps V.'s actual 'source' here) *genus alto a sanguine Teucrici / proderet ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem*, Aug.RG 3.1 *bella..toto in orbe..gessi*, Ov.*Fast.*1.85, *Tr.*3. 7.51f., 4.2.1f..In direct descent from language used of Alexander as lord of the οἰκουμένη: Asclepiades, *HE* 1013, DH 1.2.4, Sen.*Suas.* 1.2, Manil.4.762 (cf. **218**, **225f.**, **226f.**), Rome was called master of the world in Polybius' day (vd. Walbank, *infra*), and the first reference in Latin seems to be *Rhet.Her.*4.13 (vd. then Cic.*Verr.*2.5.168,

*Att.*4.1.7, Hardie, 377, Brunt, *infra*). Iconographic evidence at Rome from ca.75 BC (Weinstock, *infra*, P.Arnaud, *MEFR(A)* 96(1984), 53ff.). Cf. Walbank on *Plb.*1.2.7, Brunt (257), 297ff., Vogt (224), 156ff., Christ, 4ff., 10ff., Horsfall 1971, 113f., Weinstock 38f., 42ff.. **uiribus** Cf. *Hor.Epd.*16.2 and contrast 8.687 *uirisque Orientis*.

occupet The word that Caes., Cic., or Livy might well have used, not prosy at all (common e.g. in *trag.*), but very familiar in the language of war and public life for ‘seize’ (some 65x in Caes.!), though apparently, like *uires*, not found elsewhere in Augustan panegyric contexts. Unlikely, though, to be a significant anomaly: *imperium bellis augebit* V. might have said in prose, using—the language of *RG!*

259-273 Lat.’s reply—indeed the whole section **249-285**—was analysed in minute detail (too minute for Highet) by Halter; it did not occur to him that his elegant responsions might at least in part be rather awkward duplications and the result of haste or incompleteness (so well, Günther, 19, n.32). Certainly **249** is taken up by **284**: the scene is conceived as a whole, and Lat.’s one precise order (**266**) is indeed at the mid-point of his speech. But **251-8** and **268-72** (Latinus’ thoughts on Faunus’ oracle and Aeneas’ arrival) are arguably no more than alternatives in OO and OR. The speech itself is framed by Lat.’s prayer-reference to the gods’ **augurium** (**260**) and to his own hopes, **273 augurat**. Trojan gifts before the speech and Latin ones after respond; Lat.’s offer of **opulentia** (**262**) is promptly realised in the narrative, as **261** and **263** answer Ilioneus’ request (**229f.**; ignored by Halter). The special presents for Aeneas (**281-3**) reflects his special treatment in the speech (**263-5**); his presence is to be the precondition (unfulfilled) of peace (**264**; the content of Latinus’ message, **266**) and it is this unfulfilled offer of peace with which the Trojans return (**285** takes up **266**). While **251-8** remain disquieting it does look as though **273-83** are very closely integrated with Lat.’s speech and **284-5** presuppose both the speech and **249-51**: though that is not at all what Halter set out to demonstrate, it still represents a modest degree of progress. Cf. Balk, 68-73, Buchheit, 99, Halter, 70-8 with table 6, Highet, 140.

259 tandem In confirmation of the prolonged process of thought described externally at **249-51**: cf. *G.*4.444, *Aen.*3.612, 4.333 at speech-openings.

laetus ait Cf. **430**, **653** for the adj.(cf. too **288**: both Aen. and Lat. are briefly convinced that their problems are over); note 1.595 *improuisus ait*.

di *Antiquo more locuturus de publicis rebus, id est de pace et nuptiis filiae, facit ante deorum commemorationem, sicut etiam in omnibus Catonis orationibus legimus* Serv., citing Cic.*div.Caec.*43, *Aen.*11.301 (cf. Serv. on 11.301, Liv. 39.15.2, Cato ed.Jordan, xcvi-xcvii=T16 ORF, Appel, 75).

nostra incepta Cf. Lucr.5.391, 6.42, *Aen.*1.37, 2.654, 4.452, 5.678, 714, 9.694, 11.469, Prop.4.1.68 *et inceptis dextera cantet auis*, *TLL* 7.1.922.67(Hofmann). A favourite expression for ‘task’ or ‘undertaking’.

secundent Cf. *G.*4.397, *Aen.*3.36: the verb perhaps a coinage ‘to cause to be favourable (Hickson, 79), after the common adj. *secundus* (used in a religious context, *Aen.*3.529, 8.302, 10.255, with Harrison’s n.; cf. Hickson, 60).

260 auguriumque suum Lat. recalls the **portenta** of **58** and **59ff.**, which themselves lead to his consultation of Faunus’ oracle (cf. Catalano, *EV* 1, 400, 404 for V.’s view of a king’s augural powers).

dabitur Cf. **313 non dabitur**, 10.650 *hac dabitur dextra*: after his prayer to the gods, Lat. grants immediately—literally, with his first word—Il.’s request. So Dido at 1.562.

Troiane At 6.851 *Romane* is, in an exceptional context, Sibylline in tone (vd. Norden, Austin, Hor.C.3.6.2; at 5.123 an authentic adj.); V. uses voc. *Albane* at 8.643, *Tyrrhene* at 11.686, *Troiane* also at 8.188, 12.359, and with *uir*, at 10.598, 11.125. *Troianum appellavit, quia nomen gentis solum nouerat, Ilioneum autem dici nesciebat* remarks TCD here; acceptably, for those who believe that is how V. thought. Rather, cf. the common voc.plurs. in Hom. Ἄργεῖοι, Τρῳῆες (cf. E.Dickey, *Greek forms of address* (Oxford 1996), 176; so *Teucrici, Latini, Dardanidae*) after which, with the special case of *Romane* also in mind (but note also Plaut.*Poen.*1410, *Poene*), V. was able to enlarge his lexicon for formal occasions (cf. too *populus Albanus*, voc. in the ‘fetial formula’ at Liv.1.24.7, with Fraenkel, *Horace*, 289, n.1); we look forward to Dr. Dickey’s discussion of Latin forms of address, and I am most obliged to her for the sight of some relevant pages.

quod optas Cf. **311, 507**, 4.115, 8.49 *quod instat*, 12.833 *do quod uis* for some other instances of rel.pron.+verb used as still the most terse and economical means of expression.

261 munera nec sperno Litotes (double) and prompt acceptance; contrast Entellus’ graceless *nec dona moror* at 5.400.

non uobis.. / 262 ..derit M, R and the later mss.; **deerit M**. At *G.*2.200, 233 the capital mss. do not attest the synizesis and *Buc.*7.7 *deerrauerat* alone is not evidence enough for going against usage in *G.*

bis and the weight of the ms. evidence here. Vd. Platnauer (524), 67, n.1 and NW 4, 100 for *deerro* in Lucr. with Leumann, 128f., Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 878 for synizesis of prefixes in general: it is not clear whether the phenomenon is one of pronunciation or of metrical convenience.

rege Latino *Pulchre adiecit ... quoniam longaeuus fuit* TCD: well observed, for the king's age is a prime element in V.'s characterisation.

262 diuitis..agri Whereas Dido at 1.563f. justifies her subjects' aggressive lack of hospitality, Lat. repeats his offer in greater detail at 11.316ff.; cf. **798**, 8.63 (with Horsfall, *EV* 5*, 157), 11.318f. for the fertility of the area. Compare the *diuites et insulas* of Hor.*Epd.*16.42, Tib.2.2.4, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1590.55.

uber Cf. 1.531 *ubere glaebae* (cf. too G.2.185 *fertilis ubere campus*): both passages render closely Gk. οὔθαρ ἀρούρης (*Il.*9.141, 283, *HHCer.* 450); the noun's primary sense :: Eng. 'udder'. Vd. Fordyce, *EV* 5*, 343f., WH, EM.

Troiaeue opulentia Carcopino, 371 and Della Corte, 146 both think they have here lit upon another instance of the Laurentine toponym 'Troia': elsewhere at least a defensible hypothesis (**157**). But here, just as Latinus handles the Trojans' rich gifts, it seems altogether more natural to take **Troiae** as meaning 'Troy' in the more common sense (so Rehm 46, n.101). Nouns in *-entia* are not specially rare in V. (cf. *dementia*, *experientia*, *inclementia*, etc.) but *opulentia* is a curious case (Keudel, *TLL* 9.2. 836.20): *bis* in Plautus, *semel* Cic., *novies* Sall., *ter* Livy, *septies*, Tac., and in poetry, here and Ov.*Pont.* 4.3.37: a term dear to the moralising historian, but not to the satirist. **P**₁ and three c.9 mss. give **-que** for **-ue**, but there is no reason to follow them.

263 ipse..Aeneas Contrast Dido's desire to see Aen.(1.575ff., Görler (**25-36**), 173) and his theatrical materialisation at 1.588ff.; Aen.'s absence, an apparently trivial detail and one neglected by critics (except for Denis Feeney, *CQ* 33(1983), 215 = Harrison, *OR*, 184), so far as I can see (and contrast his voyage in person to Evander; cf. 6.97), enables Lat. to think of offering his daughter in marriage, and Juno to intervene at once, before the terms are ratified: war follows swiftly without breach of treaty or *fides* (cf. bk.12). Aeneas has no chance to act and indeed takes no part in the rest of the action of bk.7; he will face unprepared a war in whose making he has no hand.

modo Cf. *Buc.*4.8 *tu modo..[10]faue* (with Clausen's n.), 8.78, 9.27, *G.*3.10, *Aen.* 2.160 *tu modo promissis maneat*, etc., LHS, 339.

nostri si tanta cupido The pronoun thrust forward: 'if it is *me..*'. *Tanta cupido* at *Lucr.*3.1077, *Sall.Cat.*7.3. *Cupido* here in the sense of *desiderium*, suggests *EV* 1, 960, rather palely (but cf. TCD *desiderat*). If V. uses a strong noun, and adds **tanta**, let us take note! *C.* in a positive sense also at 2.349 *si uobis ... extrema cupido*, 6.133f. *quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est/ bis Stygios innare lacus..(EV cit.)*. Could V. be hinting that Lat. views Aen.'s certainty—and consequent force of expression, on his ambassador's lips—as faintly excessive, even with all Olympus (nearly) at the Trojans' backs? Or is Lat. really pleased and flattered by Il.'s insistent language, which has driven him to solve the riddle set by Faunus, and which he now takes *au pied de la lettre* as an expression of Aeneas' longing to meet the ruler of this promised land? In V.'s account of Lat.'s thinking, there is a leap, from gratification at working out that Aen. is a descendant of Dardanus from (fairly) nearby Corythus to thinking, or hoping (**273**) that this is the foreign husband destined to wed his daughter; we shall see in some detail (**365ff.**) that Tu. is not, in comparison, a serious candidate—at least in terms of *Realpolitik*, for love is irrelevant!

est Aphaeresis: cf. **311**.

264 si iungi hospitio Latinus views the future solidly in the language of Roman public life: *hospitium* was a solemn and heritable relationship between states, or between individuals, or between a state and an individual, providing for mutual assistance and hospitality (*loca lautiaque et munera*, F. De Martino, *EV* 2, 858ff., Helle-gouarc'h, 50ff., E.Badian, *Foreign clientelae* (Oxford 1958), 11f.), K.-H.Ziegler, *ANRW* 1.2(1972), 85ff.. Cf. 3.83 *iungimus hospitio dextras*, 9.361 *hospitio cum iungeret absens*, 11.165. Il. complained to Dido *hospitio prohibemur harenae*, 1.540.

properat Cf. **57**, *Hor.C.*1.8.2 in the sense of 'press eagerly'(also Cic.).

sociusque uocari -que MP Mynors, **-ue FR** Geymonat; the c.9 mss. are divided. The line is divided neatly into two aspects of a single thought and—quite apart from V.'s apparent, and understandable, dislike of the sequence *-ue uo*—there is nothing to be gained by putting even a gentle disjunctive between them (cf. *Hor.C.*3.24.60 *consortem <et> socium fallat et hospitem*); cf. *ILS* 32, 38.7 *leiberei amicei socieique populi Romani sunt* (so often in Cic. and Liv.). At 11.322 Lat. repeats the same offer: *sociosque in regna uocemus*. Rome's 'allies' in Italy

rose against that name and the conditions it entailed in 91BC, while *ciuitates foederatae* outside Italy discovered that they had but changed masters (Badian, *cit.*, A.N.Sherwin-White, *Roman citizenship*, (Oxford 1973), C.Nicolet, *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen*, (Paris 1979), *EV* 4, 913ff.).

265 adueniat Cf. **168**, 1.388.

uoltus..amicos Cf. 3.463 *sic ore effatus amico est*; in both cases, adj. preferred to gen..

neue Cf. **333**, *EV* 3, 681.

exhorrescat Ciceronian and only here in in poetry before *Ov.Met.*4.135. *Inhorre(sc)o* Pacuv. *trag.*, *quater* in V., *semel* in Hor.(C.), *bis* in *Ov.* *Perhorre(sc)o* *bis* in Hor. (C.), *quater* in *Ov.*, but not in V.. At any rate, a transitivity, like 3.648 (Lunelli(**504**), 88).

266 pars..pacis A terse alliterative line in a speech which it would not be entirely easy to defend against criticisms of repetitive thought (after all, **265-6** does say the same thing *three* times over!) and drab language (though **267** may *aim* to convey the cool tone of diplomatic business). Cf. *Ov.Met.*9.291 *horror habet parsque est meminisse doloris*, *Tac.Hist.*2.47 *plura de extremis loqui pars ignaviae est*, 3.46 *externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erit*.

dextram tetigisse Cf. **366**. But Lat. never will clasp Aen.'s hand and there never will be peace, in the poem.

tyranni Cf. **342**: again here (as e.g. at *Hor.C.*3.17.9) without negative connotations, for the same speaker uses **regi** in the next line.

267 contra In the sense of *uicissim*: Cf. *KS* 1, 576, *LHS* 178.

mea..mandata Cf. 11.176 *uadite et haec memores regi mandata referte*, 9.312, 10.840, 11.825; contrast the far more imperative 4.270, 357.

nunc It has been a long meeting and the time for decisive action has come: Lat. nerves himself to reveal his evaluation of Faunus' oracle, to be conveyed to the beneficiary.

referte Cf. 10.491, 11.176.

268 est mihi nata Serv. comments *male multi arguunt Vergilium quod Latinum induxit ultro filiam pollicentem, nec oraculum considerantes..nec Aeneae meritum..*; critique and answer go back to discussion of *Od.*7(Alcinous, Nausicaa): cf. *schol.PQ* on v.313, *Horsfall* 1971, 114f., *Schlunk*, 10f.. V. has integrated into his narrative a defence against the sort of criticism that had been levelled against *Od.*; not that that saved him, to judge from Serv.'s *male multi arguunt*. Cf. on **377 sine more**.

uiro gentis..nostrae. Cf. **96 conubiis natam sociare Latinis**, **366**(the theme), **367 externa de gente**.

iungere Cf. 4.192.

269 non..non Far rarer than *nec..nec..*, and with notably greater rhetorical weight: cf. (e.g.) 6.47f., 8.376, 9.56, 148, 285f., Wills, 119.

patrio ex adyto Cf. **82**; the adj. is meant quite literally. Cf. 6.98 for *a.* as the Sibyl's cave at Cumae; oracular too at 2.115, 3.92: vd. *EV* 1, 33. Hitherto *Acc.trag.*624, *Lucr.*1.737; cf. *Hor.C.*1.16.5.

sortes Cf. **254**.

plurima caelo/ 270 monstra Cf. **65**: the bees, magnified or multiplied (cf. **270 canunt**). The noun in its literal sense of 'warnings', *monita* (cf. *Enn.trag.*248, *Aen.*3.26, 8.81, etc., Grassmann-Fischer, 44, 101, Fordyce, Stok, *EV* 3, 574f.); vd. Görler, *EV* 2, 268 for V.'s free use of abl. of place without preposition, and its pre-history.

sinunt Common of gods, fates, fortune, with a variety of constructions (here, cf. *G.*1.269, 11.701, 12.49).

generos Cf. **68f. externum ../aduentare uirum, 98 externi uenient generi**. Cf. **271 sanguine** for the rest of the 'quotation'. Note also **generi** at **256**: we have seen (**254, 259-73**, after Günther, 19, n.32) that, even allowing for the oracle's importance to Lat., the degree of repetition here present is as sure a sign as we can hope to find of incompleteness.

externis adfore ab oris For the recurrent, thematic adj.vd. **424**. But it is far easier to vary **uenient** in OO with **adfore** (for this most handy form, cf. Prinz, *TLL* 2.914.10, NW 3, 605f., Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 353)! **Oris**: cf. **564**.

271 hoc Latio restare Hoc takes up the acc.+inf.. For **r.** in the sense of 'to lie in store', cf. *Lucr.*3.947, 1075, *Aen.*2.70, *OLD* s.v.§5c. Lat. is often enough conceived as king, not so much of the Laurentes, but of Latium, cf. **342**, 12.148, Horsfall, *EV* 3, 141.

canunt Cf. *Cic.de cons.*2.32, *Aen.*2.124, 176, 3.155, etc., *EV* 1, 649 for this prophetic sense: Faunus' voice is magnified by the use of the plural (but cf. also the **uates** of **68**).

sanguine Cf. **98f. qui sanguine nostrum/ nomen in astra ferant** (oddly absent from Moskalew's discussion of 'quotation' at 109ff.). In the sense of 'descendant(s)', cf. *Enn.Ann.*108, *trag.*20, *trag.inc.*120, *Buc.*8.45, *Aen.*1.19, 235, 6.835, etc.. Cf. **98** for the ambiguity in **sanguine**. Editing—*experto crede*—at *EV* was not bloodless, but *sanguis* itself is lacking (though there is some discussion s.v. *cruor*).

nostrum/ 272 nomen Cf. 6.758 *nostrumque in nomen ituras*, 12.515, *EV* 3, 752 (Cipriano). C. well notes that in Faunus' mouth *nostrum* confirms the 'familial' sense which can attach to 'name'.

in astra ferant Cf. *Buc.*5.43, 51, 52 *Daphnin ad astra feremus*, 9.29, *Aen.*1.287 *famam qui terminet astris*, 379, 3.158 *tollemus in astra nepotes*, *Hor.Serm.*2.7.28f. *absentem rusticus urbem/ tollis ad astra leuis*, *C.*4.2.23 *educit in astra*; cf. *Od.*9.20, *Theoc.*24. 79f., Hardie 291f., 301 and *id.* on 9.641.

hunc illum Cf. **255**: here again, a reference to Faunus' prophecy.
poscere fata Cf. 2.121 *quem poscat Apollo*, 5.707 *quae fatorum posceret ordo* and vd. Fordyce; Ennian, suggests Norden (on 6.45), without sufficient evidence. **F.** yet again (**239**, **255**) in the sense of 'things spoken by a divine voice'.

273 et reor et...opto Lat. corrects himself, and, taking counsel (**mens**) of his expectations (**augurat**), uses a much stronger word. Cf. (e.g.) *G.*1.53, *Aen.*1.63 for other instances of the second member of *et...et..* correcting the first. **Opto** (cf. *OLD* s.v.§2, Fordyce) in the sense of 'choose': cf. 1.425, 3.109, 5.247, 6.501, *Cat.*64.82.

si quid ueri Cf. 1.603f. *si quid/ usquam iustitiae est* and vd. **7.4 si qua est ea gloria** for the idiom, which is common as a qualifier of prophetic utterances (O'Hara, *DOP*, 55, quoting 1.392, 3.433f., 8.42, 10.244f., 630f.).

mens augurat V. uses the old active form: *quater* in the tragic fragments (*animus ..augurat*, *Pacuv.*78), *semel* in *praetext.*; no forms of the passive occur in classical poetry and many forms of *auguro* are not viable in hexameters (cf. NW 3, 26, Bannier, *TLL* 2.1377.16ff., etc.).

274 haec effatus Cf. 9.644, 11.741, and in fem., 4.499, 5.653 at speech end; note also *sic effatus bis* (**136**), *sic effata bis*.

equos Finley's discussions of gift-giving in Homeric society remain unsurpassed, over forty years after *World of Odysseus* first appeared (cf. further S.West on *Od.*1.113ff.): for V., they have become a narrative fossil (*EV* 2, 860f.), formally re-worked to new ends. We are no longer troubled by the anachronistic riches of heroic Latium.

numero..eligit omni Specified in the parenthesis, **275** (which separates **omni** from **omnibus**; the meaning is altered, but no play or polyptoton is sensed); the **equi** chosen are then specified as (a) mounts for the embassy (**276-9**) and (b) a pair for the absent Aeneas (**280-3**); cf., closely, 8.551-3 (Evander as donor), and also 3.470: The Trojans had naturally left Troy without horses, but this timely gift is symbolic, not practical, for they do not seem to ride into battle, though they have allied cavalry (11.598): see Heinze, 197, Malavolta, 155. Noun and adj. are of course abl.(*Serv. de trecentis*). This barely needed to be said, but for the chaos in Mackail's n.. V. has **e.** only

here and at *G.*4.296; *eligo* 15x and *seligo* not at all (Ov., however, *deligo bis*, *eligo* 25x., Hor. *seligo semel*, *deligo semel*, *eligo semel!*).

pater Father of his people, but above all father of Lavinia: the magnificent present is aimed at his projected son-in-law and followers, who will not have much cause to lament *Troiae opulentia*, despite Ericthonius' 3000 horses at *Il.*20.221!

275 stabant Cf. the Homeric *στάτος ἵππος*.

ter centum Cf. Liv.27.19.7 *et ex magna copia captorum equorum trecentos quos uellet eligere Indibilem iussit*. A stock number: cf. **539** and note the extraordinary frequency of '300 horsemen' in Livy.

nitidi Cf. *φαιδίμας ἵππους*, Pind.*Ol.*6.14.

in praesepebus altis Cf. **512**. The noun Ennian (*Ann.*535); also used by both Cato and Varro.

276 omnibus..Teucris A hundred (**154**). Cf. 2.1, 3.716 for distancing of *omnes* from Aeneas (cf. Feeney (**263**), 215=183f.); note also 8.552, Evander's special present, *exsortem*, for Aen..

extemplo That sense of urgency in events, perhaps visible at **264 properat** and **267 nunc**, emerges here too, but no matter how much the old king hurries, Juno and All. will be too fast for him. The advb. in Naev. (*com.*98) and Enn. (*Ann.*377, *trag.*355; also Pacuv., Acc.). Literally 'on leaving the temple', i.e. 'right away'.

iubet ordine duci So at the close of 11.79 (with the addition of *longo*) Aeneas orders the booty to be brought, to honour Pallas' corpse: hardly a significant echo (absent in Moskalew).

277 instratos Cf. Lucr.5.987, *G.*3.230, *Aen.*2.722.

ostro Matching, precisely enough, **251f.**(a correspondence that does not suit Halter). **O.** at least from Lucr.2.35 of cloth dyed purple (cf. *G.*3.17, *Aen.*4.134); cf. Edgeworth, 144ff. and Pease's n. on the latter passage (*ad fin.*) for purple horse-trappings (see e.g. Xen.*Cyrop.*8.3.12, Liv.34.7.3 *et equus tuus speciosius instratus erit quam uxor uestita*, Apul. *Met.*10.18, Suet.*Cal.*55.3, of Incitatus) Whatever the answer to the problem at Hor.*Ars* 228, here **ostro..pictisque tapetis** are clearly hendiadys.

alipedes Cf. Lucr. 6.765 *alipedes..cerui*; in V. also at 12.484. The moment, slow going though we may find it, does have a certain ritualised solemnity and V. employs appropriate language.

pictisque tapetis **P.** = 'embroidered' (**252**); **t.** (a noun of controversial declension, NW 1, 851f., Leumann, 296) *ter* in V., only here as a lofty equivalent for *ephippium* but cf. Liv.Andr.fr.44.1 Morel *equorum inaurata tapeta*. The word also Enn.inc.38V., Matius fr.12.1.

278 aurea.. / 279 auro fuluum..aurum Triple repetition of a favoured type (Wills, 286, 434, though I cannot myself see any connexion between Lat.'s horses and the Gauls' ornaments on Aen.'s shield!)—see 1.448f., 4.138f., 5.565ff., 8.659ff.(add 11.774-6), after e.g. Call.*H.*4.260-4. Cf. further, **743**. The adj. (cf. Edgeworth, 131, André, 136) conventional of both gold and bronze (Enn.*Ann.*440). Pease (*cit.*, **277**) lists numerous passages associating gold and purple. The use of gold (too soft!) is problematic (cf. e.g. **639**, **790**), but evidence cited *infra* suggests that in myth, in luxurious excess, in dedications, and on the parade-ground, exceptions occurred.

pectoribus demissa Cf. 8.460 *demissa ab laeua*, Hor.*Serm.*1.6.28, Ov. *Met.*10.112, Kieckers, *TLL* 5.1.491.34.

monilia Serv. objects: *nam monilia non nisi hominum dicimus, quae nunc ad laudem pro phaleris posuit*; that is not quite right: for equine *monilia* in general, cf. Gell.5.5.3, Suet.*cit.*(s.v. **ostro**), not to mention both usages probably derived from V.and Gratt.403 (dogs) or Ov.*F.*6.347 (donkeys); of gold, even: Plut.*Pomp.*19.5, *Sert.*19.8, Apul. *Socr.*23. *Phalerae* proper are decorations for both soldiers and their mounts (Plb. 6.39.3 with Walbank's n., Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung* 2., 575 n.8).

pendent Cf. Ov.*Met.cit.* (s.v.**demissa**; cf. **483** for this passage in Ov.).

279 tecti Cf. **632**, **666**, **732**; note, however, that e.g. **690**, 1.275, 323, 11.576 show that gold embroidery on trappings could be meant, just as well as gold armour; cf. 4.134, 11.771, Hdt.1.215.2, App. *Mithr.*563, Amm.Marc.23.3.6.

mandunt sub dentibus The verb as at 4.135 (after AR 4.1608), and for the preposition, cf. 3.627 *et trepidi tremere sub dentibus artus* (used metaphorically by Lucr., 1.852). Cf. 4.135, Hdt.*cit.* (s.v. **tecti**) and 9.20, Sen.*Ep.* 41.6, Curt.3.13.11, Mart.1.104.4 for 'golden bits'.

280 absenti Aeneae Exactly parallel to **276 omnibus Teucris**, as are the accusatives (further expanded by **281**) to those of **277**. The prominence given to **a.** leads to its having a virtually concessive force 'despite his absence'.

currum geminosque iugalis Quite in keeping with heroic usage (cf. *Il.*8.290 *δύω ἵππους αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφι*, *Od.*4.590 with West's n., Seymour, 678f.); the adj. = Gk. dual ἵππω (cf. **450**); *iugalis* at Cat.64.302 but apparently first here as noun.

281 semine ab aetherio The grand, epic adjective for 'heavenly, celestial' (Lunelli, *EV* 1, 38ff.; cf. Ov.*F.*1.473, **7.768**); the reference,

after **189**, is not difficult (cf. **282**). O'Hara, 189 well notes a possible etymological play between αἶθω and **ignem**.

spirantis naribus ignem MyR; flagrantis F. Though defenders of **flagrantis** (Sabbadini, Geymonat) may suggest that **spirantis** derived from *G.2.140*, it is less easy to justify the phrase *ignem flagrare*: though Prop.(3.11.9) refers to *flagrantis..tauros*, and though the extension of the 'cognate accusative' to accs. at least 'bedeutungsverwandt' (KS 1, 276f., LHS, 39) is known, the heavy duplication of sense is untimely and inexplicable (except as a natural error by a scribe who glanced forward to the last word of the line). Nothing unpoetic about nostrils: cf. Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.222*, **7.480**. More seriously, **spirantis** is irreproachable Greek and Latin idiom (which cannot be said of its rival): cf. AR 3.496 στόματι φλόγα φυσιόωντε (cf. further **282**, 12.115 *efflant*), Lucr.2.705 *tum flammam taetro spirantis ore Chimaeras*, 5.30 *et Diomedis equi spirantes naribus ignem*, Cic.*Arat.110 toto spirans de corpore flammam*.

282 illorum de gente Neither *illius* nor *illorum/illarum* are common in dactylic poetry (Axelson, 72ff.; Lucr. is less fastidious than V.); the only other instance in V. is *Buc.7.17*.

patri../ 283..furata The verb Plautine, elegiac, and in republican prose, here and at 5.845 promoted into epic. The tone here is decidedly Catullan (7.8, 68B.136, etc.) as at **660 furtium**: while *fur* is entirely 'ordinary' as, I sense, is *furor*, it is clear that in a sexual context the sense of erotic misconduct in **f.** is strong. The dat. 'of disadvantage', clearly, though Conington thought it was Circe who raised them for her father, the horses' lawful owner!

quos.. Anastrophe: theft from Circe's distinguished father (**11 Solis filia** and vd. *infra*) deserves special note.

daedala Circe The adj. Ennian (fr.inc.46V); *sexies* in Lucr., Hom. δαιδάλεος. In V. also at *G.4.179 daedala fingere tecta*. The hard-worked horses of Circe's father, the Sun (cf. Gruppe, 708, n.2, Preller-Robert 1, 435, *Od.10.138*, Hes.*Theog.957* with West's n., Plaut.*Epid.604*) were renowned (from the Hom.Hymns on, cf. Gruppe, 381, n.13, Preller-Robert, 1, 431), but the variant here appears quite V.'s own. It may in retrospect become a good deal more significant that Picus is described as **equum domitor** (**189**), if he was also Circe's partner, and Latinus' grandfather (Moorton (**170-91**), 253f.). Is Circe now as menacing as she was at **10ff.**? Are 'her' horses charged with threat? **281** echoes Aeetes' challenge to Jason to harness his fire-breathing bulls, but the motif is common enough (vd.

also **786**) and the echo (*pace* Nelis, 286) not compellingly menacing. Given the threats visibly present in **284-5**, I wonder whether we are also obliged to detect them here. Cf. further C.P.Segal, *TAPA* 99(1968), 435f., Putnam (**483**, 1995), 125, n.8=(**475-539**, 1998), 232, n.8.

283 supposita de matre Anchises stole stallions of the stock that Zeus gave to Tros, putting *θήλεα* ἵππους to them without Laomedon's knowledge (*Il.*5.265-70; these were the forbears of the horses Diomedes—homonym of the D. mentioned at **281**—carried off from Aeneas: cf. *Aen.*1.752, Lyne, *FV*, 138f. who suggests that in a sense *Aen.* is getting back his own horses); cf. too the North Wind's covert mounting of Ericthonius' mares (*Il.*20.221-9; cf. **808**). Circe (cf. **11**) appears to have abstracted the supernatural sires from her father, the Sun and to have put them covertly to Italian mares; V. expresses this irregularity in the stable-yard (Hom. ὑποσχών; the Lat.t.t. is *summittere*, which V. might well have preferred to avoid here) with a delicious choice of words, for *supponere* is the *vox propria* of the supposititious infants of comedy (Plaut. *Capt.*1031, *Cist.*136, etc., *Truc.*404, etc., Ter. *Eun.*39, 912); other substitutions are not excluded (e.g. Plaut. *Cas.* 1018(!), *Curc.*256, *Epid.*490 with which cf. *Ov.Met.*12.34). **nothos..creauit N.** extended very occasionally to the animal kingdom (Col.8.2.13, Plin. *Nat.*8.3); **c.** in an uncommon (but easy enough) causative sense (cf. Varr. *RR* 2 *praef.*4, *Ov.F.*4.99 *quid genus omne creat uolucrum nisi blanda uoluptas?*).

284 talibus..donis dictisque Not a classic 'alliterative noun-pair' (either way round), in the sense of **685**, **692**; the phrase verges on zeugma, since one element is abstract and the other four-hooved. We cannot exclude that the Trojans are in some degree **sublimes** on account of Lat.'s *dona* and *dicta*, though **284** can function perfectly well on its own syntactically, without a verb, as abl. 'of attendant circumstances'.

Aeneadae..Latini For **A.**, cf. **334**, **616**. The balancing proper names frame the line: cf. Harrison, *Aen.*10, p.289.

285 sublimes in equis Cf. *G.*1.404 *apparet liquido sublimis in aere Nisus*, At 10. 143f. the adj. shades towards *superbus* (cf. 12.788, Cavajoni, *EV* 4, 1053f.), and the Trojans, returning well-mounted (having arrived on foot) directly before Juno's intervention may—this is not proof, but suspicion, though one altogether compatible with V.'s outlook—be riding a little too high on their horses.

redeunt Briefly a happy return, as we see through Juno's eyes, **laetum, 288.**

pacemque reportant Poised between **266** and **339**, the last moment of peace before Turnus' death. Just possibly an echo of Lat.'s messengers at **167** (**reportant**). Note also 11.511f. *ut fama fidem missique reportant/ exploratores.*

286-340 Here I offer only brief remarks on V.'s relationship to two major sources, *Od.*5 and *Aen.*1: Posidon (*Od.*5.282) returns **from** (ἐξ) the Ethiopians and sees Odysseus τηλόθεν ἐκ Κολύμῶν ὀρέων (:: **ab usque Pachyno**); ὁ δ' ἐχώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον (cf. **saeua, acri fixa dolore**); both deities shake their heads in anger and embark upon a monologue (cf. **285**): Aeneas is already moored in the Tiber, while *Od.* is (5.288) near the land of Phaeacia. Yet while Posidon looks and sends the storm which drives Odysseus to the Phaeacian shore, Juno sees and summons Allecto who unleashes six books of civil war: one wet, tired hero—for Posidon's ἄδην ἐλάαν κακότητος (290) has no cosmic dimension—as against copious, prolonged bloodshed and tragedy (cf. Otis, 322, Knauer, 232f., but vd. *infra*). But Posidon's intervention stands already behind Juno's intervention in *Aen.*1 and the parallelism-with-intensification between the two scenes (not to mention Tiber-mouth :: Aeneas' landfall near Carthage, *supra*; Amata :: Dido, *infra*, Juno/Bellona as *pronubae*, etc.) has received much attention of late. In 1, Aeolus drove *Aen.* to the Tunisian shore and Dido's bed (whence, however, the Punic wars, in the end, 4.622ff.); here, Juno's assistant works through human passions, both old and new, not natural forces, with far more terrible results, in the short term. Cf. Fraenkel, 150, Knauer, 150f., 231ff., Buchheit, 71ff., Lundström, 61ff., Lyne, *FV*, 61ff., Feeney, 162f.; on the contrast of scenery, cf. **25-36.**

286 ecce autem Plautine, Terentian but also *Enn.trag.*146 (thus a colloquialism legitimised in high poetry, Lyne, *Atti* 1981, 2, 78f.); indicates here not (as often in comedy) the speaker's surprise but the speaker's anticipation of the hearer's surprised reaction (so Jocelyn *ad loc.*; cf. 2.203, where Austin writes of 'unexpected disruption of the action in progress' and TCD on 6.255 *ubicumque ponitur ecce autem aliquid necesse est sequi quod metum adferat uel admirationem*; cf. his remarks on 2.57, 203).

Inachiis..ab Argis Cf. **372, 792**; the reader does not yet know that Turnus' 'Argive origins' (cf. **371, 670-7, 789, 794**) will be an issue of prime relevance in the book's political argument; Juno's route, typic-

ally from one of her major cult-centres (cf. Pease on 4.144, NH on Hor.C.1.30.1 for these migrations), Argos, and (for she is (289) over southern Sicily), possibly towards Carthage, another of those centres (where she was venerated rather as Tanit), both in *Aen.* (1.15f., etc.) and elsewhere, is therefore rather more interesting to the careful reader than the Ethiopians of *Od.*5.282 and threateningly recalls the part-Argive origins (1.24, etc.) of Juno's hatred for the Trojans. Latin uses both a Greek singular (Hor.C.1.7.9) and a home-brewed plural form for the name, under the influence of *Argos*, which did *look* like an acc. pl. (cf. Varr.*LL* 9.89, NW 1, 715, Leumann, 456); an abl. sing. *Argo* was in theory available here.

sese referebat Cf. 700, *Acc.trag.*283 *ergo med Argos referam*.

287 saeua Iouis coniunx Cf. 308 **magna I.c.**, 4.91 *cara I.c.*. The epithet (a reversal of the Homeric ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης, Moskalew, 81) is thematic (cf. 592, 1.4, 2.612, Buchheit, 71. Note too 560) and anticipatory.

aurasque inuecta tenebat The participle suggests that Juno is travelling by chariot (conventional: cf. Seymour, 404). As at 301, V. adopts the ancient association of HPA/AHP (Heinze, 299, Hardie, 30, Feeney, 9, F.Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris 1956), 106ff.): Juno is travelling through an element that was peculiarly hers and the distinction between *aer* and *aether* (288) is of small moment (Lunelli, *EV* 1, 39). **Tenebat** as at 5.8 *pelagus tenuere rates*, 164 *altum alii teneant*, *EV* 5*, 100; at 3.192 *altum tenuere rates*, the sense is rather 'gained': Lyne, *Atti* 1981, 2, 87, n.5 reads the passages cited tendentiously. It is unlikely that *TLL* 7.2.131.62f. (Stiewe) is right in taking **inuecta** absolutely here (as *G.*3.358 *inuectus equis*, *Aen.*1.155 *caeloque inuectus aperto*), given V.'s (not to mention Livy's) liking for transitivised *inuehor* with direct object (436) and **auras** should therefore be taken as the common object. Lyne *cit.* sees this possibility (though 8.714 is no parallel); we agree at least that the phrase is 'suggestive and teasing'.

288 et Paratactic, typically (cf. Calboli, *EV* 3, 14ff., Norden, 378ff.). **laetum Aenean** As the Trojans were at 130, 147 and Latinus at 259 (not to mention the Trojans at the corresponding 1.35); here tinged strongly with tragic irony, given that *Aen.* is blissfully unaware of Juno's malignant interest. For Lyne the adj. 'connotes, or may connote, *disaster-prone* happiness' (*WP*, 183); contrast E.Henry, 156f. on V.'s use of *l.* for 'joy at the fulfilment of destiny' in the later books of *Aen.*; we do not have the ample and dispassionate study this key term requires.

classemque.. / 289 Dardanium The greater majesty of the adj. is felt strongly here, when—contrast the adj.’s use of clothing, weapons, anatomy—the noun is itself of substance and epic dignity (cf. 4.658 *carinae*).

ex aethere longe longo M; Juno’s distance from the Trojan fleet is expressed sufficiently in **289**; a further reference to the distance from aether to earth would be superfluous and as it is the adverb (for the verb we shall have to wait) prepares us for the geographical precision of the following line. The abl. in **M** is mere mild absence of mind after abl. **aethere**; at VF 3.43f. *dant aethere longo / signa tubae* the adj. augments our conception of the trumpets’ carrying power (so at Stat. *Theb.*12.659f. *sed in aethera longum / frangitur* of the gleam of weapons). Cf. Harrison on 10.769.

289 Siculo..Pachyno The adj. not challenging, though it contributes to our sense of Juno’s far-reaching and malignant gaze. This is where the Trojans were at 3.699: the southernmost point of Sicily, though it is not clear whether the name was applied to the whole peninsula or to one of its prongs (and if so which): cf. *EV* s.v. (Panessa).

prospexit V. again (cf. **288 inuecta**) recalls his description of Posidon: cf. 1.155 *prospiciens genitor* (cf. the **prospectat** of **813**, 11.909 *prospexit longe*). The verb 18x in V.(cf. **30**); Enn. *trag.* has *prospectus*; *prospicere bis* in Cat. and *bis* in Lucr..

ab usque *A* is often separated from the noun it governs by a form of *ipse*, in a favourite Ovidian mannerism (cf. Casali on *Her.*9.96); here, though, cf. rather 11.317 *super usque* and Fordyce rightly compares the *adusque* of 11.262 (a metrical convenience at least from Cat.4.24, 116.4; cf. LHS, 253); the distance from Pachynus acquires marked emphasis.

290 moliri..tecta Juno sees that the refugees she has hounded over the seas (**299f.**) have after all arrived at their goal and are now (cf. Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989),18) behaving like conventional colonists. The three infinitives dependent on **uidet** convey with notable economy the Trojans’ energy as settlers. Here cf. **127**, **158**, 1.424 *molirique arcem*, 3.132 *muros optatate molior urbis*, Hor.C.3.1.46 (the verb *ter* in Lucr. and *bis* as *commolior*). For this primary element in founding a new settlement, cf. 1.425, 3.134, 137, 4.260, 311, **7.126f.**, Horsfall, *cit.*, 27.

iam..iam Used as a correlative from *Buc.*4.43 (vd. Clausen’s n.); cf. Hor.C.2.1.17f., Liv.1.29.4, 2.46.3, etc., *EV* 2, 877, LHS, 520.

fidere terrae Cf. 9.378, 11.351; also found with abl.(G.3.31), as in Priscian's citation of this verse (18.223). Again, a characteristic activity for colonists (2.781f. *arua/.. opima*, 3.136, 141, **7.261f.**, 11.316, 12.185, Horsfall, *cit.*, 18).

291 deseruisse rates The Trojans' ships are moored in the Tiber (**430f.**, 9.118, against Carcopino, 380 who may have had (e.g.) 4.398 in mind) and for the moment are of little concern to their crews. The noun is Ennian (*Ann.*378, 515, Lyne, *Atti* 1981, 2, 68).

stetit In her chariot (cf. **287 inuecta**), Juno comes to a halt (cf. 9.376, Hor.C.3.28.6).

acri fixa dolore Cf. *Il.*5.399 ὀδύνηςι πεπαρμένος, *Lucr.*2.360 *desiderio perfixa*, 3.305 *telis perfixa pauoris* (cf. *Plaut.Pers.*25. So what did Enn. have? Vd. Lyne, *FV*, 56f. = *Atti* 1981, 2, 68f.). Used of a weapon, *figere* in V. can be followed by an acc. indicating either the weapon (**457**; cf. 10.343) or the target (4.70, 6.802). Here contrast 11.645 *duplicatque uirum (sc. hasta) transfixa dolore* (with all the syntactical relationships altered and the shaft of pain real not metaphorical); cf. *EV* 2, 512ff.. Note Juno's *uolnus* at 1.36 and *dolor* (5.608); *acer* used of *dolor* (cf. 11.709) is Lucretian (4.716, 6.658f.); cf. Williams on 3.9, 57, 5.116, Austin on 1.1 for the spondaic fourth foot, giving three successive coincidences of ictus and accent at line-end, avoided unless as here the word carries particular weight (cf. **291, 408, 625**).

292 tum Juno came to a halt, looked, saw, *and then..*; six lines of notable pace have led up (with hints of menace) to this underlined (cf. 1.151, 2.246, 10.116), dramatic, disastrous intervention.

quassans caput Cf. (with Knauer, 150f.) Posidon at *Od.*5.285 κινήσας δὲ κάρη. There, as here, an explicit sign of wrath (284 ἐχώσατο); and so often (*Il.*17.200, 442, *Od.*5.376, *Lucr.*2.1164 *caput quassans*, *Aen.*12.894 (Turnus), *Sen.Ira* 1.19.2, *Physiogn.*77, Sittl, 82, Ricottilli (**251**), 21, n.50, Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.390.38). Enn. describes the high-mettled horse *saepe iubam quassat simul altam* (*Ann.*538) and the whole line here may in fact be of Ennian origin. Cf. Lyne *FV*, 57, *Atti* 1981, 2, 69, 80f.; *quasso* is comic and familiar (Lyne) but also long (if not often) at home in high poetry (both Enn. and *Lucr.*) and not here a calque (so Lyne) but an exact and calculated rendering of Hom. and a visual sign not to be taken as an indication of emotion applicable to the whole speech (rightly, Ricottilli, *cit.*).

haec effundit pectore dicta Cf. 5.482 *talis effundit pectore uoces*, 723 *talis effundere uoces*, 8.70 *talis effundit ad aethera uoces*, 6.55 *funditque preces.. pectore ab imo*; there Norden cites both *Lucr.*3.57 and *Cat.*64.198 to

show that the ablative could well be Ennian but passes by *Ann.*553 *effudit uoces proprio cum pectore sancto*; the last four words, though, do not convey the *uoces*' origin but (so Skutsch) are an equivalent of *secum* (just like *Od.*5.285 *πρωτὶ ὄν μυσθήσατο θῦμον*). Cf. Lyne *FV*, 57 = *Atti* 1981, 2,69.

293-322 Why so magnificent a piece of Virgilian rhetoric (as Macr. well realised, 4.2.4.ff.; TCD too gives these lines much helpfully detailed discussion) should have attracted so relatively little attention (Buchheit, 72ff., Highet, 161-4, Lundström, 61ff., Lyne, *FV*, 49ff. = (roughly) *Atti* 1981, 2, 67ff.) is inexplicable. Juno is now, as the Trojans reach their destined goal, far angrier (so Buchheit, rightly) that she was in the corresponding situation in bk.1 (echoes of her monologue, 1.37ff. and of references to Juno's rage in the prooemium, along with variations on both will be noted *ad loc.*), and that is reflected in the violence of thought and language (not to mention singular variations of stylistic level), in the array of figures employed, in some startling effects of sound and anomalies of word-order, in the variety of metaphor, in the elaboration of the concluding conceit and in the ample anticipation of a more recent civil war. Anger, that is, emerges through the refinements of unusually complex and elaborate technique and the speech can further be divided into sections (around the epiphonema of **312**), though I would hesitate to claim patterns of structure or an orderly development of thought.

293 heu *Initium ab ecphonesi* (i.e. exclamation) Macr., *cit.*, who observes acutely, and with analogies, V.'s liking for an *initium abruptum*; **heu** usually in high poetry (**594**), when comedy uses *eheu* (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 113f.); various constructions follow (cf. LHS, 48, Hor. *Epd.*11.7f.).

stirpem inuisam The language of Juno's first outburst: 1.28 *genus inuisum* (cf. Tyrian hatred for the *stirpem* of Aen., 4.622f.) and on Hor. *C.*3.3.31 *inuisum nepotem* (Romulus; Juno speaks), cf. Highet, 270; the adj. at Cat.62.58 and the noun in this sense in Enn., Acc.; the botanical metaphor too faded, I suspect for there to be significant anticipation of **322 recidiua**.

fatis contraria nostris/ 294 fata Phrygum Cf. 1.239 *fatis contraria fata rependens* (and cf. Buchheit, 72 for traces of the idea in the proem. to bk.1), 9.136f. *sunt et mea contra/ fata mihi* (with Dingel's n.). Heinze noted acutely (293, n.3) that Juno's *fata* are essentially her will (Serv. *uoluntatibus*; cf. 8.292 (Juno), and 9.135, which almost refers to the *fata*

of Venus) while those of the Trojans are their destiny as a nation (cf. 1.32, 239, 257f., 2.34, 3.182, 494, 5.725 and vd. I.Kajanto, *God and fate in Livy* (Turku 1957), 20f., 54f.); the conflict is therefore between two different *kinds* of *fatum* (cf. Pötscher, 65f.). For this favourite stileme, cf. **554**; not present at 1.239. The adjective heightens (Wills, 201f.; cf. 1.239, Lygd.4.83) the paradox. **Phrygum** as often derogatory; cf. **363**.

294 num../295 num..num *Breues quaestiunculae* (Macr. 4.2.4); cf. 4.369f., 10.70 for repeated *num* (ignored by Willis; note also Hor.*Serm.* 1.2.114ff.); for *nonne*, cf. *Buc.*2.14f. (with Clausen's n.). For this ironic use of *num*, cf. D.R.Shackleton Bailey, *CQ NS* 3(1953), 120-5, Harrison on 10.68.

Sigeis..campis On the promontory of Sigeum (not in Hom., and very rare in poetry before V.—cf. Soph.*Phil.*355), SW of Troy, cf. Austin on 2.312, *EV* s.v.(Bonamente, after J.M.Cook's *Troad* of 1973). Grandeur, of course, than *Sigei* would have been. So too 1.97 *mene Iliacis occumbere campis*.

occumbere *Semel* in Enn.*Ann.*, *bis* in *trag.*; very rare in Cic., but 13x in Liv., cf. Lyne, *Atti* 1981, 2, 69: Juno wishes the Trojans dead, but in high language!

295 num capti potuere capi Cf. Enn.*Ann.*344f. *quae neque Dardaniis campis potuere perire/ nec quom capta capi nec quom combusta cremari*; the Trojans have by now almost convinced even Juno of their indestructibility (cf. the taunt 9.599 *bis capti Phryges* (where vd. Hardie), Williams, *TORP*, 694, Wigodsky, 70); Horace's Hannibal reworks the same line of thought memorably, *C.*4.4.50ff.. The defeat of the victor and the triumph of the defeated are paradoxes of marked appeal (Eur.*Alc.*1065f., Hor.*Ep.*2.1.156 *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit*, P.Hardie, *PLLS* 9(1996), 108, Wills, 252f., Wigodsky, *cit.*) and V.'s phrasing here (the repeated words occur at subordinate caesuras, 1½, 3½) may owe something to Lucr.1.941 *deceptaque non capiatur* (where vd. Munro).

num incensa cremauit/296 Troia uiros V. restates the paradox, but avoids another play of repetition. *Incendere* is Ennian (*trag.*288; cf. *Aen.*2.374, 555); the (indistinguishable) *cremare* too (*trag.*247, *Ann.*345). **Viros** are the warriors who defended Troy; a good deal more than a convenient alternative for the disliked *eos* (cf. **757**), of which the alleged instances (1.10, 4.3) cited by M.Hélin, *REL* 5(1927), 60ff. are not convincing.

296 medias..mediosque For anaphora with sex-change, Wills, 282f. cites some striking parallels: *Od.*1.3f., *Cat.*101.1 *multas per gentes et multa per aequora*, *Aen.*6.692 *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora uectum* (all of sufferings/separation by land and sea (vd. Hardie, 302ff.); here with studied variation of the nouns). *Hyperbole* snaps *Macr.* 4.2.4.

acies..ignis Cf. 2.632f. *flammam inter et hostis/ expedior*, 664f. *per tela, per ignis/ eripis*, 6.110 *illum ego per flammam et mille sequentia tela*.

per For the postponement of the preposition to the second noun of a pair, cf. Williams on 5.512, Austin on 6.692, *Hor.C.*3.25.2 (with Bentley's n.), and the ample discussion by Leo, *Ausgew. kl.Schr.*1, 117f..

297 inuenere uiam Cf. 3.395, 10.113 *fata uiam inuenient* (as here it is the Trojans' *fata* which have guided them so far, **293f.**).

at, credo, *Ironia* comments *Macr., cit.*, correctly. Juno (cf. **363** on **at** and the anticipation of objections) mocks at the notion that anyone might suppose her powers reduced by fatigue. **Credo** belongs to spoken Latin and often (as here) implies irony on the speaker's part (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 250, 314, Clausen on *Buc.*3.10, Austin on 6.368).

mea numina Cf. **310**, 1.674: *numina* in the sense of 'power'(cf. 1.48 *et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat...?*, 3.437, 4.94, *EV* 3, 781, Bailey, 66, S.Weinstock, *JRS* 39(1949), 167).

tandem Not till bk.12 (in part) and not fully till the second Punic war did Juno relax her efforts against Rome (Feeney in Harrison, *OR*, 339ff.); here, she has hardly begun, and knows it, adding the insinuation that her critics (none actually present, but that does not matter!) may not.

298 fessa iacent The adj. always preferred in high poetry (*sexies* in *Lucr.*; *defessus sexies*) to the metrically identical *lassus* (cf. G.Bonfante, *La lingua parlata in Orazio* (Ital.tr., Venosa 1994), 105; the Spanish original anticipates Axelson, 29f. by a decade). The phrase is of a common type, not quite pleonastic (cf. 5.784, *infracta quiescit* (Juno's hatred: note too 786 *odiis* and 781 *exsaturabile*; a nexus of parallels hitherto neglected in favour of bk.1), 11.310 *iaceant percussa*, *Tib.*1.5.9, *Ov.RA* 596, *Met.*15.188f.).

aut FyR; aud M₁; haud My. It is worth recalling that even **M** slips occasionally.

odiis..exsaturata quieui So too 5.781 *Iunonis grauis ira nec exsaturabile pectus*, 784 *nec Iouis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit* and see **311**; V. is fond (just how fond is not entirely clear) of plays upon **Saturnia** and

Juno's insatiable hatred (O'Hara 164, 189, Paschalis, 253) and the etymology is familiar. The verb we have seen comparably at 5.784; with the participle cf. Cic.*carm. graec.*fr.10.1(*AP* 7.325). Juno gorges, gluttonously, on hatred; cf. *supplicio..animum..exsaturare* Cic.*Verr.*5.65, *uiscribus..belua ponti/ exsaturanda meis* Ov.*Met.*5.18f., and further *ib.*8.543f., Sil.16.540f., Tac.*Ann.*3.17.5.

299 quin etiam Cf. **385**.

patria excussos The verb *semel* in Cat.(65.22), *bis* in Lucr.(6.161, 688); Lyne (*FV* 52, 58f. = *Atti* 1981, 2, 71) notes that it is common in comedy and rare in high poetry before V., who loves it (22x, in *Aen.*; note 3.200 *excutimur cursu*), 'legitimising' it for the future. Yet Cat. and Lucr. had already seen the possibilities and cf. its presence at Liv.2.65.5, 6.15.12, 8.7.11 etc. The metaphor of **concute 338**. suggests that it is rather more than a vigorous colloquialism given respectability by V. (cf. **292 quassans caput**, 5.679).

infesta Thrust into marked prominence between initial object and verb and employed adverbially (so the *infensi* of 5.587); cf. *Aetna* 52.

per undas/300 ..sequi Cf. 1.667f..Out of her element (**287**) and in fact Juno only interferes once at sea, through Aeolus, 1.34-80 (cf. 1.29 *iactatos aequore toto*, 3.438-40). Compare Dido's furious *i, sequere Italiam uentis, pete regna per undas* (4.381; cf. 384).

300 ausa Gk. τλᾶσα; cf. 9.217, 12.350 etc.. Her (unsuccessful: *ausus suos inefficaces queritur* remarks Macr., 4.2.5) delaying action against Jupiter and the fates is fought with tenacious audacity (1.39, 4.106, 5.608, etc) and only at **557** does her nerve first waver (cf. 9.6f., 10.81f.)..

profugis Here contemptuous (cf. **359 exulibus**), though not inherently so; cf. 3.11, 8.118 (*Aen.* of himself, *bis*) and on 1.2, see F.R.Bliss, *Studies..B.L.Ullmann* 1(Rome 1964), 99ff..

toto..ponto Ablative of extension (**353, 793**). Cf. **34, 196**. A high, Hellenising (πόντος) poeticism for 'sea', particularly in the sixth foot (Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*217).

me opponere Cf. 5.335 *nam sese opposuit Salio*; Lucr.4.150 and Cat. 26.2 are isolated enough to suggest a word felt to be rather flat, but not hopelessly so (cf. the case of the markedly, but not altogether, colloquial **quassans caput, 292** and **excussos, 299**).

301 absumptae in Teucros uires The verb in Acc.*trag.* and Cat. (*bis*); more important, Lucr.4.1121 lovers *absumunt uiris*. Old high language used by Lucr. sardonically (Lyne *FV*, 57f., *Atti* 1981, 2, 69) or V. wittily adapting a known erotic expression (itself already put wit-

tily enough by Lucr. in high poetic language) to a grand theological context? The latter would be quite in keeping with his practice elsewhere (cf. E.L.Harrison in Harrison, *OR*, 445ff., *Alambicco*, 63).

caelique marisque Traditional polarity (Hardie, 298ff., comparing e.g. 1.129 *fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina*, 5.790f., 802, *caelique marisque*, 820f., 6.113 *pelagique minas caelique*, 10.695 *caelique marisque*); on the high epic *..que..que*, cf. **470**, Lyne *FV*, 58, *Atti 1981*, 2,70. As at **287**, V. hints at the ancient links of Hera and air.

302 quid..quid Cf. **365**, *G.3.525f.*, *Aen.1.231f.*, 2.101f., 4.65f., 8.483, 10.36f., 150, 825f., 12.40, 872f., Wills, 85f.. V. relishes the stately movement of parallel questions and anaphoric *quid*; here the questions are really three (with crescendo), but the second member is introduced with variation.

Syrtes Cf. *Cat.64.156 quae Syrtes, quae Scylla rapax, quae uasta Charybdis* (appropriate parents for the faithless Theseus). At 1.111, the Trojans (thanks to the storm commissioned by Juno) are 500 km. North of the lesser Syrtes, and *syrtes* there are 'shallows' in general (Conway, Austin; Fordyce here errs). Juno is not here (or elsewhere) to be examined in geography or for honesty (cf. Highet, 285ff.).

aut Scylla Linked with **Syrtes** in hissing alliteration; *Aen.* consoles his men at 1.200 with the consideration that they encountered Scylla's reef (localised on the W. coast of Calabria, 10 miles N. of Reggio), though in the narrative of bk.3, Helenus had warned them (431f., 684) of the danger and Anchises' prompt orders (559), along with some hard rowing, save them from actual danger: not so much inconsistency as the difference between rhetoric and narrative (Highet, 288f.).

mihi.. / 303 profuit The dactyl, as so often run over (cf. **387**); Juno spits disgust at the feeble aid (the verb in *trag.*, *Enn Ann.*, *Cat.*, *Lucr.*) offered her by sea and storm; mere *dispersae querelae* (Macr., *cit.*).

uasta Charybdis So *Lucr.1.722*, *Cat.64 cit.* (and thus some old poet?); the adj. suggests 'awful' in a dire and literal sense (cf. 3.421f., 431, Fordyce here and on *Cat.cit.*, *EV 5**, 455). For the issue of rhetoric and narrative cf. on **Scylla** above. **C.** was identified with a whirlpool off Cape Pelorus, 6 miles NE of Messina (cf. not so much *EV* s.v. as E.H.Bunbury in Smith's old *Dict. of. Geogr.*).

303 optato..Thybridis alueo Cf. **33 adsuetae ripis et fluminis alueo**, 9.32 (the Nile) *et iam se condidit alueo*; from *Pacuv.trag.250*, 406 (in similar sense; in origin, the word indicates 'trough'). A goal of the Trojans from Creusa's words at 2.781f. (cf. 3.500f. 5.83, 796f., 6.87,

Horsfall, *EV* 5*, 156); V. uses this, his normal form of the name (anti-Ennian and of Etruscan origin) for both speech and narrative in the *Aen.* (cf. **797**, **715**, Horsfall, 157). The participle (and verb) often used of the longing of travellers and exiles for their goal: cf. 1.172, 425 (Carthaginians), 3.109, 132, 509 *optatae gremio telluris*, 5.813, 11.270 (Diomedes). Only with synizesis (or indeed synaloepha) can the oblique cases of *alueus* be employed in the hexameter; the e is (probably) sensed as semiconsonantal (cf. S.Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 877ff; 880 for forms of *alueus*): cf. Lunelli in Lunelli-Janssen, 92f, n.34 and Timpanaro 878 for the long history of this phenomenon, rooted not so much in the needs of dactylic poetry as in the usage of conversational pronunciation.

conduntur Cf. **570**, 5.243 *portu se condidit alto*, 8.66 *lacu fluius se condidit alto*; cf. 2.24, 9.38f. and (of the Trojan Horse) 2.401, 9.152. S.L.James, *AJP* 116(1995), 623f. is unconvincing: the enclosing calm of an estuary after a long sea passage (from Troy, not Caieta!) was for the Trojans (and remains) unconditionally welcome and word-choice does not naturally suggest future woes.

304 securi They are no longer worried about natural dangers: cf. 10.326 *securus amorum* (with Harrison's note). Or (less probably) in an active sense 'they do not care for' (cf. Austin on 1.350).

pelagi atque mei For the unelided **atque** (again at **315**, **317**: it is not clear what this singular concentration—an eighth of all the instances in bks.7.-12—conveys), cf. **473**. Cf. here **301 caelique marisque**: Juno views herself as peculiarly the deity of the upper air (cf. further **287**) and zeugma is therefore present weakly if at all.

Mars The Lapiths failed to sacrifice to Mars at Pirithous' wedding-feast (cf. NH on Hor.C.2.12.5), or did not even invite him: testimony for this explanation of their destruction (a divine punishment, that is, and not the result of a drunken brawl with the Centaurs, as at Hor. C.1.18.8 with NH) is late (Preller-Robert 2, 18, n.2) but not limited to Serv. here (**51** is therefore not comparable; the Pindar-scholia are after all evidence quite independent of V.), and some essentially slender explanation of Mars' appropriateness as an *exemplum* is particularly desirable here (cf. Buchheit, 72, n.281, M.C.J.Putnam, *CQ* 40(1990), 565, Lyne, *FV*, 51 after Horsfall, *CR* 29(1979), 222; cf. *id.* 1971, 117). Juno cannot well cite in public the mere wound to her prestige or pride, so suppresses such *casus belli* as Mars and Diana had enjoyed (TCD 2.49.27f. *in alieno negotio leuiorem facit delinquentium causam, in suo grauiorem*).

perdere Cf. *TLL* 10.1.8.1262.19 (Reineke): a use colloquial (e.g. Plaut.*Aul.*721, 731, Cat.29.24; the latter perhaps current jargon—cf. Cic.*Att.*2.21.1) and in solid prose (e.g. Caes.*BC* 2.32.6) before V.. Juno's lapses into common speech have been noted, even exaggerated (Lyne, *FV*, 52).

gentem/ 305 immanem Lapithum The contracted genitive plural—both archaic and metrically handy—notably common with names of peoples (NW 1, 181); cf. Norden on 6.306-8, Lunelli-Janssen, 95, Leumann, 428, Görler, *EV* 2, 263. **Immanis**: cf. Fordyce here and *G.*2.141, *Aen.*6.422, 576, 582, etc.; note Cic.*Tusc.* 5.115 (Polyphemus), Varr.*Men.*299 (Hydra). Juno makes the point that Mars had secured vengeance though his enemies were *immanes*. The Cyclopes are likewise a *gens* at 3.653, but this use seems exceptional (Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1854.32) and *genus* of one of the older 'races' of myth (not to mention *pubes*) is commoner.

305 ualuit Cf. 1.39f. (Juno speaks) *Pallasne../.potuit..?*, 242 (Venus speaks) *Antenor potuit*. Austin noted that at 1.40 and here *potuit/ualuit* applied to 'inferior' deities (so here: *minores* TCD; *argumentum a minore, ut pathos augeatur*, Macr. *cit.*, *ut ostenderet minora numina, nisi impetraverint* [he is commenting on *concessit*], *nocere non posse* Serv.)—are necessary antitheses to Juno's repeated *ast ego* (1.46, **7.308**).

concessit in iras/ 306 ..Dianae Hey (*TLL* 4.15.26) shrewdly compares Caes.*BC* 3.80.7 *oppidum..ad diripiendum militibus concessit*; **Dianae** is clearly dat., indirect obj. of **concessit** (cf. 9.654f., 11.111), and **in iras** defines the scope or purpose of Jupiter's 'magnanimity': cf. **13 urit..in lumina**, **335 armare in proelia**, 2.347 *audere in proelia*, 11.486 *cingitur..in proelia*, 12.71 *ardet in arma* (with Traina's n.), 103. The distinction between this use and *in* indicating result—as **445 exarsit in iras**—is not always quite clear and V.'s use of prepositions is still in general little understood. Diana, last word in her *exemplum*, neatly balances Mars, first word in his. This time, the story is altogether familiar: Oeneus failed to offer Artemis her share of the first-fruits and she thus sent the boar against Calydon (*Il.*9.533ff. with Hainsworth on *ib.* 524-605, Griffin on *ib.* 529-49, Bacchyl.5.92ff., *Apld.Bibl.*1.8.1f. with Frazer's notes, *Ov.Met.*8.273ff., Preller-Robert 2, 89, G.Arrigoni, *EV* 1, 616f.). Whence clearly the Lapiths' failure to sacrifice to Ares/Mars (**304**).

306 ipse deum..genitor Grand archaising diction: Acc.*trag.*32 *deum* [cf. **305**] *regnator*, 143 *deum supremus rex*, Cic.*de cons.*fr.2.32 *ipse deum genitor*, **427f.**, Lyne, *FV*, 58 = *Atti* 1981, 2, 70.

antiquam..Calydona Cf. **immanem** *supra*; here too the adj. is virtually concessive. On 2.363 (*a.* used of Troy) TCD comments *antiquum nobile et maximi meriti ueteres posuerunt*; cf. 1.12 (Carthage), 4.670 (Tyre), 10.719 (Corythus), 11.540 (Privernum), Evrard, *EV* 1, 196).

307 quod scelus aut Lapithas tantum aut Calydona merentem Lapithas **M**₂; **Lapithis** codd., TCD; **Calydona** **F**₁**M**₁**γ**; **Calydo** **F**; **Calydone** **MR** Macr.4.5.6; **merentem** **FM**₂**γ**; **merente** **γ**₁**R**; **merentes** **M**; Prisc. 17.101 knows both readings and Serv. comments on the abl. *haec est uera lectio...nam si 'Calydona' legas, uitium erit nec sensus procedet*. Evidently, acc. and abl. cannot be mixed. Had V. used the abl., the origin of the acc. in much of the transmission would be hard to explain (except as a repeated visual echo from the previous verses). The deplorable abl.abs. (printed nevertheless by Williams and Geymonat and called 'defensible' by Fordyce) immediately following **306 Calydona** would not, at least in prose, be clearly and unambiguously ungrammatical; at least, that is, by the usages of 'real' (not 'school') Latin, which does tolerate some verbal overlap between sentence and abl.abs. (Roby 2, 103, KS 1, 786f., Riemann, 486f., LHS, 139f., Ernout-Thomas, 104). However, prolonged enquiry reveals nothing at all comparable in the classical poets and certainly the flexibility—in itself something of a Grecism (Görler, *EV* 2, 270)—with which V and Hor. tend to use the participle renders quite superfluous, indeed unacceptable that initially surprising but really quite common type of abl. abs. which we find in prose authors, linked to the structure of the surrounding sentence; *viva voce*, therefore, both Eduard Fraenkel and Sir Roger Mynors dismissed with scorn the notion that poetic analogies for the abl. here might exist. The acc. **merentem**, written at verse-end as a bar over the e, as in **F** here, explains easily the origin of the abl. in much of the transmission (really, *utrum in alterum* is decisive on its own!) and the anacoluthon (an irregularity dear to V. and specially appropriate here as suggesting some agitation of thought; cf. Henry on 1.227-30) is just hard enough to alarm (e.g.) Serv.. Note that **merentem** rather than **merentes** is good usage (cf. KS 1, 47, Riemann, 50f., LHS, 433, Ernout-Thomas, 134). An avoidable misunderstanding (in e.g. Heyne) of a purely linguistic point exacerbated the confusion in our mss.: *scelus merere* here and often means 'to commit a crime' (for the mythological details, cf. **304**). Cf. *TLL* 8.810.30 (Bulhart), and (I include instances of *commereor*) Plaut.*Capt.*403, *Cist.*160, *Merc.*828, *Most.* 1178, Langen *Beiträge* (**446**), 149, Ter.*Phorm.*206, *Hec.*631, Cic.

ad Brut. 1.15.11, *Tib.* 1.10.5 *an nihil ille miser meruit* (the inventor of war), *Prop.* 1.18.9 *quid tantum merui* (vd. Enk, Shackleton Bailey; *aliter*, Fedeli), *Ov. Met.* 5.492 (with Bömer's n.), *Ars* 3.45, *MFF* 28 *crimina nulla merent*, *Her.* 7.77, *Petron.* 139.3, *Tac. Hist.* 1.38.2 *interrogasse quid mali meruisset*, etc.. Just possibly, therefore, it began as an idiom of spoken language (cf. **304** *perdere*).

308 ast ego Grand and archaic, particularly with following pronoun: cf. **395** and Fordyce here. Cf. 1.46f. *ast ego, quae diuom incedo regina Iouisque/ et soror et coniunx*, very close in sentiment to the present passage (cf. **286-322**).

magna Iouis coniunx Cf. **287 saeua Iouis coniunx**, 4.91 *cara Iouis coniunx* and 1.46f. just cited (cf. Moskalew, 81). Juno declares herself immeasurably superior to Mars and Diana (*minor scilicet persona, ideo illud sequitur* *Macr.* 4.3.6).

nil. inausum *Nil intemptatum nostri liquere poetae* writes Hor. (*Ars* 285); for *liquere* and a negative adj., cf. 4.415 *ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat*, Balzert, *TLL* 7.2.1462.15, *Aen.* 9.288, 10.720, Hor. *C.* 1.35.35f.; cf. also 8.205f. *ne quid inausum/ aut intractatum scelerisue doliue fuisset*, The adj. itself presumably a coinage, like *intemptatus* (cf. Harrison on 10.39, Brink on *Ars cit.*; cf. *EV* 1, 54).

linquere../309 ..potui 'Brought myself to' (Fordyce (a useful note); cf. *id.* (and Kroll) on *Cat.* 62.21, 68.41, Mynors on *G.* 3.453, Hardie on 9.482, and *EV* 4, 235, which adds 11.325). The synaloepha of a short e at 5tr. is common: Winbolt, 172f., Norden, 455. The postponed relative (cf. **680**) gives particular weight to the preceding unit of three words.

309 quae..quae Juno has begun with the grandest title she can muster and lists her efforts in parallel relative clauses reminiscent of *Gebetstil*. *Deinde cum causas quoque contulisset, quanto impetu dea dixit..* *Macr. cit.*

infelix Juturna at 12.870 (where vd. Traina) hardly counts; used only here of an Olympian deity and by that deity herself, certainly not one for whom reader or poet have particular sympathy; Ju.'s use of the word is in itself a fine piece of characterisation, as she succumbs briefly to self-pity: she laments not so much her unhappiness as her lack of success (cf. *EV* 2,487), as should be clear from the context; cf. the horse *infelix studiorum* at *G.* 3.498 (contrast *G.* 1.277, *Aen.* 9.772).

memet Cf. 4.606 with Austin's note (and his self-correction at 1.207; both times, inevitably, used in speeches: cf. *Cat.* 64.182. With *ego*, cf.

3.623, 5.650, 6.505); the intensifying suffix (Leumann, 464, NW 2, 361ff.) is archaic, comic, and also Ciceronian. *Sexies* in Hor.*Serm.*1 and *semel* in *Ep.*1, absent in *C.* and unsurprisingly rare in *Aen.*

in omnia uerti Conington sensed metamorphosis (cf. 4.455, **7.328 tot sese uertit in ora**, 12.891 *uerte omnis tete in facies*), but—except, in some sense, cosmologically (**287**)—Ju. does not herself metamorphose in the *Aen.* (though her agent Allecto wreaks terrible changes in her victims). La Cerda thought of ‘omnia facere, de irrito conatu’ (cf. Cat.75.4, Mart.6.93.12 *omnia cum fecit, Thaida Thais olet*), which is an uncommon usage and unnecessarily self-deprecatory. Cic.*Lael.*35 *omnia.. facturos*, on the other hand, means just that (‘would do everything’); cf. the very different Cat.21.6 *omnia experiris* and note Landgraf on Cic.*Rosc.Am.*24 for related idioms. Rather (cf. Horsfall 1971, 41f., Fordyce), ‘who have shifted to every device’ (Mackail’s tr.): *uertere se aliquo* is a regular synonym for *confugere ad*; so Cic.*Div.*2.149 *quo te cumque uerteris, Lael.*22 *quoquo te uerteris, quo nunc me uortam..?*, Enn. *trag.* 217, with Ter.*Hec.*516, VF 7.297, etc.—and it matters little that the idiom seems not to be attested with *in*, for *confugere* (for instance) is used impartially with *ad*, *in*, and *quo*.

310 uincor ab Aenea *Nec dixit ‘non possum perdere Aenean’ sed ‘uincor ab Aenea’* Macr. *cit.*; *et pro animo inimicae intellegamus ab homine humili atque inertissimo; nomen enim pro conuicio posuit* TCD. Quite so: after two lines detailing her standing and her efforts to halt the Trojans, Juno reaches Aeneas in a climax of loathing and contempt, just in the spirit of her earlier *mene incepto desistere uictam/ nec posse Italia Teucrorum auertere regem* (1.37f.; cf. *ib.*47f. *una cum gente tot annos/ bella gero*).

quod si Mysteriously absent from *EV*’s discussion of adversative particles (1, 440ff.), though *quod* before *si* has simply the force of ‘but’ (LHS, 571; cf. 6.133, 11.166, 357, 434). Used with marked selectivity by the poets (Brink on Hor.*Ep.*2.1.90, Axelson, 47f.): Prop. (21x) and Lucr. are partial, *bis* only in Hor.*C.* (1.1.35, 3.1.41), but *octies* in *Ep.*1. Not simply ‘prosy’ because absent in Hor.*Serm.*1 and *bis* only in *Serm.*2, yet *quater* in Varr.*Men.* and *semel* in Pers..

mea numina Cf. **297f. mea numina tandem/ fessa iacent**. She is neither worn out, nor, in the face of apparent defeat, bereft of resource, though driven to admit the need for a new and terrible ally. **non sunt/ 311 magna satis** For the double monosyllable at verse-end, cf. on **790**. Tityrus’ *rura* are *tibi magna satis* to Menalcas (*Buc.* 1.47); more to the point, cf. 2.623 *numina magna deum* (cf. too 3.264,

697). Just possibly there is a play of words/thought with Juno as **Saturnia** (cf. **298**).

311 dubitem A most singular line metrically (contrast the sweeping dactylic **312**), with synaloepha of *-em* in successive words (snarling and nasal: Hightet, 162; 9.595, for all its four synaloephae, is far less startling) and aphaeresis of *est*; the only orthodox caesura at 2½. The verb *decies* in V. (*indubitare semel*); *ter* in Cat., *undecies* in Lucr.; already *semel* in Pacuv. and *quater* in Acc. More interesting are word-order and Juno's use of the 'polite' potential subjunctive (KS 1, 177, LHS, 335; cf. 10.186). The reader is astonished at choice of verb and mood when Juno begins 'I'd hesitate..'. But she has not changed ('..not one bit, not I'): the anastrophe of the negative is remarkable (Pascucci, *EV* 3, 682, well comparing 10.436f. *ipsos concurrere passus/ haud tamen..*; cf. LHS, 410) and throws the preceding word, singular enough already, into yet sharper light. The litotes *haud dubito* is—supposedly—formulaic (cf. Liv.*praef.*4, Plin.*Nat.*7.6; commoner if other forms of the verb are included. Cf. Marouzeau *TSL*, 159f.); certainly *haud* is only used in a limited range of genres and contexts: of old and impeccable literary ancestry but absent in *Buc.* and *Hor.C.*; used *sexies* by Prop., though rare elsewhere in elegy (LHS, 453, Axelson, 91f., Tränkle, 45f.).

haud equidem *Quinquies* in V., against *non equidem quater* (cf. **230**); **e**. probably from *ego quidem* (LHS, 174). Cf. Varr.*LL* 9.32 *equidem non dubito*.

implorare Cf. 10.19; *ac si diceret, etiam humilia* Serv.. To maintain her power and prestige undefeated, she will even beg (the verb at Cat. 68B.65), and that in Hell.

quod usquam est *Octies* in *Aen.* and always in conditionals or after a negative (so **haud** here); note 6.90f. *nec Teucris addita Iuno/ usquam aberit*. Juno is leading us up to her decision to resort to *Allecto*. On this (common) aphaeresis of *est* (with *es* only at 6.845), cf. J.Soubiran, *Pallas* 5(1957), 46, 59.

312 flectere si nequeo F. in an intellectual sense from Enn. *Ann.* 200, 246; cf. *G.*4.399, *Aen.*2.689, 8.384, 12.46, 940. Juno, though, has not sought allies on Olympus, merely assistants lower down (*Aeolus*, *Iris*); her planned alliance with *Venus* at 4.90ff. is misconceived, for *Aeneas'* mother sees through its motives at once (105f.).

superos, Acheronta The stark antithesis at the heart of the chiasmus. *Superi* as old as 'Liv.Andr.'fr.38 Bü. (on which cf. Timpanaro,

Contributi, 87ff.). Cf. **569** (ring-composition): **A**.not the river, but by metonymy, all Hell. At *Enn.trag.*192 (cf. 98), *trag.inc.*73,77.

mouebo Just what she did *not* need to do in the Aeolus-episode. While *mouere* can of course be used in the sense of ‘persuade, convince, move’ (e.g. *G.*4.505), which is indeed how Juno approaches the Fury, the verb has very clearly a more cataclysmic implication (cf. 3.91, 6.256 *iuga coepta moueri*), amply borne out by future events (cf. **325 ciet**, Thome, 76f.). Juno’s association with the upper air is ancient and has recently (**287**, **301**) been brought before us; there is a particular paradox in Juno’s determination to raise Hell (cf. Buchheit, 73f.). V. carries off a brilliant *epiphonema* not at speech-end (contrast e.g. 2.49, 354, Quint. 8.5.11 on 1.33), for there is worse to follow. Behind V., there surely stands the Zeus of *Il.*8.477ff. *κέθεν δ’ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω/χωομένης, οὐδ’ εἴ κε τὰ νείατα πείραθ’ ἴκηαι/γαίης καὶ πόντοιο ἴν’ Ἰάπετός τε Κρόνος τε/..βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος ἀμφίς*. Cf. too *Aesch.Suppl.*158ff.. Venus echoes the verb at 10.38f. *nunc etiam manis (haec intemptata manebat/ sors rerum)*

mouet and the epiphomena enjoys marked and predictable popularity in V.’s followers (cf. Manil. 1.93, Sen.*HF* 95f., Luc.6.742f., VF 3.520, 4.13, Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.113, P.Hardie, *The epic successors of Virgil* (Cambridge 1993), 78ff.). For Freud’s use of the words as a title-page motto, cf. Thome 76, n.145).

313 non dabitur Cf. 1.553f.*si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto/ tendere*, 2.291, 6.140, 9.116, 10.583. At 1.139 Neptune’s rule over the sea is *sorte datum* but the idiom does not normally specify the agent; *fatis* should not therefore be read back from **314**, though they are implicit here too.

regnis..Latinis With *regna*, V. uses both gen. (1.226, 6.84, 12.567, etc.) and the faintly loftier adj. (1.338, 3.185, 272, etc.), leaving it open here whether he refers to Latinus’ realm or the Latins’ (*EV* 3, 141; either way, the Trojans’ destined goal from 1.6).

esto A common formula of rhetorical concession: cf. Harrison on 10.67; equally Plautine and Ciceronian (Landgraf on *Rosc.Am.*73).

prohibere Cf. 1.31 *arcebat longe Latio*, 38 *nec posse Italia Teucrorum auertere regem*, 4.106 *auerteret*.

314 immota manet Cf. 1.257f.(Jupiter to Venus) **manent immota tuorum/ fata tibi** and also *G.*2.294, *Aen.*3.447, 4.449, 10.696 (cf. *EV* 3, 608 (Fo)); a favourite idiom).

fatis Cf. *G.*1.199f. *sic omnia fatis/ in peius ruere*, *Aen.*12.795 *fatis ad sidera tolli*; likewise in the sing. (1.2f., 4.696, etc.).

Lauinia coniunx For the use of predicative noun/adj. or of the participle, in place of a clause (cf. Hor.*C.*1.37.13 *uix una sospes nauis ab ignibus*, Aen.8.132 *cognatique patres*, 10.320 *genitorque Melampus*), cf. NH on Hor.*loc.cit.* and on C.2.4.10 *ademptus Hector*, KS 1, 770, Ernout-Thomas, 280f., LHS, 393f., and Fordyce here. Aeneas, and the reader, learn her name at 6.764; her destined role was announced by Creusa at 2.783f..

315 at../ 316 at After **esto**, which marks a virtual concessive phrase or protasis (not an important distinction), the repeated **at** ('still at any rate' Fordyce) introduces the parallel apodoses (cf. G.1.242, 4.241, Aen.1.543, 4.615, KS 2, 83, LHS, 489, EV 1, 441, Fordyce here); it is also often found, like *sed* and *uerum*, after explicitly concessive phrases. The remarks of Wills, 403, n.28 take no account of pauses and punctuation. O'Hara acutely points to the parallel structure of thought at 4.612-20, with special reference to the *at* of 615.

trahere Cf. 10.888 *traxisse moras*, Ov.*Met.*9.767, (note Aen. 1.414 *moliriue moram*). Commentators have wondered (for a summary, cf. Scaffai, EV 5, 249) whether the object is **moras** or [**res**], to be supplied from **rebus** (and cf. Liv.32.35.4 *rem in serum tractam*). Conington was right to favour an answer supported by V.'s own usage!

atque moras tantis..addere rebus Cf. Ov.*Her.*19.8 *parui temporis adde moram*. *Tantis* and therefore more open to delaying action? (Conington). The notion that the operation of fate may be delayed is familiar: 1.299f., 8.396ff., 10.624, 12.147, 676, 806, TCD 2.51.8ff., Bailey, 211f., Boyancé, 51, Timpanaro, *Nuovi contr.*, 396f., Williams, *TI*, 7f.; so too—up to a point—in Hom. (*Od.*5.288ff.; cf. *Il.*16.436f., 446f., 780-3 with Janko's n., 17.321 with Edwards' n., 22.174ff., *Od.*4.753, 7.197, etc.) and not so rarely that (with Timpanaro) we need invoke Etruscan influences upon the poet.

licet../316 ..licet Contrast **313, 314**; it is possible to exercise delay within the wider limits of *fatum*. Cf. *liceat* in anaphora at 5.796f., 10.46f..

316 amborum populos..regum Weightier than *ambo populos/ reges* and grimly pointed, as will become clearer in the next line, when Juno warns that Aen. and Latinus will enter a family alliance only at high cost to their peoples; both kings (cf. Bell, 25; cf. Cael.*cit.*(**317**) for *ambo* of Caes. and Pompey) will survive, and many of their subjects, on both sides, will not. Cf. **470** for V.'s willingness to use awkward forms of pronouns to make a strong rhetorical point.

exscindere A word from respectable late republican prose (Cic. *Off.*1.76, *Rep.*6.11, *ter* in speeches, Sall.*Hist.*4.69.17), taken up quite eagerly by V. (*sexies* in *Aen.*), oddly always in infin..

317 hac..mercede 'Loss', as the previous line makes clear: cf. *TLL* 8.797.20f. (Bulhart), Horsfall 1971, 118, Cic. *Tusc.*3.12 *non sine magna mercede* to body and soul if pain is resisted under surgery, Sall. *Hist.* 1.55.25 *suimet sanguinis mercede*. *Quater* in V., *quinquies* in Hor.C., but Lyne (*FV*, 59 = *Atti* 1981, 2, 72) may well be right to suggest that it is a word used and enjoyed for its very prosiness, though we are far from certain that a commercial flavour always clung to the metaphorical uses of the word.

gener atque socer For the unelided **atque**, cf. **304**. V.'s reference here has long been recognised (e.g. Fraenkel, 151, Horsfall 1971, 117, Cairns, 97): cf. 6.830f., Cat.29.24, *Catal.*6.5f., Luc.1.289f., 10.417, DC 41.54.7, Jal, 360ff.; the war between Aeneas and Latinus will over and again recall that between Pompey and Caesar (*Alambicco*, 88, 106, 111, *Companion*, 155, Camps (*infra*), 95ff., 137ff., Gleib, 178ff.). As memory, tragedy, drama, history and dramatic sweep of events, the alliance(s) are to be analysed with an expertise inherited from the historians, on various planes (cf. **37ff.**).

coeant Not 'clash' (*G.*4.73, *Aen.*12.709, of *Aen.* and *Tu.*), but 'enter marriage-alliance' as the three words preceding make clear. Potentially just as dangerous, as V.'s readers well knew from recent experience: cf. **546**, Pollio *ap.*Hor.C.2.1.3f. *gravisque/ principum amicitias*, Cic. *Phil.*2.24, Cael. *ap.*Cic.*Fam.*8.14.2; cf. Woodman on Vell.2.44.1 and NH, Hor.C.2, p.12 for this view (standard in antiquity) of the origin of the civil war in the first triumvirate, cemented by the marriage of Pompey to Julia. It is not helpful to find ambiguity in **coeant** (W.A.Camps, *Introduction* (Oxford 1969), 96f.): certainly not because inherently unvirgilian (quite the contrary, indeed!), but because it would here be altogether false both to the markedly explicit context and to the historical tradition in which V. is writing. Note too **335f.**: *Allecto*, like *Juno* (cf. **555f.**), will work at the destruction of domestic and family ties (cf. P.Hardie, *PLLS* 5(1985), 93 and on 9.600 for 'Juno's view of events').

318 sanguine Making very explicit the theme already looming in **exscindere** and **mercede**; the Sibyl had seen the Tiber *multo spumantem sanguine* (6.87); it is in its bloody outcome that Lavinia's future marriage to Aeneas will both echo Paris' union with Helen and anticipate Pompey's to Julia. The metaphorical and intellectual

density of these lines has been undervalued: vd., though, Buchheit, 74f., Grassmann-Fischer, 71f., Thome, 77f., Horsfall 1971, 117-9.

Troiano et Rutulo Drawing out **316 amborum populos.. regum**; the same polarity at e.g. 10.108, 12.117, 704.

dotabere Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 406f. ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλίου φθοράν, Eur. *Ion* 298 φερνάς γε πολέμου. In Latin (cf. Lyne, *FV*, 58 = *Atti* 1981, 2, 70), though (*in*)*dotatus* is common enough in Plautus (13x), the simple verb looks (Leumann, 267) to be an Augustan back-formation; V. may have wished to follow the Greek metaphor in his own vigorous way. Lyne (*cit.*) remarks 'conceivably it [the verb] was used on a very old inscription that survives': that proves to be the unproblematic and solidly Tiberian *CIL* 14.2298.6 = *CLE* 990.6, which can have no bearing on the issue.

uirgo Cf. **72, 362, 389**, Cairns, 163 (Lavinia as the 'lyric bride'), D.Fowler, in *Homo viator* (**674**), 194. *Quod irati libenter faciunt, maledicit* Macr. 4.2.8: Juno turns to Lavinia (*ad uirginem sese conuertit* TCD) and upon her innocent head invokes carnage; Aeneas' destined bride does in the end suffer most cruelly, even by V.'s grim standards, in the interests of plot, power, history, the divine plan (whether Lyne in McAuslan, 157ff.—not to mention *FV*, 116—is right or not about her sentimental life).

319 Bellona *Bellona ab bello nunc, quae Duellona a duello* (Varr. *LL* 5.73); in origin an embodiment of Mars' 'martial' aspect, and in the middle republic closely associated with him (Wissowa, 151f., Latte, 235, *EV* 1, 477f.) but from the Sullan period revived by identification with the Cappadocian Ma (= Gk. Enyo; cf. Wissowa, 348ff., Latte, 281f. and Montanari, *EV, cit.*, Binder, 249, Thome, 258f.). Her bloody whip, as she presides over Actium along with Mars, the Dirae and Discordia (8.703) belongs both to the stock attributes of her type (**336 uerbera**) and to the flagellation characteristic of her orgiastic ritual (Tib. 1.6.46, with Smith's n. on *ib.* 43-56 and Muecke on Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.223, Courtney on Juv. 4.123f.). Her presence here is an anticipation (with appropriately bloody associations) of Allecto's role and character, and many will not have forgotten the Sibyl's *causa mali tanti iterum hospita Teucris, / externique iterum thalami* (6.93f.).

manet te Cf. **596**; *EV* 3, 338 notes, perhaps rightly, that V.'s use of *manere* trans. and intrans. corresponds to that of Gk. μένειν (used in Hom. and tragedy with a sense of menace, as here).

pronuba Juno herself acted the same role when Aeneas and Dido entered the cave (4.166; vd. Pease); it was the *p.*, a married woman,

who actually joined husband and wife in a Roman marriage (Isid. *Orig.* 9.7.8 *nubentibus praeest, quaeque nubentem uiro coniungit*, Treggiari (407), 168, Williams, *TORP*, 402).

nec..tantum/ 320 Cisseis Not Cisseis alone; taken up by **quin idem** below; Venus *too* will prove to have given birth to destruction. Serv. notices that V. uses a post-Homeric genealogy for Hecuba: in *Il.* her father is Dymas (16.718); here cf. Eur.(*Hec.*3), Pacuv., Enn.(so Serv. here; cf. Enn.*trag.ed.*Jocelyn, 203f.). Cf. Horsfall 1971, 118, *Alambicco*, 108, *id.* in Harrison, *OR*, 466, n.2, E.C.Kopff, *ANRW* 2.31.2(1981), 926, n.30, Lyne *FV*, 58, = *Atti 1981*, 2, 70, Thome, 152, M.Fernandelli, *Prometheus* 22(1996), 248, n.2 ; Dymas would be out of keeping with the whole passage's marked Euripidean colouring (cf. *Alambicco*, 49).

face../ 320 ..praegnas *Grauidus* is far more common both in V. and in Hor. (Lyne *FV*, 59f.=*Atti 1981*, 2, 72f.; cf. now Eder, *TLL* 10.2.5. 660.43); **p.** is common in comedy and dominates in Varr. *RR*, so V. has Juno use a coarse and prosy word, which cuts down the effect of the learned, tragic **Cisseis** (Lyne). Hecuba dreamed that she was pregnant with a firebrand before giving birth to Paris (Eur.*Tro.*922, Lyc.86, Enn.*trag.* 41, 50f., *Aen.*10.704 *face praegnas/ Cisseis regina* (where vd. Harrison); cf. Preller-Robert 2, 979, n.3, Jocelyn, *cit.*(320), Steiner, 76f.).

ignis..iugalis Cf. Cat.64.302 *taedas..iugalis*. The torch of Hecuba's dream represents Paris' destructive match with Helen; Aeneas' match to Lavinia will create a like blaze of destruction; the ambiguity between marriage-torches and those of conflagration/ death we have already seen at **71ff.** and it is an old and favourite conceit: M.Fernandelli, *Lexis* 16 (1998), 174, n. 32; also Eur.*Tro.* 343f., Meleager, *HE* 4686 (with GP), Ov.*Her.*16.49f., 123ff. (with Kenney's notes), Sen.*Tro.*40. Cf. **322**; see my note and Serv.'s (there cited) on **456**. The attentive reader therefore extrapolates the flames of Troy's sack and the marriage-torches of Aeneas and Lavinia, to complete the parallel. *Argumentum a simili* comments Macr. 4.2.8.

enixa *Haec se facem parere uidit et Paris creauit, qui causa fuit incendii* Serv.! Cf. 3.326f. *iuuenemque superbum/ seruitio enixae tulimus*, 3.391 = 8.44 *fetus enixa*; used by Varro (2.10.9; human, not animal birth), but also Ennian (*Ann.*436 *enixi peperere*).

321 quin Vigorously asseverative; the particle reaches epic ultimately from common speech (**385**, **750**; Hofmann-Ricottilli, 193, LHS, 676f.).

idem Frequent with *omnibus* (e.g. 10.112); more closely comparable 3.503f. *quibus idem Dardanus auctor/ atque idem casus* (but the dat. is plural); very similar *G.3.72 nec non et pecori est idem dilectus equino* ('the same selection applies to horses'), but here separation from **partus** gives **i.** greater force ('just the same offspring, whose women start wars', *vel sim.*; Serv.'s *talis, similis* is rather feeble!). Postponed *suus* is (except in stock phrases, *sponte sua*) unusual and *can* carry particular emphasis (cf. 3.494, 12.660; less so, 2.127, 10.771); some is clearly present here.

Veneri *Cur non contingat Veneri similem filium peperisse?* TCD; Juno's unfriendly relations with Venus (cf. 4.90ff.) emerge here too: the Paris-Aeneas analogy has been developed to their mothers' generation and that enables Juno to compare her rival with a mere mortal, Hecuba, to the advantage of neither (*comparatio autem iniuriosa* well remarks Serv.).

partus suus Contrast **660**; in the sense of 'offspring', Lucretian (4.1229, 1253).

Paris alter Cf. **362 praedo** for the ghost of Paris behind Aen. in *Aen.* This use of *alter* is hallowed in both prose (*alter Demosthenes, alter Sulla*) and poetic (*alter Homerus, alter erit tum Tiphys*) usage; cf. A. Traina in *Mnemosynum..A.Ghiselli* (Bologna 1989), 551f. = *id. Poeti latini 3* (Bologna 1989), 147, J. Griffin, in (ed. B. Gold) *Literary and artistic patronage in ancient Rome* (Austin 1982), 125 = *id., Latin poets and Roman life* (London 1985), 191.

322 funestaeque..taedae The torches of destruction (cf. **456**) appropriately embrace the climactic line; the adj. in *Acc. trag.*, *Marius*, *Cic. carm.*, *Cat.*, *Lucr.* and in this sense ('deadly, destructive') at *Cic. Arat. fr. 18.2*, 146, 414.

iterum Cf. 6.93, 94, 9.598, 10.26, 28: indispensable in the narration of this second Trojan war.

recidiva An agricultural metaphor (cf. Horsfall 1971, 119, Fordyce here): on 10.58 *recidivaque Pergama* (where vd. Harrison; cf. Pease on 4.344, H. Nettleship, *Contr. Lat. Lex.* (Oxford 1889), 567f.), Serv. comments *tractus autem sermo est ab arboribus, quae taleis sectis pullulant*; alternatively cf. *Mela 3.47 cum semel sata frumenta sint, subinde recidiuis seminibus segetem nouantibus...* Claimed as a coinage, but the metaphor's trenchancy is increased if the word was familiar at least in a farming context; more to the point (cf. **295**), compare (of Rome's own biological strength in adversity) *Hor. 4.4.57ff. duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus..per damna, per caedis ab ipso/ ducit opes animumque ferro.*

in Pergama P. (usually in plur.): strictly the citadel of Troy, whence (in general) Troy; cf. 3.86f. (with Williams' n.), 4.344 (with Pease's n.), 10.58 (with Harrison's n.) and notably *EV* 5*, 282 (D. Musti).

323-40 What follows (down to **640**) has conventionally been read in the long shadow of the thunderous critique preserved by Macr. 5.17.1ff.: *quid Vergilio contulerit Homerus hinc maxime liquet quod, ubi rerum necessitas exegit a Marone dispositionem inchoandi belli, quam non habuit Homerus.. laboravit ad rei nouae partum*, etc. (cf. **341-539**, etc. for further discussion). At least Macr.'s statement of these scenes' origins is in essence correct: though Knauer was quite right to draw attention to V.'s use in these lines of Hera's speech (complaint at the Greeks' parlous state, followed by instructions) to Athena, *Il.* 2.157ff. (235f.; note in particular **331f.**: 2.157f., **333f.**: 2.160f.; the loss of face to the Argives and Hera, if they do not recover Helen is nicely comparable to the loss of face Juno contemplates here) and though Homer's Eris (whence, after all, 'Erinyes') is one of Allecto's many literary ancestors (**324**, **326**), All. is not a figure Homeric in conception (though especially on **406-74** we shall find a rich vein of indebtedness). Formally, she is a Fury (cf. **375**, **415**, **570**), with deep roots in the tragedians, as we shall discover, but we have seen how imprudent it is (**51**) to attribute to her a Fury's conventional campaign of chastisement and that position is much reinforced when it emerges that All. (described briefly at **324-9**, then further in the ἀρεταλογία of **335-9**) is not only a Fury, but also draws deeply upon (and thus in some sense also *is*) a wide range of related personifications: vd. G. Körte, *Über Personifikationen psychologischer Affekte* (diss. Berlin 1874), 18ff., K. Dilthey, *Arch. Ztg.* 31 (1874), 78ff., U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Eur. Herakles*, 1, 123f., F. W. Hamdorf, *Griech. Kultpersonifikationen* (Mainz 1964), 67, M. Junge, *Untersuchungen z. Ikonographie der Erinyes* (diss. Kiel 1983), 77-91, H. A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek art* (Zürich 1993), 51ff. (Eris), 168ff. (Lyssa). These figures share genealogies (**331**) and attributes, as will become clear from the notes (not forgetting the hounds of **475-539**), and unsurprisingly were regularly identified in earlier literature: so, e.g., Eur.'s Lyssa is a 'Gorgon of Night' at *HF* 883, V.'s Celaeno is *Furiarum maxima* (3.252), in a tradition that goes back to Hom. (Williams on 3.211-2); Aesch.'s Furies are also Keres (*Septem* 1055), Poenae (*Eum.* 323) and Gorgons (*ib.* 48; cf. 417, Arai); cf. *PV* 516 (Moirai); for Eur. they are the hounds of Lyssa (*Bacch.* 977). Cf. Cic.'s handy list cited at **328 monstrum**. In particular, we shall find close analogies between All. and the Lyssa both of Aesch. (**336**, **405**; note

also **421-34**, further indication of V.'s familiarity with the *Xantriae*) and of Eur. (**329, 331, 336, 341-72, 373-405**). Enn.'s Discordia is an earlier heir to this hideous menagerie (**323, 325**, but cf. **540-640** §3 for a cautious view of how much Discordia there really is in these lines). That Juno sends All. to wreak havoc is itself an action deriving from a rich nexus of literary traditions: Hera who sends Argus and the gadfly against Io in the *PV*, Dionysus who sends Lyssa against Pentheus (Aesch. *Xantriae*), Hera who sends Iris and Lyssa against Heracles in the *HF*, AR's Eros sent by Aphrodite at the request of Hera and Athena (Nelis, 288ff.). But All. is a Fury in a sense deeper than that of visual attributes: her design of causing madness (**377, 461**; cf. **479**), which is peculiarly a Fury's technique (cf. Enn. *trag.* 21ff. with Jocelyn's notes, Aesch. *Eum.* 342ff., etc.; Heinze subtly notes that in V.'s All. there is more discord than madness proper). Inescapably, V.'s Fury is entirely traditional in appearance but in action inherits also a tradition of allegorisation (into human lusts and passions) already present in Eur. *Orest.* (Jocelyn, *cit.*, p.192f., Feeney, 175; a *furia* in Cic. is a man who wants civil strife: Buchheit, 103f., Opelt, 140), though I have found less in V. of co-operation between All. and passions pre-existing in V.'s characters than some recent critics (**341-539 ad fin.**, etc.). For All., cf. further E.Fantham in Stahl, 138-40, J.Foster, *LCM* 2(1977), 120f., P.Hardie *Epic successors of Virgil* (Cambridge 1993), 40f., Buchheit, 71ff., Heinze, 183, Setaioli, 235ff., Schenk, 289ff., Thome, 74ff., Wigodsky, 93f., Wlosok, 58f.. E.Wüst, *PW Suppl.* 8.124.23ff. remains by far the handiest account of a Fury's attributes, though on some details he must be updated from the material in *LIMC* s.v. *Erinys* (Sarian).

323 haec ubi dicta dedit Cf. **471**.

terras..petiuit Cf. **620 caelo delapsa**. Analogous to Hom.'s οὐρανόθεν καταβάς (*Il.* 11.184, *Od.* 6.281, etc.; cf. AR 2.683, 4.1706). Cf. **343**.

horrenda Contast 1.50, Juno goes to Aeolus *flammato..corde*, yet also *supplex* (1.64). Here matters are visibly more serious; while *EV* 2, 857 glosses infelicitously 'furente', 'irata', we should rather compare 3.658 (Polyphemus), 679 (Cyclopes), 4.181 (Fama), 6.10 (the Sibyl), 299 (Charon), 9.521 (Mezentius), 11.507 (Camilla). Verrius Flaccus glossed Enn.'s *Tartarino* (*Ann.* 220, of Discordia herself) as *horrendo, terribili* (Fest. 494.7). Juno's mission is reflected in her monstrous, hideous appearance. TCD remarks *ex causa ingentis iracundiae uehementissime commotam, in tantum ut quisque eam cerneret sine horrore esse non posset*.

324 luctificam First attested at Cic.*carm.*Aesch.2.26; Pacuv. *trag.* (*Ant.*xiv) has *luctificabilis*, and V. *horrificus*, *terrificus*, *uolnificus*, *regificus*; the formation is typical (cf. Norden on 6.605, Jocelyn on Enn.*trag.*91, F.Skutsch, *Kl.Schr.*, 386) of early tragedy. In Gk., cf. perhaps πολύκτονος. See Thome, 78: Allecto is introduced as a champion of creative evil (cf. Thome, 85ff.).

Allecto Named first not here (cf. Apld.*Bibl.*1.1.4 (of increasingly uncertain date) and Cornut.10) but on c.4BC vases, LIMC s.v. *Erinyes*, 51, 88 (and thus presumably in lost literary texts); the etymology offered by Corn.(and by Fulg.*Myth.*1.6; cf. Thome, 80, Paschalis, 252), from α+λήγω ‘ought’ to give *Alecto*, but the ‘illogical’ double consonant is in itself unremarkable (cf. Leumann, 182f.) and we may suspect the influence of Homeric Eris, who gives men the strength to fight ἄλληκτον: cf. **513**, a passage much in V.’s mind. ‘The only instance of a Greek feminine accusative in V.’ Fordyce who is hardly, though, right in suspecting voc. Dido at 4.383 (acc. again, and why not? Cf. NW 1, 525).

dirarum..dearum FMy; sororum M₁γ₁R; sororum by echo from **454**, or perhaps rather by a leap forwards of the eye to **327 sorores**, also at line-end. The adj. is used of the Harpy Celaeno (3.211, 713; cf. 228, 262). Complete identification between Dirae (4.473, 610, 12.845, etc.) and Furies is currently popular (vd. e.g. Lyne, *WP*, 192ff.; such identification is indeed as old as Serv. on 4.473) and the two sets of sisters do share genealogy, along with some epithets and attributes. However, Hübner (38f., 110; cf. *id.*, *Eranos* 92(1994), 24f.) showed that they are actually in some basic respects polar opposites (Dirae, after all belong to this world and their work is to convey divine hostility to the eyes of the living) and his neat demonstration has been noted and (rightly!) accepted *passim* (Schenk, 277, n.164, Horsfall, *AR* 38(1993), 209f., *Companion*, 211, n.129 and, after some hesitation, A.Traina, *RFil.*120 (1992), 497f. = *Poeti latini* 4(Bologna 1994), 159; cf. his avoidance of the issue at *EV* 2, 941). It is important to remember (Thome, 81, Hübner, 5, Grassmann-Fischer, 104, n.33; vd. Tafel, *TLL* 5.1.1268.67ff., 1269.38ff.) that the adjective *d.* belongs firmly to the realm of language used to describe hostile prodigies (*G.*1.488, etc.), and the alliteration of adj. and noun may carry an archaic, even sacral flavour (cf. too S.Donaldson, *LCM* 13(1988), 100f.). On the homoeoteleuton, cf. **18**. For the rich confusion between Dirae and Furies after V., cf. Thome, 81ff..

ab sede Cf. **209**, **454**, as well as **562**.

325 infernis..tenebris Locating Allecto and her sisters decisively and from the outset in the Underworld (vd. **dirarum** *supra* and for the adj., cf. **771**): cf. **476 Stygiis..alis**, **479 Cocytia uirgo**, **514 Tartaream ..uocem**, **557f.** and in particular **562** (All. visits the upper air strictly on a return ticket; note the polemic 10.40). Soph. *OC* 1568 calls the Furies $\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\iota\alpha\iota$; cf. *Il.*9.571f. and the ample material at Gruppe, 767, n.3. Widely attested for kindred deities too: cf. Enn.'s Discordia (**323**) as well as Homer's Gorgons (*Od.*11.634) and Pherecydes' Harpies, 71B5DK. For V.'s use of *infernus* (as from Pacuv. *trag.* 212; cf. Lucr.3.628) as against archaic *inferus*, cf. Thome, 183. All. is herself **atra** (**329**), is a daughter of Night (**331**) or darkness (Soph. *OC* 40) and appropriately comes from the **tenebris** of Hell (cf. Cic. *carm.*Soph.1.40, Lucr.1.115, Cat.3.13, Thome, 200f.).

ciet Juno calls upon Aeolus (1.50-2); Allecto's home is in Hades, so Juno summons her up into her own element. The verb mysteriously under 'advocare, nominare' at *EV* 1, 781; here, brusquely, 'summons' (cf. Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.1056.35f.); incitement to specific action comes later. Cf. 6.165, 10.198.

cui.. / 326 ..cordi Not locatival in origin (*pace* Fordyce, Harrison on 10.252) but simply a final dative, as shown by the quantity of comparable expressions, for which a locatival origin cannot hold (LHS, 99, KS 1, 343, Ernout-Thomas, 77; above all, see J.H.Schmalz, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*36(1916), 1123ff.); *quinquies* in *Aen.* and cf. Lucr.4.783, 5.1391, (?)6.14 (common in comedy and prose and possibly deriving from prayer-language: NH on Hor.C.1.17.14, Ogilvie on Liv.1.39.4). An anticipation of **Discordia** (**545**)? So M.Fernandelli, *Maia* 51 (1999), 23ff.. Perhaps.

tristia bella *Tristis..belli* at Cic. *de cons.*fr.2.20; cf. *Buc.*6.7, Hor.*Ars* 73. Cf. **545**.

326 irae V. here reaches both forwards into the civil wars of his own experience (cf. **462** (of Turnus) **ira super**) and back to Homer's Eris (cf. Horsfall 1971, 124, Thome, 176ff.), who arouses *irae* in the hearts of warriors: cf. on **Allecto 324**; $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\grave{\eta}\ \lambda\alpha\omicron\upsilon\kappa\kappa\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma$ at *Il.*11.48 and herself $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\upsilon\tilde{\iota}\alpha$ at 4.440, she incites $\nu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\tilde{\iota}\omicron\nu\ .\ .\ \acute{\omicron}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\tilde{\nu}$ at *ib.*444f..

..que..que Cf. **470**

insidiae Cf. 12.335f. *circumque* [sc. around Mars] *atrae Formidinis ora / Iraeque Insidiaeque*. We will remember Juno's criticism of All. at **552 terrorum et fraudis abunde est** (cf. Thome, 206); perhaps more important, behind V. must be the personified Apate, daughter of

Night (Hes. *Theog.*224 and in art, vd. on **456 facem**; cf. too Gruppe, 1079, n.6, G.G.Belloni, *LIMC* 1.1, 875f.)

crimina noxia In the same sense as **339 sere crimina belli**? Necessarily, according to Thome, 92f., but the presence of the dependent gen. at **339** (cf. **577**) complicates the issue and there seems to be no ring-composition between **326** and **339** so clear as to impose identity of sense. Thome (90ff., 95) and I agree that a meaning close to that of the Eng. 'crime' is attested for *crimen* in V., though not very often: cf. Thome, 90, n.190, *OLD* s.v.§4: in particular vd. 2.65f. *accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno/ disce omnis*, 10.851(?), Horsfall 1971, 42, Thome, 95, n.208. After **irae** and **insidiae** mere 'accusations' would come as an unwelcome diminuendo, while 'criminal acts' are actually intensification. The adj. is no easier: at 6.731 the *noxia corpora* are necessarily to be understood (within the parameters of possible Latin usage!) in terms of the role assigned to the body in V.'s sources (Plat. *Phaed.*65a, 66a, *Phaedr.*250c, etc.); they are, that is, *noxia*, harmful, in as much as they *tardant*, delay, the progress of the spirit. That sense of *noxius* has hitherto been thought Ovidian (and later: Thome, 97, *OLD* s.v.§2), but it clearly *could* also be Virgilian! Here too, then, these 'criminal acts' could likewise be 'pernicious' (as indeed they prove to be) and not simply 'guilt-laden' (for which sense Thome, *cit.*, argues with ingenuity and elegance). Either way, we should clearly compare **nocendi**, **338**, **511** (Horsfall 1971, 42, Thome, *cit.*), though Thome is quite right to note that here the adj. refers to **crimina** and in the passages just cited the cognate verb applies more explicitly to All.'s very essence. The phrase in any case takes up the structure of **tristia bella**, after the paired nouns intervening. The manner of this description is (cf. Buchheit, 75, n.294) particularly exalted: with **infernis..tenebris dirarum ad sede dearum** is coupled; 325-6 contains quadruple attributes, the first and last balancing, the second and third a natural pair; there is gemination of the verb, with number-shift, in **327** (Wills, 293); in **328-9** further gemination. the majestic whole anticipates the *Gebetstil* of **331ff.**

327 odit..odere Zeus tells Ares that he hates him most of all the gods (*Il.*5.890; cf. 9.454, 20.65); [Aeschylus] calls the Gorgons βροτοτυγῆϊς (*PV* 799) and the Erinyes are μισήματα ἄνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων (*Eum.*73; cf. 191f., 410f., 417, *Od.*2. 135, 20.78, *AR* 3.712). Cf. Wills, 293 for the (very common) repetition with number-shift.

et For single *et* (or *-que*) in the first of balancing, asyndetic clauses, with repeated verb, cf. Wagner and Clausen on *Buc.*4.6, Fordyce here and on **75**; at **516**, the ‘surprising’ first member suggests a sense of ‘even’ and here too **et** may imply Pluto’s paradoxical (because paternal) loathing of the horror he has fathered.

ipse pater Pluton Not so much a reference to Pluto’s status as ruler of the Underworld (: *pater omnipotens*) as an allusion (cf. **328**) to the (Orphic) genealogy by which the Furies are descended from Pluto and Persephone (cf. *HOrph.*29.6, 68.8, etc., Wüst, 85.45f., Gruppe, 767, n.3).

sorores/ 328 Tartareae However Hellish her sisters (the adj. is in some sense concessive), still Allecto is the worst of the brood. The other two Furies (cf. **324**) are named Tisiphone and Megaera (*Apld. Bibl.*1.1.4; cf. *Aen.*6.570ff., Thome 104, n.228). The adj. (cf. **325** for All. as Hellish in general) is Ciceronian (*carm. Soph.*2.40; cf. **589, 753** for the status of adjs. in *-eus*), for Enn.’s *Tartarino* (**323**) cf. Thome, 190.

328 monstrum *Haec monstra* Cic. remarks of a list beginning *Amor, Dolus, Metus, Labor* and ending *Parcae, Hesperides, Somnia, quos omnis Erebo e Nocte natos ferunt* (*ND* 3.44; it includes *Mors, Tenebrae* and *Fraus*; cf. *Aen.*6.285); the term has spread far beyond its origin in the language of portents (cf. **81, 270**) and V. uses it of *Fama* (4.181), *Dira* (12.874), *Harpy* (3.214), *Cacus, Polyphemus*, and of All. again at **348**. Cf. Pease on 4.181, *EV* 3, 575 (Stok), Thome, 100f., *TLL* 8.1450.63 (Szantyr).

tot../ 329 tam..tot Cf. *G.*2.155f., *Aen.*1.9f., 10.482, 568, 888 and notably 4.182f. (mixing *tot* and *totidem*) of *Fama*; for gemination of *tam* cf. *Lucr.*2.1088, 5.12, 6.101ff., *Cat.*22.17, *Ciris* 291.

sese uertit in ora Cf. the ποικιλόμορφος..Ἐριννύς of Nonn. 32.100; for the rest, the Fury’s capacity for metamorphosis derives apparently, like her descent from Pluto (**327**) from ‘Orphic’ texts (*HOrph.* 69.8, 12, *Hymn. Mag.*5.9 (*Orphica*, p. 293 Abel); cf. **448f.** (fiery eyes) for another attribute Orphic (cf. Gruppe, 765, n.4) but not distinctively so. See F.Solmsen in Harrison, *OR*, 210f., *EV* 2, 957f. (Setaioli), Boyancé, 154f. for sane views of V.’s knowledge of such texts (vd. now also Horsfall, *cit.*, **182**). For the language, cf. Juno’s very different **quae memet in omnia uerti** (**309**); separation of **tot** and **in ora** gives added force to both. For All.’s capacity for metamorphosis, cf. **415f.**

329 saeuae facies Cf. Lyssa μαρμαρωπός at Eur.*HF* 884, the Gorgon βλοκυρῶπις at *Il.*11.36 and the Furies δεινῶπιες at

Soph.*OC* 84. The adj. is used both of Juno (**287**, **592**) and of All. herself at **511** (cf. Thome, 104).

pullulat An agricultural metaphor (cf. **322 recidiua**, **339f.**, and the sinister **seges** of **526**): cf. *G.2.17*, *Colum.4.27.1*, Horsfall 1971, 125. C.Weber suggests (*CP* 84(1990), 211; cf. O'Hara, 189) that there might even be play with *pullus*, dark; a notion not to be excluded out of hand.

atra Claimed by Bell, 319 as enallage. But is it really? Is not All. herself just as *atra* as her serpents, who are, after all, part of her? Cf. **456**, **466**, **525**, **565** for the adj.. Whatever we may think of the 'etymological' link between Furies and *furuus* (Paul.exc.Fest. 74.11; cf. Thome, 118. Wisely eschewed by O'Hara and Paschalis), the blackness of the Hellish Fury is a fixed attribute since Aesch. (*Eum.52*, *Sept.977*, etc., Horsfall 1971, 126, Thome, 117ff.; cf. **346**, and discussions of *ater infra*), as indeed of other comparable deities (Gorgons: Aesch. *Cho.1049*, Harpies (*Epigr.Gr.* 1046.14 Kaibel), Keres (Mimn. fr.2.5), Poenae (Strab.3.5.11); cf. A.Hermann, *RAC* s.v.*Farbe*, 393, André, 363f., Edgeworth, 81f.).

colubris Cf. **352**. All. will use her snakes against both Amata and Turnus (**346** (and cf. **351** for the snake as attribute of Bacchants), **450**): associated with Aeschylus' Furies (*Eum.126f.*, *Cho.1049f.*); similarly with Hecate (Gruppe, 1289, n.2), Dirae (*Aen.12.* 847f.), Lyssa (*Eur.HF* 883), Gorgons (**341**; cf. Pind.*Pyth.10.48*). Cf. E.Küster, *Die Schlange* (*RVV* 13.2, Giessen 1913).

330 quam Iuno..acuit *Illum acuebant, otium et solitudo*, Cic.*Off.3.1*, *Rosc.Am.110*, etc., *TLL.1.462.23* (Klotz); also at *Lucr.6.278*. Cf. **406 primos acuisse furores**. All. will prove only too ready to help; she has but to be primed for the work in hand.

his..uerbis Dictis in γ(=P)R (under the influence of **292**, **323**?) against **uerbis FM**. Cf. 2.775, 3.153, 8.35, 11.342 for *his..dictis* in a speech-opening (contrast **373**); the variation **uerbis** is exceptional.

ac talia fatur 12x. in *Aen.*; cf. Moskalew, 65, Hightet (**599**), 211. Cf. ὥς φάτο.

331-340 While a good deal of attention has been paid to the relationship between this speech and Juno's request to Aeolus at 1.65-75 (cf. Buchheit, 66f., Knauer, 217, 234f.), though Hera, at *Il.2.157-65*, stands in an essentially different relationship to Athena, (Hightet, 265, Feeney, 162f.), it has, like Juno's preceding monologue (to which it is thematically related by the references to torches, to *Aen.*'s imminent marriage, to the urgent need for war) received minimal attention in

detail. Again, V. gives Juno biological metaphors to use (though I do not really see **Saturnia** behind the **sere** of **339**), and again he concludes with a dense and elaborate conceit (**338-9**). Juno's language contains elements both colloquial (**331 da proprium**), and of *Gebetstil* (**331 da**, **332 sata Nocte**, **335 tu, potes**, **337 nomina mille**), for one deity is after all addressing another, though Allecto is far readier to oblige than Aeolus (after all, she does not answer, but acts at once) and Juno's tactic is simply to explain to the Fury the exquisite suitability of the task in hand to her peculiar talents.

331 hunc mihi da proprium..laborem Serv. and TCD both take the *labor* as *proprius* of All., but this interpretation does not correspond to good Latin usage (cf. Horsfall 1971, 42f., Fordyce); the task is Juno's to command: cf. Plaut.*Trin.*1130f. *nam beneficium, homini proprium quod datur, prosum perit, / quod datum utendumst, id repetundi copias quando uelit*, Lucil.701 *cum sciam nihil esse in uita proprium mortali datum*, Bell.*Afr.*32, Hor.*Serm.* 2.2.133ff. [*ager*] *erit nulli proprius, sed cedit in usum / nunc mihi, nunc alii*, 2.6.4f., Epic.*Drusi* 369f. *uita data est utenda, data est sine fenore nobis / propria* (?). Cf. Austin on 6.871 and Heinze's splendid n. on Lucr.3.971. In the closely parallel scene, 1.76f. Aeolus says to Juno *tuus, o regina, quid optes / explorare labor, mihi iussa capessere fas est*. **Da proprium** is by no means exclusively colloquial (*OLD* indicates equally Cic., Caes.), but we have learned (cf. **293ff.**) that for Juno to begin in popular idiom would be a familiar Virgilian technique. **Da** is familiar prayer-language (cf. **δός**): cf. Appel, 133f., *Od.*3.60, 9.530, *Aen.*2.691, 3.85 (*da propriam, Thymbraee, domum*), 10.421 (with Harrison's n.).

uirgo Cf. (e.g.) Aesch.*Eum.*68f., 791, Soph.*Aj.*835f., *OC* 127, *HOrph.* 69.8, 70.10; compare too Hecate (Lyc.1175f.), Harpies (*Aen.*3.216), Lyssa (Eur.*HF* 834), Moirai (Lyc.437).

sata Nocte For **s.**, cf. **152**, for Nox, cf. **138**. The suppliant, in prayer language, conventionally relates the addressee's parentage: Norden, *AT*, 148f., Kroll on Cat.34.5, NH on Hor.*C.*1.10.1. A traditional genealogy of the Furies (and particularly appropriate for the black All. who acts by night against both Amata and Turnus; cf. **325**, Thome, 201f.): 12.846, Aesch.*Eum.*322, etc. (cf. Soph.*OC* 40 and contrast *Apld.Bibl.*1.1.4, after Hes.). The same parentage for Dirae (12.846), Hecate (Schol.*AR* 3.467), Lyssa (Eur.*HF* 822, etc.; König, 124), Apate, Nemesis, Eris, Moirai, Keres (Hes. *Theog.*217f., 223ff.).

332 hanc operam The gemination **hunc..hanc**, far less striking than **295 medias..medios**, draws our attention both to the marked

hyperbaton **hunc..laborem**, which sets in relief the service that Juno is claiming of All. (cf. **proprium**) and to the duplication (in diminuendo) **laborem ..operam** (Juno in her urgency twice draws All.'s attention to the real work in hand); the latter word curiously only here in V. (Cat.3.17, Lucr.4.616, etc., *decies* in *trag.fr.*, *ter* in *Enn. Ann.*); Axelson, 59 suspects a prosaism, but misses its ample archaic antecedents: apparently a word that has sunk in status, most appropriate after **331 proprium**. *Operam dare* is standard for 'to apply oneself', but here **da** governs first and foremost **laborem**, in *Gebetstil*, with the inescapable sense of 'grant'; **da..operam** is therefore virtually zeugma, and we are left to wonder whether Juno repeats herself or urges A. to perform her task with application.

noster honos Cf. *Buc.*5.78 *semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt* (= *Aen.*1.609). The nom. in *-os* is the old form and used when taste, sound and metre require (cf. Leumann, 179, Austin on 1.253): Horace oscillates (*CS* 57 against *C.*2.11.9), V. keeps always to the old nom.. Juno's sense of what is due to her is unusually developed (cf. 1.49, 3.547 for Juno and *h.* in the more limited sense of 'rites').

infractae.. / 333 fama Cf. 5.784 (of Juno) *nec Iouis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit* (a passage much in V.'s mind; cf. **298**). *Infringo* Lucretian (3.155, 5.1328) and Williams' suspicion that it might have a military flavour is unfounded; that V. uses the verb elsewhere (the participle *sexies* in *Aen.*) in military contexts proves very little, without marked support from *Caes./Sall./Liv.*. *Serv.* regularly hesitates between *aut ualde fracta aut re uera infracta!* As at 1.48, Juno presents her whole standing at risk if but a single enterprise fails (cf. Buchheit, 22).

cedat / 333 ..loco Rightly identified by TCD as military language (*uerbum est ex re militari sumptum*; cf. *Serv./SDan.* *ad Aen.*7.468, 8.653, 9.605, 10.279, 314, 11.453); cf. *Sall.Cat.*9.4, *Caes.BG* 7.62.7, *BC* 2.41.4, *Liv.*24.14.7, etc., Horsfall 1971, 128.

333 conubiis ambire Latinum Juno knows (**313**) that the marriage will occur, but that is no obstacle to a campaign of obstruction (Buchheit, 76, n.297, Paratore). The goddess attributes to Aen. a scheme to entrap Lat. into (or 'by means of') a marriage alliance (that Latinus was the marriage's proposer is of no importance to her! For **c.**, cf. **555**); this is a sense of *ambire* far more blunt (*circumueniri* paraphrases TCD here and *Serv.* *amplecti, circumretire*) than the common prose 'to canvass, solicit' (cf. NH on *Hor.C.*1.35.5): cf. *SDan.*, *Serv.* on 4.283 *ambire: blanditiis uel subdole circumuenire* (see Clausen, *THP*, 45f.

on Aen. 'getting round' Dido with the right words); cf. (?)Lucil. 1220, *TLL* 1.1850.30, von Mess (while *OLD* quite misses this sense).

334 Aeneadae It is of course only Aen., for the moment, who may look to a Latin match; cf. *Vergilius* 35(1989), 21f. and Green (**546**), 417f. on the whole issue of *epigamia* between Trojans and Italians. The patronymic is Accian (subtitle of his *Decius!*) and in V. a lofty alternative for 'Trojans' (**616**; Vinchiesi, *EV* 3, 1030).

possint No marriage as yet; the chances of effective obstruction are therefore much higher.

Italos..finis Cf. 3.440, 5.82, 6.345f., *EV* 2, 527; already Lucr. 6.1116f. and, given Plaut.*Amph.*215, it is safer than usual to suspect an Ennian origin.

obsidere Cf. Caes.*BC* 1.67.3 *omnia loca atque itinera obsidere* and Tib. 2.3.41 *praedator cupit immensos obsidere campos* (*bis* already in Lucr.; cf. Bailey on 4.1092, Lossau, *TLL* 9.2.222.7); 3.400 *Sallentinos obsedit milite campos* might equally come from *obsideo*, but the sense of 'hold in force' is valid for both *obsideo* and *obsido* and it may reasonably be thought artificial to distinguish two separate verbs (so, helpfully, Lossau, *cit.*; cf. Leumann, 564).

335 tu potes../ 336..tu/ 337..tibi As at (e.g.) 1.65ff., 229f., Virgilian deities make requests of each other in *Gebetstil* (cf. **331**), of which the anaphoric address to the deity is one of the most familiar features (Norden, *AT*, 149ff., Appel, 141f., NH on Hor.*C.* 1.10.9, Austin on 1.78ff., Wills, 83, 361f.). **Potes** is likewise traditional in such contexts: cf. West on Hes.*Theog.*420, Norden, *AT*, 154, 221, and on 6.117, Appel, 153, NH on Hor.*C.*1.28.28, Harrison on 10.81.

unanimos..fratres It is civil war that Juno is seeking to raise in Italy, of which fratricide, both literal and mythological (the *exemplum* of Romulus), was one of the most nightmarish aspects, in the eyes of V.'s generation: cf. Cat.64.399 *perfudere manus fraterno sanguine fratres*, Lucr.3.72 *crudeles gaudent in tristi funere fratris*, G.2.496, 510, Jal, 406f.; for Rom., cf. Hor.*Epd.*7.17f. (with Mankin's n.), Cic.*Off.*3.41, Liv. 1.6.3f., Bremmer, *RMM*, 37, R.Schilling, *REL* 38(1960), 182ff.. Brothers *ought* to be *unanimi* (at least in any world out of Juno's reach); here therefore the adj. almost concessive. Cf. 6.827 (Caesar and Pompey) **concordes animae nunc et dum nocte prementur**. Cf. **317**, Cairns, 101, Gleis, 183. The adj.*ter* in V. (*magnanimus* 14x, *exanimis/-us* 14x, *semianimis quinquies*); part of the Grecising archaic lexical heritage (cf. Pacuv.'s *flexanimus*, Harrison on 10.139, Skutsch on Enn.*Ann. vestigia* xii); *unanimus/-is* is from Catullus (*ter*), but Gk. ὁμόθυμος is

attested only in Hesych.! Perhaps, though, cf. ὁμοφρονέοντε and cognates.

armare in proelia Cf. 3.540 *bello armantur equi*; for the verb, cf. **648** (attested with a wide variety of constructions to indicate scope or purpose, *OLD* s.v. §1a).

336 odiis uersare domos Cf. **407 consiliumque omnemque domum uertisse Latini**, *Buc.* 9.5 *quoniam Fors omnia uersat*. Hate is already both present in Juno (**298**) and inspired by Allecto herself (**336**); it belongs also to the violent language of public life at the end of the republic (Hellegouarc'h, 191ff.). All. will both split Latinus' family, and destroy Turnus' relations with it.

uerbera tectis The Fury holds a whip not first here (despite Wüst, 126.56ff.): if not at Aesch. *Cho.*290, then at Lyc.436-8, who must have thought that Aesch. mentioned a whip; cf. too S.Ital.RF vases, *LIMC* s.v. *Erinys*, 11, 12a (but not, *pace* Horsfall, 1971, 128, *ib.*58); cf. also *Aen.*6.570 (Tisiphone), Cornut.10, VF 7.149 (with Perutelli's n.), Gruppe, 766, n.3 (frequent in Nonnus!). Note also 8.703 (Bellona; cf., of Ares, Aesch.*Agam.*642), and (of Lyssa) the σκορπίου βέλος of Aesch. *Xantriae* fr.169.3 Radt, and the κέντρον of Eur.*HF* 881f.. A threat here and in general, rather than an actual weapon, I suspect (cf. **347**, **456**). Cf. further **405**, **456**: Juno announces Allecto as already armed with just those instruments of terror that she will really or metaphorically employ.

337 funereas..faces Not only part of a Fury's standard armament (**456f.**), but suggestive of death and destruction (**319f.**), of the blaze of war implicit in Lavinia's wedding (whoever the groom may be, *ib.*), and of the torches actually carried by the Bacchants Allecto inspires (**397**). Literal funeral torches at 11.143; possibly a Virgilian coinage (*ter* in *Aen.*) for prose *funeris* (in Hor.*Epd.* and *Ep.*1).

inferre Cf. Cic.*Parad.*28 *tectis sceleratas faces inferebas*, Liv.4.33.4 *faces..infertis*.

nomina mille Each of a deity's powers requires a special title; hence, the more powers, the more titles and the use of πολυώνυμος as an all-purpose epithet (West on Hes.*Theog.*785, Norden, *AT*, 144f., Fordyce here, Bornmann on Call.*H.*3.7, Gow on Theocr.15.109, Privitera on Pind.*Isth.*5.1). Serv., after Asper, cites Euripides (fr. 1022N₂): *mille autem secundum Euripiden, in cuius tragoedia dicit furia, se non esse unius potestatis, sed se Fortunam, se Nemesin, se Fatum, se esse Necessitatem*. Cf. Tomsin (**543**), 48f., 80, n. 2. At **331** Juno has already

hailed All. as a daughter of darkness; now she assures her that she has inherited sufficient qualities for the task in hand.

338 mille A most unusual repetition of the numeral (cf. uniquely SHA *Aurel.* 6.5, *Probus* 19.4), though ‘adjacent repetition’ is in itself common enough (Wills, 395); the inverted order of *mille* (and *milia*) is not frequent, either, at least in the Augustan poets (Hor.*Serm.* 1.5.25, Ov.*Tr.* 4.10.4; for the plur., Lucr. 4.412, *Ciris* 248, 521; Bulhart, *TLL* 8.979.69, 980.1ff., 981.24f.); this mannered inversion leads, however to a striking chiasmic sequence.

nocendi artes Cf. **511 tempus dea nacta nocendi**, 5.618 Iris (another of Juno’s emissaries) *haud ignara nocendi*, Thome, 234f. (with an ample report of the *TLL* material). These three words (**m.n.a.**) enjoyed a remarkable *fortuna* in later, particularly Christian poetry (P. Courcelle in *Mél.P. Boyancé* (Rome 1974), 219ff.). Cf. **noxia**, **326**. If **artes** were the plur. of **arte** used as at **477**, where **arte noua** refers simply to a ‘new trick’, then the gerund would be virtually a *genitivus inhaerentiae*; far easier to take **artes** as at 6.852 *hae tibi erunt artes*, ‘her skills or talents in doing harm’.

fecundum..pectus ‘Fertile’ inevitably in no natural or normal sense (as Cic.*de cons.* fr. 2.74, *fuderunt claras fecundi pectoris artis*), but as containing the monstrous seeds of war (**339**). Cf. 6.598f. *fecundaque poenis/ uiscera*.

concute ‘Search’, ‘ransack’, Fordyce (but with, correctly, the metaphor of shaking out a garment); no better than Lyne’s notion that the sense of **c.** is agricultural (which indeed it is), with the mysterious and unexplained sense of ‘rake’, ‘harrow’ (*WP*, 141, n.25). The context is rich in agricultural imagery (**322 recidiua**, **329 pullulat**), and the verb here must be understood in combination both with **fecundum** and with **sere**: V. uses of All. a word deliberately too violent (*concutere* e.g. of shaking acorns out of an oak, *G.* 1.159) for the underlying image, which here is that of the Fury sowing, from the fertile folds of her *sinus*, the seeds of war (another sinister crop, as at **526**). *Excutere* is common of ‘shaking out’ the folds of a garment (Plaut.*Aul.* 646, Petr. 128.4; so too, metaphorically, Hor.*Serm.* 1.3.34f. *concute* (cf. *inseuerit* in the next verse); of ropes, *Aen.* 3.683); a Fury can hardly be expected to go to war with the farmer’s orthodox bag or basket (Pallad. 10.3.1, K.D. White, *Roman farming* (London 1970), 179) and V.’s readers will scarcely have forgotten the story of Fabius at Carthage *sinu ex toga facto*, ‘*hic*’ inquit ‘*uobis bellum et pacem portamus*’..*cum is iterum sinu effuso*

bellum dare dixisset.(Liv.21.18.13f.); this episode is already related at Plb.3.33.2 and we might imagine that Enn. had not passed it by in *Ann.*7 (note too the *sinu* of Sil.2.384 and Flor.1.22.7, who continues **excusso..gremio ..quasi plane sinu bellum ferret**). Of comparable force is the image at 12.499 *irarumque omnis effundit habenas*.

339 dissice The verb at Naev.*com.*57, Enn.*trag.*84, Acc.*trag.*348, Cic. *Arat.*427, in Lucr.*septies* (including frequentative forms). Here **M₅R_γV₁** have **dissice** against the **disice** of **MV**; they should be followed without absolute conviction (cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 414, NW 2, 920ff.). Only here in V. with an abstract object, but note (Knauer, 232) 1.70 *dissice corpora ponto*, in Juno's instructions to Aeolus.

compositam pacem The attentive reader of V.'s narrative will recall that peace between Aen. and Lat. has not yet formally been made (**263ff.**, **547**; cf. 12.821f., Liv.2.13.4—but 12.314f. *compositae leges* may refer only to the truce; cf. on the whole tricky problem, T.Kinsey, *SIFC* 77(1984), 240ff.)

sere Cf. 12.228 *rumoresque serit uarios*, Liv.3.40.10 *ciuiles discordias serant*; here, though (**338**), All. is required to sow in a more literal sense.

crimina belli Serv. glosses *causas*; Y.Thomas, quite correctly (*EV* 1, 933) paraphrases 'Giunone ordina ad Alletto di seminare cattive ragioni, rimproveri che provochino la guerra' (so too Horsfall 1971, 43). This is exactly the situation of **573ff.** ; at **577**, **crimine caedis** means simply 'accusations of homicide' and 'accusations which lead to war' is slightly harder but hardly strains V.'s use of the objective genitive; at cf. 12.600 *se causam clamat crimenque caputque malorum*, *c.* suggests 'the person responsible' for the *mala*. At **326** All. was said to have **crimina noxia cordi**; there, however, the sense seems rather 'crimes' than 'accusations'.

340 arma Fulfilled by **460** (Turnus) **arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit** (cf. O'Hara, *DOP*, 62, n.1). Compare (Heyne, König, 402) Heracles' call for arms at Eur.*HF* 942 but cf. rather the ancient ritual to which V. alludes at **460**, though of course such patterns of reference are not exclusive in V..

uelit Cf. 12.242 *arma uolunt*.

poscatque simul The desire and the demand in one breath (3.471 is lumbering by comparison): cf. 11.453 *arma manu trepidi poscunt*, 12.326 *poscit equos atque arma simul*, Caes.*BG* 1.27.3, Cic.*ad Brut.*5.1, Sall. *Hist.*2.47.6.

rapiatque Cf. Liv.39.54.3 *plerique arma ex agris rapta habebant*; with

arripio, familiar in historical prose, (Caes.*BC* 2.14.3, Sall.*Jug.*72.2, Liv. 5.47.4), **520**.

iuuentus Cf. **672**, **812**. The line is splendidly constructed, between initial object and concluding subject; a triad of verbs in crescendo of intensity and weight (cf. LHS 722f.).

341-539 Eduard Fraenkel examined the structure of the three stages of Allecto's intervention with Olympian perceptivity and since his paper of 1945 (145ff.) we might add Otis, 325f., Setaioli 244f.. The formal regularity of these scenes is remarkable: swelling, spreading madness is narrated in meticulous hidden order:

- (i) **341-405** Allecto and Amata (65 lines)
- (ii) **406-474** Allecto and Turnus (69 lines)
- (iii) **475-539** Allecto and Ascanius (66 lines).

Each of these scenes is further divided (Fraenkel, 152) into initial assault and subsequent amplification, and within each, strategically—though not quite symmetrically—placed, stands a simile:

- (i) (a) **341-372**
- (b) **373-405** (intensification specified at **373ff.**). Simile **378-383**.
- (ii) (a) **406-444**
- (b) **445-474** (intensification specified at **445**). Simile **462-466**.
- (iii) (a) **475-510**
- (b) **511-540** (intensification specified at **523-525**). Simile **528-530**.

Fraenkel writes (153) of the 'different private egoisms' upon which Allecto works, and critics from Heinze (305f.) to Lyne (*FV*, 66; Feeney, 169f. is subtler) are convinced that Allecto on each occasion fans the flames which already burn within each major participant; I do not agree, at least for the second and third scenes (cf. on **341-72**). For Macr.'s notorious critique of these lines, cf. **323-40**, **373-405**, **406-474** and in particular **475-539**.

341-72 The regal solidity of the quiet threshold of Amata's chamber by night is assaulted from without and within, by Allecto and by the queen's anxieties, in sharp contrast to the setting (cf. Dido, 4.5, 522ff., La Penna (1967), 312). In this scene alone, we sense that the Fury may actually be to some extent 'working with' pre-existing human passions (**376**, **385**; contrast **413**, **438** and note the exceptional ethical complexity of **476-540**). Yet the growth of Amata's madness is irregular and discontinuous and her long, obsessive, though not fundamentally irrational, domestic battle with Latinus

over their daughter's marriage continues to the very beginning of her ὀρειβάκία. The sinister and impalpable effect of Allecto's snake is interwoven with almost routine marital discord; in this subtle and continuous interplay, the first traces of imported unreason are not easily distinguished from her pre-existent preoccupations. Just what All.'s snake achieves, as distinct from the queen's own troubled spirit is not clear, just as we cannot predict what Amata's end might have been without demonic destabilisation (or, for that matter, without devouring concerns). Behind Amata's slide into madness thanks to Juno's intervention is Dido's destruction by love thanks to Venus', and behind both, AR 3: love and madness share the imagery of fire. Most striking, perhaps (Nelis, 290), is that both Medea (AR 3.296) and Amata (350) are unaware of what is being wrought against them. Lyssa at Eur.HF 858ff. is an altogether remoter inspiration. Cf. Balk, 74-7, Fantham in Stahl, 135-53, Feeney, 164-8 (with J.J.O'Hara, *Vergilius* 39(1993), 92), Heinze, 184f., König, 123-63, A.La Penna, *Maia* 19(1967), 309-18 :: *id.*, *EV* 1, 127, Schweizer, 22-5, Setaioli, 250-6, Thome, 130-3. On Am., cf. also J.W.Zarker, *Vergilius* 15(1969), 2ff., P.Burke, *ib.* 22(1976), 24ff., E.Carney, *Athen.* 66(1988), 429-32. Amata as Bacchant raises separate issues and is discussed at **373-405**.

341 exim A lofty transition: Ennian (*Ann.* 43, etc.) and Lucretian (3.160). Handier than *exinde* (*Cic.Orat.* 154, *Fest.* 72.9), but before consonants simply a variant of *exin* developed by analogy with e.g. *olim* (Skutsch on *Enn.loc.cit.*, Leumann, 482, NW 2, 672f., M.Bettini, *MD* 15(1985), 167 with n.6). Here **exim** in **My** against the **exin** of **RV** (cf. the mss. at 6.890, 8.306, 12.92); the old, high form pretty clearly to be preferred.

Gorgoneis..uenenis Gorgons (single in Hom., multiple in the Epic cycle; cf. West on Hes.*Theog.* 274) and Furies are of the same stamp (cf. **323-40**; Aesch.*Eum.* 48f., Eur.HF 882, *Orest.* 260f.). V. may also have in mind the action of Libya's poisonous snakes (born of the drops of blood that fell from the slaughtered Gorgon's head, carried by Perseus): so AR on the founding of Alexandria (fr.4, Powell). These snakes carry their venom in their breath (**351**, **753**), but also (**755**) more conventionally bite. Adjectives in *-eus* (**589**, **669**, **753**) regularly shorten the *-ei-* of the Greek original (Leumann, 286f., Lunelli-Leumann, 163f.); cf. Prop. 3.3.32, but the form here is probably coined by V..

infecta Cf. the *infectum..scelus* of 6.742, Plin.*Nat.* 7.64 *insanabili ueneno*

morsus inficitur, 29.74 *omnia poma inficit ueneno*. The Fury is in some way herself poisoned by the snakes (themselves of course poisonous) in her hair; Conington and Heyne are rather too concerned to impose sense and logic upon V.'s studied and sinister imprecision.

342 principio Strongly Lucretian in flavour, taken up by V. to introduce exegesis proper at G.2.9 and 4.8. *Hoc mandatis non inseruerat Iuno* complains TCD, unfairly; she had specified goals, not methods and V. signals formally All's first move.

Latium et Laurentis Latium is , in general terms, scene of the action from **38** (and by poetic anticipation much earlier: 1.6, etc.; cf. *Vergilius* 35(1989), 22f.), while the nameless *urbs* of the Laurentes (**171**) is its focal point (cf. further, *EV* 3, 141f.).

tecta.. / 343 celsa Adjective precedes noun apparently for alliteration's sake; the *capanne* of primitive Latium are endowed with epic grandeur, yet again (cf. **413**, **512**), but here, I should be inclined to describe the epithet so used as no more than banal. We should not however exclude that the juxtaposition of adj. and verb carries a quite different meaning: that Allecto makes for Latinus' palace through the sky (**celsa**; cf. **287**); cf. G.1.375 *aeriae fugere grues*, 11.726 *summo sedet altus Olympo*. The adj. is used of the heights of the mythological world at 1.56, 6.805 (cf. *Ov. Met.* 1.178, *Manil.* 3.180, *Ciris* 34), and frequently of the heavens after V. (e.g. *Sen. Ep.* 107.10). Rational grounds for decision seem wanting; 'interest' apart, word-order (or *sedes*; cf. (e.g.) 2.474) does perhaps rather favour 'aloft'.

tyranni Neither here nor at the similarly alliterative **266** (Lat. of Aeneas himself) is any comprehensibly negative connotation present (cf. *EV* 5*, 342, Cairns, 4, n.6, Harrison on 10.448).

343 petit Cf. **512**, **562**. Not likely to be perfect (NW 3, 447 should never have cited 9.9).

tacitumque.. limen Quiet in contrast to the coming storm, of words and actions (cf. **414**, **505**, 2.255); Serv.'s *pro tacite* is not unvirgilian, but rather, here at least, misconceived. The hypallage is altogether acceptable, and may indeed be present, but we should above all bear in mind that the threshold, here as often, is symbolic of regal state and authority (cf. **579** (ambiguous), 1.707, 2.441, *et passim* (cf. *EV* 3, 225f.), 4.134, 11.235. A. Traina (*RFil.* 118(1990), 493 = *Poeti latini* 4(Bologna 1994), 142f.) notes acutely the various difficulties inherent in Lyne's reading of this scene through the lens of the *exclusus amator* (*FV*, 13ff.).

obsedit Cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 698 *aram obsidere*, *trag. inc.* (18 Ribb.) *ap.* Cic.

*Div.*2.115 *qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides* (?), *Ov.Met.*4.490 *aditumque obsedit Erinys*, *Sil.*8.634, *OLD* s.v. §§2a,3; All. frequents the entrance to Amata's quarters undeviatingly, like Charybdis (3.421 *obsidet*; cf. **66**), waiting for Amata to reach the right state of anxiety; the verb is not necessarily military (or erotic) in tone (*pace* Lyne).

Amatae Regia coniunx at **56**; A. is (almost certainly) mentioned in the 'Latin Fabius' (*FGH*809F29 = fr.1*HRR* (Peter, p.109) = *Serv. ad Aen.*12.603); her suicide again appears in *Piso* (*ap.OGR* 13.8), where already she is Turnus' aunt; *DH* 1.64.2 twice refers to Latinus' wife as 'Amata' (not to be normalised) and makes Tu. her ἀνεψιός (cousin; cf. *OGR* 13.5). Cf. **366** and A.Traina, *Poeti latini* 5 (Bologna 1998), 94f., L.Cardinali, *Prometheus* 21 (1995), 256ff., A.La Penna, *EV* 1, 126, Della Corte, 226ff.. 'Amata' ('Aunt') is not at all likely to be the original form of the name (cf. I.Kajanto, *Latin cognomina* (Helsinki 1965), 79f.), not least because she is not consistently an aunt in the story (vd. *supra*, Lyne, *FV*, 15, n.28; in V., arguably but not explicitly and undeniably an aunt: **57**)! The exact relationship of her name (? 'Beloved'; ? 'Untamed'; cf. Paschalis, 255, with caution) with *amata* (an unexplained appellation of the future Vestal in the ritual of *captio*, by which she enters the college) is equally unclear (M.Beard, *JRS* 70 (1980), 13ff., La Penna *loc.cit.*, Latte, 108, n.4, A.C.Moorhouse, *CR NS* 1 (1951), 1ff.).

344 super As preposition ('about'), tragic (*Pacuv.*237) and comic but not otherwise in poetry before the Aug. period; in V., occasional (*G.*4.560, 1.750, **7.358**, 10.42 with Harrison's n., 839, *LHS*, 281).

aduentu Teucrum Cf. **69**, **168**, *Liv.*1.2.1; also of Hercules (8.201) and Augustus (6.798); cf. Binder, 19.

Turnique hymenaeis Chiasmus and alliteration. On the match between Lavinia and Tu., cf. **423**; it has no objective existence as yet (for the king her father is, decisively, inflexible), but as an illusion will exert a powerful and tragic force. Lucretian (4.1251, where vd. Brown's n.) and Catullan (64.20, 141, 66.11); metrically, a high, hallowed alternative to *conubia* and *coniugium*; cf. Norden, 438 for the Hellenising (and Catullan) polysyllabic ending (cf. *Call.H.*4.296, etc.).

345 femineae In poetry from *Cic.carm.*Soph.1.18; the adj. *undecies* in V., suggestive at times (cf. 4.667, 9.477, 11.878) of a certain intolerance towards feminine emotions and their expression (cf. **806**).

curaeque iraeque *Serv.* notes a pretty chiasmus: *peruerso ordine respondit; nam ira in Troianos est, cura uero de nuptiis*. For the plur. (not always clearly distinct from the sing.!) **irae**, cf. **445**; here, though, as

Fordyce notes, under the influence of the preceding **curae**, which is rendered disconcertingly as ‘rancore furibondo’ by Fedeli (*EV* 1, 962): however deluded Amata’s conviction that an ‘engagement’ exists, her concern for her daughter’s marriage and her vexation with her husband for his delays (however justifiable) and—perhaps—for his unfair (in some sense) treatment of Turnus (cf. **421-34**) are not of themselves proof of rancour or insanity. Real difficulties and tensions within the royal family will not become apparent for another eighty lines (*ib.*). It may be relevant to the cooking metaphor that *cura* was etymologised as *quod cor urat* (Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.208, Varr. *LL* 6.46, O’Hara, 119f.).

ardentem The fire-metaphor from *Cat.*(62.23, 64.197; contrast *Lucr.* 3.663); the **curae** will ‘cook’ their victim (heat, again! cf. **319f.**, **392f.** for comparable ‘doubling’ of fire-words) and *Allecto*’s snake will twist (**implicat**) fire into Am.’s bones (**355**); cf. A.F.Lossev in *Vergiliana*, 199.

coquebant Cf. *Enn. Ann.* 338 *coquit et uersat*; Skutsch detects the effect of the grilled pudding simile at *Od.* 20.24ff.. Note also Gk. ὀπτᾶν (e.g. *Ar. Lys.* 839). Undeniably the language of high poetry, if below stairs; an hors d’oeuvre for Turnus’ cauldron, too.

346 huic Cf. Page’s excellent n. on 12.256 for V.’s use of the dat. for ‘at’, or ‘to’ and now Görler, *EV* 2, 266 (further bibl. in Harrison’s n. on 10.148).

dea Cf. **541**.

caeruleis Bluish-black; cf. *G.* 4.482f., *Aen.* 2.381, 5.87 (of snakes, probably not Ennian; cf. Jocelyn on *trag.* 26). Edgeworth, 110 (cf. 107-12, *EV* 1, 845, André, 166f.).

unum..anguem Contrast the pair of **450**; there, the gesture is one of the Furies’ handiest means for inspiring terror, while here the venom of a single serpent is sufficient to drive Amata over the brink into madness; given the (clearly contrasted) double snakes of the following scene, it seems injudicious to treat **unum** as equivalent to *quendam*, Eng. ‘a’ (so *EV* 5*, 397; several of the instances there cited suggest ‘(but) one out of a larger number’—thus e.g. 3.602)

de crinibus Cf. **450** and for this use of *de*, LHS, 261, for **conicit** here is equivalent to a verb of taking or removing.

347 conicit We shall see (**456**) that it is most unlikely that All. threw (**coniecit**; again a possible though unacceptable sense) her torch at Turnus; the following verbs (**subdit**, **457 fixit**) do nothing at all to impose a necessarily ‘missile’ sense upon either use of **coniecit** (cf.

456 for other well-attested actions of which the verb can be employed); rather, indeed, the reverse. Again, just as at **456**, we find that the Furies do not, in the vast iconographic tradition, toss their serpents to afflict their victims. I have recently re-checked, specifically, Sarian's plates in *LIMC* s.v. *Erinyes*; no disconcerting novelties and I thank Prof. Margot Schmidt (Basel) for detailed discussion and for proper emphasis given to the magnificent Fury *pointing* a pair of snakes on an Attic white-ground lekythos c.460/50 (*LIMC* s.v. *Erinyes*, n°1) who are bidden to 'eat up' (ἔσθιτον; so G. Neumann). All. thus points or directs (**conicit**) the snake towards Amata; the following **subdit**, with a specified and detailed objective, **praecordia ad intima** does very strongly suggest that the Fury who throws (or 'wirft', etc) her serpent at Amata is a natural, but droll, misreading of the scene; this faulty interpretation is almost universal (even Chr. Aellen, *A la recherche de l'ordre cosmique* 1 (Zürich 1994), 32f.; cf. though Kühn, 107), and *Companion*, 159 (on **456**) is no exception to this trivialisation of Erinyes and their attributes.

inque..ad Note Diom. *Gramm.* 1.415.8ff. (after Varro, fr.267 GRF; p.286.5f.): *in forum ire est in ipsum forum intrare, ad forum autem ire, in locum foro proximum, ut in tribunal et ad tribunal uenire non unum est, quia ad tribunal uenit litigator, in tribunal uero praetor aut iudex* (cf. **193**, LHS, 219). Thus 'to her **sinus** about the area of her **praecordia intima**'.

sinum Cf. 4.686; a usefully imprecise term ('breast', Ital. 'petto', *EV* 4, 889), governed, though, by the more precise preposition: characteristic indirection!

praecordia..intima Cf. 1.243f. *Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus/ regna Liburnorum*, *G.* 4.66; much the force of our 'innermost' (cf. *Cat.* 61.170 *pectore..intimo*, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.1. 2210.37). While γ (i.e. **P**) has **intuma**, **MRV** read **intima**. At *G.* 4.481, there is no support for -u-; when as here and at *G.* 4.66 and *Aen.* 1.243, there is discord and, particularly when the weight of the capital mss. supports -i-, I am most reluctant to impose on V. a markedly archaic spelling (Leumann, 89, Traina (**443**), 43f.).

praecordia, cf. Gk. περικάρδιον (vd. Beikircher, *EV* s.v., and with *G.* 2.484 cf. Emped. fr. 105.3DK); note the closely following **leuia pectora**. The noun not in *Lucr.* and perhaps first in hexams. in *Hor. Serm.* (*infra*) or *G.* 2.484. It is more important to understand what **praecordia** will (probably) have signified to V. and his readers than to establish just where, anatomically speaking, they were thought to be, though 'lungs' is clearly far nearer the mark than the conven-

tional 'diaphragm'(Onians, 41f.). Though Plin.*Nat.*11.197 has unconventional views on the localisation of the *p.*, his explicit equivalence between them and Gk. **φρένες** is illuminating: on lungs/heart/**φρένες** as seat of the conscious mind (and emotions), cf. 10.452 (with Harrison's n.), Hor.*Epd.*3.5., 5.95, 11.15, *Serm.*1.4.89, Onians, 40ff., 505f.. All's assault is therefore aimed precisely enough at Amata's passions and reason.

subdit Rare with prepos.(cf. Plaut.*Curc.*297), perhaps because the prefix is felt strongly (a verb *sexies* in Lucr., used of fires (3.303, the torch of wrath, 6.1285); also of spurs (Liv.4.19.4), etc.). Analogies between serpent and torch (cf. **347**) are thus reinforced.

348 quo..monstro Cf. **409** (with note), **477**: it begins to become apparent that the stylistic mannerism of including within the relative clause a variation upon the antecedent is a good deal more frequent than had been suspected (three here, after all, within 140 lines!). All herself (**328**) is a **monstrum** (cf. Harpies, 3.214), the snakes slain by the infant Hercules are *monstra* (8.289); here **m.** of course takes up **anguem** (*pace EV* 3, 575), just as **ille** is about to.

furibunda Catullan (63.31) and elsewhere in V. only of Dido (4.646); for Cairns (83), 'pejorative'; that will depend on the context, not upon the adj. in itself (for the category, not specially rare in V. (*moribundus sexies, tremibundus, errabundus*), cf. E.Pianezzola, *Gli aggettivi verbali in -bundus* (Firenze 1965), 145, Leumann, 332, Harrison on 10.341, Lyne on *Ciris* 256 with further bibl.). Amata's future frenzy in sharp antithesis to her royal status and the magnificence (**170ff.**) of her palace (Cairns, 101): V. here first introduces the key motif of (rapidly swelling) frenzy.

domum..omnem Cf. **336 odiis uersare domos, 407 omnemque domum uertisse Latini.**

permisceat In Lucr.(3.351), Prop., Hor.; more important, the strong and familiar language of political prose for 'throw into chaos' (e.g. Sall.*Iug.*5.2, Cic.*Rep.*1.44, Caes.*Civ.*1.32.5, *OLD* s.v.§5a).

349 inter uestis Is V. still writing in terms of a physically comprehensible sequence of events? Heyne, Conington, Fordyce and Feeney, 165 are doubtful, perhaps rightly; the snake, applied to the seat of Am.'s reason and emotions, now explores her anatomy. It is not at all clear whether Am. realises that something is there.

et leuia pectora MyV; corpora R, wrongly, as is shown by the weak sense (even if **corpora** stands for *corpus*, it is less precise, specific and anatomically apt; R.Sabbadini, *Mél.P.Thomas* (Bruges 1930), 616

is no help) and by the testimony of Ov.'s imitation, *Met.*4.493 *pars circum pectora lapsae*. Cf. 11.40 *leui.. pectore* (of Pallas), **7.815 leues umeros** (of Camilla), *Cat.*64.332 (*bracchia*), *Cic.Arat.*218 (of Leo's *cauda*). For the liability to corruption of dactylic nouns in this *sedes*, cf. W.V.Clausen, *AJP* 84(1963), 415f., H.D.Jocelyn, *PACA* 17(1983), 55, nn.2,3.

lapsus Of the **serpentis furiale malum** at **374**, of an actual snake at 5.86; cf. Aem. Macer fr.8.2 *labi proprie serpentum est*, *Serv. ad Aen.*2.225.

350 uoluitur Cf. *G.*3.437f., *Aen.*2.208, 5.85, *EV* 5*, 625(Traina); Gk. ἐλισκέται.

attactu nullo Before V., the noun only at *Varr.RR* 2.5.8. A snake, therefore of appropriately supernatural powers, but physically present in Am's chamber, beyond doubt.

fallitque furentem Cf. 1.688 (Venus, Cupid and Dido) *occultum inspires ignem fallasque ueneno* (cf. further **354**, Moskalew, 165, Schenk, 374, n.72). The verb (cf. Horsfall 1971, 44) after Gk. λαυθάνει; cf. *Liv.*2.19.7, 3.8.6, *TLL* 6.1.188.83 (Hofmann). *Nondum furebat* remarks *Serv.*, rightly (cf. **356**); his explanation *ut furore teneatur* is unhappy, for the participle is rather, and easily, proleptic in sense (cf. **417**, **509**, **626**, **632** for adjectives and **498** for a participle; see too LHS 414).

351 uipeream..animam Cf. the poisoned breath of **753**. For the adj., cf. **753**, 6.281.

spirans M; inspirans γRV. While the compound could be dismissed as dittography after the preceding **m**, the *simplex* could equally be dismissed—as haplography! Cf. G.Funaioli, *Athen.*10(1932), 399, R.Sabbadini, *Historia* 8(1934), 537. *Ov.Met.*4.498 has *inspirantque grauis animos*, but the imitation has less force than it did at **347 leuia pectora**, for the *sedes* is different and Ov. (whatever was actually present in his text of V.) wants, anyway, a molossus. With the *simplex*, cf. *VF* 4.436 *tenuem spirans animam*. More to the point is V.'s marked love for *simplex pro composito*. (Bell, 330ff., Löfstedt 2, 278f., Williams on 5.41, F.Bömer, *Gymn.*64(1957), 4ff., LHS, 298f., Görler, *EV* 2, 263, Lunelli-Janssen, 127, n.84); there are instances in Ov. too, of course (vd. Bömer, index to *Fasti* s.v. *simplex*), but they are not one of the peculiarities of his writing. V.'s love for the *simplex* (and *spirare* he does love. cf. *G.*2.140, 3.356, *Aen.*1.404, **7.281**) also worries his scribes (cf. Götte on 2.207), and (cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*274) *inspirans* may itself be echo-corruption from *G.*4.237, *Aen.*1.688 (which misleads Moskalew, 165 on this passage) or 6.12. Ribbeck suggests acutely that

inspirans would also be a wasteful anticipation of what V. says more fully at **354ff.**. At all events, **spirans** really does seem preferable here, not least given the extreme toxicity of this supernatural snake's breath, though I should not be astonished were I somehow to discover V. had actually used the compound!

fit./352..fit Clearly (*pace* e.g. Conington's translation) **ingens coluber** is the subject throughout (so Fraenkel on *Agam.*1256). We are not invited to enquire whether **fit** means that the snake replaces necklace and fillet or assumes those identities on an unadorned Amata.

tortile./ 352 aurum Cf. 5.559 *flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri*; the gold which can be twisted (the implication of *-ilis*) is in fact twisted (cf. Roby 1, 332, Leumann, 348, *flexilis, missilis, reptilis*). The object these words envisage is unexpectedly problematic: clearly the phrase describes a serpentiform *torques*, but the *torques* was held, in V.'s day, to be a decoration for men, and of barbarian provenance: cf. *Aen.*8.661, *Prop.*4.10.44, *Isid.Orig.*19.31.11 *torques autem et bullae a uiris geruntur* (wrongly, as it happens: cf. P.Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic art* 1 (Oxford 1944). 122), G.Becatti, *Oreficherie antiche* (Roma 1955), 104f., C.Barini, *Ornatus muliebris* (Torino 1958), 49f., *I Celti* (Milano 1991), 540 et *passim*). But V. may well also have had in mind serpentiform bracelets, well-known in his day (*Alcm.*1.66f.PMG, *Men.fr.*329K, s.v. Hesych. s.v. ὄφεις, *Pollux* 5.99, *Philostr.Epist.*22(40), (Lucian), *Amor.*41, Becatti, *cit.*, 93f., H.Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Münster 1966), 53, n.2), with which cf. the snakes handled by actual Maenads (*Eur.Bacch.*102-4, 698, 768, Bremmer (**373-405**), 268f., M.Jameson in Carpenter, Faraone (*ib.*), 47ff., R.Seaford, (*ib.*), 140, T.Carpenter, (*ib.*), 186f., *id.* (**373-405**, 1997), 74f.), R.Seaford, *CQ* 39(1989), 303), such as Am. herself and her fellow-*matres* are about to become.

collo The energetic reptile continues its exploration of Amata's person, **attactu nullo**, yet if the attention paid to its movements is not merely descriptive (!), Amata cannot but perceive some form of alien presence unpleasantly near at hand.

352 ingens coluber The noun (also *colubra*) Lucretian (5.27; dat. and abl. plur. common to both nouns!) and *sexies* in V.; here a useful synonym.

longae taenia uittae *Serv. taenia est uittarum extremitas* (cf. on 5.269), whence *Isid.Orig.*19.31.6. My explanation at 1971, 45f. was challenged by Lyne, *WP*, 20ff.; since when vd. Horsfall, *AR* 38(1993), 204, *Companion*, 228, M.L.Delvigo, *Gnom.*67(1995), 213. 'Ai danni del poeta e del πρέπων' comments Delvigo on Lyne's proposal that V.

refers to an intestinal worm. Just so (cf. too A.Traina, *RFil.*120(1992), 491 = *Poetae latini* 4(Bologna 1994), 152); quite unacceptably revolting. In the mean time I have collected further instances of the *genitivus inhaerentiae* in V.: cf. now *G.*2.44, 4.282, 484, *Aen.*3.396, xxiii *supra* and index *infra*, s.v.; this use of the genitive, by which a synonym (in the gen.) intensifies the noun upon which it depends, is attested in Lucr. and Cat.(LHS, 63f.). *Taenia* (cf. Enn. *trag.*67) is the Gk. equivalent of *uitta*; these woollen hairbands (cf. **418**, *EV* 5*, 596f.) are symbolic of the *pudicitia* of the Roman matron (Marquardt, 46 n.3, citing Serv. on **403**, Plaut.*Miles* 791, *Tr.*2.252, etc.(and not only a matron's respectability: cf. *Aen.* 2.168). Cf. Bömer on Ov.*F.*3.29, Smith on Tib.1.6.67, Hollis on Ov.*Ars* 1.31, Balsdon (**402**), 255f., Barini (**351f.**), 27f..

353 innectitque comas A passage present in V.'s mind at **418**; both **uitta** and **innectit** again, in a priestly context; cf. too the Discordia of 6.281 *crinem uittis innexa cruentis*. The verb also at e.g. 5.425, of boxing 'gloves'. Corrupt at Hor.*Epd.*17.72, and thus apparently introduced by V. into poetry.

membris..errat The verb common of free-range animals (e.g. *Buc.* 2.21, Hor.*C.*3.18. 13); here therefore peculiarly sinister as an expression of the serpent's anatomical explorations. The abl. is used in a particularly Virgilian way, locatival but equivalent to prose *per* + acc. (so already Enn. and Acc.); cf. Williams on 5.88, 683, Harrison on 10.540, Görler, *EV* 2, 268, Lunelli-Janssen, 107, Maurach, 118, LHS, 131, **7.34**, index s.v. abl. of extension.

lubricus Cf. Lucr.4.60 *lubrica serpens*, *Aen.*2.474, 5.84 (almost a stock epithet, except that here the adj. is used in marked isolation, with adverbial force).

354 dum../356 necdum Equivalent to *et nondum*, LHS, 480. Marking (cf. **373-5**) the formal first stage of All.'s assault on Amata (cf. Fraenkel, 154, **523**; *pace* Fraenkel, it is not so clear at **452**).

prima lues Just as in the case of the **prima pugna** of **40** and **542**, the taint of madness will worsen and spread. *Lues* from vv.4-6 of the Arval Hymn (cf. *RFil* 122(1994), 61, n.5 for the problem of date); cf. 3.139; not common before V. (cf. e.g. Lic.Mac.fr. 21HRR), but more suggestive than the **malum** of **375**.

udo..ueneno The snake has not bitten Amata; it is the poisoned (**uipeream**) breath of **351** that has somehow entered (we might ask by what route, if that sort of tedious practicality was appropriate) and already infected Amata. **Vdo** Fordyce felicitously renders as 'clammy'; the adj. (Hor.*Epd.*10.19, *C.*1.32.7, *Serm.*1.5.81 etc.; also

Varr.*LL* 5.24: apparently the only pre-Augustan instance, though Plaut. has (*sexies* in *Rud.*) *uuidus*); 'moist' can be delightful (Hor. C.1.7.13) or horrid (**533**). Cf. also V.'s description of the smouldering flame of 5.682ff.

sublapsa *Quater* in V. and not previously attested. *Labor* itself is a word well suited to snakes: 5.86 and cf. **374** (as here, poison).

355 pertemptat sensus Cf. G.3.250, *Aen.*1.502 *Latoniae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus*, 5.827f. *blanda uicissim/ gaudia pertemptant mentem*; Lucretian (*ter*)—in particular 6.287 *tremor terras grauiter pertemptat*.

ossibus It is not so much the bones themselves as the marrow within them that explains the phrase: seat of life, vitality and strength and connected intimately with the brain (Onians, 149ff., Hardie on 9.66); cf. G.3.258f., *Aen.* 1.660 (*infra*), 4.66, 5.172 *exarsit iuueni dolor ossibus ingens*, 9.66 *duris dolor ossibus ardet*. Most of the instances Onians cites in his remarkable discussion are Latin, but the idea is quite as well-attested in Gk. literature too: cf. Aesch.*Agam.*77 with Fraenkel's note, Eur.*Hipp.*255, Theocr.3.17 with Gow's n.(and cf. Hunter on AR 3.762).

implicat ignem A verb V. applies to both hair (4.148, G.4.482 *infra*) and snakes (G.4.482f. *caeruleosque implexae crinibus anguis/ Eumenides*, *Aen.*2.215). The fire is not only that of madness (so of Turnus (**460**), of Amata herself (**345**, **flammam** **356**), of Dido (4.66, etc.); cf. 2.575, Pease on 4.2, Schenk, 233f., 255f., Thome, 151f., *EV* 2, 615, **445**, **448**, **456**, **460**, etc.), but also that of divine possession (cf. Fraenkel on Aesch.*Agam.*1256, Soph.*El.*887f, Jocelyn on Enn.*trag.*22, Gruppe, 849f., E.R.Dodds, *JRS* 37(1947), 68; not exclusively erotic, though often so: cf. Lyne on *Ciris* 163f.). Lyne's notion (*FV*, 16f.) that V. is discreetly telling us of Amata's hidden passion (cf. **57**) for her daughter's suitor (vd.A.Traina, (**343**) 492f. = 142f.) should not captivate or charm, far less rouse alarm. Here more generally we are provoked to think of analogies with Dido (La Penna (**341-405**), *id.*, *EV* 1, 127, J.W.Zarker (**341-72**), 8, Fantham in Stahl, 140f., Lyne, *FV*, 16, Moskalew, 165, Austin on 1.502; D.'s madness is of course not simply erotic: vd. e.g.4.374): cf. both 1.659f. (Venus) *donisque furem/ incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem* (and 1.688; vd. **350**). Am. is never developed with comparable tragic grandeur, but an evil divinity diverts her natural (though fixated and essentially misconceived) concern into madness, and, eventually death and that is a familiar sequence.

356 necdum Vd. **354 dum.**

animus..percepit Cf. Hor.*Ars* 336 *percipiant animi*; **a.** is the spirit as seat of the emotions (cf. Isnardi Parente, *EV* 1, 176; cf. 4.54, 5.869). For *animus* (*animi*) in the *pectus*, cf. G.4.83, *Aen.*5.363 and often paratactically, as G.1.420, *Aen.*1.153, 8.151.

Cat.64.92 has *cuncto concepit pectore flammam*, but Amata's flame is not perforce as erotic as Ariadne's (*pace* Lyne, *FV*, 16). **R** here indeed reads **concepit**, by echo from 4.474 or even recollecting Cat., against **My percepit**, confirmed by Ov.*Met.*14.700 *totis perceperat ossibus aestum*. Geymonat quotes approvingly against **concepit** Heyne's 'sed hoc est commune verbum', which I take to mean "but this is the stock expression for 'to catch fire'"(cf. Lucr.6.880, *Moretum* 13, Ov.*Met.*1.255, *OLD* s.v.§1b); that did not worry Catullus, and is not enough to justify changing the text here, as Williams appears to want to do.

toto..pectore An area far larger than the **praecordia** of **347**. Cf. 1.717, 9.276, 326.

flammam An equally spondaic synonym in the same *sedes*, to avoid the flat and unpoetic pronoun, while driving home the fieriness (cf. **355**) of the snake's contagion.

357 mollius Contrast **389 fremens**; here 'rather gently' (LHS, 168f.): cf. 9.803f., 12.25f..

solito..de more *De more undecies* in V.; only here though with a dependent collective gen..

matrum Not so much 'of the Italian *matres* in part or collectively' (cf. **392**, **400**, **518**, **580**, **813**, 8.556, 592, etc., J.W.Zarker, *Vergilius* 24(1978), 15ff.) as 'of mothers in general' (cf. G.4.475 = *Aen.*6.306); Serv. comments engagingly *nondum ad plenum furebat; unde per muliebre iracundiam mixta asperitate loquebatur, nam hoc est 'matrum de more'. Nam paulo post uero furore quatietur*. Cf. , most closely, the **femineae..curae iraeque** of **344**, with 11.782. 'Typical of the way that any woman in her position would react, except of course that not every woman is driven to extremes by an Allecto' (Heinze, 268).

locuta est Rω; locuta My. Virgilian usage in such cases has long been established (Wagner, *QV* 15.1; cf. Austin on 2.2, Williams on 5.32, Marouzeau, 214-7, Harrison on 10.106, J.Soubiran, *Pallas* 5(1957), 43ff.): though *Buc* 6.49 is (probably) an exception, V. appears not to omit parts of *sum* at line-end after short a/e and here, anyway, it is necessary, to anchor **lacrimans** in the sentence. So Mynors, *viva voce*, and rightly!

358 multa..lacrimans The pres. part. of **l. quater** in *Enn. Ann.*, *semel* in *Lucr.*, *semel* in *Cat.* and seventeen times (with compounds) in *V.*, against *inlacrimat, semel*; *Enn. trag.* 389 and *Lucr. semel* have other forms of the verb

super Cf. **344**.

natae..Phrygiisque For the pejorative reference to *Aen.*, cf. **363. natae M; nata R.** The abl. is markedly *facilior et deterior* (pace Williams). For the juxtaposition of adj. and gen., cf. *trag. inc.* 210 *uos enim iuuenes animum geritis muliebrem, illa uirgo uiri*, *Caecil. com.* 85, *Plaut. Most.* 190, Marouzeau, 218f. (prose), LHS, 60, *Vitr.* 6.7.7 (with E. Wistrand, *Vitruvius studier* (Göteborg 1933), 86). Here, not the pursuit of exquisite variation, but *V.*'s regular avoidance of the (almost entirely post-Augustan; Leumann, 425) *-ii* endings in 2nd. declension nouns (Aeneas as 'the Phrygian'): cf. NH on *Hor. C.* 1.17.21, Austin on 4.640, NW 1, 134ff.. Paratore's n. is startlingly misguided.

hymenaeis Cf. **344** (*V.* takes up his earlier statement of Amata's anxieties, now fired by a touch of divinely inspired insanity).

359-72 Allecto's serpentine presence within Amata is not directly visible in her first six lines, against Aeneas, arranged as three two-line questions (the first two pairs bound by anaphora). Concern for Lavinia, xenophobia, and the Trojans' discreditable record are concerns rational enough. **365** signals a subtle change (formally perhaps visible in the shorter **quid..quid..** questions, bound by the anaphoric **tua..tuorum**), when Amata turns to the theme of her adored and handsome kinsman Turnus. Latinus 'has not kept his word': a false charge, as we will come to realise (**55, 422, 423**). And were he to take cover behind Faunus' oracle, that oracle could be 'read' in a way favourable to Turnus. Or could it really? Amata concentrates obsessively on the meaning of **externus**, and manages (just about) to advance an apparently sane and reasonable plea, which does not, however, take account of Faunus' language in its original context! A brilliantly phrased and constructed speech, hitherto inexplicably neglected: cf. Heinze, 421f., Hightet, 288, Schweizer, 22-5.

359 exulibusne..Teucris The orthography *exs-* derives from a supposed etymological link with *solum*; approved by some grammarians (WH s.v.) and present in many ms. traditions (thus **P** at *Buc.* 1.61, but not elsewhere in the capital mss. of *V.*). But the etymology is doubtful, inscriptional usage is firm for *ex-* and Ael. Donatus *ap. Serv. ad Aen.* 2.798 (vd. Geymonat *ad loc.*) had no doubt that *ex-* was the proper spelling. Cf. EM and WH s.v.. Note the contempt expressed in

exulibus, thrust forward (so, Williams). But V.'s usage is less simple: Aen. himself uses *exul* (and associated words) of the Trojans at 2.798, 3.4, 12, 5.51 (add 2.780 in Creusa's mouth and cf. 11.263, used by Diomedes of Menelaus); only at 8.320 (Saturn) might there be a hint of censure. To a generation that had lived through the civil wars and proscriptions, the word could not well carry opprobrium (cf. *Buc.*1.61, *Hor.C.3.3.38*). Williams, though, is right in that for Amata here the Trojans' homelessness is a major point to be raised against them (thus, at length, TCD; cf. , more simply, the point of **362 praedo** and compare the tone of $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\nu\ \acute{\omega}\delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\varsigma$, *Eur.Suppl.*222). The plur. is contemptuous (P.Maas, *ALL* 12(1902), 499, Löfstedt 1₂, 40). **datur ducenda** Amata spits alliteratively through clenched teeth! After **268ff.**, her use of **datur** (cf. **433**, 1.345), indicative (Lavinia *really* betrothed to Aen.), is quite justifiable, while Fordyce suggests that she is *yet* to be given and that V. is using, as often, indic. for subjunc.! Serv. remarks *DUCENDA abducenda*, reading back too much from the following line; after *datur*, the marital sense is unchallengeable (cf. *Buc.*8.29, *Cat.*64.29, etc.).

Lauinia Here with first syll.short; on the oscillating prosody of her name, and Lavinium's, cf. Austin on 1.3; cf. my list at *AION* (*Sez.ling.*)14(1992), 173ff. (toponyms, with ample bibl.), Leumann, 115f., Platnauer(**524**), 53ff., J.P.Postgate, *Latin prosody* (Oxford 1923), 56.

360 o genitor Note the interesting remarks of Lepre, *EV* 2, 994 on V.'s use of the emotive *o* (107 cases in *Aen.*; commoner with nouns than with names (7::3); rarer, though (1::3), with terms expressing relationship than with e.g. *ciues, dea, regina, socii*). *Ubi est cura patris? ubi patris officium? ubi sacri huius nominis pietas?* asks TCD (2.59.8ff.); fathers, he continues, are usually more careful, particularly when they only have one daughter (cf. **407**; authority as well as responsibility). Amata addresses Latinus as father of Lavinia; the word is so common as a *nomen honoris* of gods (4.208, 8.72, etc.) and parents (2.717, 6.695), or both together (10.45) that its 'transference' here to spouse viewed as father is unproblematic; she is about to call herself 'mother'.

nec te miseret../361 nec..miseret The verb at *Enn.trag.*38, 140, *Cat.*30.2; cf. *Cic. Verr.* 2.1.77 *neque me tui neque tuorum liberorum, quos tu miseros in egestate atque in solitudine reliquisti, misereri potest*, 9.786f. *non infelicis patriae ueterumque deorum/ et magni Aeneae, segnes, miseretque pudetque.*

nataeque tuique TCD grasps far more of the implications than

Balk, 75f.! To Amata, her spouse and monarch is throwing their (only) daughter away in unconsidered marriage; the Trojan(s) will not stay, and, above all, there will be no heirs on hand (2.58.30ff., *passim*): Latinus has considered neither his duties as father nor his interests as king.

361 matris Amata refers to herself in the third person ('her mother'); far grander than another pronoun and making specific her own claims, as Lavinia's mother (TCD 2.59.20; cf. Norden on 6.511 and vd. **401**), to reasonable anxiety for the future, after the girl's marriage to a mere refugee, and a kinsman of Paris at that..

quam When Aen. reveals himself a second Paris, it is *Amata* that he will desert. TCD (2.59.19f.) thinks of Amata's tears when Lavinia is carried off and Paratore of 'materna disperazione'. Rather, when Aen. removes his prey, he will be deserting the whole family, here symbolised by Amata; she at least (**56f.**) has been following a long-term plan for her daughter (and her own singular enthusiasm for her nephew) and (**421-34**) Latinus has taken full advantage of Turnus' consequent dependence. The old king's offer to Aeneas affects Amata (though V. makes no reference to any specially warm relations between mother and daughter) very directly: if Aen. marries Lavinia and goes (inevitably), just as he has come, it is Amata, self-appointed manager of dynastic policy and Turnus' champion, he will hurt most. Naturally, champions of Amata's hidden passion for her daughter's potential husband (**57, 355**) will understand the matter differently (Amata, that is, on the beach, as an over-age and doubly incestuous Latin Ariadne).

primo Aquilone Not quite the same as **528 primo..uento**; that refers to the wind (any wind) which begins to blow, while here Amata refers to the first moment a North wind gets up—the wind Aeneas would need to sail S. again (and home to Troy?); contrast 4.310 *et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum* (which Fantham in Stahl, 141 considers echoed here, though form and *sedes* are different), 5.2 with Williams' n..

relinquet Cf. Cat.64.200, *Aen.*4.281, 466

362 perfidus Cf. 4.305, 366 (Dido to Aen.), 421 (Dido of Aen.), Cat.64.132 etc. (Theseus), Hor.C.1.15.2 (of Paris), Liv.1.12.8 (*perfidus hospites*). Contemptuous (?) alliteration.

alta petens Cf. G.1.142 (seeking the bottom), *Aen.*5.508 (aiming high), 9.564 (flying high), and 8.691 (as here).

abducta uirgine Cf. Cat.68B.103 *abducta gausis..moecha* (Paris). V.: cf. **72, 318, 389**.

praedo Cf. 11.484 *Phrygii praedonis* (Amata, again, with Lavinia and entourage; cf. TCD's full exposition there of the polemic analogy with Paris); Lyne *WP*, 161f. usefully points out that **p.** is the standard, unromantic, prosy word for 'robber' or 'bandit' (cf. *RG* 25.1!); well-rooted too in the lexicon of comic and political insult (so Opelt, 209 et *passim*). The shadow of Paris, also called 'bandit' (Hdt.1.3, Lyne, *cit.*, 161, n.41, A.Traina, *RFil.*120(1992), 495f. = *Poetae latini* 4 (Bologna 1994), 157) pursues Aeneas: in the mouth of Iarbas (4.215ff.), **7.321f.** (in Juno's monologue), 9.136ff.(Turnus), 10.79 (Juno); cf. *EV* 3, 975f. (Lehnus), W.S. Anderson, *TAPA* 88(1957), 21, Cairns, 120f., 158, Lyne, *FV*, 109, *Companion*, 182. In bks.7-10 the analogy is not persuasive (while Iarbas may be thought to have a point!), given the ample divine authorisation for his match with Lavinia, but it is good mud to throw, and enriches the motif of the war in Italy as a 'second Trojan war'(723, 794).

363 at non sic γR; an M; later mss. and the indirect tradition are divided (vd. Geymonat). Serv. *AT NON SIC PHRYGIUS legitur et 'an non sic'; sed hoc absolutum est. si autem 'at'legeris, inceptiua particula est, ad ornatum solum pertinens. An* occurs 31 times in V.(+ *anne quater*), with, sometimes, perceptible rhetorical point (*EV* 2,1001), as indeed it would have here. *At*, as Mynors conceded (*per litt.*; Horsfall 1971, 47), is potentially misleading ('But it was not like this that..'); however, if it introduces a question (which itself cites a mythological paradigm), it has notable merits, which escaped Serv.: 'Aen. will run for it. [You doubt it?] **At** was not this how..?' Cf. *KS* 2, 85f.(*'anticipation of an objection'*, with instances from prose and Ovid), *EV* 1, 440 on **7.297** (Juno admits the Trojans have indeed reached Latium **at, credo, mea numina tandem/ fessa iacent** 'quasi volesse confutare in anticipo l'obiezione d'un interlocutore'); at 9.142ff. Turnus spells out the Trojans' ground for confidence (their fortifications), and continues (144) '[Poor fools!] *at non uiderunt moenia Troiae* crumble in flames?' (vd. J.O'Hara, *RhM* 136(1993), 372f.). Cf. 11.55 Aeneas admits that he had promised to bring back Pallas safe. [His *fides* therefore is open to question.] But not (*at non, Euandre..*) Pallas' courage in battle. Note too 11.736 (Tarchon anticipates any reaction to the charge, expressed as a question, of halfheartedness in action). That settles **at's** credit, as Poortvliet on VF 2.51 realised. Contrast the formally similar 2.540f. **at non ille..Achilles/ talis in hoste fuit Priamo**.

Phrygius..pastor The adjective, as often, derogatory, but hardly carries here the usual slur against the Trojans' virility (cf. 11.484 (see **362 praedo**), against 4.215 with Pease's note, 9.617 with Horsfall, *Lat.*30(1971), 1114 = Harrison, *OR*, 311). The noun carries a complex charge of allusion: the royal princes of Troy are often enough described as herdsmen (Enn. *trag.* ed. Jocelyn, 218, n.2) and Paris in particular was not only brought up to that menial calling (as Amata here implies) after his exposure (as a consequence of Hecuba's dream; cf. **319f.**, Preller-Robert, 2, 981), but exercised his Judgement as *pastor* (NH on Hor.C.1.15.1, citing (Bion)2.10 for the shepherd as seducer of Helen). Two words are enough to distil all an Italian queen's contempt for a scion of Laomedon.

penetrat The tense might seem surprising, but this use of the present to register a past event as still in some sense alive and active (particularly if there are, as here, lasting consequences—the Trojan war, no less) has long been recognised (cf. Fordyce and Page here, Vahlen (**586**), 1, 364, LHS, 306, Görler, *EV* 2, 272, Austin on 2.663; small variations of classification do little to obscure the idiom). The verb itself ('go as far as'; there is no hint of sens.obsc. in classical usage: J.N.Adams, *Latin sexual vocabulary* (London 1982), 151) in Lucr., Cat., Cic.*carm.*, Naeivus Jr..

Lacedaemona Amata's *exemplum* is superficially well-chosen: Aeneas too has travelled westwards by ship (cf. , for Paris, Preller-Robert 2, 1077f.) to threaten the stability and proprieties of a royal home.

364 Ledaeamque Helenam The matronymic adj. (cf. 3.328, Dionaeus, Inous, Phillyrides, West on Hes.*Theog.*1002 and *id.*, *Hesiodic catalogue of women* (Oxford 1985), 168) apparently a Virgilian coinage without Gk. precedent; that H. was Leda's daughter is implied already by *Il.*3.238 (cf. Preller-Robert 2, 340f., Gruppe 1, 662).

Troianas..urbes Cf. **652, 716, 738** for V.'s use of *urbes, oppida, populi* in high poetic diction for a single town or people (note too Mynors on *G.*2.176).

uexit In poetry already at Liv.Andr.fr.15.2Bü.; for sea-transport, cf. 1.379, 8.688, *EV* 5*, 469.

365 quid..quid Cf. *G.*3.264f., 339, 525, 4.322ff., *Aen.*1.231f., 4.65f., 6.122f., **7.302**, 8.483, 10.36f., 77f., 825f., 12.40, 872f.: an exceptionally common anaphora, but used in a notable variety of *sedes* and contexts and so (Wills, 86) not bereft of rhetorical force. (cf. *EV* 2, 1000).

tua sancta fides Cf. Cic.*Verr.*3.6, Cat.76.3, Publil.707, Liv.6.10.4, 8.37.2, *TLL* 6.1.691.25(Fraenkel): so described because *fides* was so

peculiarly subject to divine sanction: cf. P.Boyancé, *Hommages...J.Bayet* (*Coll.Lat.*70, 1964), 101ff.= *id. Etudes sur la religion romaine* (*Coll. Ec. Fr. Rome* 11, 1972), 121ff., G.Freyburger, *Fides* (Paris 1986), H.Haffter, *Röm.Politik* (Heidelberg 1967), 24f., Hellegouarc'h, 23ff., Ross, 85; vd. **366**.

cura..tuorum 'Affettuosa sollecitudine': *EV* 1, 962(Fedeli); cf. 1.662, 2. 599; 1.646, 2.595, 12.932f.(with obj.gen.; cf. Shackleton Bailey on Prop.1.11.5).

antiqua Which was and is no more: cf. 4.458 *coniugis antiqui* (cf. 4.431), 633 (and 2.137, Liv.27.9.11) *patria antiqua*, 5.688 *pietas antiqua*.

366 consanguineo..Turno The adj. has distinguished antecedents (*Pacuv.trag.*55, *Acc.praetext.*21 and *ter* in *Lucr.*; the theme is of (minor) importance (cf. 10.76, 12.29 *cognato sanguine*), though Serv. may be rather too sure about the details (Tu.'s mother, Venilia is Amata's sister, here and *ad Aen.*6.90, 12.29; cf. further, **343**). But the weight of proverbial wisdom about *pares cum paribus facillime congregantur* (*Cic. Cat.*7 with Powell's note; cf. Otto, 264f., Tosi, n°1335) is not regularly applied at Rome to the desirability of marriage within the circle of actual close kin (cf. Treggiari(**407**), 83ff.): Hes.*Erga* 700 and Call.*Epigr.*1 (*HE* 1277ff., where vd. GP) refer respectively to the advantages of marriage to neighbours and to spouses of similar standing. Familiar criteria at Rome too (Treggiari, 85, n.14, NH on Hor. *C.*1.33.10, Ov.*Her.*9.32 with Casali's note, Tac.*Hist.*2.50, Plin. *Ep.* 1.14.4ff.). P.Bleisch, *AJP* 117(1996), 456ff. does not state the issue quite clearly ('Solon' *ap.*Ps.Aus.*Sent.*30 Peiper/Schenkl is no more than a reworking of Tosi, *cit.*).

totiens Once was enough; Amata not only skews the facts (**423**), but gilds the lily. The careful reader is forced eventually to conclude that there had been no engagement and that with **totiens** Amata betrays at least rhetorical overenthusiasm, if not incipient madness.

data dextera For the expression, cf. Nep.*Them.*8.4, Liv.1.1.8 (Aen. and Lavinia!), *Aen.*3.610f.(for *dextera* and *dextra*, alternative forms of notable metrical convenience, cf. NW 2, 8ff., Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.916.56ff.); the clasping of hands confirms the solemn undertaking (cf. e.g. Val.Max.6.6 pr., Plin. *Nat.*11.251): the means of expression here used (a sort of hendiadys, with the elements separated) is common (cf. 4.597, Liv. 1.58.7, Boyancé, 124). The exact sense of the hand-clasp is not quite clear: briskly rationalised by the Romans as a visible expression of the pledge; perhaps (Freyburger) a way of indicating that your personal credit is committed, by an act itself of

religious significance. Cf. Boyancé (**365**, 1972), 125f., Freyburger (**365**), 136-42, Schweizer 25, 31, n.21, Monti (**202**), 3ff..

367 gener..petitur..Latinis L. in the plural because Tu. will become not only Lavinia's husband but eventually king of the Latins (**422**, **423**). The simple verb is repeatedly applied to Lavinia's situation (**54f.**, **96**; cf. **238**).

externa de gente For the motif, cf. **370**, **424**; the adj. *externus* has the great advantage of imprecision: cf. the discussion at 8.510f. and the ancient efforts to define V.'s usage (O.Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.2020.27ff.; cf. Serv. here, TCD on **7.270**, **370**).

368 idque sedet 'And that is your fixed decision' *vel sim.*; a common idiom in V.(2.660, 4.15, 5.418; cf. 12.678, M.Spallone, *EV* 4, 750, Austin on 2.660, Fordyce here), apparently an innovation (as is the analogous *stat*, hitherto (rare) in prose, Austin on 2.750; Gk. πρόκειται is scarcely comparable).

Faunique..iussa parentis Cf. **82 genitoris**. With *i.*, cf. 3.114, 684 (Helenus is a seer), 4.378, 6.176, 461, 9.804. Amata is about to raise a neat enough debating point over the relevance of *externus* to Tu. as well. We might, though, remember Faunus' exact words: **98 externi uenient generi**; they *will* come, and that means they are not here *yet*, though they will moor within six lines (a juxtaposition to be noted!); Amata has also conveniently forgotten **97 thalamis neu crede paratis**. The queen naturally interprets the oracle in her own interest, but her blatant lapses from its text (at least as it stands now in print!) may be meant to imply an increasing weakness in her stability of mind (**359-72**), though Am.'s champions may claim that Latinus gave his wife a loaded summary of the oracle's content. Just possibly, V. echoes Cat.64.159 *horrebas prisca praecepta parentis*; cf. C.Monteleone, *AC* 46(1977), 187.

premunt te 'Costringere'('compel') (*EV* 4, 255) is rather too strong and Serv. hesitates between *urgent* and *compellunt*, while TCD has a lacuna. *OLD* §11b attractively compares Ter.*Andr.*633 *et tamen res premit denegare*.

369 omnem equidem terram 'Every', as 6.440, 8.706 *et saepe*; cf. *EV* 3, 844. Amata's interpretation of her filtered recollection (**368**) of the oracle is not in itself unreasonable (cf. **370 externam**). The particle underlines the key, first word of her interpretation; for the first-person verb, we have to wait a whole line (cf., though, *G.*4.116ff.!) and our expectation underlines the other key word of

Amata's interpretation, **externam**. "Foreign?" we might render "I think *every* land that...is foreign".

scepтрis..libera nostris/ 370 dissidet The vb. a synonym for *distat* also at Prop.1.12.4 (there too with abl. of separation); *libera* with abl. also at (e.g.)G.3.194 (contrast gen., *Aen.*10.154) and the abls. therefore depend on either or both: it is idle to enquire further. Cf. 10.852 *scepтрisque paternis* (with Harrison's n., **7.173, 422**); Amata's use of **nostris** has failed to attract attention, for not only does she seek (**56f.**) to influence national policy, but here speaks not simply as consort but as active partner in royal authority and planning.

370 externam reor Cf. the emperor Claudius, *ILS* 212.1.10f. *superuenere alii, et quidam externi, ut Numa Romulo successerit ex Sabinis ueniens*, Cic.*Brut.*170 (to a Roman, a man from Fregellae can seem *externus*), Vell.2.15.2 *homines eiusdem et gentis et sanguinis ut externos alienosque fastidire posset* (Roman attitude to the Italians before Social War). At a pinch, therefore, Ardea is—in terms of good Latin usage—*externa*, viewed from Latinus' city (cf. *Companion*, 196). But Amata will have a stronger card to play. Vd. **424**.

sic Cf. **98**, subtly mis-remembered (cf. **368 Fauni..iussa parentis**). **dicere diuos M₂γR; poscere My₁**. The latter probably by reminiscence from **272 hunc illum poscere fata**; the former attractively archaic in manner (cf. Cat.64.268, Lucr.2.641).

371 et Turno The 'clinching argument': Tu. too is in origin a foreigner (cf. **410 Danae**: if this story is a Virgilian fabrication, it will hardly disconcert the reader, for in type and detail it is altogether unsurprising).

si..repetatur Cf. Cic.Rep.2.3 *mea repetet oratio populi originem*, G.4.286 *prima repetens ab origine famam*, *Aen.*1.372 *si prima repetens ab origine pergam*, *EV* 4, 52 (Del Chicca).

prima domus..origo Cf. Lucr.3.331 *ab origine prima*, 771 *in origine prima*, *Aen.*1.753 *a prima..origine* (cf. 10.618, 12.166 *stirpis origo*, Tac. *Ann.*4.9.2 *origo Iuliae gentis*).

372 Inachus Acrisiusque For the latter's genealogy (he is father of Danae), cf. **410**; Inachus, first king of Argos, stands a good dozen generations back in Acrisius' family, in the proverbially remote past (Hor.C.2.3.21 (with NH), 3.19.1).

patres Ancestors, conceived particularly in genealogical sequence: cf. 1.7, 641, 8.132, 10.282, *EV* 3, 1018 (Lobrano).

mediaeque Cf. Ov.*Met.*13.692 *mediis natus Orione Thebis*, Juv.3.80 *mediis sed natus Athenis*(where vd. Courtney). A common poetic idiom

(but not exclusively so), uninspiringly called ‘intensive’; we might wish to say ‘the very heart of Mycenae’. Cf. Henry here, Vahlen (586), 2, 541, Fordyce on Cat.64.149(an ample discussion), Austin on 2.533 and 6.339 (cf. too 6.342). The idiom is Greek (*Il.*6.224 “Ἀργεῖι μέσσῳ, *Od.*1.344). Note that human ancestors and place of origin are treated as strictly parallel; cf. 409, 670f. for comparable instances.

Mycenae Though Inachus, Acrisius and Danae are all conventionally Argive, this reference to Mycenae as their home is altogether unproblematic, given (i) the intimate connexion of the two cities (Mycene a daughter of Inachus, *Hes.fr.*246MW, *Epic.Graec.fr.inc.*6, ed.Davies, p.75; the city of M. built by Perseus, s. of Danae, *Strab.*8.6.19, etc.) and (ii) traces in Hom.(notably *Il.*2.569ff., with Kirk’s n. and *id.*, p.180f., Musti, *EV* 3, 515f.) of a primary link between Agamemnon and—not Argos (which in Hom. can also denote the whole Peloponnese; cf. Kirk on *Il.*2.108), but Mycenae. Whence the emphasis at *Aen.*2.25, 331, 7.222, 9.139f., 11.266ff. and the symbolic value of **M.** here to intimate that the war in Italy will be in some sense a ‘repeat’ of the Trojan war, fought by Trojan survivors against colonist cousins of their old enemies (cf. 672, 794).

373-405 *Sparguntur angues uelut in scaena parturientes furorem* mocks *Macr.*(5.17.3); perhaps with *Aen.*4.471 in mind, though, he (his source, that is) does note the key, tragic element. Though some detail may be mediated through Roman tragedy (cf. König, 244ff.)—and just how much, we cannot really say—it will become clear that the ample details of Bacchic cult (far more than in *Liv.*39 or *Tac. Ann.*11) derive primarily from *Eur.Ba.*(excepting the crucial Dionysiac top of 378-82), in some cases via *Cat.*(both 63 and 64). But that is an indebtedness of ‘scenery’, or detail, though one not rendered through the distorting lens of Livian disapprobation, except in as much as Amata’s ὀρειβασία, however involuntary, cannot have appeared admirable to Roman readers when performed by a royal consort! In one sense Amata is the tragic victim of divine sadism; in another, her Bacchic revel does achieve ends she cherished when sane; for a while, Allecto’s intervention gives her what she wants (cf. 376, 385), and ‘exploits’ latent tendencies within the queen. But Amata, clearly, is not a ‘real’ Bacchant, in the sense that the Maenads in *Eur.* clearly are: V. seems positively to delight in not telling us who actually devised the Dionysiac ὀρειβασία (385) and we must respect his indirection. Dionysiac possession is the very type and pattern of madness in both

Greek and Latin (so 4.301ff., with Pease's n., Pacuv.*trag.*422f., Cat. 63.23, Hor.*C.*3.15.10; cf. Soph.*Ant.*959ff., Eur.*Tro.*341, 349, Hdt. 4.79.1, Ar.*Lys.*1312, Plat.*Ion* 533d^f; whence the use of βακχεύειν, *bacchari*, of (e.g.) Lyssa (Eur.*HF* 899) or Dido (*supra*); cf. Seaford in Carpenter, Faraone, *cit.*, 132f.. Predictably, Lyssa and the Furies themselves attract Bacchant analogies and language (cf. **329** with **341**, **346**, etc., **397** with **337**, **405**). The antecedent literary tradition of manoeuvred Maenadism has been surprisingly neglected (but cf. A.O'Brien Moore, *Madness in ancient literature* (diss. Princeton 1922, pub. Weimar 1924), 164, n.6, Wigodsky, 93): at 6.517f. Helen *chorum simulans euhantis orgia circum/ ducebat Phrygias*; the closest analogies for Maenadism thus deliberately activated to non-religious ends seem to be VF 2.261ff. (Hypsipyle, to save Thoas) and Laodamia's veneration for Protesilaus *sub simulatione sacrorum* (Hyg.*Fab.*104.1, Preller-Robert, 2, 63). Contrast Ov.*Met.*6. 594ff. (Procne exploits real Bacchanalia to save Philomela). Dirce too is on Cithaeron as a Bacchant (real, apparently) when she discovers Antiope (Eur.*Antiope*, Preller-Robert, *cit.*, 117f.) and Ino in Eur. had likewise disappeared to Cithaeron *Bacchationis causa* when Athamas thought her dead (Hyg.*Fab.*4.2, Preller-Robert, *cit.*, 49). In Eur.*Tro.*308ff., however, Cassandra is hardly sane when singing of her future marriage with Agamemnon in Bacchant guise (König, 148f., *Tro.*342, 408). For the present scene, cf. W.-H.Friedrich, *Philol.*94(1941), 142-51, Heinze, 184-7, König, 137-63, Schweizer, 26f., Setaioli, 257-61, T.Sinko in *Commentationes Vergilianae* (Krakow 1930), 78-92, Thome, 135-43. On the Bacchants, themselves, cf. J.N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 55(1984), 267ff., H.Versnel *Ter unus* (Leiden 1990), 131ff., T.Carpenter, C.Faraone (edd.), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca 1993), T.Carpenter, *Dionysian imagery* (Oxford 1997), A.Henrichs, *HSCP* 82(1978), 121ff., *id.* in B.F.Meyer, E.P.Sanders (edd.) *Jewish and Christian self-definition* 3 (London 1982), 137ff., F.Frontisi-Ducroux, *Le dieu-masque* (Paris 1991).

373 his..dictis Cf. 12.45f. *haudquaquam dictis uiolentia Turni/ flectitur*; for *his dictis* at speech-ends, cf. 1.579, 4.54, 388, 5.357, 6.382, 898, 11.827.

ubi governs **uidet** (**374**) **lapsum** (**374**) and **pererrat** (**375**); this long, loose structure (contrast the elegant **471**) throws into marked relief (so Williams) **tum uero..furit** (**376f.**).

nequiquam Cf. **589**; *words* alone, as the placing of the adverb implies, will have no effect.

experta Latinum Just Gk. πειρησαμένη; cf. Vell.2.95.1, Sen. *Contr.* 7.1.21, Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1665.60 (the vb. itself in Naev. and Enn.).

374 contra stare Cf. 10.359 *stant obnixa omnia contra*; it will become ever clearer (cf. **56f.**, **421ff.**) that this argument has been going on for a while and Latinus' opposition is to be expected; Amata's madness (divine intervention, after all) is dramatically far preferable to yet further domestic differences in the royal family.

uidet A hint that Lat. does not reply at all? Do we suspect some negative gesture? Or is he just thinking, as at **249ff.**?

penitusque The advb. in Pacuvius, Accius, Hostius, Lucretius, Catullus and 25 times in V.; *p.* is the adverbial equivalent (cf. **553** for the category) of prep. *penes* and is related to *penus*, *Penates*. Here 'deep into'.

in uiscera lapsum Cf. **355**, **356**: the venom was already in Amata's marrow. More than that even Allecto cannot achieve and here V. uses an expression perhaps more physical than physiological: cf. *Acc.trag.*552f. *uenae uiscerum/ ueneno imbutae*, Lyne on *Ciris* 182. *Labor* is appropriate not only to disease (*G.*3.457 *lapsus ad ossa*) but, of course, to snakes (**349**); cf. **354 sublapsa**.

375 serpentis furiale malum Cic.(*carm.*Soph.1.6) renders Ἐρινύων ὑφαντόν, *Tr.* 1051f. as *me inrethiuit ueste furiali inscium*; *OLD* §4 takes Cic.'s use of the adj., like V.'s here, as 'maddening' (so clearly e.g. *Ov.Met.*4.506 *furiale uenenum*); the simpler (cf. **415**) 'pertaining to a Fury' is more securely present, however attractive the active sense. *Malum* of poison vapour at *Lucr.*6.829 (cf. 6.811 of a noxious odour).

totamque pererrat Cf. 4.363f. *totumque pererrat/ luminibus tacitis*, 5.441f. *omnemque pererrat/ arte locum* 11.766f. *omnemque pererrat/ undique circuitum*, *Apul.Met.* 10.28.3.

376 tum uero Cf. **519**; barely adversative. For Paratore, the poison only now takes effect; for Fraenkel (152), the effect is 'mild' until **372**; we have already seen (**368**) that the Fury's poison, though slow-acting, has been present, arguably, for some time within Amata. More to the point (Thome, 132), it is when Latinus reveals himself proof against Amata's pleading that the venom takes full effect, to unblock the irresolvable human situation.

infelix Cf. 4.450 *tum uero infelix*. Amata is excessively partial to the idea of Turnus as a son-in-law; she is insufficiently respectful of the fine print of Faunus' oracle; she disagrees insistently with her spouse and monarch. Nevertheless violent demonic possession she can

hardly be said to deserve; hence **infelix**, taken up at **401** and 12.598 (less intensively than in the case of Dido, *EV* 2, 487, Pease on 4.68). **ingentibus..monstris** Not at all an obvious instance of poetic plural; possible at best! Compare 3.307 *magnis exterrita monstris*, 583f. *immania monstra/ perferimus*, 5.659 *attonitae monstris actaeque furore*, **7.81 sollicitus monstris**, which suggest that here V. refers to Allecto and/or her snake. Feeney, 167 and O'Hara, 189, after Mackail (vd.**791**) suggest that the adj. indicates not only something huge or monstrous (in this case, divinely sent madness) but that the **monstra** are in some sense innate (*in-genita*) to Amata. That is not at all the point made by the simile, **378-82**, which will point unambiguously to external stimuli, nor (cf. **341-539**, **341-72**) are we under any compulsion to find 'evidence' that Allecto is 'working with' tendencies already present within Amata (cf. **385** and contrast e.g. Lyne, *FV*, 68f.). There seems to be no compelling reason why we should accept the 'etymological' interpretation proposed and we note some hint in the text that it is actually rather unwelcome.

excita Cf. 4.300ff. *totamque incensa per urbem/ bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris/ Thyias* (cf. Moskalew, 171). The verb at *Acc.trag.*300 and in *Lucr.(quater)*; cf. Thome, 137.

377 immensam..urbem Heyne and Ribbeck were scandalised at the thought that V. might attribute a splendid city to Latinus (*parvam et angustam urbem* Heyne!), and wrote, neatly enough, **immensum**. But that is to leave out of account **170ff.**, **512**, etc.(cf. Carcopino, 289ff.) and all we have already seen of Virgil's consistent care in attributing epic grandeur to primitive Latium), not to mention 10.41 (Allecto) *medias Italum bacchata per urbes*, the implications of the simile (notably **379 magno in gyro uacua atria circum**), the strongly implicit cross-references to Carthage (cf. 4.300ff. *supra* and 68f. *totaque uagatur/ urbe furens*) and the word-order, giving special weight to the isolated adj.. **Immensum** was quite unacceptable, but helpfully provocative!

sine more Cf. 5.694 *tempestas sine more furit*, 8.635 *raptas sine more Sabinas* (so too *Ov.Ars* 1.119). Serv. here comments *et hoc iam contra decus est regium* while Macr. is outraged: *regina non solum de penetralibus reuerentiae matronalis educitur, sed et per urbem mediam cogitur facere discursus, nec hoc contenta siluas petit.* (5.17.3). But this is a standard element in the reaction of outsiders to Bacchants (*Eur.Ba.*204, 262, *Phoen.*1485ff., *Liv.*39.10.4 *et passim*; cf. *Apld.Bibl.*2.2.2, Seaford (**373-405**), 121ff.); later, though, the participants themselves were vowed to εὐκομία

(cf. Dodds on Eur.*Ba.*692-4, Henrichs (**373-405**, 1978) 136, (1982), 142, Versnel, (*ib.*), 146).

furit Cf. **350** and (Dido) 4.68f. *totaque uagatur/ urbe furens* (in the context of the repeated association of Dido with Bacchantes, 4.300ff., 666). Cf. Cic.*Brut.*276 *furere atque bacchari*, Ps.*Prob. ad G.*2.2 *bacchari est furere*. Cf. further **373-405**.

lymphata A precise but entirely perplexing reference (cf. König, 152f.) to Pacuv.*trag.* 422f. (Hesione): *flexanima tamquam lumpata aut Bacchi sacris/ commota* (then e.g. Cat.64.254). The word (cf. Austin on 1.701, Fordyce here) presupposes (is a calque upon, indeed) Gk. *νυμφόληπτος* (cf. Varr.*LL* 7.87, Fest.107.17ff.), for to the Romans the terms *lympa* ('water') and *nympha* were inextricably mixed (cf. NH on Hor.*C.* 1.37.14).

378-83 Ajax strikes Hector with a stone and *στρόμβον δ' ὡς ἔσσειε βαλὼν* (*Il.*14.413; cf. Lucian, *Lucius* 42): distant enough. More to the point (so already Heyne) Call.*Epigr.*1.9f. *οἱ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ πληγῆσι θεῶς βέμβικας ἔχοντες / ἔστρεφον εὐρείη παῖδες ἐνὶ τριόδῳ* (=HE 1285f. and cf. Tib.1.5.3f. *namque agor ut per plana citus sola uerbere turben/ quem celer adsueta uersat ab arte puer*). Childrens' toys (here, cf. G.Lafaye, DS 5, 541f.) were a familiar element in the subject-matter of Homeric similes (*Il.*14 *cit.*, 15.362ff. (note the disapproval of Schol.B; V.—cf. **485**, **632**—is here as always only too careful to ennoble the real world through a haze of high language), Seymour, 142, M.Coffey, *BICS* 8(1961), 64), but, as G.Hirst noted acutely (*CQ* 31(1937), 65f.), the top is a symbol in the cult of Dionysius Zagreus (a plaything of his infancy: cf. *Companion*, 157, n.22 for the archaeological/ epigraphic evidence; add Clem.*Protr.*2.18.1). This was not arcane knowledge (cf. *Orphica* 31.29, 34 Kern, with M.L.West, *The Orphic poems* (Oxford 1983), 57, W.K.C.Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek religion* (London 1935), 120f.); further, the words *βέμβιξ* and *στρόβιλος* indicate both 'top' and (cf.—e.g.—Ar. *Vesp.* 1530ff., *AP* 6.94.4 (=GP 2723), E.Roos, *Trag.Orchestik* (Lund 1951), 96ff.) forms of whirling dance (cf. **383-4**; my thanks to Paola Ceccarelli for ample information). Dionysiac links do not of course rule out Callimachean references (*pace* Coffey, *cit.*, 45, n.75). Furthermore, Rabel and Renger, 39 (cf. too Feeney, *cit.*, Fantham in Stahl, 143) suggested independently the possible relevance of Chrysipp. fr. 974SVF = Cic.*Fat.*42f. (as the top's shape explains its movement, so the *causa principalis et perfecta* of human action is the *animorum motus uoluntarii*), but this learned proposal (which, if right, would be of clear relevance to the issue of Amata's responsibility) does not, unlike the

tops of Bacchic cult, rest solidly upon a nexus of associations inherent in V.'s subject-matter. V., while innocent of the religious mania some modern enquirers have wished upon him, is passably well-informed on (e.g.) the Eleusinian mysteries (cf. *Alambicco*, 25); the associations of the top are just the sort of precise and arcane detail he enjoyed deploying; there is nothing in the context to alert even the very well-informed reader to the likely presence of a Stoic allusion. The multiple correspondences (active, of course, in both directions) between simile and action have been studied with particular care (cf. West, Lyne) and will be noted *ad loc.*; the position of the simile between Am.'s first dance through her city and ὀρειβάκία is splendidly judged, and reveals the top as sharply relevant to both phases of the narrative! See further **405 agit undique**. Cf. Bentley on Hor. C.1.25.11, Bleisch *cit.* (366), von Duhn, 60f., Feeney, 167, G.Hirst, *CQ* 31(1937), 65f., Lyne, *FV*, 24, *WP*, 67f., 131f., R.J.Rabel, *CJ* 77(1981-2), 27ff., D.A.West, *JRS* 59(1969), 49.

378 ceu quondam Cf. **699**.

torto..sub uerbere Cf., very precisely, the **uerbera** of Allecto herself (**336**; also the **stimulis** of **405**; Allecto's whip is therefore implicit in the description of Amata's driven frenzy); vd. West, *cit.*, Horsfall 1971, 133. V. also uses **habena** (**380**), Pers.3.51 *torquere flagello*; Gk. μάστιξ (cf. *Companion* 157, n.22 for the epigraphic evidence). Cf. **731** (light spear), **741** (boomerang), G.1.309 (sling), 3.106 (whip of racing driver); the whip really is applied to the top in a curling, twisting way (I have seen it done, but do not myself have the knack!) and the participle does not refer to a permanent quality of the **uerber**.

uolitans Cf. **89**, Cat.64.251, and sixteen times (including compounds) in Lucr..

turbo Cf. Cat.64.107, Tib.1.5.3; for the form *turben*, cf. NW 1, 258.

379 pueri Call.'s παῖδες (**378-82**); cf. Lucr.2.635 *cum pueri circum...*

magno in gyro Cf. G.3.115f. (Lapiths) *gyrosque dedere / impositi dorso*, 11.695; also a word used of the coils of a snake (5.85), though snakes and snake-language have rather been forgotten; a cross-reference (so West) to **te lustrare choro** (i.e. the gyrating movements of the Bacchant's dance; cf. 5.584f., **378-82**).

uacua atria Cf. Call.'s εὐρείη, 2.528 *uacua atria lustrat* (where the epithet suggest spaciousness; so Austin), 1.725f. *per ampla uolutant/ atria*, 2.483 *et atria longa patescunt*, 4.665f. *it clamor ad alta/ atria*, 12.474 *pinnis alta atria lustrat*. West acutely noted the reference to the lonely

spaces of the coming ὀρειβάκια (**404**; cf. **385**); **atria** are markedly grander than Callimachean crossroads: cf. my remarks at *EV* 1, 152f. for architectural anachronisms in V. and anachronistic elements in similes.

circum A common anastrophe (Lucr.1.937, *Buc.*8.12, 74, *G.*2.382, 3.537, *Aen.* 1.32, 5.435 etc.); as advb., **c.** (advb. and conj.) tends likewise to slide conveniently to line-end (**589**). Cf. Elsperger, *TLL* 3.1115.29.

380 intenti ludo Cf. Sall.*Cat.*2.9 *aliquo negotio intentus*, *ib.*4.1 *seruilibus officiis intentum*, Liv.1.56.1, Hor.*Serm.*1.5.84 *intentum Veneri*, *TLL* 7.1.2118.57(Nielsen); the verb itself is not in the least prosy in tone. V. uses the noun of hunting (9.606), of the *lusus Troiae* (5.592) and of soldiers gaming on watch (9.167, 338); cf. 4.329, 8.632. Lyne suggests the implication that Amata's frenzy is 'fun' for Allecto (*WP*, 132): not inherently implausible but here infelicitous, though we are but play-things of the gods (Plaut.*Capt.*22, A.Traina, *RFil.*120(1992), 494 = *Poetae latini* 4 (Bologna 1994), 156).

exercent Loftier by far than Callimachus' ἔστρεφον; cf. **163**, **782**, 1.499, 3.281, 4.87, 6.642 of various forms of healthy exercise, not to mention (e.g.) **748**, **798** of farming.

ille Fordyce correctly notes the use of the pronoun to take up the subject of the simile and 'enhance its pictorial effect'. Cf. **787**, *EV* 4, 314, *Aen.*1.500, 2.628, 9.712, 11.755, etc.. Punctuation before **ille** is an impossible choice (though something is required), given our conventions and V.'s changes of viewpoint; dashes, colons and the like only impede the intelligent reader, anyway.

actus Cf. (all of Amata and her companions; vd. West, *cit.*) **384 agitur**, **393 agit**, **405 agit** (not to mention 4.465, 471): the formal key to the multiple correspondences.

habena Cf. **378 uerbere**, 9.587 (*h.* of a sling). **R** gives plur. **haben-****is**; the sing.(**My**) is clearly all that is required.

381 curuatis..spatiis Cf. Ov.*Met.*2.714f. *iterque/ non agit in rectum sed in orbem curuat eundem*; not, clearly, the curving porticoes of a villa but the elliptical course of a top (Horsfall, 1971, 47f., Petrone, *EV* 4, 977): cf. Cic. *de orat.*3.178 (of stars), *Lael.* 40 (with Seyffert-Müller's n.), *Aen.*5.316, 6.634, 10.219.

fertur Cf. 2.498 (a stream in spate),12.687 (a falling rock), 855 (a Dira in motion); also of warriors, animals, boats in swift (and not always controlled) motion). Vd. **594**, *EV* 2, 495 (Zucchelli).

stupet Gk. θαμβεῖ; suggestive of uncomprehending surprise and

wonder: cf. 1.495 (Aen. and the paintings in Juno's temple), 2.31 (first reactions to the Horse), 307 (reactions of a *pastor* to a great fire), 10.249 (Aeneas at the sight of his ships saved by Cybele), 446 (Pallas at the sight of Turnus), G.2.508, *EV* 4, 1046 (Cristante). Heinze writes finely on V.'s subtle and sympathetic observation of children, young people and their reactions (266f.). Cf. *EV* 2, 395ff..

inscia./382 **impubesque manus** Cf. Serv.'s good note (vd. Hubbard. *TLL* 7.1. 1845.44) on 2.307 *inscius: non ignarus; nam uidet: sed qui non sit ualde causarum peritus, id est simplex, ἄπειρος*. The second adj. (note mild assonance within the coupled adjs.) is bizzarely classified by *TLL* s.v. *partibus corporis* (7.1.707.5, Rehm); cf. of course (e.g.) 711. **supra** The children are looking down at the top on the pavement of the **uacua atria**.

382 mirata Cf. the sense of wonder at G.2.81f. (grafted fruit), *Aen.* 2.32 (Trojan horse), 8.91f. (Nature's reaction to the Trojans), 9.55, 10.446, *EV* 3, 540f..

uolubile Cf. the εἰλιττομέναις Μαινάδας of Eur.*Ba.*569f.; the adj. *bis* in Lucr.. In V. *uoluerē* is used of snakes (350, G.3.438, etc.), but also more generally of stars, stones, carts, rivers, tears, smoke, dust (in common, a rolling and unwilling motion); cf. *EV* 5*, 625 (A.Traina). I am not attracted by West's suggestion of an 'irrational correspondence' with Amata's eye at 399; though 'rolling' is a likely sense there, the correspondence here with the whirling Maenads of the Roman Campagna is quite close enough. The precise bearing of the boys' reaction upon the narrative has rightly been a matter for discussion of late (Williams, *TI*, 62f., Lyne, *FV*, 24ff.): certainly there is more reaction than the situation strictly requires and it must herefore be there for a purpose. The boys are (*pace* Lyne) no less expert than Tibullus' (1.5.4; they need to be, to get the top going well!), but pardonably do not comprehend the mechanics of the top's motion. Williams sees a reference to the reactions of the Bacchants' husbands (and particularly Latinus), while Lyne prefers the notion of a hint at Allecto's astonishment at the result of her own actions. The latter explanation is not convincing: V. dwells explicitly upon a *group* reaction, describes the group as not only **inscia** but **impubes** (while Allecto seems really quite grown-up), and eliminates the Fury from the narrative between her snake's first assault on the queen and his closing comment (405): in between, she is not naturally or physically present, or so I sense, to our attention and imagination. Williams only perhaps errs in not going far enough in the right direction: cf.

812ff., lines which indicate V.'s concern to convey the Latins' reaction to events; so here, the boys' innocent incomprehension suggests the Latins', men, women and children, at the inexplicable spectacle (cf. Serv., cited at **381** *inscia*) of their queen spinning, wildly.

buxum Cf. R.Meiggs, *Trees and timber* (Oxford 1982), 281f.; boxwood is easily turned and thus well-suited to toy-making (cf. the 'clapper' of Leonidas, *HE* 2246, and the top of Pers.3.51). **B.** by synecdoche (**245**) also of a flute (*Ov.Met.*14.537) or a comb (*Mart.*14.25.2).

383 dant animos plagae In admirable contrast to **stupet inscia**; skilled blows with the **habena** (keep the top spinning) and give the boys confidence (so e.g. Henry, Paratore, against e.g. Page, Fordyce; Conington hesitates): Henry was of course right to study use of the expression elsewhere and further enquiry serves only to confirm his decision; cf. 9.142ff. *quibus haec mediū fiducia ualli/..dant animos*, Liv. 1.12.10, 8.24.11, *Ov. Am.*2.17.7, *Met.*6.152, 7.120f., 10.656, 12.242, *Her.*18.93, *Pont.*1.2.83. **Plaga** in comedy and repub. prose; *bis* in *G.*, *ter* in *Aen.*

non..segnior Cf. *G.*4.80 *non densior aëre grando*, *Aen.*5.862 *non setius aequore classis*, 12.525 *non segnius ambo*. A rare form of explicit link between simile and narrative.

cursu..illo That is, *cursu illius turbinis*: cf. **595** for the brachylogy.

384 per medias urbes Cf. 10.41 *Allecto medias Italum bacchata per urbes* (cf. **372**), where Harrison rightly notes a paradox (Bacchic ὀρειβάκια being naturally associated with the wild; but vd. *Eur.Ba.*855 δι' ἄστεως); the expression could well refer (cf. **364**) to Latinus' city alone, ennobled by the plural, and subject to the attraction exercised by **populos..ferocis**.

agitur Cf. **actus**, **excita**, **fertur**, **uolubile**: a studied concentration of passives (or equivalent) to indicate Amata in thrall to a stronger force (contrast **393**, **agit**, **405**, **agit**; cf. Thome, 136f.).

populosque ferocis Cf. **724**; the phrasing is altogether unspecific, and might indicate all of Latium, or the neighbourhood of Latinus' city. At **549**, All. offers to rouse **finitimas..urbis** to war; had her first victim already rampaged through the nearby towns, further efforts by All. would hardly, we might suspect, have been called for. But it is pointless to chase after unobtainable precision here.

385 quin etiam Cf. **177**, **299** (and cf. **750** on **quin et**); an upwardly mobile combination, thanks to V., who uses it *novies* (LHS, 676f., Pascucci, *EV* 3, 680; also *ter* in Hor.). Marks a new direction

in the narrative, with intensification (cf. also Austin on 2.768, Rothstein on Prop.2.34.93).

in siluas Cf. *HHDem.*386 ἦϊξ' ἡύτε μαινὰς ὄρος κάτα δάσκιον ὕλης (with Richardson's note), Eur.*Ba.*688, 876, etc., **7.387**. For the ὀρειβασία in general, cf. Roux on Eur.*Ba.*32f., Bremmer (**373-405**), 275ff., Henrichs, (*ib.*,1978), 143f., (*ib.*, 1982), 143, 149, Versnel (*ib.*), 134.

simulato numine Bacchi Cf. the partial echo at **405** **stimulis agit undique Bacchi**. Just how partial is that echo, though? *Hinc illae lacrimae* (cf. bibl., *infra!*). The sense of **405** is almost entirely clear: that All. drives the queen with the goads (a frequent tragic image) of Bacchic madness. But Allecto is neither Bacchus himself, nor his subaltern, and Amata's madness cannot therefore be full, genuine Bacchic possession; cf., however Eur.*Tro.*408 (so Heinze; cf. too *Suppl.*1001): εἰ μή σ' Ἀπόλλων ἐξεβάχευεν φρένας. We have seen (**373-405**) that Bacchic possession was for the Greeks the very type and pattern of madness and Apollo can therefore be said to have crazed Cassandra βακχικῶς. So too at **405**, whereas at **385** we are told explicitly that Amata's madness is *not* authentically Bacchic, **simulato numine Bacchi**. Cf. 6.507 (Helen) *chorum simulans* (so Friedrich, 146, etc.): there at least V. attributes to Helen an intention to deceive, but whether such an intention is here actively present in Amata too is far from clear. At **389f.** (so König, acutely) Amata salutes Bacchus as alone worthy of her daughter, while at **398** the god is forgotten and she sings rather of the match between Lavinia and Turnus which has been her sole goal from **56f.** Is she then quite as mad as she appears? Pentheus' view of the matter was predictably and brutally simple: πλασταῖσι βακχεΐαισι (Eur.*Ba.* 218); the whole show was a fake. But the echo of Eur. in V. here is not of itself the definitive answer to our problem and the degree of psychological subtlety that we read into V.'s text will itself be conditioned by external and historical factors: to work through the bibliography from Heyne's n. to Feeney's discussion in chronological sequence is illuminating! The snake takes total possession of Amata at **375**, but only at **385**, directly under the influence of the *simulatum numen*, does she pass from spinning through the streets to the greater madness and greater wrong of the ὀρειβασία, which may also be viewed as a brilliant tactical coup to get Lavinia out of her father's hands and Aeneas' arms. Virgil, as we have seen (**373-405**), is writing under the influence of linked literary traditions, that is, of both genuine

Bacchanalia exploited by chance or cunning, and false Bacchanalia incited by mortals (note that the language of Liv.39.13.12 and Arnob.5.17 is altogether hostile; the notion of authentic possession is inconceivable in such texts!). So which is operative here? Put another way, *quis numen Bacchi stimulat?* The question, though, is too crudely put to deserve an answer; or rather, we have perhaps by now learned enough about V.'s *modus operandi* to avoid any simple answer to a problem so clearly complex! V. does not tell us explicitly whether All. conveyed the idea of the ὀρειβασία to the queen or whether Amata thought of it for herself; we are therefore invited not to ask too closely which alternative the narrative implies. The Latin clearly admits either option and in translation we can avoid expressing any betrayal of the poet's evident indirection. Servius remarks (?too) subtly *talem patiebatur furorem, ut speraret se Liberi sacra celebrare; non enim ipsa simulabat, quod est sanorum* (cf. Foster), before quoting **405**. There is perfect harmony between All.'s means and the queen's ends. The Fury may therefore (so e.g. Lyne) be thought to be 'working with' her victim; Tu. will be quite another matter. Even if V. had written **stimulato numine**, as I once thought, under the influence of **405**, some ambivalence would have remained. But he clearly did not! Later poets (vd. Thome) complicate the issue: how they rework V. here is in itself a fascinating topic, but no sure guide to the tricky problem of the implied subject of **simulato**. Of the more recent (or more acute) bibliography, I cite: Fantham in Stahl, 143f., Feeney, 167, J.Foster, *LCM* 2(1977), 123, W.-H. Friedrich, *Philol.*94(1941), 151, J.Griffin in *In vino veritas* ed. O.Murray (London 1995), 290f., Heinze, 184, Horsfall 1971, 48f., König, 141ff., A.La Penna, *EV* 1, 127, Lyne, *FV*, 26, n.50, Schenk, 299, n.23, Schweitzer, 27, Setaioli, 257, n.83, Thome, 135.

386 maius..maiolemque Wills, 284 (cf. 418) cites *Acc.trag.*200 *maior mihi moles, maius miscendumst malum*, *Eleg.Maec.* 1.31f., *Ov. Met.* 15.384, etc.; note too **44f.** (the effect of the anaphora also heightened by the identical structure of the κῶλα).

adorta Cf. 6.397; the verb is Ennian (*Ann.*227 *summa arcis adorti*). **orsa** offers faint assonance and parallel sense (*Pacuv.trag.*379, *Liv.* 4.31.7, Bohnenkamp, *TLL* 9.2.948.77).

nefas Cf. *Eur.Ba.*216 νεοχμὰ ... κακά; here an action wicked (cf. **596**, *Liv.*3.44.1) because disobedient towards husband and gods, careless of her regal dignity, and dangerous and disorderly by Roman standards.

furorem Cf. already **348**, **350**, **377**; here, though, **f.** signifies ‘an act provoked by *furor*’, as at 10.905 *hunc, oro, defende furorem*, Hor. C.4.15.17f. *furor/ ciuilis*.

387 euolat Cf. 9.477 (Euryalus’ mother; there Dingel compares the διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση of *Il.*22.460, though the prefixes are quite different); already at *Acc. trag.*576. The dactylic word in the first foot (the verb for which we have waited since **quin etiam**) is followed by a light pause that conveys an impression of sudden, violent motion (cf. Winbolt, 13ff., 121, Austin on 4.22, Williams on 5.480, Harrison on 10.29, 336f., *EV* 2, 311f.).

natam ‘Daughter’ to point up Amata’s violent and unconventional interpretation of her duties as mother; cf. **360**, **genitor**.

frondosis montibus Cf. Eur.*Ba.*218f. ἐν δὲ δακκίοις/ ὄρεσι θοάξειν (for the physical setting, cf. **385**). The language is conventional and traditional, in counterpoint to the action (cf. Enn.*Ann.*179 *siluai frondosai*, *Acc. trag.*243f. (with König, 161), Cat. 64.96 *Idalium frondosum*, G.1.282 *frondosum..Olympum*, Aen.5.252 *frondosa..Ida*, 8.351 *frondoso uertice collem* (cf. **566** for adjs. in -osus).

abdit Cf. Hor.C.3.16.5f. *Acrisium uirginis abditae/ custodem pauidum*.

388 quo Cf. 4.106, Hor.C.1.2.22, KS 2, 233, LHS, 679f., Ernout-Thomas, 343: commoner in comedy and prose.

thalamum Cf. **97**, **253 thalamoque moratur**. *Ter* in Cat., *semel* in ‘Naevius’ 2.2 (Courtney, 108); from ‘bridal chamber’ the word’s use is much expanded by V. (cf. *EV* s.v.), not least because of the need (Austin on 4.18) for metonymic substitutes for the metrically impossible *nuptiae*.

eripiat Teucris The verb at Enn.*Ann.*454, *ter* in *Acc. trag.*; a verb very dear to V.(48x), possibly here with a pretty point: the verb is used often enough of violent seizure of the beloved (2.413, 3.330); here though, to seize the potential *victim* of the second Paris (**363**) to carry her off ‘out of harm’s way’.

taedasque Cf. again 4.18 *thalami taedaeque*; note the **taedae** of **322** (war and marriage between Aeneas and Lavinia; cf. **319**), the **pinum** of **397**(Bacchants’ and marriage of Lavinia and Turnus) and the torch All. uses upon Turnus (**456, 7**; cf. **337**).

moretur Given Am.’s agitated condition, not to be taken as a serious expression of fear lest Latinus swiftly marry off Lavinia to Aeneas; Am. for the moment appears sure that with her daughter out of the king’s hands (contrast Juno’s almost despairing hope for delay at **315**), the marriage to Tu. will somehow occur (**398**).

389 euhoe Bacche fremens Cf. **460**, *EV* 2, 590f. (Traina): Amata's cry should perhaps be put between inverted commas (though **Bacche**, as Wickham on *Hor.C.4.2.49* points out, is also formally antecedent of **te**); predictably, the insertion of exclamations into a context's syntax is carried out with marked flexibility and tolerance (cf. Fraenkel, *Beob.*, *cit.* (**460**), Wickham, *cit.*, Bentley on *Hor.C.1.35.14*, *EV*, 2, 994). The cry (cf. **io**, **400**) is traditionally Dionysiac: cf. *Eur.Ba.141* εὐοῖ, *Cat.64.255*, Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.122*, Bremmer (**373-405**), 279f., Henrichs, (*ib.*, 1978), 147, (1982), 156, Versnel, (*ib.*), 144f., Carpenter, Faraone (*ib.*), index s.v..

solum te uirgine dignum Once upon a time thought a problem of syntax, and now overly neglected. Serv. comments *sumebant. et sunt infiniti pro indicatiuis*. But **etenim** and the anaphoric sequence **te..tibi..te..tibi** impose continuity of thought. Nor did Serv. consider the harsh and ugly transition there would be from **uirgine** (Lavinia) to **sumere** (of which L. and Amata are subjects). The infinitives cannot therefore be historic and must depend on **uociferans** (cf. Highet, 342f. for sequences of OO in V.). Unhappily, Heyne and Henry took Amata to be the subject of the infinitives (so too Williams, *TI*, 185), but the sequence 'You alone are worthy of my daughter, for I take up the thyrsus for you' is bizarre, and the transition from **uirgine** to *me* (implied) quite intolerable. Lavinia therefore is the subject of the infinitives (so Wagner, Conington); after **euhoe Bacche**, the second-person pronouns follow with notable ease, suggesting the *du-Stil* of an actual hymn (so e.g. *Eur.Ba.550ff.*). *Du-Stil* is used similarly at *Varr.Men.132*, *Cat.61.51f. te suis tremulus parens/inuocat*, *CLE* 1508.8ff. to describe not the δυνάμεις of a deity but the actions of his votaries. Compare too 8.293ff., *Ov.Met.4.17ff.*, where third-person narrative breaks into *Du-Stil* in the praises of a god.

solum: cf. 1.664, *Ov.F.1.66*, *quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus* in the Gloria of the Mass, Norden, *AT*, 155, n.1, etc.. **Te..tibi..te..tibi**: anaphoric sequence characteristic of *Du-Stil*: Norden, *cit.*, 149ff., NH on *Hor.C.1.10.9*, Wills, 83. **dignum**: cf. *Buc.4.63 nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est*, *Cat.64.407*, *Aen.3.475, coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo*, *Apoc.4.11, 5.12*. Not to be taken, though as a hint of ritual marriage (present in the cult of Dionysus, *Arist.Ath. Pol.3.5*, Jameson (**373-405**), 54ff., Henrichs (*ib.*, 1982), 148).

390 uociferans *Quater* in *Lucr.*, *quinquies* in *V.*; on such compound verbs, cf. Roby, 1, 390ff..

etenim 25x in *Lucr.*; only here in *V.*: cf. **645** for the place of plain *enim* in *Gebetstil*.

mollis..thyrsos Cf. *Buc.*5.31 *et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas* (the adj. therefore suggests their flexibility; cf. *Cat.*64.256, *Buc.*2.72, *EV* 3, 560): they are the staffs or wands carried by Bacchantes; for their development, and the various types attested, cf. Dodds on *Eur. Ba.*113, with further bibl., Roux on *ib.*, 25, Carpenter, Faraone (373-405), index s.v., Henrichs (*ib.*, 1982), 144, Carpenter (*ib.*), 12f.. It is not helpful (vd. Williams, perhaps after Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1371.33) to read a hint of 'womanish' or 'effeminate' into the adjective: Amata is honouring her god; Roman moral criticism has no clearly appropriate place here (*pace* Setaioli, 258), for V. does not adopt a Livian attitude to the cult of Bacchus. It may be relevant that a blow with the thyrsus could cause madness (Limenius 19f., *Coll.Alex.*p.149, early empire; for *Eur.*, cf. Roux on *Ba.*113). Possibly not identical with the **pampineas..hastas** of 396.

tibi sumere 'In your honour'(Fordyce): cf. *G.*2.5f., 174, *Aen.*10.542, 11.7f..

391 te lustrare The verb has attracted a good deal of attention (Fordyce here, *EV* s.v., with further bibl., Hardie on 9.58); frequent in non-ritual contexts, in the sense of 'move around' (transitive), with hints less (here) or more distant of *lustratio*, purification (so 10.224, *Prop.*2.10.1).

choro M; chorus γ; choros M₂γ₁R. Choros was the vulgate before Heyne, with **te** taken (somehow or other) as 'on your account'. That is quite as unsatisfactory as **choros** as subject of **sumere** (cf. 389 **solum te**). **Choro** is entirely acceptable and the acc. simply the result of dittography before **sacrum**. Cf. *Eur.Ba.*220 τιμώσας χοροῖς (Heinze, 185, n.1, König, 144; cf. Carpenter, Faraone (373-405), index s.v. dance, Roux on *Eur.Ba.*65, 219, 307, *Eur. fr.*752N₂). **sacrum tibi** Predicative. Cf. 602, *G.*3.160 *aris seruare sacros*.

pascere Cf. *Hor.Serm.*2.3.35 *sapientem pascere barbam*, *Schol.Ver.ad Buc.*8.34, *TLL* 10.1.4.596.70 (Krömer); cf. *Gk.* τρέφειν (*Il.*23.142; Achilles grows his hair for the river Spercheus cf. Richardson on *ib.*127-53). Deuticke's **pandere** was quite unnecessary.

crinem Cf. *Eur.Ba.*494 ἱερόσ ὁ πλόκαμος, τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω (with Dodds' and Roux' notes), 695 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν καθεῖσαν εἰς ὦμους κόμας, Versnel (373-405), 170, König, 147. **392 fama uolat** Cf. 3.121, 8.554 (also 104, 11.139). Fama personified is feathered and flies (4.181,184); likewise the far more respectable *fama* of *Hor.C.*2.2.8 (where vd. NH).

furiisque accensas pectora pectora in two c.9 mss(ct). and favoured by Heinsius, Bentley; **pectore MyR**. However, the two abls., separated by only one word but in different syntactical roles, are a notably unattractive sequence and **pectore** could very easily be a consequence of **uirgine, sumere, pascere, quaerere** in the same *sedes* in preceding and following lines, while the combination of abl. and retained acc. is altogether in keeping with V.'s usage (cf. 1.579 *animum arrecti dictis*, 5.869 *casuque animum concussus*, 8.29 *turbatus pectora bello*. We should compare both Eur.*Ba* 35f. *καὶ πᾶν τὸ θῆλυ σπέρμα../. ἐξέμηνα δωμάτων* and Acc.*trag.* 235f. *deinde omni stirpe cum incluta Cadmeide/ uagant matronae percitatae insania* (König, 161); V. may have either or both in mind. The **matres** are consumed by the fire of madness: cf. **393**, 4.364, 376 *furiis incensa*, 12.946 *furiis accensus*, 4.697, 11.709, 12.9, 277; the *furiae* are both (so, rightly, Lyne, *WP*, 29) simple madness (3.331, 4.376, 12.101, 946 with *Companion*, 213) and to some degree the contagious result of the Fury Allecto's active presence.

matres Cf. **400, 580f.**, Zarker (**357**), 18. Given Lavinia's simultaneous involvement in the cult; it is likely that V. has in mind the well-attested division of Bacchantes into three *thiasi* or age-groups, *νέαι παλαιαὶ παρθένοι τ' ἔτ' ἄζυγες* (Eur.*Ba*.694, with Roux and Bremmer (**373-405**), 282, n.78, (Theocr.) 26.2, Prop. 3.17.24).

393 idem omnis simul ardor agit The accumulation of (disyllabic; cf. Cairns, 175) words suggestive of unanimity (in interwoven order: **idem..ardor** and **omnis..agit**) will prove important in the sequel (**580f.**). Cf. *EV* 4, 313, *Aen.*4.581 *idem omnis simul ardor habet*, 12.282 *sic omnis amor unus habet*, 9.801. The noun in Accius *trag.*, *ter*; cf. *Aen.*9.184: compare **392 accensas** and the literal torch of **397**; these *matres* are endowed with a remarkable concentration of fire-imagery. G.Highet (*CP* 71(1976), 337f.) claimed an inconsistency between **omnis** and **ast aliae 395**, comparing Cat.64. 255ff. (and hence a lacuna after **394**): Setaioli (259, n.91) rightly notes that there is rather a simple contrast between the whole body who rush and the others who howl, in their fawnskins. Note the comparable references to unanimity at Eur.*Ba*.35, Acc.*trag.* 235 (*supra*; cf. König, 161). The line accelerates markedly with caes. at 3tr., in keeping with the massed haste of the action (cf. (e.g.) 6.48, Norden, 431).

noua quaerere tecta Cf. Eur.*Ba*.38 *ἀνορόφους ἦνται πέτρας* with Dodds' comm., xiii^f. Compare too 6.7f. *ferarum/ tecta..siluas* (with Ov.*Ars* 2.622). So here the Bacchantes do not seek out 'new

homes' (Conington) but 'strange dwellings' (Mackail); cf. *EV* 3, 769 (Nosarti), *Aen.*4.500 with SDan., *et saep.*. For infin. with causative verbs, cf. LHS, 345f., and notably KS 1, 681. Cf. **239f. sed nos fata deum uestras exquirere terras/ imperiis egere suis.**

394 deseruere domos Fordyce draws attention to the 'instantaneous' perfect (an action finished as soon as begun), common in this *sedes*; cf. Mynors on *G.*4.213, Austin on 1.84, 4.164, 6.81, NH on *Hor.C.*1.34.16. An effect of Dionysiac possession noted both by the god (*Eur.Ba.*32) and by Pentheus (217) γυναικας ἡμῖν δώματ' ἐκλελοιπέναςι..

uentis dant Cf. 4.546 *uentis dare uela* (with 3.9, 8.707f.), 1.319, *infra. colla comasque* An 'alliterative noun-pair' (cf. **692** with Wölfflin *ib.* 51 = 256, *Cic.Verr.*5.108 *collo et ceruicibus*) and verging on zeugma. Too easily understood as e.g. "they let their hair flow unconfined about their necks" (Conington) but certainly not hendiadys: V. refers to two distinct actions, both characteristic of Bacchantes. In the first, they toss their heads (cf. *Eur.Ba.*864 with Dodds' and Roux' notes, E.R.Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational* (Berkeley 1963), 273f., Henrichs, *loc.cit.(infra)*, Bremmer (**373-405**), 278f., Carpenter (*ib.*), 82, *Cat.* 64.255, *Tac.Ann.*11.31) while in the second, anticipating **403 soluite crinalis uittas**, they loose their hair (cf. *Eur.Ba.*150 (with Roux' n.), 240f., 695f.(with Roux' n.), *Aen.*1.319 *dederatque comam diffundere uentis*, *Liv.*39.13.12, *Ov.Met.*3.726 with Bömer's note, *Tac. Ann.cit.*, Heckenbach (**690**), 73f., Bremmer (**373-405**), 277, Henrichs (*ib.*, 1978), 157, n.113). Less compressed than V., *Ov.Met. cit.*, *collaque iactauit mouitque per aera crinem*, *Tac.Ann.cit. crine fluxo.. iacere caput.*

395 ast aliae A markedly excited dactylic rhythm (cf. Norden, 420f., Williams on 5.136-41, Winbolt, 121f.); cf. 2.467 *ast alii* (with Austin's ample note), 4.488, 6.316, 9.727. The archaic *ast* (cf. Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*93) in Augustan poetry has become a metrically handy alternative to *at*, though V.'s tendency to prefix it to pronouns beginning with a vowel (so also *ille*, *ego*, *ipse*) still reflects old usage (cf. also Harrison on 10.173, Fordyce on **308**). For the narrative sequence cf. on **393**.

tremulis ululatibus Cf. *Cat.*63.28 *thiasus repente linguis trepidantibus ululat*; the adj. Ennian and Lucretian too (cf. Traina, *EV* 5*, 262f.) and it is interesting that whether it refers to light (cf. **7.9**, 8.22) or sound, V. likes to play with repetition of the letters -ul-. The marked echo of *Cat.* may suggest that V. felt little difference of sense between

trepidantibus and **tremulis**. Neither context suggests a timorous ululation (cf. Kroll on 63.11; contrast the reworking at Stat. *Theb.* 10.567); while L.Gamberale, *RCCM* 20(1978), 913 speaks of the adj. here as suggesting a cry 'forte e disordinato', the connotations of the words chosen hint rather at the quavering sound-line of the votaries' howl in both Cat. and V. (cf. Hor. *C.4.13.5*, *OLD* s.v. *tremulus*, §3d, s.v. *trepido* §3; Fordyce on *Aen.* 8.5, *Lucr.* 3.834f. and *Enn. Ann.* 309, cf. Crevatin, *EV* 5*, 264); more recently, the battle-cries of Saracens, Dervishes and Pathans had a similar, alarming, effect on European ears. In the case of Bacchants, not limited to **euhoē** and **io**; cf. R.Seaford, *JHS* 108(1988), 134, *id.*, *CQ* 39(1989), 303, *id.* in Carpenter, Faraone (373-405), 133, *Eur. Ba.* 1133 on their war-cries. The onomatopoeic noun (cf. **18**) corresponds to Gk.: as Dionysus himself said, *Eur. Ba.* 23f. Θήβας.. / ἀνωλόλυξα (vd. Dodds' and Roux' notes); cf. *ib.* 689, Lucian, *Dion.* 4, *Cat.* 63. *cit.* (with Rhianus, *HE* 3238 = 67.3 Powell, Antipater, *HE* 624, Bömer on *Ov. F.* 4.186: specific therefore in the cults both of Dionysus and of Cybele), *Liv.* 39.10.7; note too *Aen.* 4.168 *ulularunt uertice nymphae*.

aethera complent Cf. 12.724 *fragor aethera complet*, *Lucr.* 4.1017, 5.1066 *omnia complent*, *Hor. Epd.* 6.9, *Liv.* 5.37.8 *cuncta compleuerant sono*; for the (rather routine) hyperbole, cf. **530**.

396 pampineasque..hastas Cf. *Eur. Ba.* 25 κίccιον βέλος, *Buc.* 5.31 (Maenads) *et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas*. The *thyrsus* (cf. **390**) could itself be used as a weapon (vd. Dodds' n. on *Eur. cit.* and *ib.* 761-4, Carpenter (373-405, 1997), 31); before it came to be represented as a fennel-stalk, to which vine-leaves might be attached, it was simply the βακχεῖον κλάδον, 'a branch of the god's holy tree' (Dodds on *Ba.* 113, but see Carpenter, 1997, *infra*); the branch too might serve as a weapon (T.Carpenter in Carpenter, Faraone (373-405), 189, *id.* (*ib.*, 1997), 13 with n.69), good enough for Dionysus himself in the Gigantomachy (Nonn. 48.47). Mynors on *G.* 2.333 defines *pampini* as 'the rampant green shoots which bear leaves and grape-clusters'; Clausen at *Buc.* 5 *cit.* is satisfied that V. is referring to the *thyrsus* (a weapon adorned with vine-tendrils, just as *Eur.* writes of the ivy-girt javelin), but the literary and artistic evidence does not exclude vine-branches (quite stout enough, both at *Tac. Ann.* 1.23.4 and in my garden!) and V.'s meaning (cf. *Ov. Met.* 3. 667) is not altogether unambiguous. A reference to weapons could in turn admit the idea that the *matres* were prepared to defend Lavinia.

gerunt Cf. **664**.

incinctae pellibus Cf. Enn.*trag.*26 (Furies) *incinctae igni*, G.4.342 *pictis incinctae pellibus*. Skins, particularly of fawns, are the Maenads' uniform for the ὀρειβάκια: cf. Dodds on Eur.*Ba.*111, Roux on *ib.*24, 111, 136f., Bremmer (**373-405**), 277, Versnel (*ib.*),134, Henrichs (*ib.*, 1978), 157, n.113, Eur.fr.752.1N₂, Tac.*Ann.* 11.31.5. Panther-skins at DS 4.4, Nonn.14.356f..

397 ipsa inter medias Cf. Eur.*Ba.*689f. ἡ γὲ δὲ μήτηρ ὠλόλυξεν ἐν μέσαις / σταθεῖς Βάκχαις, *Aen.*6.517f. (Helen) *illa chorum simulans euhantis orgia circum/ ducebat Phrygias; flammam media ipsa tenebat* (with König, 150f.). Bacchic *thiasi* did have leaders (Dodds on Eur.*Ba.*680f.). Compare **783 ipse inter primos**, 10.132 (with Harrison's note): the queen, however crazed, remains in charge.

flagrantem..pinum For comparable juxtaposition of human and literal fire, cf. 9.72 *atque manum pinu flagranti feruidus implet*. The adj used by Varr.*Atac.*fr.11 (of a thunderbolt); *pinus* a common metonymy for 'torch', given the suitability of pine-resin. The torch is another stock element of maenadism: Roux on Eur.*Ba.*145f., 307, Eur.*Ion* 550, fr.752.2N₂, Ar.*Nub.*603f., Carpenter, Faraone (**373-405**), index s.v., and Seaford, *ib.*, 127, Carpenter (*ib.*, 1997), index s.v.. Note also that the pine-tree is itself sacred to Dionysus (Eur.*Ba.*110, 1058 (with Dodds' notes), 1064, Gruppe, 2, 1418, n.4).

feruida Already at **345** she was **ardentem** (cf. **355**, **356**); not only does Am. brandish a torch, but she is herself 'fired' with passion/madness (cf. **392**, **3** of the **matres**). The adj. used often in a psychological sense: cf. 8.230, 9.72, 350, 736, 10.788, 12.325, 748, 951, an extension apparently first in V..

398 sustinet Cf. Eur.*Ba.*145f. ὁ Βακχεὺς ἀνέχων / πυρρώδη φλόγα πεύκας. The verb at Enn.*trag.*330.

et natae Turnique Juxtaposed at last, significantly; cf. on **385 simulato numine**.

canit hymenaeos Holding the torch appropriate to either occasion, Am. passes from Dionysiac chant to wedding-hymn. After **canit**, this is perforce the noun's primary sense, but if the poetic plural is thought too hard (cf. though, Pind.*Pyth.*3.17, Eur. *Alc.*922), the verb could just as well indicate 'sing of', and the noun simply 'marriage' (as Cat.64.20, etc.; so **344**, **358**, **555**; for the gen., cf. **344**). The lengthening of the last syllable of **canit** in *arsi* is of a type common in Greek, in Cat. (64.20, etc.) and found three times elsewhere in V. before polysyllabic Greek nouns at line-end (cf. Fordyce here and on Cat., *cit.*, Norden, 438, Harrison on 10.720 *profugus hymenaeos*, Wills, 20, n.18).

399 sanguineam..aciem Cf. 2.210 *ardentis oculos suffecti sanguine*, 4.643 *sanguineam uoluens aciem*, Eur.*IA* 381 αἱματηρὸν ὄμμ' ἔχων (but Soph.*OC* 552 is literal), Ov.*Met.*8.284, VF 4.235, *Physiogn.*27. As at **448** fiery eyes are a symptom of anger; here too *exaestuante ab imis praecordiis sanguine* (Sen.*Ira* 1.1.4), the eyes mirror the soul (**251**, **447**) and the blood which in Seneca's portrait of wrath suffuses the cheeks in V. glares from Amata's eyes (cf. Sen.*Ira* 2.19.3ff., Evans (**447**), 26, n.88). The Furies themselves have bloody eyes (Aesch.*Cho.*1058, *Eum.* 54, Eur.*Orest.*256, fr.872N₂), which may well also have been in V.'s mind. Cf. **589**, **753** for adjectives in *-eus*; *acies* as 'gaze', at Cat. 63.56, 64.127 (in Lucr. and earlier, rather 'sight', 'power of vision', 'pupil'). So V. reminds us that the anger of **345** is still 'cooking' Amata. Cf. **toruum** below. Heuzé, 557f. is atypically infelicitous.

torquens There may well be an etymological play with the immediately following *toruum* (cf. Isid.*Etym.*10.269; cf. *EV* 5*, 221) and hence an implicit association of gaze and voice; the sense is much easier to establish than at **448**, for 'turn towards' is excluded by the absence of any clear objective and 'darting' or 'rolling' is entirely in keeping with Amata's mental state (cf. Eur.*Ba.*1122f. καὶ διαστροφῶς / κόρας ἐλίττων with Dodds' note, Eur.*Med.*1173f. with Page's note, *HF* 868, 932, *Orest.*253 with Willink's n., *Physiogn.*23, **249f.**).

toruumque../400 clamat The adj. (vd.**415**) of a look (Dido, 6.467), or a face (Allecto's own, **415**); Serv. (*EV* 5*, 221, Iodice) glosses with e.g. *terribilis* or *fortis et asper* (10.170). For adverbial *toruum*, cf. Harrison on 10.56, Görler, *EV* 2, 268. Typically, V. transfers from appearance (cf. the gaze of the Fury at AR 4.475f.) to sound (cf. already Enn.*Ann.*93, Acc.*trag.*223 *tonitru toruo*, Görler, *EV* 2, 277): there is something awful in Amata's cry (cf. Eur.*Ba.*731 ἀνεβόηεν), still under demonic possession. **R** offers **toruom**, accepted by Geymonat, against the **toruum** of **My**; hardly ground enough to introduce the archaic spelling and we are still best advised to follow the (inconsistent) weight of the better mss. (NW 1, 112ff., Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 438f.; V. himself might just still have written *-om*: Leumann, 49). Cf. Hightet (**552**), 211 on the speech opening at ltr..

repente Cf., possibly, **446**; the suddenness of the cry may itself be a sign of madness or possession. The advb. itself slightly archaic, and Lucretian in tone. Cf. Austin on 2.380, Axelson, 32.

400 io matres..Latinae Cf. Roux on Eur.*Ba.*576ff., Varr.*LL* 6.68, Hor.*Serm.*1.3.7: **io** is part of the actual language of cult. Amata addresses her peer-group (**392**) and the adj. may be a reminder both

that she is after all their queen and that the 'rescue' of Lavinia may be construed as 'of national importance'.

audite The epic equivalent of spoken *audin.?*; cf. 3.103, 9.234.

ubi quaeque Cf. Plaut.*Amph.*1048, 1063, *Capt.*500 (with Lindsay's note), Cic.*Att.* 5.9.2, 10.5, Cic.*Verr.*2.4.31, *Leg.*2.4, *Parad.*4.32, *Fin.* 4.10, Caes. *BG* 6.34.2, KS 1, 644, LHS, 200. Mynors and Geymonat punctuate with a comma after **audite**; Conington, Ribbeck, Sabbadini, Perret, Williams, Paratore and Götte add another comma after **quaeque** while Mackail does not punctuate at all. The **matres** are scattered through the woods and Amata roars to reach them, wherever they are; two commas, therefore, or two dashes.

401 si qua../**402 gratia** Cf. **232 tantique abolescet gratia facti**, 4.539, 6.653f. *quae gratia currum/ armorum fuit uiuis*: here recognition or gratitude due to Am.. For the *si qua* formula, cf. **4**, 2.142f. *per si qua est..*/ *..fides*, 536 *si qua est caelo pietas*, 9.493 (*infra*), 12.56f. *per si quis Amatae/ tangit honos animum*, *Buc.*7.44 *si pudor*, with Clausen's note and Housman, *Class.Pap.*1, 335 ('serious objurgation', which well suits the tone here!).

piis animis Cf. 9.493 (Euryalus' mother) *figite me, si qua est pietas*, Bailey, 82f., Traina, *EV* 4, 96 (excellent): *infelicitis* points the way to understanding *piis* here as 'compassionate' (compare 9.495, *miserere*; cf. Traina, *EV* 4, 95), though *matres* and *materni* may also suggest here 'what is due to a mother' (cf. Serv.'s gloss *maternis*).

manet Cf. 9.298f. *nec partum gratia talem/ parua manet*.

infelicitis Amatae The speaker's use of his/her own name: so Latinus (**261**), Dido, (4.308, 383, 596, always with, as here, marked pathos), Turnus (10.677, etc.), Juno (10.73, where vd. Harrison), Deiphobus (6.510, where vd. Austin and Norden), Diana (11.537, 582), Sinon (2.79; vd. NH on Hor.*C.*1.7.27), Creusa (2.778, 784), Andromache (3.487). Norden, *cit.*, refines the material Kvičala collected on the stileme's history (Homer, Sophocles) and associations; cf. too *Buc.*7.40, in the Theocritean manner, Landgraf on Cic.*Sex.Rosc.*32. Amata (cf. **376**) uses of herself, again, Dido's characterising adjective (cf. A.La Penna, *Maia* 19(1967), 309, J.W.Zarker, *Vergilius* 15(1969),8). She is hardly bewailing (*EV* 2, 487) her lack of success; contrast **309**. **402 si..remordet** Cf. 1.261 *quando haec te cura remordet* (cf. too 4.378f. *ea cura quietos/ sollicitat*); the verb distinctively Lucretian (3.827, 4.1135). The common affective anaphora of *si* (cf. 1.603, 3.433f., 4.327f., 5.798, etc.).

iuris materni In Roman law, Amata had no actual rights in the

matter, though usage granted her (if we read her as in some sense a Roman mother) the expectation of making her wishes known, to some effect (cf. Treggiari (407), 134ff., S.Dixon, *The Roman mother* (London 1988), 215, J.P.V.D.Balsdon, *Roman women* (London 1962), 173f. and, fully, A.Brazouski, *Helios* 18(1991), 129ff.) and she could therefore appeal to a shared sense of maternal solidarity. Cf. Prop. 4.11.75 *fungere maternis uicibus*.

cura cf. 365; just the word she had used to Latinus.

403 soluite crinalis uittas Cf. **394 colla comasque** for the Bacchants' loosing of their hair. The adj. also at 11.576 *crinali auro* and probably a coinage (for this—common—type of adj., cf. *EV* 1, 53; both metrically preferable to *crinium* and loftier, as was desirable in the case of an item of female dress). **Vittas**: cf. 352.

capite orgia mecum Either (i) the verb as *simplex pro composito* (i.e. *suscipere*; cf. Liv.10.7.10, Prop.3.11.49, *Culex* 391, *OLD* s.v.ξ15a) and the noun in the sense of 'rites' (Eur.*Ba.*34 κευήν .. ὀργίων ἐμῶν with Dodds' and Roux' notes, *G.*4.521, *Aen.*4.303, 6.517) or (ii) the verb in the literal sense of 'pick up' and the noun in the sense of 'ritual objects' (cf. Eur.*Ba.*470 δίδωσιν ὀργια with Dodds' and Roux' notes (the ambiguity, that is, is already present in Gk.), Cat.64.259f. (with Kroll's n.), Stat.*Ach.*1.812f. *Bacchea ferentes/ orgia*, Henrichs (373-405, 1978), 149f. and (*ib.*, 1982), 156f.). The pronoun is immaterial. *TLL* plumps for the more obvious (i) (9.2.973.17, Bohnenkamp), while Fordyce recognises the problem but mis-states the linguistic evidence. Cf. Horsfall 1971, 52. Given that both senses are entirely legitimate and equally appropriate in the context, it does seem likely that there is a mild ambivalence here: not a puzzle, or a challenge or a significant ambiguity but a calculated imprecision, with both meanings of the noun attested in Eur.*Ba.*! Cf. *Companion*, 229, Quinn, 394ff., *EV* 1, 129ff..

404 talem.. / 405 reginam For heavily emphatic *talis*, perhaps to be called 'resumptive', cf. *G.*2.224, 3.89, 92, *Aen.*1.503, 5.375, 6.240, 12.337, 860. 'The queen, reduced to *this*'.

inter..inter As at 9.556f. *inter et hostis/ inter et arma* the nouns governed by the geminated preposition form a single thought-unit.

siluas..deserta ferarum The woods of 385; cf. the beasts (note 478 for the noun) whose skins the Bacchants wear (396). Vd. 385 for the Bacchic ὀρειβάκια. *Deserta* at Lucr.1.164 (*ferarum*, 163), *Buc.*6.80; cf. too *Buc.*10.52 *in siluis inter spelaea ferarum*, *Aen.*3.646, *in siluis inter deserta ferarum*. Cf. too *G.*2.471 *lustra ferarum*, *Aen.*6.179 *stabula alta ferarum*.

405 Allecto Fury and queen in powerful juxtaposition (vd. index s.v.); Allecto has reduced Amata, for the moment, to her mere spinning toy.

stimulis..Bacchi Not literal (contrast **uerbera**, **336**). Cf. *G.3.210 stimulos..amoris*, *Aen.6.101 stimulos sub pectore uertit Apollo*, 9.718, *Liv. 39.15.3 furialibus stimulis*. The specificity of the language and images used to express the action of a deity in maddening a mortal is notable and their history is complex. The *stimulus* is, literally, a goad, Gk. κέντρον: cf. (e.g.) *Soph.Phil.1039*, *Eur.HF* 21 (Heracles and the goads of Hera; vd. Bond *ad loc.*), *Hipp.39* (of love). Alongside the goad is the sting of the gadfly (linked, *Soph.OT* 1318): cf. (apart from Hera and Io) *Eur.Ba.32* (with Roux' n.), 119 οἰκτρηθεὶς Διονύκῳ, 1229, *IA* 547 (love), *IT* 1456 (Furies), *HE* 608 (Antipater, of Cybele); cf. *Lucr. 2.620*, *Cat.63.4 stimulatus ibi furenti rabie*). More simply than V., Aeschylus' Lyssa maddened the Bacchantes in the *Xantriae* (fr. 169 Radt; cf. König, 130f.), Eur. wrote (*Tro.408*; cf. Heinze, 186, n. 3, König, 149) of Apollo who ἐξεβάκχευεν φρένας of Cassandra and 'Bacchic' is a repeated description of Heracles' madness in the *HF* (966, 1086, 1119, 1122, Seaford in Carpenter, Faraone (**373-405**), 130, 132f.). That is not to reduce Amata's state to a metaphor: Allecto has goaded her with a very particular kind of madness, at least in appearance (cf. **385**).

agit undique The verb takes up the **agitur** of **384**; the adverb likewise, I suspect, completes the circle and leads us back to the boys whipping the top and Allecto's whirling course under Allecto's insistent stimulus.

406-474 It is amusing, and perhaps significant, that in Macr.'s notorious attack on the central section of *Aen.7* (5.17.1ff.), he says not a word in twenty lines about the Allecto-Turnus scene. Did he forget it, while excerpting his early imperial (Norden, *EuV*, 2ff.) source, or did he realise that it was both richly Homeric (notably, **417**, **419**, **421-34**, **427**, **428**, **436-44**, **444**, **446**, **462-6** *passim*; cf. Setaioli, 262f.) and, compared to its neighbours, relatively poor in important tragic elements (Aesch.: cf. **421-34**)? The episode's climax has always seemed to me one of the poem's great moments, of exceptional density and force. The setting of the whole is the bedchamber of the sleeping Turnus, in a town itself in V.'s day sleepy, and most of the scene consists of a verbal exchange between All. and the sleeper (discussed further before each speech); only at **445** does she declare

her godhead (Fraenkel, 152), to which Tu. reacts at once, though he does not wake until **458** and only then does real ‘action’ begin, limited, intense though it is, to four lines, followed by a simile, a speech in OO (four lines), and three lines of coda! Cf. Kühn, 108ff., Schweizer, 34ff., Thome, 143ff., Feeney, 168ff. and, for some stimulating considerations, O’Hara, *DOP*, 62ff..

406 postquam V. opens a new section of the narrative in slow and solemn motion (for the self-contained first-foot spondee, cf. Austin on 2.80 and Harrison on 10.116f.) as at 1.723 *postquam prima quies epulis* and more strikingly 3.1 *postquam res Asiae.*; never, though, with *quando*.

uisa Cf. 5.231 *possunt quia posse uidentur*, 9.195; All. *thinks* her first campaign successful enough (**satis**); the adverb may imply that fear of excessive success so central in Juno’s words at **552f.**

primos..furores The plural refers to both **matres** and (cf. **386**) Amata; though we might wonder whether **p.** refers to the first of a series (as it does) or to the first onslaught of a madness that will worsen (a common enough issue; cf. **354**, **542**), the second sense seems unlikely, given V.’s concern to portray an intensification of the action within each of the three self-contained Allecto episodes.

acuisse Cf. **330**, G.1.123 (*corda*), *Aen.*9.464 (*iras*), 12.850 (of the Dirae), Liv.8.6.15 (*curam*).

407 consiliumque..Latini To welcome the Trojans and to marry his daughter to Aeneas. Lavinia has after all (**387**) already been concealed from her father.

omnemque domum All. has set Latinus irreconcilably at odds with his wife and daughter, who cannot now legally—at least in traditional Roman terms—marry Turnus, whatever Amata thinks (S.Treggiari, *Roman Marriage* (Oxford 1991), 65, 134, 146f. for the necessity of the father’s consent); the adjective is to be understood with both nouns.

uertisse Cf. 10.35 *uertere iussa*, 88 *fluxas Phrygiae res uertere fundo*, G.1.505 *fas uersum atque nefas* and *euertere*, *Aen.*3.1.

408 protinus hinc P. already in Scip.Afr.Mai.(3.3ORF); of evident convenience in the hexam.; *ter* in Lucr. and its presence in Enn. would not surprise. Twice in combination with *ad* in *Aen.*(2.437, 4.196); cf. Tac.*Germ.*43.6 *protinus deinde ab!* ‘Straight’ suggests that All. does not tarry in her task.

fuscis..alis All. comes from the realm of darkness (**325**), is herself black (**329**), acts in the darkness of night (**414**), and disappears (**565**) into darkness. **F.** is in essence more ‘brown’ than ‘black’, but (André,

125) is often applied to objects generally considered black(ish): night (8.369), the gates of sleep (Tib.3.4.55), and the Underworld (Prop.4.11.5); cf. *trag.inc.132 Erebo procreata fuscis crinibus Nox*. With All.'s wings, cf. (in the wider context of **323-40**) those of Gorgons, ([Aesch.] *PV* 798), Erinyes (Eur.*Or.*316, *IT* 281), Harpies (AR 2.1034), Dirae (12.848) and (in the artistic tradition) Keres and Eris. **tristis dea** Not **dea tristis**; cf. Austin on 1.1 *Troiae qui* for V.'s tendency to avoid the self-contained fourth-foot spondee. With **dea**, cf. **346, 511, 541**; **tristia bella** and **Discordia tristis** are dear to her (**325, 545**); V. also uses the adj. of Dirae (8.701), Erinys (2.337), the Chimaera's flames (**787**), the Harpies' *irae* (3.366), and of personified *Senectus* (6.275); frequent in *G.4* and *Aen.6*.

tollitur So of Iris (5.657, 9.14) and Sleep (5.861); cf. *EV* 5*, 206(*de Vivo*).

409 audacis As applied to Tu., cf. **475**; the quality is precisely relevant to his eventual headlong reaction (**460ff.**).

Rutuli For the geographical periphrasis in general, cf. Lunelli-Kroll, 45; *Troius heros* (cf. Moskalew, 82, Harrison on 10.584), *Dardanius ductor*, *Ithacus*, *Phrygius pastor* (**363**), *Rutulum regem*, *Rutuli clamantis* and, most closely, *furens Tirynthius* (8.228) reveal V. still restrained in his use of such ornamental circumlocutions. While the link of Rutuli and Ardea is of great antiquity (vd. the document cited at Cato, fr. 58HRR), our understanding of Turnus' precise role in the story before V. (vd. **783**) rests on the minute and controversial examination of the fragments of Cato (W.A.Schroeder, ed. *Orig.*1, 91ff. offers a fair summary; cf. Horsfall, *RMM*, 22, n.133 for updating and some complications of detail) and of *OGR* 13 (both of whose recent editors, Richard and D'Anna, unfortunately accept, against the clear linguistic evidence (which reveals an echo *of*, not *in*, Livy), the authenticity of Cato fr.11HRR); there is no reason to suppose, however, that V.'s reference here was in the least obscure.

muros Cf. **671f.** for the closely analogous parallelism of **moenia** and **gentem**; see 1. 258f., 2.234, 3.85f., 4.655, 12.193f. for *moenia* and *urbs*.

quam..urbem Cf. **348, 477** for the repetition (with variation) of the antecedent within the relative clause.

dicitur Cf. *Alambicco*, 124, *PLLS* 6(1990), 54: comparison of Plin. *Nat.*3.56 suggests that this was at least a traditional and very possibly a Varronian story (cf. **794** for possible reasons behind its growth).

410 Acrisioneis..colonis Cf. **371 Inachus Acrisiusque patres**; details not attested outside V. (cf. C.J.Mackie, *CQ* 41(1991), 264), but once the notion of an Argive foundation existed, its onomastic ornamentation (contrast *FGH* 240F29 = 840F17=DH 1.72.5: foundation by a son of Odysseus and Circe, according to Xenagoras; cf. T.J.Cornell, *PCPS* 21(1975), 20) was a merely mechanical task. Acrisius (cf. Call. *Epigr.*39.3) was son of Abas, king of Argos (*EV* s.v. *Acrisio* (Martina), Preller-Robert 2, 245ff., *Appld.Bibl.*2.2.1 for details) and (cf. Housman, *Coll.Pap.*2, 891 = *JPh* 33(1914),60f.) the hypothesis of a by-form Acrision is perfectly easy (cf. Icarion, Iasion), whence *Acrisioneis*. Danae herself was called Acrisione in Hom (*Il.*14.319) and Euphorion (*SH* 418.42), of which the correct adjectival form (Housman) would here be *Acrisionaeis*: I am not quite sure whether or not V. may had Danae's other name in mind here; just the sort of erudition he enjoyed, though! The descendants of Laomedon and Amphitryon create several other closely comparable instances of a single (learned, mythological) word that occupies the entire first half of the hexameter (not, *pace* Serv. a patronymic here; cf. Boldrer on Colum.10.205). **colonis**: cf. **63**, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 25; the lexicon of historical settlement.

Danae Mother of Perseus by Zeus; they were cast adrift in a chest by her father Acrisius (Simonides, 543.1PMG, Preller-Robert, 2, 229ff.; Perseus killed Acr. in the end) and her further voyages (in Soph. *Inachus*, *ap.* D.H.1.25.4; much expanded, as from Timaeus(??): vd. *EV* s.v.*Danae*, Rehm, 28, after J.Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie* (*Phil.Unt.*13, Berlin 1892), 41; Ardea only attested plainly in V. and later) are a godsend in the hunt for approximately plausible mythological ktistai, not least when the relevant town is, like Ardea, famed as a cult-centre of Juno/Hera, and thus an appropriate home for Aeneas' arch-enemy (cf. **419**, **672**, **794**, *Plin.Nat.*35.115, citing a c.2 B.C. inscr.).

fundasse Language used of Carthage (1.428, etc.), Praeneste (**678**), Eryx (5.760), Caere (8.478), and Rome (6.811); for V. and the language/ideology of colonisation-stories, cf. *Vergilius* 35(1989), 8ff.

411 praecipiti..Noto Cf. *G.*4.29 *praeceps..Eurus*, Hor.C.1.3.12 *praecipitem Africum* (with NH).

delata *Trag.inc.*182, *Acc.trag.*677, and common in V.(e.g. **22**). The South wind served to carry Danae up from Sicily (Wagner, mysteriously, took the phrase as referring to All.); she, Odysseus and Aeneas perforce followed much the same route.

locus Cf. **563**, 1.530 = 3.163, 6.381; *est locus* after *Enn.Ann.*20 (with

Skutsch's note); so τόπος, *SH* 176.3 (Archestratus).

Ardea For geography and antiquities, cf. **413 fortuna fuit** and **794 Argiuaque pubes**. No question, V. wrote **Ardea**, not **ardua** (in some recc.). But Serv. comments: *bene adlusit: nam Ardea quasi ardua dicta est, id est magna et nobilis, licet Hyginus in Italicis Urbibus* [cf. on **412 auis**] *ab augurio auis ardeae dictam uelit; magnum* has been, predictably, hailed as a gloss on the etymological link of *ardua* and *Ardea* (O'Hara, 190, Hardie on 9.53, S.Casali, *MD* 35(1995), 73f.). While it matters not at all that *Ardea* is not *ardua*, lofty, it is a good deal more troublesome that *arduus* does not normally carry the sense *magna et nobilis* (while at *G.*1.364 the possibility of a play between *ardea* and *altam* (O'Hara, 190) is far less strained). *Non liquet*: the case for or against the etymology in the next line is quite independent of the issue here.

quondam/ 412 dictus Cf. 3.693 *nomen dixere priores*, **7.206 Auruncos ita ferre senes**, 8.332; cf. *AR* 2.500f., 4.985, *Call.H.*4.36f., Rhianus fr.25.1f.Powell for the antiquity of names, often (though not here) in the context of a metonomasia (cf. O'Hara, 88ff).

auis Ovid (*Met.*14.573ff.; so too Hyg.*de urb.Ital.*fr.15 *GRF*, fr.11 *HRR*) has his bit of fun here; *Ardea* becomes an *auis* (i.e. heron) and this interpretation of Virgil is predictably much in favour at the moment (P.Hardie, in *Roman poetry and propaganda* ed.A.Powell (London 1992), 77, n.16, O'Hara, 190, Casali, *cit.*, 74, Paschalis, 255f., J.Dyson, *CQ* 47(1997), 315; 'ludicrum', Heyne). *À mon avis*, **auis**, ancestors (dat. of agent; vd. Fordyce, **220**) are confirmed as the primary sense by the preceding **quondam** while ornithophile readings of V.'s text depend on information both external to the *Aen.* and later in date: an interpretation unnecessarily arduous but not utterly inconceivable (proper caution in Hardie 1992, *cit.*).

et nunc A frequent marker of metonomasiai and comparable phenomena (O'Hara, 90f. citing *Aen.*1.267, 532, 5.602, 6.234, 776, **7.3, 208, 708**, 12.134 along with Hellenistic and Ennian antecedents, but vd. also the next note). V. also, however, uses the expression, word-games apart, to refer to the Augustan present: cf. **602** and note. The strong pause before **et nunc** in Conington is deplorable, spoiling as it does both the force of the anaphora and the balance of **quondam** and **nunc**. The same considerations should make it clear that *et* has the force of 'and' rather than 'even': the place was named *Ardea* a very long time ago, and *Ardea* still remains a famous name, but...

magnum..nomen 'When V. calls attention to the fact that a name is a name..he may be calling attention to etymological wordplay'

(O'Hara, 75f., citing **3**, **607(?)**, **671**, **777** and numerous other instances from AR on); with *magnum*, cf. 8.48 *clari..cognominis Albam*. But for *nomen*, in an 'onomastic' context *without* etymologising implications, leaving aside a fair number of O'Hara's uncertain cases, cf. (e.g.) G.3.36, *Aen.***7.717**, 8.14, 10.618, 12.515. O'Hara, who summarises most conveniently a good deal of earlier work, does of course show that it is *prima facie* rather likelier that there is some form of etymological play hereabouts, but I repeat that neither of the two cases cited is binding: I do not think we know how many name-plays are present here—none at all, one, or two—and only express sceptically a tentative preference. Here at least *nomen* suggests 'but a name', 'a name and no more'; cf. Cic. *Verr.*2.5.186 *nomen modo Africani*, Sil.10.582 *uacuum sine corpore nomen*, Hor. *Ep.*1.17.41 *uirtus nomen inane*, *OLD* s.v. §16a; the apposition is of a common type (1.288, 6.763, **7.717**, 12.515).

manet My (i.e. P)V ω ; **tenet M₂R**, Serv. 'et fortasse Schol.Ver.' (Geymonat). **Tenet** intransitively (so Mackail) is good Livian idiom (e.g.2.3.5) but here very weak; V. writes (5.121) *domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen*, or (6.235) *aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen*, whence perhaps **tenet** in part of the tradition here by echo-corruption. **Manet**, however, is much better supported and the idiom is unexceptionable: cf. *Buc.*5.78 *semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt* (cf. *Aen.* 1.609), *Ov.F.*1.237.

413 sed fortuna fuit The perfect in the sense of 'was and is no more' (cf. 2.325 with Austin's note; also 3.16, 10.43 *dum fortuna fuit*). Virgil is writing in the familiar tradition of lamenting the past glory of cities famed in myth or history but now reduced to insignificance (G.Schnayder in *Charisteria T.Sinko* (Warsaw 1951), 295ff., A.J.Gossage, *GR* NS2(1955), 75ff., M.Labate, *Maia* 43(1991), 167ff., Hardie (**412 auis**), 59ff.), common not in *HE* but in *GP* (*AP* 9.28, 101-4, 284, 408, 423, 550); cf. too Cic. *Fam.*4.5.4, *Aen.*2.21f. (for Troy, cf. *RMM*, 21f.), 8.355ff., Prop.2.8.10. But in particular, note the theme of the decay of the old towns of Latium (for Ardea had once been genuinely important: cf. the treaty quoted at Plb.3.22.11, Cato fr.58HRR, Liv.1.57.1), from Cic. (*Leg.Agr.*2.78, 96) on (cf. Hor. *Ep.*1.11.7, Liv.6.12.5 (with Oakley's note), Prop.4.10.25ff., Strab. 5.3.5, DH 1.14 *passim*, Plin. *Nat.*3.68f., Mayor on Juv.3.2 and 10.100). Ardea remained the goal of pious antiquarians (Cic. *ND* 3.47, Varr. *RR* 2.11.10, Strab. *cit.*).

tectis..altis Cf. **59 tecti medio in penetralibus altis**, **160f.**

tecta../ardua, 170 tectum augustum, ingens, 512; cf. 4.343, 11.462. V. offers us a Latium hardly less splendid than Homer's Troy as a fitting background for events (cf. *EV* 1, 151ff., *Alambicco*, 141f.).

hic 'There was once a place called Ardea...here' is once again (cf. **483**) 'ecphrastic structure' in narrative.

Turnus Given Latinus' threat to Tu.'s matrimonial and political hopes, given too the uproar into which All. has thrown Latinus' palace, Tu. himself is introduced deeply asleep, well on (**iam mediam..**) in the night. Contrast, humour even, and a certain indication that for the moment he has no inkling of the chaos about him (cf. C.J.Mackie, *GR* 38(1991), 59). Allecto/Calybe will not at first even succeed (**438**) in rousing him; every detail heightens the impact of the intense rage into which Tu. then flies.

414 mediam..quietem While (e.g.) *media nox* is a stock expression (*G.*1.328, *Aen.*9.61, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.585.15ff.; cf. the elaborations, 5.738, 835f., 8.407f.), V. here varies discreetly, applying the adj. not to night but to sleep (cf. *m.* with *lapsus*, *aestus*, *sermo*, *clamor*): *quies* is itself very good poetic language (*Lucr.*1.463, *Cat.*50.10, *Varr. Atac. Arg.*fr.10.2). Adj. and noun are far separated, and **mediam** suggests the particular depth of Tu.'s slumbers.

nigra..nocte Again, just slightly unusual, as against the more conventional and obviously sinister *atra*: André, 356 compares *Lucr.* 4.537, *Ov. Met.*15.187.

carpebat Cf. *G.*3.435, *Aen.*4.522, 555: A.Traina (*EV* 1, 676f., Cf. *Poeti latini* 1₂, 227ff.) devotes particular care to this innovative use of the verb (the third discreetly striking stylistic feature in five words!); the implication is that of a deep, steady plunge into slumber and the phrase is probably developed under the influence of interpretations of the perplexing Hom. ὑπνον ἄωτειν, glossed by (e.g.) ἀπανθίζειν, δρέπειν, which are close enough to the more conventional senses of *carpere* (basically 'to grasp a bit at a time' and hence, to sink ever deeper into Morpheus' arms). At **458**, Tu. wakes, though the reader may *want* to take the dream-experience as interrupted before the authorial signal is given (Feeney, 170). Cf. Norden, 394f. for the line's structure.

415 toruam faciem The advb. in *Enn. Ann.*, the adj. twice in *Pacuv.*, twice in *Acc.*, then *Cic. Carm.*, *Cat.*; used of the Cyclopes (3.636, 677) and of Tisiphone's snakes (6.571f.); cf. **399**, *EV* 5*, 221f..

furialia membra Cf. *Cic. Pis.*46 *furialibus taedis ardentibus* (well defended by Nisbet as a poeticism), the adj. used already at **375**. At

2.270ff., Hector's appearance was enough to alarm the sleeping Aeneas; here, All. removes all traces of her naturally disagreeable appearance (**328ff.**; note her ability to metamorphose, Steiner, 64) and ought, as Calybe, to inspire reverential awe: *suscepta sacerdotis persona ut maiore auctoritate loqueretur* (TCD).

416 exuit Cf. Amor, who, to impersonate Ascanius less unconvincingly, *alas/exuit* (1.689f.).

in uultus..anilis As at 4.641, 9.489; Cat. has the abstract n. (61.155), but the adj., 'higher' of course than a gen., is attested only in prose before V.. Disguised, Allecto invites at once reverence both for her years (Ov.F.5.57, *Athen.*66(1988), 33, Cic.Cat.60ff., with Powell's notes, Tosi n^o665, B.E.Richardson, *Old age among the ancient Greeks* (Baltimore 1933), 48ff.) and for her cloth (cf. 6.321, 628, 645, 661, M.Beard in *Pagan priests* ed.MB and J.North (London 1990), 36f.) and at the same time *Vetula-Skoptik* (cf. Richardson, *cit.*, 3 *et passim*, NH 1, pp.290, 296, A.Richlin, *Garden of Priapus*, (Oxford 1992), 105ff., Mankin on Hor.*Epd.*8): inherited expectations are conveniently ambiguous.

sese transformat *Omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum*, G.4.441, of Proteus; presumably a Virgilian coinage.

417 et frontem obscenam Cf. Hor.*Epd.*5.98 *obscenas anus*. Discussion of whether the *frons* is Allecto's or Calybe's (Conington, Paratore, *EV* 3, 805, Heuzé, 288f.) is peculiarly unhelpful, given that the adj. is here clearly proleptic, the result of **rugis arat**: the repellent forehead is simply an integral element of the transformation of Fury (cf. **329**, **415** for her looks) into priestess!

rugis arat Cf. Hom.'s Λιταί, χωλαί τε ρυσαί τε (*Il.*9.503), Hor.*Epd.*8.4; Gk. ὄγμος ('furrow': metaphorical at e.g.Archil.fr.188.2 West) may have suggested to V. the use of *arare* (and a play on Hor.'s *exaret* (*loc.cit.*; 'dries out') may attract some: the difference of prosody really is irrelevant; cf. e.g. O'Hara, 134 on 2.606f.); cf. then Ov.*Ars* 2.118, *MFF*, 46. Bucolic diaeresis (61 in *Aen*; *EV* 2, 65f.).

induit Cf. Cic. *TD* 1.92 *habes somnum imaginem mortis eamque cotidie induis*, *Aen.*1.684 (Amor as Asc. again), Prop.3.19.12 (Pasiphae).

albos/418..crinis *id est etiam uittas albas* Serv.; which they are indeed likely to be, but the point is not very good (for the structure with *cum*, Bell, 268 compares Hor.C.3.19.20 *cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra?*). More specifically white (as against mere grey) than *canus*: cf. 9.651, Hor.*Epd.*17.23, Prop.3.25.13, Tib.1.8.45, André, 66f., 353f..

cum uitta Cf. **352**, **403**; for a fillet worn by a priestess, cf. Prop.

4.9.51f., Tib.2.5.53, Ov.*Am.*3.6.56, *F.*3.29f. (with Bömer's note), 6.457, Fest.484.32ff., Pley (**154**), 35f..

tum ramum..oliuae Cf. **135**, **154**; note **751**, on the rarity of full wreaths of olive in Roman cult.

innectit Cf. Varr.*de vita* fr.50Rip.; Serv. comments *aut coronam accipit, aut ramum inligat uittis*: for the latter sense, cf. **154**, **237**, but here, on account of **crinis**, the reference is clearly to a wreath (worn by males, **135**, **751**(?), *G.*3.21, *Aen.*5.774), or even a twig (cf. preceding n.) of olive, wound into the fillet. Vd. **353**.

419 fit Cf. 5.620(Iris, sent by Juno, becomes Beroe), **7.352** (All.'s snake becomes a *taenia*), Ov.*Met.*1.237, 739, 2.377 *et saep.*

Calybe A curiously rare, yet insignificant name: a companion of Laomedon at Apld. *Bibl.* 3.12.3.

Iunonis anus templique sacerdos A. is adjectival (from Plaut.: cf. Cat.9.4, 68.46, 78b.4, Hor.*Serm.*2.1.56 etc.); with **Iunonis..templique**, cf. 2.319 *arcis Phoebique sacerdos*; the potentially complex phrase is reduced to its three, spare, component nouns and should perhaps not be called hendiadys (cf. Calboli, *EV* 2, 221); cf. **775 nymphae Egeriae nemorique**. Cf. **416** for the effect that this disguise might have had under more normal circumstances. The temple of Juno at Ardea (cf. **410**) presumably (Wissowa, 187). Priestesses are normal in the cult of Juno (Latte, 167, n.1) and the noun is of common gender (cf. 1.273, Hor.*C.*3.3.32, Ov.*F.*5.573 for other female instances); for elderly priestesses, cf. further Richardson (**416**), 40, *Il.*6.86ff., Paus.2.35.7f..

420 iuueni..se..offert Cf. **536**. For Tu.'s youth, cf. **435**.

ante oculos Cf. *trag.inc.*146, *decies* in Lucr., *Aen.*2.270, 3.150 (both times of dreams) and *octies* in other senses.

his..cum uocibus Cf. 1.64 *his uocibus usa est*, 3.314, 4.304, 5.708, 6.499, 9.83 *uocibus his adfata*.

421-434 Functionally, we may compare the speech of Iris/Beroe, urging the Trojan women to burn their ships (5.623-40; Tu. will not try to obey **431** until bk.9), while the formal situation recalls Hector's speech to the sleeping Aeneas, to urge him to leave Troy (2.289-95). We will see (**436-44**) that V. has in mind Call.*H.*6, but the speech of the disguised Demeter (46ff.) has no bearing on V. here; far more to the point is the Dream, in Nestor's likeness, that Zeus sends to Agamemnon, claiming Zeus' mandate (cf. **428**), assuring Agamemnon that he is indeed asleep (**427**) and and, above all, instructing him to order the Achaeans to arm forthwith (*Il.*2.28f.). The specific disguise

chosen V. derives from Aesch. *Xantriae* (T120Radt = F168.16f. = Ar.*Ran.*1344ff.: context in the original unknown; cf. König, 131f.): Hera herself disguised as a begging priestess (for V. and this trilogy, cf. **323-40**). The speech is constructed with particular care: **421-6** Turnus has lost control of the situation; **427-8** All. speaks with Juno's authority; **429-34** All. bids Turnus act, forthwith (i.e. elements of 6-2-6 lines), and All. maintains the character of Juno's aged and authoritative priestess with care. The arguments she uses are measured and ingenious, loaded but not patently dishonest, and depend on a sub-plot but sporadically present in the text and a passable knowledge of variants in the Aeneas-legend before V.: Tu. has fought at Latinus' side against Evander's Romans and Tarchon's Etruscans (**421**), in the expectation (fomented by Amata) of marrying his daughter and inheriting his throne while Latinus has opened negotiations with Aeneas and offered him the same prizes; Margaret Hubbard well compared Achilles' remark (*Il.*9.321): 'there is nothing over for me, even after I have suffered griefs in my spirit', risking my life, etc. (cf. *ib.*401f.: not even all the wealth of Troy is compensation for life itself). As it is, says Allecto, Tu.'s only hope lies in eliminating his rival and presenting Latinus with a *fait accompli*. Cf. Heinze, 421f., Balk, 76, Feeney, 168f., Highet, 132, Knauer, 236f., Kragelund, 65, Schenk, 38ff., Steiner, 65f..

421 Turne The only speech in 7 that begins with the hearer's name; cf. 9.6 (Iris to Turnus), 320, 390 (both Nisus to Euryalus); and the rarity of the initial vocative in a speech (three cases in the seventy-odd speeches -and prayers, where distinct factors operate—that I checked) suggests that it is singular enough to convey marked urgency, even brusque haste. Cf. also 11.502, 12.56, 653 (all addressed to Turnus).

tot..labores For Tu.'s military achievements, primarily at Latinus' side against Evander (for the Etruscans are Aeneas' allies in V.- cf. **647-54**—and Tu., for V., is no Etruscan, **783**), cf. **426, 474**, 8.55, 474, 493 (Mez. and Tarchon), 11.224, 336, 12.22f., in the context of V.'s oscillation between warlike and peaceful views (both traditional) of pre-Trojan Latium: Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 474, *Alambicco*, 87, 95, O'Hara (**817**), 206ff..

incassum fusos The advb. *quinquies* in both Lucr. (cf. 2.1165 *incassum manuum cecidisse labores*) and V. (whether written as one word or two); already in Plautus. Cf. *G.*4.491f. *ibi omnis/ effusus labor*, Hor. *Epd.*

17.53 *fundis preces; funditur enim quicquid uno impulsu contemptum traditur terrae* (TCD).

patiere Cf. *Acc. trag.* 365 *exulare sinitis, sistis pelli, pulsum patimini*, *Buc.* 8.24 *calamos non passus inertes*, *Aen.* 12.32f..

422 et tua..sceptra The adj. is thrown forward and alliteration marks it further: All. at the outset reminds Tu. (misleadingly) that he is about to lose what, in her view, and perhaps his too, is already his (cf. **578**, Renger, 21ff., Schweizer, 31, n. 21, Cairns, 158, Green, *cit.* **(334)**, *Companion*, 210, *RFil.* 119(1991), 188f., with further reading).

Sceptra are an ancient symbol of monarchy and synecdoche for *regnum*, in both Gk. and Lat.: cf. **173**, *EV* s.v..

transcribi Cf. 5.750, *transcribunt urbi matres populumque uolentem*, where Serv. comments *Romani moris uerbum est: transcripti enim in coloniam deducebantur* (actually, no; better, *adscribere*). Here Serv. remarks *sermo autem hic tractus est de pecunia*: the word (and hence *transcriptio*, *transcripticius*) can indicate both ‘transfer’ in a ledger and ‘transfer’(of property): cf. Gaius, *Inst.* 3.128ff., *OLD* s.v., §3, Horsfall 1971, 135, Fordyce *ad loc.* The warrior is reminded that the wheels of law, state, and form are running away from him.

Dardaniis..colonis Cf. **410**; Tu. is the descendant of immigrants, posing as defender of Italy; Aeneas is the descendant of emigrants, returning to his homeland! Cf. Horsfall *cit.* (**tua..sceptra**), C.J.Mackie *CQ* 41(1991), 265. The adj., though, does not automatically suggest Aen.’s descent from Dardanus of Corythus (cf. **205-8**)—such a reference would have little enough sense here—and is no more than a common synonym/alternative for *Troianus*, pejorative or not, according to context.

423 rex At stake are both Lavinia and the succession to Latinus (cf. n. on **sceptra** above); Latinus has therefore decided both as father and as monarch.

tibi../424 abnegat The postponement of the verb, the enjambement, and the placing of **abnegat** at 1D (cf. **808f.**) give Lat.’s negative decision particular verbal force: the verb is a Virgilian innovation, transitive only here (from *G.* 3.456 on; *quater*): vd. E.Wölfflin, *ALL* 4(1887), 574.

coniugium Cf. **555**. Neither V. himself, with authorial voice, nor any character whose version of events the careful reader of the text will be disposed to accept as objectively accurate ever tells us that a pact of future matrimony between Turnus and Lavinia had been settled, with her father Latinus’ blessing (for bibl. cf. **422**; an old

discussion *licet multi dicant, ante eam Turno fuisse promissam: quod falsum est!* So Serv. on 12.31). That is not to say that Turnus (9.138, 10.79, 11.440), Amata (**56, 366**) and Allecto (here) are not persuaded otherwise and do not, at times, declare the contrary, loudly (cf. **422 tua..sceptra**, with bibl.). Note that Latinus (**7.259ff.**, 12.31; cf. 11.369) never changes his mind and the words of Faunus' oracle, **7.97 thalamis neu crede paratis**, suggest, with oracular indirection, no more than Amata's insistence on her favoured, related, handy, handsome candidate. The **sed** of **58** should make it quite clear that Latinus had never yielded; Lavinia's sentiments in the matter are neither clear, nor relevant (in the Roman view); cf. R.O.A.M. Lyne, *GR* 30(1983), 55ff. = McAuslan, 157ff.. Serv. stopped to think and wrote an entirely sensible note on the matter (*ad* 12.31). That there was an engagement in other versions of the story is neither here nor there (Liv.1.2.1, Ov.*Met.*14.451, App.*Reg.fr.*1.2 Viereck-Roos, Just. 43.1.11, D.H. 1.64.2, Dio 1.2.4 (= Zonar.7.1), Schwegler, 1, 287, Setaioli, 256, n.76, J-Y.Maleuvre, *LEC* 63(1995), 226f..

quaesitas sanguine So 2.118 *sanguine quaerendi reditus*. Cf. **421 tot..labores**: clearly, Tu. has been fighting at Latinus' side and just as clearly he has not yet been rewarded with Lavinia's hand. Amata (**57**) is still pressing and Turnus' ambitions are public knowledge (9.737), as is Latinus' unwillingness to yield to his wife's strategy (so Drances, 11.369ff.). This whole domestic sub-plot is little developed, but cannot be ignored, while the blood anticipated at **318** has yet to be shed.

notes That the main element in Lavinia's dowry was Turnus' eventual succession to his father-in-law's throne made perfectly good sense in Roman law (Treggiari (**407**), 343). Nor was the sequence of events unprecedented: cf. Liv.1.40.4 (cf. Schwegler 1, 675): *quemcumque alium generum delegisset [Tarquinius Priscus], eundem regni heredem facturus uidebatur*. Compare too Coroebus, *Aen.*2.344 *et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat* with Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1771.77ff.. The plural is simply poetic (cf. Ov.*F.*5.319f.).

424 externus..heres The theme of Aeneas as *externus dux* is introduced at 6.94 and developed amply in bks.7 (motive for Aeneas as son-in-law and heir of Latinus: **68f., 98, 268ff., 367**; cf. **422**) and 8 (motive for the Etruscans' alliance with Aen., 498ff.). Crucial, therefore, in two respects for V.'s plot structure (and plausibility), but a motif deeply rooted in the Romans' thinking (Claudius on the Lyon tablet, for example: *ILS* 212 col.1.10, Tac.*Ann.*11.24) about the orig-

ins of the kings, of the patrician *gentes* and of many institutions (Horsfall 1991(422), 188ff.; cf. E.L.Harrison, *LCM* 2(1977), 130ff.). The legal complications introduced by Serv.'s note on **heres** are fantastical (cf. P.E.Corbett, *Roman law of marriage* (Oxford 1930), 80 for Serv.'s misunderstandings of *coemptio*).

in regnum quaeritur Cf. 4.647 *non hos quaesitum munus in usus*, G.3.532 (with *ad*); final *in* only becomes common in the Augustan period (KS 1,566f., LHS 274): cf. **13**, **335**, 5.147, 6.51, etc.. Polytoton of the verb (**quaesitas..quaeritur**; cf. Wills, 248ff.) underlines the paradox of the situation, at least as viewed by All.: Tu. has sought the succession with his sword and for all that Lat. seeks a different heir.

425 i nunc../426..i 4.381 *i, sequere Italiam* (vd. Pease) Quint. includes (9.2.48) in his discussion of εἰρῶνεια (cf. LHS, 837, but irony is not present at e.g. 11.119) and the 'invitation' to 'go' might also be classified as *permissio* (*Rhet.Her.*4.39); Homeric in origin (*Il.*3.432). The 'formula' is most commonly *i nunc et..*, though not before V. (LHS 471, Fordyce and the full note of Brink at *Hor.Ep.*2.2.76) but the asyndetic imperatives (here an exceptional quadruple sequence) are old and colloquial (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 149).

ingratis..periclis The adj. is thrust forward: 'the dangers for which you receive no thanks/reward'; cf. *Cat.*73.3 (with Fordyce's n.), 76.9, G.3.98.

offer te Cf. **420** and see **554** for discussion of (very common) non-significant repetition.

inrise *TLL* (Centlivres, 7.2.416.29) classifies this passage (the verb being tragic—*Acc.*36—and Lucretian—4.1157) s.v. *per lusum ac iocum decipere, fallere, illudere* citing TCD (*inrisum scilicet qui factum defendere deberet et posset*); if, though, Turnus has been deceived of his reward by Lat.(a theme at which V. is at pains only to hint) he will surely also be the butt of Lat.'s people, as their valiant but hitherto unrewarded champion (for the common sense of 'mock', cf. **435**, 4.534, 5.272, *Ov.Met.*1.221). Fordyce (followed by Görler, *EV* 2, 265) offers a long note on the attraction of a predicative adj. that would normally be nom., in agreement with the subj., into agreement with a vocative expressed or implied: while that is clearly true of e.g. 2.283 *expectate uenis* (cf. Lunelli-Kroll, 8f.), here the voc. refers quite simply to the addressee of the four imperatives (so *inuicte* 6.365, 8.293, *metuende*, 10.557, *Thymbraee* 3.85). Note that mss. tend to give *inrise* (Ribbeck,

Proleg., 433) and the ‘rule’ (*Gramm.Suppl.* 295.19) is *irrise* (Centlivres, *cit.* 413.36; cf. Leumann, 559).

426 Tyrrenas..acies Cf. **421** for the Etruscans as enemies and **643** for V.’s use of *acies*.

sterne ‘Lay low’, part of the ample lexicon of synonyms (not all, like *sternere*, euphemistic) for ‘kill’ or ‘defeat’ open to the poets (Axelson, 67, Lyne *WP*, 107, Austin on 2.398, Harrison on 10.119; vd. **533**). At least as early as *Acc.trag.*557, *trag.inc.*61.

tege pace Latinos ‘Protect *in* peace’ or ‘protect *by means of* peace’? Probably an unreal distinction and when Munro translates *Lucr.* 6.852 *nox ubi terribili terras caligine textit* ‘with awful darkness’, that choice is not decisive in the less literal context here.

427 haec adeo The adverb stresses that it is *just* this message that Juno has ordered her to give(!): cf. Clausen on *Buc.*4.11 *teque adeo..te consule*, Mynors on *G.*4.197, Austin on 2.567 and Fordyce here.

tibi me.. / 428..fari Pronouns simply attract each other by an ancient stylistic mannerism, both elevated and popular: cf. LHS 400, Norden on *Aen.*6.37, 779f., Hofmann-Ricottilli, 272f., F.Leo, *Ausgew. kl.Schr.*1, 67. Mercury tells Aeneas (4.268f.) *ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo/ regnator*; so too at *Buc.*5.4 and *Aen.*6.464 the initial *tibi* bears markedly greater weight (and contrast 3.42 *me tibi..externum*).

placida..nocte Ennian (*Ann.*2, of *somnus*) and Lucretian (1.463, of *quies*). Tu. is more calmly asleep (O’Hara, *DOP*, 68) than the situation warrants, and his awakening will not be *placida* at all; cf. **505 tacitis..**

cum..iaceres So **MyRV**; **iacerem** Anon. apud Burmannum, where we might leave this regrettable proposal, but for the attention paid it by Henry and Heinze (188, n.2). The second person is confirmed by the regular Homeric εὔδεικ addressed to a sleeper (*Il.*2.23 (cf. **421-34**), 23.69 (Patroclus to Achilles), 24.683, *Od.*4.804, Steiner, 65, n.2). In a comparable episode, it is said, Iris/Beroe claims that she was herself visited by Cassandra in a dream (*nam mihi.../ardentis dare uisa faces*, 5.636f.), but the analogy is so remote as to prove nothing. Secondly, Heinze objects that the second person would cause complete confusion, revealing to the sleeper at the outset that the dream was indeed a dream. That, though, is entirely to ignore epic usage: at *Od.*4.810, to the εὔδεικ of Iphthime/Athena (804), Penelope tranquilly replies *κασιγνήτη* (vd. West *ad loc.*; cf. Heinze, 188); so Ilia, recounting her dream, includes her own gestures (cf. Alcyone, *Ov.Met.*11.674ff.) and speech (*Enn.Ann.* 49f.), which is (*ib.*35) what wakes her, and Aeneas, recounting his vision of Hector, includes

(*Aen.*2.279ff.; cf. Kragelund, 63) his own tears and speech. Not all these cases are fully and precisely parallel (Steiner, 35) but they are sufficient to show that in epic dreams the 'dramatic illusion' of sleep does *not* require preservation.

428 ipsa..omnipotens Saturnia On **S.**, cf. **560** and for the adj., **770**; **ipsa** (cf. *G.*1.121,328, *Aen.*5.241, etc.) is probably intended to suggest All.'s desire to indicate (honestly, for once!) to her dormant victim Juno's personal interest in the matter (cf. *Il.*2.26 (dream cites Zeus; cf. **421-34**), *Il.*11.201 (Iris cites Zeus), 18.184 (Iris cites Hera); Athena, disguised, cites herself at *Od.*4.828), thus intensifying the impertinence of Tu.'s reaction; in *V.*, cf. *Aen.*3.251f., 5.726 and 4.268ff.

palam fari The advb.(at *Enn.**Ann.*277, *trag.*280) to be understood with the adjacent infin.; it cannot be held over until the main verb: All. says that her instructions are to tell Turnus to his face.

iussit It suits All. to play the faithful emissary here (note 4.270, (Mercury of Jupiter), *ipse..iubet*); contrast her manner at **540ff.**

429 quare age Cf. **130 quare agite.**

armari pubem 'Intolerably clumsy', Mackail, of the whole passage (cf. **430 in arma**). But I remain altogether unconvinced that desperate remedies are called for. For **p.**, the young warriors of the Rutuli, cf. **794** and see also **521, 614. A.:** cf. **506, 648, 748.**

portisque moueri Cf. 4.130, 12.122 for passing through the gates viewed almost as an unleashing of force. See too **522.**

430 laetus Like the Trojans (**36, 130, 147, 288**) and as Tu. will be at 9.818 (contrast 12.616).

in arma codd; **arua** Peerlkamp, Ribbeck, Mynors. The latter cites in support 11.173, where Bentley proposed *truncus in aruis* (cf. *EV* 1, 487); that (so Mynors, *per litt.*) avoids *armis* twice at line-end in three lines (but cf. (e.g.)*G.*1.406, 409, *Aen.*2.502, 505, **7.553f., 653f.**, Wills, 418ff.; such repetition did *not* strike the Romans as it strikes us). *Aruis* in 11 *cit.* also ignores the ritual importance of arms for *tropaea* (cf. too 11.6, G.C.Picard, *Les trophées romains* (Paris 1957), 31). Here the case is different: though *arua* can be used of the ground on which a battle is fought (e.g.10.590, 12.237), there is no question here in bk.7—at least as yet—of fighting a battle and *arua* in consequence seems faintly flaccid, though a natural enough movement after **portis**. The repetition itself (**429 armari..430 arma..**, not to mention **434 armis**; cf. Wills, 327f. for repetition felt through, or despite, variation in word-type) is profoundly traditional in such contexts as this (cf. **460,**

which V. may here even be anticipating, 11.293, 463f.) and is rendered acoustically more striking by the assonance with **para** (cf. **468**). Nor is **in arma moueri** in itself difficult: let us leave out of consideration the faintly obscure **603**. At 6.813f., V. writes *residesque mouebit/ Tullus in arma uiros*; ‘in quite a different sense’ (Mynors, *per litt.*; cf. though, Pace, 298): there emotional and here rather more local, I agree, but Liv.8.2.6 has *sua sponte in arma motos* (thus originally an Ennian phrase; so Norden, perhaps rightly) in a less limiting context (and cf. Liv. 6.15.7, 8.27.9, 10.21.2, 30.14.10 for closely comparable expressions). In the Virgil mss., the confusion of the two words is widespread: our codices often give *arma* for *arua* (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 365); contrast 1.550, where *arma* may well be right against **M**’s *arua*. **para FyR; iube M** SDan.. **M**, not often lonely in error, offers a *facilior lectio* possibly by echo-corruption from **468 iubet arma parari**, or even 10.242 *primus in arma iube*; alternatively the eye could have run forward to **iubet 432** or even back to **armari pubem 429**, in which case **M** itself shows how the error could have arisen, for the **P** of **pubem** is exceptionally slender (*vidi*) and **IPUBE** stands almost exactly over **IUBE**. The construction with **para** is in truth not part of the issue: with simple infin., common (cf. 1.678, 2.447); with acc.+inf., compare (cf. **KS** 1, 693ff., **LHS**, 355f.) the same construction with *propero* (**56f.**), *facio* (2.538f.: **Enn.** and **Lucr.** too; vd. Austin *ad loc.*), and *tenditque fouetque* (1.18), even though no exact classical parallel exists and Breimeier (*TLL* 10.1.3.423.56) complains about the *locus haud sanus*; that is hardly the right language to use when the corruption is, I suspect, a mere leap of the eye and *armari pubem para* is so clearly an experiment of a type dear to the poet (Görler, *EV* 2, 270).

Phrygios../431..duces The epithet is surely contemptuous, as at **358, 363** (All. here tries to excite Turnus with fancies of an easy victory); at **294, Phrygum** may be neutral. And the mention of **duces** may be meant as an uncomfortable reminder (cf. **102ff.** for how the news travelled) that the **dux Troianus** in person has supplanted him.

flumine pulchro Cf. *G.2.137 pulcher Ganges*; the abl. should probably be taken in the sense (common in Prop.—cf. 2.2.11, Rothstein on 1.3.6, **LHS** 146—but also present in V.: *G.2.199 (Mantua) pascentem niueos herboso flumine cycnos*, *Aen.8.* 610) of ‘by’: it is not in All.’s interest to tell Turnus that the Trojans are still huddled in their

ships, when in fact they have in fact gained confidence, to the point of establishing a regular camp by the river (**157ff.**).

431 consedere Standard military prose for 'encamp': *Aen.*11.915, and frequent in Caes., Sall., Liv., Tac. (cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.434.40ff.); the word naturally applies to troops on land.

pictasque..carinas Moored at the river front of the camp (9.69, etc., where vd. Dingel); **c.** is an ancient synecdoche for 'ship' (cf. Harrison on 10.156f., *Enn.Ann.*376, 505), (so too Gk. κάρφος). On painting ships (Greek and Roman) for protection, decoration, or apotropaically, cf. *G.*4.289, *Aen.*8.93, Seymour, 307 for Hom., C.Torr, *Ancient Ships* (repr.Chicago 1964), 37, n.91 and Bömer's very full note on *Ov.F.*4.275.

exure Both Bell (310) and *TLL* (Schmeck, 5.2.2123.51, 2124.34) notice a striking zeugma here: the verb (cf. *Acc.trag.*331) is naturally taken with **carinas** (cf. 1.39, 5.635) and though it can also be used (e.g.) of burning alive (Schmeck, 2124.34; but did even Dido have that in mind at 4.604?), that is not the natural way to take All.'s instructions; we 'understand' without difficulty *interfice* or the like: cf. 5.508, 12.930f., *Ind.Serv.* and Pease, index s.v. *zeugma*, Sidgwick 2, 506, LHS, 833, Maurach, 61f., Kenney on *Lucr.*3.614, Housman, *Class. Pap.* 2,545 (citing *G.*1.92f.) Bell, 304f..

432 caelestum uis magna A notable expansion of the old periphrasis, Homeric in origin, *aquae uis vel sim.*(cf. Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*229, 482); the presence of the adjective lends specificity to the entire phrase (cf. **650**, 12.199 *uimque deum infernam*). While *uis caelestum* conveys little, if anything, more than *caelestes*, All. means that these *caelestes* are *magni* at very least, though their *uis* is not specially significant here.

iubet All. generalises rhetorically, with only Juno in actual support.
rex ipse Latinus Cf. **556**.

433 ni With slight archaic flavour (and far commoner in V. than *nisi*; Norden on 6.353, LHS, 535).

dare coniugium Cf. *Ov.F.*3.195, *Culex* 247; not technical language (cf. **407** for the procedural side, and in particular Treggiari (**407**), 146f., though the Augustan provisions to help daughters with insuperably obstructive fathers are not likely to be operative in the heroic world!).

dicto parere fatetur Cf. 12.568 *ni frenum accipere et uicti parere fatentur* (the Latins; *EV* 2,472 notes the closely comparable *Liv.*4.10.3); Fordyce concludes eventually that the present infin.is a genuine

present (and not the common pres. for fut.; cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 272, *KS* 1, 119f., *LHS*, 357f.), but the whole form of expression is commoner than his n. suggests: cf. 11.344, 12.568 (*supra*), 12.794; *fateor* is Ennian (*Ann.*513) and solemn, and the present after *ni* unsurprising (cf. 3.606 *si pereo*, *G.*1.177, *Aen.*12.568, *KS* 1, 120f., *LHS*, 660); so too the omission of *se*, as Fordyce himself admits. **D.p.** is both Plautine and tragic (inc.156), then common in *V.*. Whose *dictum* is Lat. to admit he obeys? The agreement, presumably, by which Tu., in return for his services in the field, obtains Lat.'s consent to the marriage.

434 sentiat 'Feel to his cost'(so already Page): cf. 2.377, 4.542; commoner in *Hor.*(*C.*2.7.10, 3.5.36, 3.27.22, 4.4.25, 4.6.3) and an ancient way of putting it: cf. Fraenkel on *Aesch.Agam.*1649.

tandem Lat. has made use of Tu. too long as an unrecompensed ally; let him **tandem** feel Tu.'s mettle as an adversary. Cf. Lundström, 68.

Turnum Presumably *V.* has in mind here accounts like that wished on Cato at *Serv. ad Aen.*6.760, which later acquires wide circulation (*Orig.fr.*11 where vd. Schroeder's n.; cf. **409**, *Liv.*1.2.1, *OGR* 13.5, Schwegler 1, 284): *Turnus iratus tam in Latinum quam in Aenean bella suscepit* (with help from Mez.). The disappointed Turnus of the domestic sub-plot is a good deal more interesting than has been realised. **experiatur in armis** Cf. **235**, 11.396 *haud ita me experti...* Ennian (*Ann.*187) and tragic (*Pacuv.*, *Acc.*).

435 hic Cf. (e.g.) **112**, **141**, **144**.

iuuenis cf. **420**, **446**, **456**, **473**, 9.16, 10.686, 11.123, 12.19, 149. Not a mere boy, like Pallas, Lausus or Ascanius, but a young warrior, like Achilles (*Traina*, *EV* 5*, 325; *tacet* Schenk); Tu.'s youth has some bearing on the qualities which dominate in *V.*'s representation of his character, and here in particular on the terms of his reaction to Calybe (**416**).

uatem So Cassandra (3.187) and, *passim*, the Sibyl.

inridens We shall shortly see Tu. quoting Calybe/*Allecto* back to her face; here the poet attributes to him that irreverence towards the aged priestess which she had herself (**425 inrise**) told him was the Latins' view of his very own situation, now that he was butt of their mockery for having played so completely into the old king's hands.

sic./ 436 ore refert The advb. common in speech-introductions (1.325, 2.2, etc.); **ore** in a conclusion is in the old epic manner: if not *Enn. Ann.*595 (vd. Skutsch on Vahlen's supplement), then the clear

parody of Lucil.18 *ore loquendi*. **Refert**: cf. 1.94, 208 (both with *uoce*; cf. A.Traina, *Eikasmos* 7(1996), 257 = *Poeti latini* 5, 123f.), 4.31, 333,11.123f.(with *ore*), 5.409 (with *pectore*); at *Buc.*7.20 ‘recite’ rather than ‘reply’ and common as ‘tell’ or ‘say’ (cf. Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 498). While ‘report’ is a sense as old as Enn., V. seems to extend the verb’s range notably, though he may have had archaic precedent; the possibility that Gk. (ἀπ)αμείβεσθαι influenced Lat. *referre* in the active sense of ‘reply to’ (compulsory here, after all) is very attractive (so Kroll, citing also 1.94, 5.409; vd *infra*).

orsa Occasionally the participle of (*ex*)*ordior* comes to be used as a noun: cf. 10.111, 632 (with Harrison’s note; in both these singular passages as ‘deeds’ not ‘speeches’), 11.124; cf. *TLL* 9.2.950.47 (Bohnenkamp). At 1.325 (not entirely similar, *pace* Serv.) *Veneris contra sic filius orsus*, the reader thinks of the Hom. τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε (Lunelli-Kroll, 10f.) and so here, hints Kroll, V. uses the word not just as ‘openings’ but actually in the bold, passive sense of ‘speech’ (‘Rede’, Kroll, ‘discorso’ Lunelli; cf. H.-C.Günther, *Herm.*124(1996), 211, n.30, and Görler, *EV* 2, 264f. for several other instances of participles of deponents used by V. as passives), that is, as a Grecism, reinforced, perhaps by a strikingly similar interpretation of **refert** *supra*. ‘Replica così al discorso rivoltogli’ Lunelli; ‘er erwidert auf die Anrede folgendermassen’ Kroll.

uicissim *Decies* in Lucr., *octies* in V.; Highet (vd. *infra*) suggests that V. ‘pads out’ the introduction to Tu.’s speech in order to have him begin impetuously in mid-line. But there are ways of making the point verbally, with clearer force (e.g. at **450!**). With *ore* and *orsa* inverted, V. re-uses the ‘formula’ at 11.122ff., where Drances is scarcely an impetuous youth.

436-44 Turnus’ answer bristles with insolence, and problems: he is asleep as he speaks; there is retrospective confirmation at **458**, but we are not told, after **414**, that Tu. has been woken and it is not clear to me that we should ‘naturally’ assume that he has been (vd. below on *Il.*2): contrast Feeney, 170. Tu.’s tone is insolent, given All.’s disguise (age and cloth): Highet (**599**), 212, Kragelund, 66, O’Hara, *DOP*, 67, Renger, 41, Lyne *FV*, 68. Also ungrateful, given her timely warning; this is consistent characterisation (Cairns 69, Schenk, 43ff.; cf. Gleib, 184f., Thome, 143f.). There is a deeper problem, less clearly seen (but cf. Kragelund, 65f., Renger, 42): Tu. speaks of the Trojan fleet (Calybe had not done), of Juno’s favour (again, not a word from Calybe) and of his interlocutor’s senile inconsequence; not a word of

the ingenious and alarming arguments, dynastic and personal, which 'Calybe' has presented. Was the effect of her appearance too strongly negative? Is Tu. speaking in a non-conscious state? Has he made up his mind totally (or so he might imagine) and finally? Questions unanswered, or simply inappropriate. Nothing suggests (*pace* Block, 124) that Allecto's disguise has been penetrated. We are evidently invited to contrast the appearance of Hector's ghost to Aen. at 2.268ff.: Hector's appearance and words drive Aeneas to immediate and heroic action; Tu. sleeps on until violently roused by Allecto (Steiner, 64, Mackie (413), 60; Block, 330, n.36 and Hershkowitz, 92f. oversimplify the narrative sequence). V.'s complex models here confirm that this is a scene of peculiarly subtle non-interplay: from Henry and Heinze, 189 to A.S.Hollis, *HSCP* 94(1992), 270ff., it has been clear (and was already seen by Ovid, *Met.*6.27f., Hollis, 272) that V. owes much to Callimachus' account of Erisycthon's dismissal of Demeter, disguised as her own priestess, Nicippe (*H.*6.42ff.); the goddess will react with savage re-use of the language used against her (54; 63f.), as here. Homeric dreams are also present, notably Agamemnon's in *Il.*2.16ff. (Feeney, *cit.*, Knauer, 236f., Steiner, 64f.): a dream came to him in his sleep (and he did not wake), disguised as Nestor, urging him (most persuasively) to arm the Achaeans. At *Od.* 4.795ff. Penelope is visited as she sleeps by a dream-vision, sent by Athena in the form of her own sister Iphthime; she doubts the purpose of the visitation (810) and converses at length with the 'sister', reluctant as she is to credit that she may recover both husband and son (Renger, 42, Steiner, 64f.). Helen's resistance to the disguised Aphrodite at *Il.*3.398ff. (Renger, 40f.; cf. Richardson (416), 54) is less clearly comparable.

436 classis MR retain **classes** (and this is not a rare phenomenon, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 405ff.), but it is clear that **-is** is to be preferred in the printed text of an Augustan poet (Ernout, 87f., Leumann, 430f.).

inuectas Cf. 8.714f.; Liv. too likes *inuehor* + direct obj. (2.31.3, 4.29.4, 28.17.13, 44.1.4, etc.); transitivisation of (compound and simple) verbs is a powerful tendency in Latin: cf. KS 1, 109, **504**.

Thybridis undas *Fluminis undam* of the Tiber at 10.833 (cf. 6.714; many Virgilian rivers—Styx, Aufidus, Simois, Acheron, for example—have waves). **R** imported **alueo** from **303**: cf. **528**, Götte, 798ff. on echo-corruption in V..

437 ut rere Cf. *miserere* *Buc.*2.7, *rere* *Aen.*3.381; for V.'s usage of this convenient form, cf. NW 3, 206f.(not, in fact, common in the

present, or with 2nd.conjugation verbs). The verb archaic and poetic for Cic. *de orat.*3.153, Quint.8.3.26; cf. Axelson, 64 with n.36, Fordyce here, Pacuv. *trag.* 323, Accius *ter*, nineteen instances in Lucr., Cat.63.55.

meas effugit..auris Cf. 3.294 *incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris*, 8.582f. *gravior neu nuntius auris/ uulneret*, 1.375f., 2.81, 9.474.

nuntius Acc.+ inf. after such nouns very common: cf. KS 1, 696. N. common enough in the sense of ‘message’: 4.237, 6.456, 8.582, 9.692, 11.447, 897 (so Cat.9.5, 84.10). Cf. Cic. *Tim.*27, 50, for *effugere* used of the senses

438 ne..finge Only now, the first hint of open disrespect (‘timorous, deluded, misleading’). Con. well saw that these words constitute a parenthesis and also carried out the logical consequence of removing heavy punctuation at **auris** and **metus**; not all his successors have been so acute. If we do so, we clarify the negative particles, and consequently the sense, and greatly lighten the structure of these lines. **Ne** is archaic (cf. **96**); the verb is well suited to contexts of heated argument (see also 4.338, 11.406f.; cf. 2.80, Mazzoli, *EV* 2, 526f.).

tantos..metus ‘Terrors’, therefore (as becomes clearer once we have repunctuated as proposed above), in just the sense of the first member: the news of an alien fleet anchored in the Tiber (cf. 11.899f. *ingruere infensos hostis.. / ..metum iam ad moenia ferri*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 8.911.9). *Proinde cessa terrere nihil metuentem* TCD.

regia Iuno A hint at the importance of Juno Regina at Ardea (cf. **410 Danae**); not therefore mechanically formulaic here (cf. 1.443, 4.114, 10.62 with Harrison’s note, Moskalew, 81); the phrase is metrically equivalent to πόντια Ἡρη (Harrison).

439 immemor..nostri V.’s Juno has a long memory (1.4, 23; cf. 1.543, 4.521 for divine memory more generally). Just possibly (J.C.B.Foster, *LCM* 2(1977), 123) **nostri** is not a mere poetic equivalent to *mei* (cf. the preceding *meas* and *mihi*) but suggests Tu.’s whole Argive and therefore ‘Heraic’ ancestry. A speech of only nine lines answers one of fourteen and there will be another half-line in All’s next (and understandably shorter) speech at **455**; both speeches, suggests Günther (23ff., 77), are therefore fragmentary and Varius has passed on to us just what little there was in V.’s papers at this point. As G. reminds us, Heinze (188) even knew what was missing: a declaration of incredulity, for his protectress Juno would never really have let Lavinia be transferred to another partner. Maybe, or maybe not.

440 sed te../441 o mater The pronoun thrust forward ('but as for you') in contrast to **nostri**. On Tu.'s address, Serv. notes *inrisionis est, non honoris*, while TCD, beginning unexceptionably *inrisionis est aperta*, adds oddly *nam primaevus familiare est senes temerare iniuria* (?; cf. **416**).

uicta situ Tu. launches into *Vetula-Skoptik*: the participle (cf. Cresci Marrone, *EV* 5*, 546) is used similarly of the effects of dust (*G.1.180*), wine (*Aen.9.337*), fatigue (*12.254*), and love or longing (*12.29*; cf. *G.4.491*); the noun leads us into a sequence of metaphors (cf. **322 recidiua**, **329 pullulat**) from the natural world. Cf. *G.1.72 aut segnem patiere situ durescere campum*, *Aen.6.462*, Colum. 2.2.6, 2.17.2 *prata situ uetustatis obducta*; *situs* is in fact often applied to the physical decay of old age (*Cat.25.3*, *OLD* s.v.§2).

uerique effeta senectus The genitive is one of 'separation' or 'lack' (cf. LHS, 77f.): cf. 10.630f. *aut ego ueri/ uana feror* (where Harrison compares the gen. after *κενός*; more specifically, cf. Soph.*OC* 931, of old age, *τοῦ νοῦ κενόν*), Pers.5.75 *steriles ueri*. The adj. suggests 'worn out with bearing', 'past bearing': cf. 5.396 *effetae in corpore uires*, 8.508 *tarda gelu saecisque effeta senectus* (*bis* in Lucr. of *tellus*); Cic.*Cat.29* uses *effetum corpus* of what an old man inherits from his intemperate youth. Clearly, again, farming language (cf. Col.6.24.1, 7.7.4, 10.396, etc.) and the two metaphors reinforce each other's effect. The foolishness of age is, like its wisdom, conventional: cf. Richardson (**416**), 24f., Cic.*Lael.99*, *Cat.36*, with Powell's notes, Tosi n°649.

441 curis..exercet The noun again, in a different sense, at **443**; cf. **554** for discussion of this notably common Virgilian mannerism of style. Cf. Lucr.5.1423f. *curis/ exercent* (luxuries that trouble the life of man), Sall.*Hist.1.* fr.84 *multiplex cura patres exercebat*, *G.2.415 incultique exercet cura salicti*, *Aen.5.779 exercita curis*.

nequiquam Cf. **589**.

arma/ 442 regum inter Cf. Enn.*Ann.286 inter pugnas, silent..leges inter arma* Tosi n°1223 (Cic.*Mil.11*), Hor.*C.1.32.6 inter arma*; note *arma uirum*(gen.) at 1.119, 9.777. For the anastrophe, cf. **673**; *arma inter regum* would of course have been possible, elsewhere.

falsa..formidine We may hear a hiss of disgust, which is absent at **350 fallitque furentem**. Cf. 10.631f. *quod ut o potius formidine falsa/ ludar*, 1.407f. *quid natum totiens..falsis/ ludis imaginibus*, 1.352 *uana spe lusit amantem*, Hor.*C. 3.4.5f.* For the noun, cf. **608**.

uatem..ludit The acc. is exactly parallel to, and takes up, **te**, **440** (which, in turn, must be understood here). Tu. denies Calybe a *uates'* authority and proper respect; the noun, which provides **ludit** with an

object it does not actually require, given the preceding pronoun, has gained a virtually concessive force.

443 cura tibi Yet another of repetition with no visible effect and in a different sense (cf. **425**); cf. *Buc.*8.89, *G.*1.52, *Aen.*1.704, 6.654, and LHS, 359, Görler, *EV* 2, 271 for the infin. after a noun. (cf. **145**).

dium effigies Geymonat prints **divom**, against the testimony of the capital mss. (four, including $\gamma = \mathbf{P}$ here). The passage from o to u (cf. NW 1, 186f., Ernout, 52, Leumann, 428) in good literary Latin reflects a change in taste or usage (while **436 classis** is a question of (lack of) respect for the word's very form); our codices are anything but consistent on the point (Ribbeck *Proleg.*, 438), and we should not suppose that the poet was necessarily himself consistent, either (cf. the remarks of A. Traina, *L'alfabeto e la pronunzia del latino*₄ (Bologna 1973), 18). The statues themselves are anachronistic, on the Romans' own view (for archaic aniconicity, cf. Varr. *RD.*1.fr.18, Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.*280ff., Latte, 251f.), but V.'s is—largely—a poetic, heroic, Hellenising account, not an antiquarian's careful reconstruction, and cf. **177** for quite numerous exceptions to aniconicity.

templa tueri A Lucretian echo, in an entirely transformed sense (6.1228, 'to gaze at the heavens'): cf. E.L. Harrison in Harrison, *OR*, 445ff. (= *CP* 65(1970), 241ff., corrected). Cf. Wissowa, 476: in the 'real world' work for an *aedituus*, not a priestess. The alliteration may serve to characterise Turnus' enunciation.

444 bella..pacemque Cf. 9.279 *seu pacem seu bella geram*, Sall. *Iug.* 46.8 *pacem an bellum gerens* (cf. 31.20 *bella atque paces*), Plaut. *Pers.*753(?); a common (cf. too e.g. Hor. *C.*2.19.28, 3.5.38, *Serm.*2.2.111; also *Aen.* 8.114) polar expression (Wills, 451ff., **571**). Also, though, zeugma: while *bellum gerere* is a stock expression (*Enn. trag.* 105, etc., extraordinarily frequent in Caes.), *pacem gerere* (implicit here) is an *ad hoc* expansion.

uiri 'Terme exprimant les qualités viriles ou masculines de l'homme' (EM; cf. R. Laurenti, *EV* s.v., Dingel on 9.620 *sinite arma uiris*).

gerent FγR gerant M, Schol. Ver. *ad Aen.*1.1. Mynors *per litt.* mocked at the idea that the tense (μελήσει) in V.'s evident poetic source (*Il.*6., *infra*) might be relevant ('confirms', Fordyce, more comfortably) to the constitution of the text (cf. A. Perutelli, *Gnom.* 67(1995), 313 and **684** for the often tricky issue of the application of identified sources to our efforts to establish what V. wrote), but printed **gerent** nonetheless (Why? Counting mss.? He offered no positive justification). The future is concessive/optative: cf. Hor. *C.*

1.7.1 *laudabunt alii* (where vd.NH; cf. *Aen.*6.847 *excudent alii* (not simply prophetic but likewise a Priamel), LHS, 310, KS 1, 144): others may praise (Hor.) and others may fight (here): given V.'s sequence, these lines are indeed a form of reversed Priamel: it is precisely Calybe who is out of the reckoning, along with her instructions (contrast the poet in Hor.C.1.7), and the passage should not be cited as suggesting that Tu. knows that there *will* be war.

quis Cf. 742.

bella gerenda The last three words of this line Burmann and Heyne thought were interpolated; the idea is not altogether absurd (cf. Sparrow, 46ff.), but here, specifically, infelicitous, as Henry made clear! Anaphora with 'category-shift' (indic. to gerundive), Wills, 326f.: **arma** also takes up **bella** with variation, so the repetition is subtly more than single-word, giving the sleeping Turnus a most appropriate smug plenitude of expression. 'Madam..you should not interfere in these matters...The distaff were more fitting for you' said Mr. Crawley to Mrs. Proudie (Trollope, *Last Chronicle*, ch.18), but the antithesis is a good deal older (though markedly rare in Lat. authors): *Il.*6.490ff. (sharply contrasted in tone with V.'s savage version, Highet, 212, Renger, 39f.) = *Od.*1.356ff., 21.350ff., *Hes.Erga* 145f., *Aesch.Sept.*200, *Eur.Med.*248f., *Heracl.*711, *Suppl.*40f., fr.521ff.N₂, *Ar.Lys.* 520 (with Blaydes' notes), 538, Seaford (373-405), 116, Treggiari (407), 243ff., 805 *infra*. Cf. the interesting variation at *Ov.Arsl.*182 *bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer*.

445 talibus..dictis Cf. 249, 373 (**his**), 4.92 (with Pease's n.), 8.611, etc.: a favourite 'formula', with a wide variety of verbs (cf. Harrison on 10.96f.), both before and after speeches.

exarsit in iras Associating Allecto firmly with fire-of-anger imagery (cf. 448, 550). The verb (*exardesco*) is common in prose, and also Catullan (64.93). *Mart.Spect.*9.3 deliciously uses V.' phrase of a rhinoceros. *In* indicates (as can εἰς) the result or consequence of the verb's action (13, Fordyce, LHS, 274, KS 1, 566ff., Harrison on 10.455, 586f.); to Fordyce's ample note on the poetic plural (with special reference to words indicating emotion), add now E.Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 149ff., Lunelli-Kroll, 26, Lunelli-Janssen, 104, Lunelli-Leumann, 157f., Harrison on 10.116f.. For all that, we are not really sure why V. did not write *iram*!

446 at V. changes subject rapidly in keeping with All.'s instant reaction and its immediate results: All.(445)—Tu.(446-7)—All.(447-8);

V. sketches effect before cause, the manifestations of Tu.'s terror before those of All.'s **irae**.

iuueni oranti Cf. **435** for Tu.'s youth. *Non roganti, sed* [SDan.] *loquenti: unde etiam oratores dicimus* Serv.. Rightly (Fordyce, Harrison on 10.96, J.Foster, *SO* 56(1991), 113); in V.'s time, an archaic sense (Lindsay on Plaut.*Capt.*942, Enk on *Merc.*530, P.Langen, *Beiträge* (Leipzig 1880), 317f., Tessmer/Baer, *TLL* 9.2.1037.3ff.). Foster (*loc. cit.*) suggests a calque: if *orare* often renders Gk. εὔχεσθαι, 'pray', then might it not here render another sense of the Gk., 'boast'? But Tu. is not (here) boasting, particularly, and the proposal has nothing of that ingenious necessity which makes the clearly persuasive calque such a joy to the learned reader.

subitus tremor An obvious symptom of fear (*Il.*3.34, *Lucr.*3.290f., *Aen.*2.120f., 6.54f., etc., A.Turyn, *Studia Sapphica* (*Eos* Suppl.6 1929), 52f.. Suddenness in the onset of such symptoms is somewhat conventional or 'literary' (Turyn, *cit.*, 42f.; cf. *AR* 2.1217, *G.*4.488, *Aen.* 3.259, 4.697, 6.47, etc.), but the careful reader would at once consider just what a sudden attack of fear might signify: so often, some kind of possession or madness (cf. Roscher (**479**), 80, Tambornino (**479**), 58; Paus.10.23.7, *Aen.*6.290, *Apul.Met.*3.9.8, 11.1.1). Like gestures, physiological symptoms in V. have to be 'read' with particular care.

occupat artus *G.*4.190, *Aen.*11.424, *metus membra occupat* already at Plaut.*Rud.* 686.

447 deriguere oculi The verb apparently a Virgilian coinage (cf. 3.259f. *gelidus formidine sanguis/ deriguit*). *Gloss.*5.287.23 *stupere obtuto*, 496.72 *stupuerunt*. Cf. not Plaut.*Men.*923 ('hard' eyes; an evident absurdity) but rather the *rursus immoti rigent* of Sen.*Ag.*715 (cf. *Oed.*187, Plin.*Nat.*23.49) and in particular Suet.*Nero* 49.4 *exstantibus rigentibusque oculis*, *Physiogn.*41 (reflecting a body of theory well-known to both V. and Suet.: E.C.Evans, *Physiognomics in the ancient world* (Philadelphia 1969), 49, 63) *si immobiles [sc. oculi] idem pallidi uel rubicundi erunt cum siccitate, sit certum his iras et furias inesse et diuinitatis iram imminere*. The eye is mirror of the soul (Onians, 77f., Cic. *de orat.*3.221, Tosi, n°673, Ricottilli (**251**), 17, n.36) and here Tu.'s eyes reveal his sleeping but very real reaction to All.'s metamorphosis. *Companion*, 158, n.29 is misleading.

tot../448 tantaque Almost anaphoric, with variation; *tot* and *tam* are often so used.

Erinys Cf. **570**.

sibilat The snakes (vd. **329**, **561**) hiss, rather than All. herself

(though they are corporeally part of her): 'subject and field of reference exchanged' (so Görler, *EV* 2, 269, *Vergilius* Suppl.2(1982), 58ff., *id. Wü.Jhb* 8(1982), 76; cf. Knight, 257f., Quinn, 387). A common enough phenomenon: cf. **329 tot pullulat atra colubris**; the enallage of **561** is essentially different, but 6.419 *horrere..colla colubris* is closely comparable, for, as Görler remarks, *EV, cit.*, it is a mode of constructing a phrase which V. finds particularly appropriate to the contortions of serpents. Too unorthodox, though, to have attracted the commentators' attention.

hydris Cf. **753**; here simply variation for All.'s snakes (on whom cf. **328**).

448 tantaque..facies Cf. **329 tam dirae facies**; against Heyne and Wagner, Henry argues energetically for **facies** in the sense of 'the whole aspect, form, appearance of the Fury', arguing correctly that only thus does **tanta** acquire a proper sense and citing 6.575, 8.194, 12.416 (cf. *EV* 2, 454). Serv. acutely compares 1.405 *et uera incessu patuit dea*; so here, *semoto anili uultu*, the real All. is revealed.

se..aperit Cf. Cic.*ND* 2.52, *Aetna* 472; certainly not stock language for divine self-revelation; the ecphrasis of the Fury that V. offers in the guise of Juno's respectful catalogue of her powers (**335ff.**) is now dramatically supplemented as All. reveals her full armoury.

flammea../449 lumina Fiery eyes are both characteristic of deities akin to All. (cf. **408**; thus Gorgons, [Aesch.] *PV*, 356, Furies, *H.Orph.* 70.6f., even Charon, *Aen.*6.300) and a traditional symptom of wrath: cf. *Il.*12.466, Rhianus fr.71.9Powell (= *HE* 3216), *Acc.trag.*443, *Aen.* 12.101f., 670; *Physiogn.*27, Onians, 77, Heuzé, 551ff., *EV* 3, 817(Stok) and the splendid note of Heinze on *Lucr.*3.288.

torquens The vb. can indicate 'to turn the eye' in a particular direction (G.4.451 (at Aristaeus, implicitly), *Aen.* 4.220, 12.670; cf. Hershkowitz, 89, 92f.); here, there is no designated objective, for All. has been in visual contact with Tu. since **420** and there would be little point in telling the reader (not unambiguously, either) that only now does she look at the impertinent Rutulian; the darting is indicative, rather, of All.'s increasingly turbulent onset of violent rage: cf. *Physiogn.*21, 23, 27 (not that these texts are consistent: vd. W.S.Anderson, *CSCA* 4(1971), 63, n.17). Cf. **399** and contrast **251**; Heuzé well notes both that (577) these words do not have a fixed sense and that (578) *uoluere* and *torquere* are not clearly distinguishable.

449 cunctantem et.. Like Tu. in his last battle (12.916, 919); you do not expect the young, confident hero to fumble in speech or

action, but here he is both sleeping and, increasingly, terrified. All.'s speech, and the flung torch are the climaxes to a deepening nightmare. Cf. *G.4.501f. prensantem et multa uolentem/ dicere*, *Aen.2.790f. lacrimantem et multa uolentem/ dicere*, 4.390f. *cunctantem et multa parantem/ dicere*, 10.554f. *orantis..et multa parantis/ dicere*, Moskalew, 65; here, the situation is, just, less tragic, and V. drops the run-on infinitive.

quaerentem dicere plura Is Tu., confronted by the Fury in all her glory, thinking to apologise? Or to invoke his special relationship with Juno yet more explicitly? The phrase is a sort of reversal of the common closing formula *nec plura effatus/ locutus*.

450 reppulit The run-on dactylic word in a position of obviously appropriate emphasis. Tu., we must not forget, remains asleep, yet All.'s explicit presence (**446ff.**) is working on him and it is his attempt, still within his dream-encounter, to react to the Fury (by rising, speaking, or both) that she rejects, with, presumably, an appropriate physical gesture (cf. *Plaut.Rud.671f. quin scelestus sacerdotem anum praecipes/ reppulit, propulit perquam indignis modis*, *Rhet.Her. 4.65 iste mulierem propulit ab se lamentantem*, *Cic. Red.sen. 17 a genibus tuis reppulisti*, Sittl, 85f.).

geminos..anguis Cf. the twin serpents of 2.203f., 225, or Cleopatra's (8.697); symbols of death, it is said (Binder, 241f., W.R.Nethercut, *Vergilius* 20(1974), 20ff.), in all three cases. Yes, but not, *pace* Nethercut, *cit.*, to be read (here too) in a spirit of Egyptianising symbolism, as will appear. At 2.203 Serv. notes *geminis: duo et similes* and here *similes: nam omnes eam dicit erexisse, non duo*; Hey (*TLL* 6.2.1744.3) even suspects Serv. may think *crinibus* here is dat., depending on *geminos*! Above all, we must take account of the markedly copious evidence, both Greek and Etruscan (all of it iconographic and apparently no other attestations in the surviving texts) for the Fury's twin snakes (cf., for example, H.Sarian, *LIMC* 3.2, pll.11, 21, 27, 45, 70 and for the Etruscan evidence, F. De Ruyt, *Charun, démon étrusque..* (Rome 1934), 153f.; cf. the two snakes on the upper edge of the Gorgoneion, on which vd.N.Leipen, *Athena Parthenos* ([Toronto] 1971), 29): *this* was how V. and his readers were *used* to see them, and the herpetosophy of Canopus hardly comes into it.

erexit crinibus Cf. *Rhet.Her.4.68 erecto capillo* ('hair on end'); the verb can also be applied to a snake's body (*Ov.Met.3.43*), or an elephant's trunk (*Bell.Afr. 84.1*), stiffened; peculiarly appropriate, therefore. **Crinibus** is clearly abl., though presumably all All.'s hair was serpentiform.

451 uerberaque insonuit For the Furies' whips, cf. **336**. The assault on Tu., still asleep, is both visual and acoustic (cf. **447**). The verb (cf. 5.579 *insonuitque flagello*), possibly a coinage, is here transitivised (**436**; cf. Clausen, *THP*, 139, n.35, Traina, *EV* 4, 944). **rabidoque..ore** Cf. 6.80, 102 (of the Sibyl); for the Furies as themselves mad, and not just inspirers of madness, cf. Gruppe, 766, n.3, Aesch.*Eum.*500, Ov.*Met.* 11.14.

haec addidit Cf. 2.593 *roseoque haec insuper addidit ore*, 6.854 *atque haec mirantibus addit*, 11.95, 107 *uerbis haec insuper addit*, 12.358 *atque haec insuper addit*. Cf. Moskalew, 65f., n.82.

452-455 The notion that Allecto should cast Tu.'s words back in his teeth comes to V. from Call.*H.*6.63f. (Hollis (**436-44**), 272); such ironic or sarcastic repetitions are common enough in *Aen.* (Moskalew, 109, citing e.g. 4.376ff., 9.635, 10.85f., 11.399, Highet, 78, Wills, 342f.). What emerges less clearly than it might from discussion of the half-line (Günther, 24, Berres, 299) is that (cf. Günther, 80) we glimpse V.'s workshop with rare clarity: while **452** and **453** repeat Tu.'s words mechanically, **454** does not and **455** shows that V. has begun to attribute to Allecto (but has not had time to follow through) a brilliant variation upon Tu.'s speech, entailing small alterations of detail and profound reversals of sense.

452 en ego Cf. 5.672; in its full deictic sense (*EV* 2, 995f.): Tu.'s sleep has become troubled (**446f.**), All. (**446ff.**) has begun to disclose her attributes in their awful multiplicity, and now she announces who she really is, as prelude to the wielding of her torch.

uicta situ Cf. **440 sed te uicta situ**.

ueri effeta senectus Cf. **440 uerique effeta senectus**.

453 arma inter regum Cf. **441f. arma/regum inter**.

falsa formidine ludit cf. **442 falsa uatem formidine ludit**.

454 respice ad haec Cf. *OLD* s.v. §1a, comedy, Cic.*Div.*1.69 *ad urbem respicientes*; **haec** are not so much the attributes V. has just enumerated at **447f.**, **450f.** as those she is herself about to mention in the next line. This revelation is a terrifying crescendo.

adsum A motif in origin theatrical: cf. *trag.inc.*73 *adsum atque aduenio Acherunte*, Enn.*trag.*41 *adest, adest fax* (Cassandra in the *Alexander*), 23 †*incede incede* †*adsunt* (Alcmeo speaks), Thome, 144, *ead.*, 182, n.427 on Val.Max.6.2.8 *uenio..ab inferis ..accusator uenio*.

dirarum ab sede sororum Cf. **324 dirarum ab sede dearum**, **327 sorores**.

455 bella..letumque Contrast Tu.'s **bella..pacemque**; All. is

bringing Tu.'s death—and she knows it, as do we—as the consequence of the battle-rage she will inspire (cf. Thome, 144).

manu..gero Further significant variation: at **444**, **uiri..gerent, quis bella gerenda** does not have a literal sense, and here the verb very clearly does (Fraenkel, 155), as shown by whip (**451**) and torch (**456**); **manu**, therefore, as at **621**, is fully literal, and not, as at **604**, a 'fill-in word'.

456 sic effata Cf. **135**.

facem The sequence of thought from **454** on shows that the thrust torch is the final, conclusive proof of All.'s hellish nature (compare and contrast Eros' arrow, AR 3.275-98, Moskalew, 160f., n.60, Nelis, 291ff.). Furies, like Poenae (Aeschines, *c.Tim.*180, Gruppe, 764, n.7; cf. Cornutus 10: the Erinyes pursue the unjust with fire); Apate (vd. *infra*), and Hecate (Eur.*IT* 21, Gruppe, 1298, n.1), carry torches: cf. Buchheit, 103, Gruppe, 765, n.4, J.Gagé, *RAC* 7, 160, Ar. *Plut.* 423f., Enn.*trag.*26f. *caeruleae incinctae igni incedunt, / circumstant cum ardentibus taedis* (with Jocelyn's n.), Cic.*SRosc.*67, *Pis.*46 *furialibus taedis*, Liv.7.17.3 (the priests of the Falisci and Tarquinians) *facibus ardentibus, anguibusque praelatis, incessu furiali*; so here **337**. Torch-bearing Furies madden Hippolytus' horses, pursue Orestes at Delphi, oppose Heracles in Hades etc. in the rich artistic tradition (so *LIMC* s.v. *Erinyes*). Cf. though, in particular, the scene of Apate about to wield her torches between Asia and Europe (*LIMC* 1.1, 875 (Belloni), A.D.Trendall, A.Cambitoglou, *Red-figured vases of Apulia* 2(Oxford 1982), 495, n°38., Margot Schmidt in *ΑΠΤΑΡΧΑΙ*.P.E.Arias 2(Pisa 1982), 506). For the torch as a symbol of anger, cf. **462**, Lucr.3.303 (vd.Heinze *ad loc.*, cf. **465** and compare (Quint.) *Decl.mai.*12.28 *scelerum faces*); for the torch of war, cf. Eur.*Phoen.*1377f., Lyc.1295, *Aen.*1.150, *iamque faces et saxa uolant, furor arma ministrat*; cf. too **319f.**, **397f.**. The man who himself kindled discord or war was called directly *fax*: Cic.*Dom.*18, 102, *Har.Resp.*4, 45, *Mil.*33, 98, *Phil.*7.3, Luc.1.262; cf. **319f.**, *TLL* 6.1.402.47ff.(Jachmann), Opelt, 140, 189. A particular instance of the more general association between fire and anger/war/ warriors; so in the cases of both Allecto (**355**, **445**, **448f.**, **550**) and Turnus (**577**, **785f.**; cf. v.Duhn, 67f., Buchheit, 75f., Schenk, 210f., Traina, *EV* 5*, 326).

iuueni coniecit Cf. Serv. *satis considerate facem iuueni iniecit, quae cito et exardescit et desinit, supra uero Amatae serpentem iniecit, quod in mulieribus semper uiget uenenum*; the singular reflection upon Amata and her sex does not invalidate the acuteness of what precedes (cf. Mackie (**413**,

60). In the iconographic tradition, the Furies do not (cf. **347**) use their torches as missiles (first perhaps at *Ov.Met.*4.508; so S.J.Harrison) and while *conicere* can indicate ‘hurl’, it need not: *Cat.Agr.*54.1, *Cic.de orat.*1.261 (Dem. pops the pebbles in his mouth), *OLD* s.v. §2 (as against the more vigorous §4) and notably J.N.Adams, *CQ* 24(1974), 147; cf. **480 obicit** (as against 6.421). With the dat., the verb may here indicate ‘thrust in the way of’; so two portents thrust into the beholders’ view, 2.200, 5.522f.

atro/ 457 lumine Not quite an oxymoron, if only because the adj. is not purely of colour, but wonderfully challenging (cf. Edgeworth 81, 83, 147, Thome, 148ff., W.R.Johnson, *Darkness visible* (Berkeley 1976), 90f.): the torch is alight (**lumine**), but its owner is herself **atra** (**329**) and the light it gives—like the cauldron’s steam, **466**, the ambiguously portentous Lavinia, **76 fumida lumine fuluo**, the avenging Dido of 4.384 *sequar atris ignibus absens*, the incendiary Turnus of 9.74 *facibus..atris* (so too 10.77), the hellish Cacus of 8.198f. *atros/..ignis*, and the funerary torches of 11.186 *ignibus atris* (cf. *Hor.* C.4.12.26)—is both dark because All. is hellish (*EV* 1, 388), and pitch is black, but also (primarily, perhaps) because the light is itself gloomy or sinister (*ater*, cf. André, 51, Edgeworth, 77, 81, etc.).

fumantis..taedas Cf. **76, 465**; variation within two lines (cf. **facem 456**), with **t.** poet. plural (no question, after **facem**, of a left and a right); ‘emphasis’ says Lyne (*FV*, 69), but perhaps rather to avoid the flat, bulky pronoun (*illam*) necessarily involved in saying ‘and plunged it, smoking’.

fixit sub pectore The verb belongs to the traditional poetic vocabulary: *Acc.carm.fr.*4, *Ov.Met.*8.382; Gk. ἔπηξε. Cf. **533**: ‘deep in his chest’ (cf. **254**, 4.67, 689 (*sub pectore uulnus*) of Dido (cf. Moskalew, 165), 6.101, etc.). Johnson (*cit.*, **456**) takes the torch as part of Tu.’s dream, but the Furies’ torches in art are altogether three-dimensional and here, after it has been pointed (**456 coniecit**), it is driven home no less well than Aeneas’ spear (*aduerso sub pectore condit*, 12.950).

458 olli My, illi FR; an archaism/Ennianism admired in V. by Quint.(8.3.25), used in dat.sing, and nom. and dat. plur., almost always as first word/foot. Vd. Fordyce here, Leumann, 470, Görler, *EV* 2, 264, Harrison on 10.745f., **505**); **FR** have normalised. Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 439.

somnum..rumpit rupit R(vd. *infra* on **perfundit**). Cf. *Lucr.* 4.582f. *quorum noctiuago strepitu ludoque iocanti/ adfirmant uolgo taciturna silentia rumpi*.

ingens..pauor Possibly from Liv.2.32.5 *pauor ingens in urbe*. Six (or five) times in the tragic fragments, *quater* in Lucr.. Fear, very literally, breaks into the line.

ossaque et artus ..*que..et* archaic and in the high style (LHS, 515, Enn., Pacuv., Acc., Lucr., Cat., V.). *Artus* is Ennian (*Ann.*34), tragic (*ter*) and Lucretian (*persaepe*, associated often with *corpus*, *membra*, *uiscera*). 'Sweat was believed to come from the cerebro-spinal fluid and marrow' (Onians, 193, with n.3, *Plin.Nat.*7.78, etc.); 'bones and limbs' is not a conventional polar expression, but this view of the origin of *sudor* goes some way to explain it here.

459 perfundit FyR; perfudit M. Wagner preferred the perfect because in such cases the sleeper is already sweating when (s)he wakes. But V.'s sequence of events makes it clear that torch, full consciousness and sweat are simultaneous. The verb is Catullan and Lucretian; here cf. Curt.3.5.2 (Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.9. 1419.32). A change of tense would not be unvirgilian (Austin on 1.418, citing Quinn, 95; cf. Götte, 805f. for other instances of this textual problem), but we have no good reason not to follow the weight of the capital mss. (two presents).

toto..corpore Cf. *Il.*16.109f., Enn.*Ann.*396 *totum sudor habet corpus*, 417 *tunc timido manat ex omni corpore sudor*, Lucr.6.944 *toto corpore sudor*, *Aen.* 3.175 *tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor*, 9.812f. *tum toto corpore sudor/ liquitur* (with Hardie's good note), *EV* 4, 1057.

proruptus My₁R; praeruptus Fy. The latter ('broken, torn off'; cf. *G.*2.156, *Aen.*1.105) is clearly an error; *prorumpere* gives exactly the right sense: cf. **32**, 1.246, 3.572. If the repetition after **rumpit** strikes us disagreeably, it is because we are unfamiliar with the ancient parameters (cf. **554**, rather than Fordyce, Wills, 319).

sudor The cold sweat of fear drains the body of the stuff of life: cf. *Eur.Phoen.* 1388, *Men.Heros* 72, *Thphr. de sud.*36, Enn.*Ann.*417, *tunc timido manat ex omni corpore sudor*, Lucr.6.944 *manat item nobis e toto corpore sudor*, inc.vers.14 Bü., *Aen.*3.175, Onians, 190ff., J.S.T.Hanssen, *SO* 26(1948), 97f., Turyn (**446**), 31f., 50f., *EV* s.v..

460 arma..arma The insistent anaphora reflects not only instinctive rhetoric and natural insistence but ancient usage, not only Latin (as is confirmed by V.'s allusions at **502**, **504** to just the same body of custom; cf. *Alambicco*, 114): Schulze (**502**(1918), 484 = (1934), 163f.; cf. Fraenkel, 155, *id.*, *Beob.z. Aristophanes*, 32, Wills 417) cited a Germanic analogy and compare too Aesch.fr.140R, ὄπλων ὄπλων δεῖ, and the ample Latin material; cf. **340**, 2.668, 11.453, Hor.

C.1.35.14ff. *neu populus frequens/ ad arma cessantis, ad arma/ concitet*, Ogilvie on Liv. 3.15.6, Oakley on Liv.6.28.3, Tac.*Ann.*1.59 (an epicism, *pace* Goodyear). The call to arms evokes Juno's instructions to All., **339 arma uelit poscatque simul rapiatque iuuentus** (Fraenkel, 155, n.1, O'Hara, *DOP*, 62, n.1), but Fraenkel does not note that the arms for which Tu. calls are for use against Lat.!

amens Cf. **461 insania**, 9.760f., 10.681, etc.. Not by chance (cf. **355**) a state produced by a torch and compared to a blazing fire under a cauldron. But this passing (cf. **467**) *amentia* is not easily defined; it contains an element of Homeric battle-rage (cf. H.van Wees, *Status warriors* (Amsterdam 1992), 126ff.), it reflects (vd., coolly, Traina, *EV* 5*, 326; cf. *id.*(**343**), 497f.= 147f.) a temperament portrayed consistently and not without sympathy as youthful, unstable and excitable; it is, in the context of Roman public virtues, a major vice (Aen.1.150, Hellegouarc'h, 136, Buchheit, 102f., Opelt, 142, W.-H. Friedrich, (**373-405**), 142f., R.G.M. Nisbet, *Cic.Pis.*, p.196) and, worse still, 'the *furor* of Turnus is *evil*', or so it is said (by Cairns, 84, cf. Renger, 33f., Schenk, 257ff. *et ubique*; *impius* is the description regularly employed). In some respects, yes, clearly, but not in each and every facet (*Companion*, 159, 182, 209f.).

fremit Cf. 11.453 *fremit arma iuuentus*, Acc.*trag.*288 *Argiuos fremere bellum* and A.Traina, *EV* 2, 591 on the transivisation of verbs of 'sounding' (from internal acc., as in *acerba fremens*, to neut. pron. (e.g. *eadem*) or interjection, **389**, to actual objs. as here and 11.453; add *id.*, *EV*, 4, 943f., LHS, 32). Even without the explicit verb, assonance and twin patterns of alliteration create a noisy, clashing line.

toro tectisque Not registered (Wölfflin, **692**) as a conventional alliterative noun-pair, but cf. Plaut.*Rud.*78 *tectum et tegulas*. So Helen stole the sword from under Deiphobus' pillow (6.524); thus both in real life (cf. Tac.*H.*2.49, death of Otho, Plut.*Pelop.*35.11) and in poetry (Theocr.24.43, *Amphitryon*, where vd. Gow's n.). Domestic, like the cauldron which follows (S.J.Harrison, *PLLS* 5(1985), 100).

requirit Cf. **625 omnes arma requirunt**.

461 saeuit Cf. 4.532 *saeuit amor*, *EV* 4, 645, Boldrer on Col. 10.205. Here suggestive of the peculiar cruelty of (civil) war: cf. G.1.511, *Aen.* 1.149 *saeuitque animis ignobile uulgus*, 8.700f., Hor.*C.*1.37.30, Jal, 420f..

amor ferri Cf. **550**, **636**: the language is familiar (cf. *Buc.*10.44f.), but the juxtaposition, as at **550**, 9.760 *caedisque insana cupido* (and cf. Hardie on *ib.*, 354), 12.282, perverse and monstrous, though neither

unheroic, nor unknown in the civil wars (for longing for violence and pride in its execution, cf. Jal, 342ff., 474ff.).

scelerata Again, very much civil war language (cf. Opelt, 160, Hellegouarc'h, 166): vd. *Buc.*4.13, *Hor.Epd.*7.1, *C.*1.2.29f., 35.33, *Sall.Or.Phil.*19, *Luc.*1.2, 37.

insania belli Cf. **550**, 9.760, 10.872: on the Stoic view (cf. *Companion*, 199, Harrison on 10.62, 872) anger and battle rage are actual madness. Intrinsic too in the Romans' view of civil war (Opelt, 142, Hellegouarc'h 136, 530, 558, *Aen.* 1.150, *Cic. Att.*9.7.3, *Fam.*4.1.1, *Phil.*5.29, 13.43, *Flor.*2.9.66, and notably Jal, 421f.).

462 ira super Climactic, rather than **insania** (Feeney, 169f., after Fordyce, takes *ira* as an afterthought, but it is already implicit in Tu's *amor ferri* and *insania*); an attribute both of Allecto (**326**) and of Tyrrhus' rustics (**508**) and frequently attributed to Turnus (9.66, 694, 798; cf. 12.314, Schenk, 194f., 199f.); anger (above all, in a warrior; in the civil wars, cf. *Sen.de ira passim* with Jal, 422f., *Sall.Iug.*64.5, *Hor.C.*4.15.19, *Ep.*1.19.48f., *Tib.*1.3.47) was not necessarily to be evaluated negatively in all the ethical codes which an Augustan or imperial reader might bring to bear on *Aen.*(*Companion*, 198ff.). For *super* in the sense of *insuper*, Fordyce compares *Lucr.*3.672, 901, *Aen.*1.29, 2.71, etc.: climactic, though, not merely additional.

462-6 V., we shall see, is at great pains to exalt his scene from the hearth in the highest language, to organise it in climactic sequence (Worstbrock, 143, though I am less clear—vd. *infra*—about exactly what happens in and near the cauldron) and to enrich it with an ample range of sonic effects: there is no decline of level from action to simile (cf. A.Perutelli, *Maia* 24(1972), 45f., M.Coffey *BICS* 8(1961), 64f.). The primary literary antecedent here is *Il.*21.361ff.: (Hephaestus sent by Hera to consume the Xanthus; cf. **463 undantis**): (362) ὡς δὲ λέβητος ζεῖ ἔνδον ἐπειγόμενος πυρὶ πολλῶ / κνίστην μελδόμενος ἀπαλοτρεφέος κιάλοιο, / πάντοθεν ἀμβόλαδην, ὑπὸ δὲ ξύλα κάγκανα κεῖται, / ὡς τοῦ καλὰ ῥέεθρα πυρὶ φλέγετο, ζέει δ' ὕδωρ. Precise debts are indicated below, though the rendering of pork fat was appallingly ταπεινόν to Augustan taste: note in particular **464 exsultant** (in *Hom.*, after all, it is not water that spurts up; schol.A took objection, predictably, Coffey *cit.*, 64). Cf. too *Il.*18.348 (actual heating of water, = *Od.*8.437; vd. *infra* **463 suggeritur**) and *Od.* 12.237ff. (Charybdis belches water) ἦ τοι ὄτ' ἐξεμέσειε, λέβητος δ' ὡς ἐν πυρὶ πολλῶ / πᾶς ἀναμορμύρεσκε κυκωμένη, ὑπόθε δ' ἄχνη / ἄκροισι σκοπέλοισιν ἐπ' ἀμφο-

τέροισιν ἔπιπτεν (cauldron, intense fire, spray). Other literary pots and pans (Call., Maecenas) will emerge from the notes. More important, the closer we examine the sources of this simile, the more crucial Lucr. becomes (Heinze on Lucr.3.295, Horsfall 1971, 142, D.P.Fowler *ap.* Lyne, *FV* 69, n.12, Gale (785), 182): the *iracunda mens* which *facile effervescent in iram* (3.295) and the raging lions who cannot *capere irarum fluctus in pectore* (*ib.*, 298; cf. 6.74, *Aen.*12.831), a passage (and note 289 for the eyes in anger) in which the images of heating and seething are applied in juxtaposition to extreme anger, though 'boiling' rage is a far older notion (at least from Aesch.: J.Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane* (Paris 1962), 191f., *Acc.trag.*450 *cor ira feruit caecum*, Lucr.5.1335; more boiling at 10.870, and, all of Tu., 9.798, 12.486, 666). The *DRN* gives the Homeric cauldron a precise emotional connotation and Hardie (*CI*, 230f.) notes in addition the echoes of (i) *exsultare, furere intus aënis/ in scaphiis* and *lapis hic Magnes cum subditus esset* from 6.1044-6 and (ii) *uaporis* and *dimittit in auras* from 6.842. The analogies between simile and action (thanks to Lucr., inherent in the very choice of words) have been studied very fully (Macr.5.11.24f., v.Duhn, 64f., Schenk, 192ff., Worstbrock, 142f., D.West, *Reading Horace* (Edinburgh 1967), 68ff., Coffey, *cit.*, 71f.) and some of the more precisely demonstrable cases are indicated below. The problem, however, remains of just what is happening in the simile, and the bearing which this uncertainty may have upon Turnus. I do not of course refer to the unfortunate idea that All. and her actions only reflect Tu.'s own inner violence (cf. O'Hara, *DOP*, 67, n.12 for sufficient dismissal and see too Feeney 168f.; Tu.'s continued slumbers and explicit contempt were always answer enough!); rather (cf. *Companion*, 158ff.), Tu.'s anger does not swell, nor is the water brought to the boil. Both are portrayed 'at full steam' (*Companion*, 159, against Feeney, 169f., Lyne, *FV*, 69); the water is *undans* before the *uirgae* are applied and Tu. is already twitching, and trying to speak, with staring eyes, before he wakes. The torch is, after all, what Feeney calls 'a radical invasion of Tu. by All.' (170, n.168, citing TCD on 457, *ut impatienter cuperet quod ante contempserat*). The *uirgae*, however, remain inscrutable (and I may misunderstand them, against Feeney and Lyne, from excess of practical experience): you cannot (in the real world) cook meat (or boil water) with kindling alone, though by increasing the amount of kindling (up the sides of the cauldron), you can temporarily (and usefully) raise the temperature in the hearth before adding the quite indispensable billets of wood (AR 3.291 is

different: adding fresh wood to embers). It is that which V. may in fact mean: **undantis** not as proleptic, but as the result of both **suggeritur** and the addition (subsequent, necessary, but unstated) of wood to a well-heated hearth (with no implications as to Tu's antecedent state of mind). Tu.'s orders group is instant and raging, upon waking; the water is therefore perforce at (literally) full boil and the process of heating can only be suggested in subordination during the simile. Cf. now M.Fernandelli, *Quad.Dip.Fil.Torino* 1998, 103-19.

462 magno..sonore Cf. Enn.*Ann.*464 *cum sonitu magno*, 509 *cum magno strepitu*; the noun *quinquies* in Lucr.(*sonus sexies, sonitus*, 41); in V. *sonus decies, sonitus* 43, *sonor ter* (cf. Traina, *EV* 4, 942): here, then, a phrase of faintly Ennian flavour, including a rare, Lucretian noun.

ueluti cum The Hom. ὡς ὄ(πο)τε; in Lat., cf. Enn.*Ann.*79, Lucr. 1.291, 936, 4.11, Cic.*Phaen.*fr.8.1; in V. *quater* juxtaposed, *quinquies* separated, possibly with a faint flavour of archaism (cf. LHS, 632).

flamma.. / 463 uirgea The adj. already at *G.*1.165, 3.320; cf. 8.694 *stuppea flamma*. Cf. Hom.'s ξύλα κάγκανα (dry), *Il.*21.364, Call. *Hec.* fr.32 Hollis. *Virgae* are clearly lighter than *rami*: cf. *G.*2.359, with Mynors' note, 1.165, 266, 3.320, *Aen.*11.65, *EV* s.v.. 'Kindling', therefore (cf. **462—6**), which tends (*supra*) to crackle noisily.

suggeritur Cf. *Il.*18.348 γάστρην μὲν τρίποδος πῦρ ἄμφεπε, θέρμετο δ' ὕδωρ, 21.364 ὑπὸ..κεῖται, *Od.*12.237 ἐν πυρὶ πολλῶ; cf. too AR 3.291(with **454**), Liv.3.11.10 *inuidiae.flammam ac materiam criminibus suggerere*, Liv.8. 32.16.*animis subdere ignem ac materiam seditioni*, Lucr. *supra* (**462-6**).

costis The Homeric pot has a belly (cf. previous n.), the Virgilian, more dignified ribs, like the Wooden Horse (2.16; cf. *Ov.Her.*16.112, *Pers.*6.31 of a ship); wood can be piled higher round the sides of a roughly hemispherical λέβης (cf. the cheerful anatomising of *Il.* 18.348, *supra* s.v. **suggeritur**). Serv. remarks *COSTIS autem lateribus. et bene antiquum respexit morem: nam ollas non suspendebant, sed positae circumcirca ignem adhibebant* (cf. Serv. on 1.93, 446, 2.178, 5.1, **7.509** (with n.), **537**, 8.63, 423, 11.463 for the phrasing); however, Serv. does not take into account V.'s (simultaneous) debt to Homeric usage, where we have just seen that the tripod *was* employed (*Il.*18.348; cf. Seymour, 207)

undantis An old word, of the sea at Enn.*trag.* 179 and Acc.*trag.*401; in V., cf. *G.*1.472, 2.437, *Aen.*2.609, 12.673 and in particular 6.218 *aena undantia flammis*; exactly the sequence of images at *Il.*21.361f. φῆ πυρὶ καιόμενος (the Xanthus) ἀνὰ δ' ἔφλυε καλὰ ρέεθρα..We

have seen (**462-6**) the importance of the *unda*-metaphor for the passions in Lucr. and elsewhere.

aëni Where Maec., fr.7André, uses *catinus!* For 'pot' (Hom. λέβης; cf. Call.*Hec.*fr.33 Hollis), Plaut., prose, then Prop, Ov.: in V., cf. G.1.296, *Aen.*1.213, 5.102, 6.218 and note his care to avoid the vulgar language of the hearth at 8.22. Enn.*Ann.*532 has *crateras aënos*; for Lucr. vd. **462-6**.

464 exsultantque Cf. Hom. ἀμβολάδην, Lucr.2.195 (human blood) *emicat exsultans alte*, *Aen.*3.557 (Charybdis) *exsultant uada*; a rare word, of high associations, to help garb the pot in epic dignity. Kapp (*TLL* 5.2.1948.64) paraphrases 'fere i.q. fervere', limply: the water actually leaps up, with the cauldron boiling furiously (cf. **462-6** for antecedents).

aestu Common of the heat of fires (e.g. 2.706, 759); also (*infra*) of seething water.

latices Cf. 6.218f. *pars calidos latices et aëna undantia flammis/ expediunt*, 715; Acc.*trag.*666, Cic.*carm.*Hom.1.8, 15x in Lucr.; high poetic diction, to ennoble water, wine, etc..

furit Cf. Lucr.2.593 *eximiis vero furit ignibus impetus Aetnae*, 6.1045(**462-6**), *Aen.*1.107 *furit aestus harenis* (shoal water in a storm), 2.759 *furit aestus ad auras* (burning Troy), 5.662 *furit..Volcanus* (burning of the ships). Perfectly in keeping, too (cf. Cairns, 70, Schenk, 212, etc.), with **amens**, **insania** used of Tu. himself at **460**, **461**.

intus Cf. **192**. Macr. (5.11.24f.) realises the point: the first three words of the line refer to water leaping up out of the cauldron; V. then turns to the water remaining inside (cf. Hom. ἔνδον) and it too foams wildly—and gushes abundantly upwards.

aquai/ 465 ..amnis aquai My, Quint.1.7.18, schol.Pers.6.9, grammarians (vd. Ribbeck; Timpanaro, 188 is wrong to say that their testimony is divided); **aquae uis Fy₁R**, Macr.5.11.23 (cf. Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 188, n.13); the c.9 mss. are divided (vd.Mynors); **FURIT INTUS AQUAI FUMIDUS** *id est aquae amnis..hanc autem diaeresin Tuca et Varius fecerunt: nam Vergilius sic reliquerat 'furit intus aquae amnis et exuberat amnis': quod satis asperum fuit* Serv.; SDan. adds that there are only three other endings in -ai in V.(3.354, 6.747, 9.26). We have three readings to consider: (i) *aquae amnis*, which may be not even a conjecture but a careless importation from the following verse (Timpanaro, *cit.*, 189); the repetition is intolerable (Wills, 418 is not helpful) and the synaloepha at 5D extremely rare (10.508 (-em), 12.26 (-o), Norden, 456); the Augustan poets avoid indeed synaloepha *in arsi*

(contrast *Buc.*9.37, *Aen.*6.52) of an iambic word: cf. Lachmann, ed. *Lucr.*, 196, Munro on *Lucr.*4.741, E.Courtney, *BICS* 28(1981), 14, 19, J.Soubiran, *L'élision.*(Paris 1966), 437. (ii) *aquae uis* by contrast has an air of respectability: an Ennian clausula (*Ann.*482) and adequate sense (Timpanaro, *cit.*, 188, n.14). The monosyllable too is unexceptionable (Norden, 440f.). But it is only too clearly a creditable attempt to emend away the archaic genitive, of a type often found in the transmission of *Lucr.*(e.g.1.84, 725): so G.P.Goold, *HSCP* 74(1968), 125f., Timpanaro, *cit.*, 188. (iii) *aquai*, as we have seen, was recognised in antiquity as a (rare and recognisably Ennian) archaism (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 263, Leumann, 418), entirely acceptable here. Ribbeck (*Proleg.*, 94) tried to correct *Serv.* in order that *V.* should have 'left' something less discreditable. But *Serv.* and *VSD* attribute to *V.*, as we have discovered, some unlikely choices (cf. M.Geymonat, *EV* 2, 288ff.), such as leaving bk.3 before bk.2 (*VSD* 42, cf. Günther, 58, n.153), or 6.1-2 at the end of bk.5 (*Serv. ad Aen.*5.871; excluded, *inter alia*, by the Homeric echoes; cf. Goold, *cit.*, 125) and he is accused of having written (e.g.) the verses cited by *SDan.* at 6.289 (*quidam dicunt*, to be fair; cf. Goold, *cit.*, 133f.), the 'preproemium' to bk.1 (*VSD* 42; cf. Gamberale, *EV s.v. Preproemio*), the Helen episode (*SDan.praef.*; cf. Goold, *cit.*, 130ff.), and a panegyric to Cornelius Gallus (*Serv. ad Buc.*10.1, *G.*4.1; cf. *Companion*, 86ff.), not to mention a minor (and less grotesque) correction to *G.*1.25 (where *vd.* Mynors) for which Gell. (13.21.4) cites a *librum manu ipsius correctum* (cf. L.Gamberale, *Atti.convegno.. bimill... Georg.* (Napoli 1977), 359ff.; see further Horsfall, *Vergilius* 41(1995), 57ff.). Varius cannot have 'restored' **aquai**; I do not think we know what (if anything) he actually did here. To the debate on Varius' editorial activity (cf. *Companion*, 22f.) Günther, 63ff. offers some valuable additions. **Annis** is another word which belongs solidly (though not as solidly as **latices**) to high poetry (*Enn. Ann.*581, common in *Lucr.*, *bis* in *Cat.*'s polymetrics; cf. *EV s.v.*) and we may compare other compound expressions (entailing a virtual *genitivus inhaerentiae*) such as *aquae fons/ riuus/ flumen*. The hyperbaton is singular: after **fumidus**, the reader expects a noun, to close the sense-unit begun with **aquai**, and finds another verb, parallel to **furit**; Wagner well compares 2.552f. *dextraque coruscum/ extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem* and note too 12.473f.; other cases of adj. at beginning and noun at end of line are simpler (Norden, 391f., Görler, *EV* 2, 275, E.B.Stevens, *CW* 46(1953), 200ff.; the second verb is lacking in all the many instances of *vv.* so arranged in *Cat.*64; cf. Ross, 135).

465 fumidus Cf. **76** (and therefore portentous of war, **80**): regularly ‘wreathed in smoke’ (Lucr.6.644, Prop.3.18.2; contrast *Aen.*9.74, used of a *taeda* itself smoking); used by Lucr.3.303 of the *irai fax* (cf. *Aen.*6.593)! Smoke (taking up **457 fumantis**) belongs not just to the domestic world of hot water but to the fall of cities—both Troy (3.3) and Latinus’ own capital (12.569), not to mention Turnus’ attack on the Trojan ships (9.75f.).

alte..exuberat The vb. at *Acc.trag.*504; already *bis* in *G.* (the word is after all—*uber*—agricultural in origin, and V.’s application of it to water might be a little mannered).

spumis Cf. 2.496 *spumeus amnis* (and cf., also of ‘real’ rivers, 11.547f., 12.524); the noun is Ennian (*bis*) and Lucretian (*bis*); we might wonder whether V. thought also of ‘foaming at the mouth’ (Lucr.5.985, *Aen.*1.324, 4.158f.). Vd. *EV* s.v. (Giovanni Franco).

466 nec iam *Novies* in V. (4.171, 10.510 in comparable contexts); for the third time (cf. **exsultant**, **exuberat**), V. depicts the tide of Tu.’s rage not merely rising (**462-6**) but brimming over.

se capit Cf. Lucr.3.298 (a passage fundamental to V. here; cf. **462-6**): *nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt*, *id.*, 6.327, *Ov.Met.*6.466.

unda For the third time (cf. **latices**, **amnis**) V. exalts the water in the pot, though *Ov.Met.*8.650 (boiled pork) goes further; note *Aen.* 8.257 *unda* of an eddy of smoke, 9.700, of gore, *Aetna* 383 of lava and **undantis** above, **463**: V. is hinting broadly at the analogy between cauldron and sea, which the systematic (and remarkably successful) linguistic exaltation of the storm in the pot makes by the end entirely credible and unforced.

uolat..ad auras Cf. 5.861 *uolans..se sustulit..ad auras*; here there is a last echo of Lucr.(**462-6**), markedly conventional epic hyperbole (cf. 3.576, 4.445, Hardie, *CI*, 241ff.) and a further association of cauldron-water with sea (cf. 5.780, 820f., etc., Hardie, 298ff.)

uapor ater At 5.683f. (*lentusque carinas/ est uapor*), 698 (*restitus donec uapor omnis*), *uapor* is used for its own cause, fire (in *flamma* the sense of ‘fire’ is inherent; in Lucr. *uapor* is synonymous with *calor*, 1.1032, etc.); here cf. the **atro/ lumine fumantis..taedas** of **456f.**, for though fire and cauldron belong to the familiar kitchen, not to Tu.’s nightmare arousal, the dark flames, in sinister conclusion, leap up beside the spurting water: the adj. looks back to All.’s torch and the noun appears to refer not to homely steam but more thoughtfully and strikingly to the fire from beneath the cauldron (cf. *EV* s.v. *uapor*); here the water is **fumidus** (cf. **457 fumantis**) and the fire **ater**!

467 ergo Ennian (*Ann.*365) and very common in Lucr. and V.(cf. Axelson, 92). Tu. falls swiftly into the role of the energetic young commander; his first moments of (altogether understandable) near-panic are over at **460** and All. does not need to give him detailed instructions, for her resumé of the situation at **422ff.** is easily (and impressively) translated into orders and action.

iter../468 indicit The vb. in Enn. and then frequent for declaring war (*Ann.*216; vd. Skutsch); *septies* in Caes. for summoning a council. Perhaps at Liv.6.12.1 for announcing a muster. V.often (and perhaps here) slips in a word from recognisable military language (cf. index s.v.). Why does V. then turn to extended OO (cf. Highet, 342f.)? To avoid Homeric repetition (*Il.*2.23-34, 60-70, Schenk, 311, n.51)? To convey that Tu.'s orders are a direct echo of All.'s speech (Lundström, 70)? Or to offer a further touch of the manner of *commentarii*? Not (Highet, 180, n.137) a passage V. meant later to 'work up' in OR! Cf. **471**.

ad regem..Latinum Cf. 11.17 *iter ad regem nobis murosque Latinos* (no verb), 3.507 *unde iter Italiam* (no preposition either; likewise 6.126, 542): V. uses *iter* in place of *ire* and after *indicit* thus avoids an infinitive which would anticipate and thus weaken the effect of the formidable sequence dependent on **468 iubet**.

polluta pace *Vel sua vel Troianorum* remarks Serv., hesitantly, and this doubt lingers (vd. Conington, Paratore, Fordyce). V. writes here entirely from Turnus' viewpoint, and that must determine our interpretation of these words (Lundström, 70f. is helpful). It cannot, therefore, be the **pax** of **153, 266** etc.(Trojans and Latinus); it cannot either be peace between Rutuli/Latins and some other power (Romans/Etruscans), for no state of peace existed (**421**) and **pace** here must therefore refer to relations between Tu. and Latinus (between whom All. has just been sowing discord, **422-34**); for **polluta** thus, Lundström, *cit.* and Fordyce quote 3.61 and 5.5f.. TCD has seen the point clearly: *moueri non debuit, quem socerum cupiebat, sed dicta est causa propter quam fieri conueniret. polluerat, inquit, pacem, hoc est primus pacis iura uiolauerat. Accedebat alia causa, quia hoc Turnus non sua uoluntate, sed impulsu Furiae cogebatur efficere; quippe ipsa dixerat..*(citing **432ff.**). Tu. appears (for V. only sketches in lightly this secondary sequence of events) to be resorting to the threat of force to bring Lat. into line, just as Allecto/Calybe had bidden him in the first place (again, Lundström, 70 has grasped the issue); cf. **577 Turnus adest**.

468 primis iuuenum Cf. 8.105 *iuuenum primi*, 9.785, 11.234 (and

Hor.*Ep.* 1.20.23 *primis urbis*); Hom. πρῶτοιςι.

iubet Taking up All.'s bidding **armari pubem portisque moueri/..para** (429f.): while we would have enjoyed the precise verbal echo, had V. indeed written **iube** at 430, it seems unlikely that he ever did, and the desire to introduce such internal echoes could wreak yet more chaos than it already has in the text of V. (cf. Günther, 16ff. and *id.*, *Herm.* 124 (1996), 213ff.), if not kept firmly in check!

arma parari A favourite assonance (cf. 430, 2.181, 11.18 and note 5.108, 8.400).

469 tutari Italiam Not a word of Lavinia, of the succession to Latinus, of personal ambition or passion; Tu. represents—diplomatically, but not dishonestly—his cause as national and patriotic (cf. Lundström, 72; for Tu. as ‘champion of Italy, see *Companion*, 210, with n.119, citing 436, 9.137, 11.116, 12.14f., 359ff.). The verb (old and common) is not a favourite with V. (cf. 2.677, *EV* 5*, 309).

detrudere finibus The verb *ter* in Lucr.; *sexies* in V., notably 6.584 *superisque Iouem detrudere regnis*. *Fines* quite often in V. with this emotive/patriotic flavour (Gualandri, *EV* 2, 527): cf. *Buc.* 1.3, 67, *Aen.* 1.620, 4.616. Fordyce well notes the change from passive to active infinitives; an issue of Virgilian style we do not fully understand (*Companion*, 226f. on 3.60f.).

hostem The right moment and the right word: the Trojans as national enemy. Cf. 10.66, 12.233, 582, **7.723**.

470 se satis..uenire Cf. Lucil. 1147 *cui si coniuret populus vix totus satis est*, Lucr. 1.241 *leti satis esset causa*, and Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* on 4.8.32. The pres. infin. where, formally, a future might be expected (Lundström, 72, citing 4.425, 487) is quite unremarkable (433) and might possibly be introduced here as more usual in spoken language (vd. e.g. V. Väännänen, *Intr. au Latin vulgaire*, (Paris 1967), 141). *Venire*: ‘the impact of someone (cf. 6.687!) or something appearing in an unexpected or striking guise’ (Fordyce, after Shackleton Bailey on Prop. 1.10.25); so often in cletic contexts (NH on C. 1.2.30); **u.** is *constructio ad sensum* (itself possibly a means of characterisation!) after **iubet**; by this point we have forgotten that a simple verb of speaking did not precede.

ambobus Teucris..Latinis Cf. 316, 1.458, 12.136; awkward forms of pronouns not avoided when necessary to make a point (both groups again at 10.759). Tu. now is not only defender of Italy but as such thinks he also has a *casus belli* against Latinus!

..que..que ‘Has Ennian colour and imitates the Homeric τε..τε’, Harrison, with ample bibliography at 10.91. Only here in V. though, is the second *-que* followed both by a strong pause and by hypermetric synaloepha (contrast 10.895, without pause; to Harrison’s n. on the synaloepha there, add Cupaiuolo, *EV* 2, 377, Wills, 372ff.). On 6.601 Norden wrote ‘die überhängende Vers malt das Überhängen des Felsblocks’, and Lundström (73f.) suggests that here too the hypermeter is finely calculated; though Latins and Trojans themselves are not yet—unlike Tu.—in motion (as L. seems not to recognise). V. may, though, in some way be ‘depicting’ the final lurch into violent action.

471 haec ubi dicta dedit *Dictis dedit* at Enn.*trag.*258, *dicta lingua dulcia datis* Plaut.*Truc.*180, Lucil.18 *haec ubi dicta, dedit pausam*, Lucr. 5.53 *dare dicta*; Ennian, therefore, suggests Norden on 6.628, with some credibility. For the formula with variations in *Aen.*, cf. Moskalew, 65, n.82 (in full, as here, *octies*; cf. **323**); elsewhere, to conclude OR, but that is no reason (*pace* Highet, 342, Lundström, 72f.) to damn the passage as unfinished.

diuosque in uota uocauit The second formula (cf. **542**, 3.69, 4.291f., 10.888, Norden, 381, Worstbrock, 130ff., *EV* 3, 16f.(Calboli), 994 for such parallel subordinations, possibly colloquial in origin), calling the gods to witness his *uota* (‘vows’) for victory, (as a Roman general may do on taking up command, e.g. Liv.7.11.4, 10.19.17, Hickson, 98f.), continues the alliteration of the first: cf. *G.*1.157, *Aen.* 5.234, 514, **7.597**, 12.780. However, curiously enough, it does not, despite appearances, seem to be attested in archaic texts.

472 certatim Cf. **146**.

sese..exhortantur in arma An easy and natural way of saying ‘each other’, first here (LHS, 177); *ipsi se* and *inter se* are older, and in poetry cf. Enn.*trag.*137, *Aen.*11.632. The verb is apparently a Virgilian invention (*quater* in *Aen.*), but the scene is conventional: cf. the picture at Sall.*Cat.*6.5 *at Romani domi militiaeque intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obuiam ire*, Liv.6.24.7, 10.5.3, 36.10; cf. Caes. *BG* 6.40.4; Gk. παρακελεύεσθαι.

Rutuli Distinguish **623ff.**: this is still Turnus’ quarrel (and thus his people’s).

473 hunc../474 hunc..hunc For the grammar of a body subdivided, cf. Enn.*Ann.*573, *trag.*120f., LHS, 181f.; the use of *hic..hic* is in origin spoken, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 340, n.. Cf. 1.751f. and Clausen, *THP*, 31 for the inverted tricolon; R.Thomas in Stahl, 283f. sees an

element of archaic epigram (cf. **1-4**) in the choice and presentation of Tu.'s virtues/qualities, though they are hardly unhomeric, either.

decus egregium formae Tu.'s beauty is a significant element in V.'s portrayal: cf. **55, 649f.** **Decus** as of Aen. at 4.150 (*tantum egregio decus enitet ore*) and cf. Laber.120 *decorem formae*; compare too Pacuv. *trag.*230f. *mulier egregiissima/ forma*, Lucr.5.1170 *egregias..facies*, Aen. 6.861 *egregium forma iuuenem*, 10.435 *egregii forma*, 12.275.

mouet A favourite with V. from G.4.505 on (Fo, *EV* 3, 608), in the sense of 'rouse, stir, move'; so too (e.g.) Ter.*Heaut.*939, Lucr.4.722, Cat.42.21.

atque Unelided ('an archaic and solemn tone', Ross, 38) : to the ample bibl. collected by Harrison on 10.51f. add Platnauer (**524**), 78ff.(though it should not be thought that many of the statistics hitherto published are quite reliable); Axelson (84) acutely noticed that there are only 8 cases in Aen.1-6, against 27 in 7-12 (cf. *Companion*, 233, n.75 for objective differences between earlier and later books).

iuuentae Cf. **420, 435, 446.**

474 atauis reges Cf. 12.529f. and Hor.C.1.1.1 *atauis..regibus*; Paratore confidently asserts the influence of Hor., though the priority of V. does seem no less possible (and why should he not have been writing some of Aen.7 in 23, the likely date of C.1.1, NH, xxix?). Cf. **56**, Traina, *EV* 5*, 325, Mackie (**410**), 262f. for Tu.'s genealogy.

claris dextera factis Cf. **421, 423, 426**: a major motif in Calybe/Allecto's speech. The warrior's right hand at least at *trag.inc.*28, and it seems pure chance (cf. δεξιὰ, δεξιτέρη, *Il.*22.320; rare, though, in Hom.) that there are no other early attestations. Though *clara facta* are Catullan (64.348; cf. Lucr.1.119) here there is clearly enallage, Tu.'s *dextera* is *clara* because of its *facta*. So Hor.C.3.1.7 *clari Giganteo triumpho*.

475-539 Macrobius (5.17.1ff.) preserves a vigorous and extended criticism of this passage, unfair, amusing, and as paraphrase nearly accurate enough (vd.Paratore on **476**, who squares up to Macr. on his own terms) to justify the remorseless frequency with which it is cited: 'eine solche Kritik..der besten Zeit angehören muss' opined Norden (*EuV*, 3), perhaps correctly (no precise answer is possible; cf. **406-474**). Heyne (on **475ff.**) and Heinze (190-2) (e.g.), decided to improve upon Macr.'s critique and analysis of the passage has thus adopted an unhelpfully defensive posture, though the Trojans are now likelier to be condemned as imperialist aggressors (cf. though Moorton (**681**), 105,112 against (e.g.) W.R.Nethercut, *GR* 15(1968),

93, exaggerating in reaction to exaggeration) and the passage is often read as an externally-imposed perversion of Italy's pre-Trojan pastoral ideal (e.g. Hardie on 9.607f., Lyne, *WP*, 142, E.Vance, *Arethusa* 14(1981), 135; cf. now M.C.J.Putnam, (**483**, 1995), 107ff. = *Virgil's epic designs* (New Haven 1998), 97ff.). Attempts at a more balanced evaluation exist (Feeney, 172; cf. Griffin (**492**), 66 = 171f., O'Hara (**817**) 216f., 224, Setaioli, 264, Thome, 169ff., Hardie *GR*, 61; cf. *Companion*, 160f.) but are too brief, understated or unfashionable to make much headway against a critical tide. The complexity of what V. is doing, on a small scale, and with unusually varied sources has left much modern discussion underinformed of the detailed texture of what follows. V., *pace* Macrobius, can hardly not have thought of Hom. (who has one tame animal, Argus, raised indeed as a hunting dog (*Od.*17.291ff.; deer are specified, v.295), who dies tragically in a memorable episode, one indeed in which there is also a swineherd (contrast Tyrrhus, the head-cowherd) of prime importance, Eumaeus. V. finds in the Aeneas-legend not only Tyrrhus (**485**; one wonders whether the role of Faustulus in the Romulus-story was also in mind: cf. Bremmer, *RMM*, 31), but a clash between Trojans and Latins over plunder (Cat.*Orig.*fr.10HRR; vd.Schröder *ad loc.*). Ascanius' hunt is irreproachably epic and Augustan (cf. **651**, **746f.**); hounds are not only no less epic (vd. **483**, *ad fn.*; add Agamemnon's deer-hunt in the *Cypria*: cf. F.Jouan, *Euripide et les légendes des chants Cypriens* (Paris 1966), 266, O.Touchefeu, *LIMC* 1.1, 262 on Proclus' summary and Soph.*El.*564ff.) but belong also to the menagerie or symbolism of Erinyes, Lyssa, Keres, and Hecate (and hence Allecto): cf. H.Sarian, *LIMC* 3.1.826 (Erinys), 6.1.994f. (Hecate), the scene of Lyssa and the death of Actaeon (*LIMC* s.v., n°81 = s.v. *Lyssa*, n°1; cf. also Eur.*Ba.*977, with Roux on 977-90), Gruppe, 406(Keres), 765, n.8 (Erinyes), 1288, n.7 (Hecate). Cf. Shapiro (**323-40**), 168ff.. Most typically Hellenistic (and epigrammatic) are the description of the stag (much more often *GP* than *HE*) and of the fuss made of him by Tyrrhus' family (**483**), while the debt to bucolic has if anything been overstated and misunderstood: there are a few details for which parallels in Theocr. exist (**488**, **489**, **492**: not actual reminiscences) and the many points of contact with *Buc.*(**478**, **488**, **489**, **491**, **492**, **495 bis**, **512**, **515**) show V. reworking colour, detail and language from the earlier collection: the scenery at least is familiar. But the shepherds are much less so and those who read the passage as though V. had written *ardet inexcita Arcadia atque immobilis ante* at **623** miss the

point; Tyrrhus and his sons are real, rough Italian rustics, necessarily hunters themselves (**480**) and brothers-in-arms of Turnus' allies in the Catalogue; the detail of the alarm Allecto raises and of their militant reaction leaves us in no doubt (**502 bis**, **504 bis**, **506f.**, **510**, **513**, **520**, **521**, **522**): V. displays ample antiquarian knowledge of primitive musters in Italy and fully sufficient awareness of the very small step from a countryman's natural tools to armament sufficient for an unexpected skirmish (cf. Tarleton (**817**) for the wide diffusion of such awareness). In Theocr., CS and even *Buc.* there are elements of rough, rustic verism, that neglected side of bucolic writing (but cf. G.Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian poetry* (Beckenham 1987), 168 et *passim*) which V. here develops to unprecedented levels, *pace* (e.g.) Putnam (**483**). It is not helpful (cf. Griffin, Setaioli, *citt.*) to regard this 'reversion to pastoral' as a means towards reducing or compressing the episode (Wimmel (**551**), 48f., (**817**), 227ff.); a non-*Buc.* vision (yet one which contains *Buc.*-echoes) of country life is but one element in a most complex 'Kreuzung der Gattungen', in which V. passes from peace to war in sixty lines, with no diminution of significant detail, and a remarkable augmentation of emotional intensity (cf. Hardie *GR*, *cit.*). The other 'missing' element in analyses of this passage is historiography: cf., for a start, **482 causa**, with n. on **553**: V. offers an explanation involving chance (**494**; cf. **deus 498**), individual motives (**482**, **496**), the royal entourage (Tyrrhus) and women (Silvia); cf. A.J.Woodman, *Rhetoric in classical historiography* (Beckenham 1988), 83ff. on Cic.'s views and Plb.12 *passim* on Timaeus.

The structure of the episode is meticulous:

475-482: introduction; Allecto draws near Iulus.

483-495: ecphrasis of **ceruus**; started by Iulus' hounds.

496-510: deer wounded; Silvia (**487**, **503**) raises alarm; improvised rush to arms.

511-524: Allecto's horn-blast; vast spread of action; both sides rush to battle.

525-539: real battle and the first casualties.

Much, lastly, has been made of the similarity between the stag's death and the simile of 4.69ff.: Dido compared to a deer wounded by a (poisoned) Cretan arrow (cf. Pöschl, 79ff.): *vd.* (e.g.) A.J.Boyle in (ed.*id.*) *Roman epic* (London 1993), 93, Griffin, *loc.citt.*, Lyne, *FV*, 199f., Gleib, 320f.. Like father, like son, it is said: Aen. wounds with love (hardly like Cupid, though: cf. 1.715ff.) and Dido dies; Asc. wounds with a bow and the stag dies. Trojans guilty as charged, on

both counts. But (cf. *Companion*, 124f.) V. is never quite as naive as that, ethically: Dido is consistently portrayed as the active seducer, yet she is also the victim of love's poison. Asc., complains Rocca (492), is hunting for sport (496), not, like his father (1.184ff.), for the barbecue (1.212). But is that, in ancient terms, wrong? V.'s detail sets the episode in a recognised grey area of legal responsibility (489, 492), as careful ancient readers realised (though Rocca confuses Macr. and TCD). To trivialise the poet's typical indirection by convenient and ethically 'correct' oversimplification seems a travesty of the careful reading this passage requires: V.'s sympathy for wounded humans/beasts does not reduce the fact that Dido is also a great seducer and Ascanius a keen (and not ethically or legally indefensible) young huntsman in the best Augustan tradition (651).

475 dum Turnus Rutulos.. Cf. 540 for this economical technique of shifting focus between simultaneous events. At 472, it was the Rutuli who roused themselves to war, but 460 and 473f. should be enough to satisfy the captious reader.

animis audacibus Cf. 1.11 *animis caelestibus*: like (abl.) *audacia*, *caelestium* is unsuited to dactylic verse (cf. 11.715, to avoid *superbia*; contrast, though, 814). Acc.*trag.*645 has *animo audaci*. As at 4.615, *bello audacis populi uexatus* and 9.519, the Rutulians display their leader's principal quality. In V., *audacia* is not of necessity morally negative (cf. —e.g.— *G.*1.40, *Aen.*5.67, 6.95), but 'a rash boldness' (Hardie on 9.3), though potentially a merit in heroic war, is no commendation at the level of the traditional language of Roman public life or in V.'s soberly Augustan conception of the virtues of the hero as public man (cf. *EV* 5*, 327 (Traina), with ample bibliography; see especially, Clausen, *THP*, 85, Schenk, 34ff. et *passim*, C.Wirszubski, *JRS* 51(1961), 12ff., Traina, *cit.*(343), 498=148f.).

implet Cf. 3.434 *animum si ueris implet Apollo*, 11.448 *magnisque urbem terroribus implet*, Liv.1.31.6 *religionibusque etiam populum impleret*.

476 Allecto.. As at 341 and 408, she is dominant; cf. 541: the rigorous formal unity of these scenes derives from an undeviating concentration on All. as the action's mainspring.

in Teucros..se concitat *Se iactare* paraphrases Gudeman (*TLL* 4.64.78f.), for All. is a divinity to whom dignity matters little; cf. Liv. 7.33.14, 8.39.7, 22.17.6 (though in other senses the verb is in e.g. Acc. and Lucr.). The prepos. suggests both 'towards' and 'against'.

Stygiis..alis Cf. 408, 561; the adj. also of Tisiphone (*G.*3.551) and the Harpies (*Aen.*3.215); cf. Thome, 194f.. The old strong punctua-

tion (Heyne, Ribbeck) after **alis** inexplicably survives (thus Paratore); once it is realised that **speculata** explains **se concitat**, all justification is removed and down to **478 Iulus**, the fewer pauses to interrupt All.'s swoop the better: the flurry of commas in **477** (Mynors, Geymonat) is superfluous; certainly the first ('I fear this is no more nor less than a misprint', Mynors, *per litt.!*) and probably the second—vd. *infra*—can go.

477 arte noua Cf. **338 mille nocendi artes**, **765 arte nouercae**, Thome, 109ff.; vd. (e.g.) 1.657, 2.106, 152, 11.716, 760 for *ars* in the same semantic field as *dolus* (which may not be quite grave enough for All., to whom it is never applied).

speculata The verb has a military tone (10.290 with Harrison; once in Caes., twice in Sall., common in Liv.). Compare *Buc.3.68f. namque notauit ipse locum,..quo*

locum quo litore So *Buc.3, cit.*, and (*passim*) *locus/locos ubi*; cf. too **158 moliturque locum, primasque in litore sedes**. Elsewhere, V. achieves a closely comparable sense by parataxis (cf. **131**), but here Fordyce (citing instances from *Cat.* and *V.*) well draws attention to an elegant poetic variation upon the archaic/ official/popular repetition of the antecedent within the rel. clause (cf. *KS 2, 283f.*, *LHS 563*, e.g. *Vitr.1.4.11 in paludibus..quae paludes ..eaeque paludes*): in this idiom, the antecedent is repeated, implicitly, with the use not of actual repetition (in the *Wills* sense!) but of a less obtrusive near-synonym (cf. also e.g. *G.1.184, Aen. 1. 550, 7.21, 282, 348, 409, 9.361*). *Litus*, *pace* E.Wistrand, *Nach innen oder nach aussen* (Göteborg 1946), 36ff., is not limited to sea or lake (cf. **798**, *Numicus, 8.43, Tiber, G.2.112*, with Mynors' n., *OLD s.v. §1c*)

pulcher/ 478 ..Iulus Beauty underlined by hyperbaton: cf. **649** for V.'s singular insistence on the beauty of his heroes; Iulus is no less attractive than his Latin contemporaries: 'formulaic' (cf. **107, 9.293, 310**) in V. need not imply 'mechanical', for just the same point is made quite differently—demonstrating, therefore, its thematic importance—at 1.709 and 5.546. Cf. *Moskalew 81ff.*, *Worstbrock, 186ff.*. As a huntsman, Iulus will prove to have made progress since 4.155-9.

478 insidiis cursuque *Cursu agitabat: nam insidiis circumuenimus, non agitamus* remarks *Serv.* rightly; zeugma (vd. *index infra s.v.*), that is (also 'syllepsis': vd. *Ind.Serv.ss.vv.*, *LHS, 823f.*). Here *cursus* suggests the Roman usage of hunting deer on foot (for the bow, vd. **497**) contrast the exotic, Afro-Levantine technique of 4.152ff.; *Capponi, EV 1, 590*,

J.Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines* (Paris 1951), 122, 347): cf. Varr.*Men.*293, *G.*3.409, *Aen.*5.253; cf. Hor.*Ep.*1.18.51, Aymard, 347, Smith on (Tib.)4.3.12 (though TCD thinks of the *cursus* of horses and hounds). **Insidiis** suggests (see *Buc.*5.60, *G.*1.307, 3.413, *Aen.*4.131, Capponi, *cit.*, Aymard, 334f., 341f.) a (concealed) net or *formido* (cf. *G.*3.371f. with Mynors' n., *Aen.*12.750, Ov.*F.*5.173 with Bömer's n.), a rope strung with red feathers to scare the deer into the nets. *Insidiae* (Hubbard, *TLL* 7.1.1889.69f.) belong to the jargon of the hunter (Lucil.1320, Cic.*Fam.*2.11.2, *G.*1.271, *Aen.*12.752, Tib.1.4.49 (*insidiis* and *retia* may be used as near-synonyms), Ov.*Ars* 1.766, Gratt.*Cyn.*91) even if their exact sense in a deer-hunt remains unclear.

feras agitabat The verb regular, even technical of hunting (Hey, *TLL* 1.1330.54): cf. Cic.*Off.*3.68, *Arat.*124, Hor.*C.*2.13.40, 3.12.10, Virg.*G.*3.372, 409, 415, etc.. The fem.*fera* (sc. the prosy *bestia/ belua*: *EV* 2, 501, Axelson, 52): is vastly commoner (Naev., Enn., Acc., Cat., Lucr., Cic.) than the masc.: 25 instances in V..

479 hic With **quo litore** disentangled, there is no difficulty in taking **hic** as 'at this point'.

subitam..rabiem Speed is characteristic of supernatural intervention: *G.*4.554, *Aen.*2.680, 692, 3.137, 225f., 5.522f., **7.67**, **95**, 8.81 and this is particularly true of the onset of possession: cf. **446**, 4.697, 6.47, 12.599, (*G.*4.488). Compare Paus.10.23.7, Theocr. *Syr.*14, *HOrph.*11.23 (the use of οἷςτρος-language is evidently significant): cf. W.-H.Roscher, *Ephialtes* (*SBLepzig* 20.2,1900), 80ff., J.Tamborino, *de antiquorum daemonismo* (*RVV* 7.3, Giessen 1909), 58; the same goes for love: Turyn (**446**), 42f.. Serv. comments *studium mutauit in rabiem*, TCD (on **480**) *ad naturalem rabiem canum qua feras persequi fuerant soliti nocitura Furia adiecit augmentum* (and to make quite sure, saw to it that the hounds picked up the scent). 'A sudden madness' (Feeney, 172)? Though *rabies* is proper to All. (**451**), that (cf. Thome, 169) is a little too simple: in V., animal *rabies* is neither hydrophobia (except at *G.*3.496) nor Sibylline exaltation: cf. rather *G.*2.151, *Aen.*1.200, 2.357, 6.421, 9.64, Prop.3.16.17, Ov.*Ars* 2.374, Liv.26.13.12. In V. the word carries a frequent association (but clearly not so here) with hunger. The dogs' *rabies* (cf. **rabidae**, **493**) sets them beyond their young master's control: such frenzied excitement is both perfectly natural (cf. further Xen.*Cyn.*6.16, DChrys. *orat.* 7.17) and utterly typical of Allecto.

canibus../480 obicit So of sops to Cerberus, 6.421 (tossed, but not so here; cf. **347**, **456** on the similarly polyvalent *conicere*), and cf. (e.g.)

Varr.*RR* 2.5.17 (fodder for calves). All. offers the hounds a taste of frenzy with the standard word (*saepius*, Varr., Colum.) for providing feed on the farm.

Cocytia uirgo Elevated mythological periphrasis (Lunelli-Kroll, 43f.) of a very familiar type (Moskalew, 84), metrically most handy; for All., home (562); cf. Thome, 200 (might V. have thought of Enn.'s *Discordia*, *paluda uirago*? *Ann.*220; cf. 540-640).

480 noto..odore Terrible events in a context of underscored familiarity (the adj. also at 491, 500); *G.*1.307ff., 3.43f., 404ff. show V.'s awareness of the centrality of hunting in country life; Varr.*RR* 2.9.2, and Colum.7.12.2 glance warily at the hunt as a dangerous distraction from the serious business of farming!

naris contingit The alliteration of n is marked and unusual (might there even be a hint of sniffing?). The vb. already in Enn.(*trag.* 307); commonly with the part of the body that touches in abl., but cf. Liv.25.16.13, Ov.*F.*6.636, so perhaps not unusual enough to be called hypallage. Is All.'s intervention necessary for the hounds to pick up the scent? Cf. 494f.

481 ceruum..agerent For the verb in various hunting contexts, cf. 1.191, 4.71, Hor.*Epd.*6.7, Ov.*Ars* 3.428, *Met.*2.491.

ardentes Cf. 781, of Tu.'s horses; see 355, 392 for the fire of actual madness in bk.7.

quae prima.. / 482 causa Cf. 553 for this recurrent, contemporary, historiographical preoccupation; presumably **rabiem** is the antecedent of **quae**. Compare *Il.*22.116 ἢ τ' ἔπλετο νείκεος ἀρχή (with Richardson's note).

laborum The Trojans' at 117, Turnus' at 421; here, unspecified, as the hounds' action leads directly (504ff.) to the first violence.

482 belloque..incendit Cf. 550 **accendam**; the fire of war-madness now potentially in both hounds and men. The abl. (and not dat. of purpose, as Fordyce suggests, without regard for the verb's usage) as at 550 **insani Martis amore**, 1.660, 4.197, Liv.2.6.1 *incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum*, 4.25.13 *ingenti certamine patres ac plebem accendit*. For *incendere*, cf. 295.

animos..agrestis The adj. for the intractable and humbler gen. *agrestium* (on which vd. 681); Bell, 216.

483 ceruus erat The ecphrastic character of what follows is clear enough (M.C.J. Putnam (475-539, 1995), 111=(*ib.*, 1998), 99; while Henry on 1.151 remarks that the narrative here does not advance between 481 and 493, thanks to a digression, signalled as often by

repetition, **canibus** (479)..**canes** (494): the spread of ecphrastic style and organisation of material into narrative has been underestimated; here V. takes up **483** at **493 hunc**. Compare e.g. 1.12ff. *urbs antiqua fuit*., 441ff., 2.513ff., 4.457ff., 6.237ff., 7.170ff., 8.193ff., 9.86ff., 381ff., 11.849ff., to cite but the clearest cases with *fuit* (cf. Dingel on 9.381). The origins of V.'s hunt-sequence are discussed at **475—539**, but Silvia's stag is of particular interest. (Excessive) devotion to animals is already pilloried by Thphr.*Char.*21.9 (cf. DS 13.82, Petr. 71.11, Ael.*VH* 8.4) and the tone of V.'s lines may be compared in particular to the sequence of epigrams on pets, *AP* 7.189-216 (notably to Meleager, *HE* 4320ff. = *AP* 7.207; vd. *CR* 29(1979), 223, *Alambicco*, 23, 110: cf. loss of mother, flowers, anomalous feeding and death in both texts). On the epigrams as a group, vd. GP, *HE* 2, 90f. and for an actual deer-epitaph cf. the late poem, *Anecd.Gr.*(ed.J.A.Cramer) 4(Oxford 1841), 340 = *Anth.Pal.* ed.E.Cougnny 3(Paris 1890), 154, n°387). Ovid's Cyparissus (*Met.*10.106ff.; cf. C.Connors, *CJ* 88(1992), 12) is yet another whelp of the same litter. Note also Sertorius' famous pet hind (Plut.*Sert.*11, etc.).The deer-hunt is of itself Homeric (*Il.*10.360ff., *Od.*6.104, etc.), but comparison with 1.184ff. will show how profoundly epigram and bucolic have transformed V.'s treatment here.

forma praestanti Cf. (often of bulls, once of Tu.) **783 praestanti corpore**, *Ov.Her.* 3.35; presumably abl. of description, therefore, and not dependent on **ingens** (so rightly Conington, Fordyce). An anticipation of *Aen.*12 and Turnus' end (vd. the deer simile, 749ff.; cf. A.J.Boyle, in (ed.*id.*), *Roman epic* (London 1993), 93)? Cf. Putnam (785, 1970), 418 = (756, 1995), 107; cf. (475-539, 1998), 97. Vix.

cornibus ingens Cf. *G.*3.14, *Aen.*3.462, 8.258, 11.641 for *ingens* rendered specific by an abl.; R.Cormier, *CW* 86(1993), 495f. finds an indication of the time of year in the state of the stag's antlers.

484 Tyrrhidae Their father, though, is Tyrrhus, not Tyrrheus; the *i* is therefore lengthened *metri gratia*, as in *Aenides*, 9.653, and *Ov.*'s *Coroniden* at *Met.*15.624, or *Oleniden* (from Olenus), 12.433; Fordyce compares *Belidae*, 2.82 (*EV* s.v. *Patronimici* is incomplete). See Pfeiffer on *Call.frr.*75.32, 384.40 and in particular Gow on *Theocr.*17.14 for the history of this 'liberty'. Cf. **631** for the equally convenient laxity which obtains in the prosody of toponyms.

pueri Not so much 'sons' (*EV* 4, 341, *Aen.*2.598, 4.94), for that is implicit in the patronymic, as 'boys'; their pet when they were small,

and now that they are of an age to fight and die, still dear to them (cf. **162**, 5.602, 9.605, *EV* 4, 342).

quem For anastrophe of the relative, cf. **659**.

matris ab ubere raptum Cf. Meleager, *cit.*(**483**), *G.3.187 depulsus ab ubere matris*, 6.428 *ab ubere raptos*, *Ov.F.4.459 uitulo..ab ubere rapto*. The significant echo (in an altered significance) of bk.6 seems to have been neglected (not in e.g. Moskalew); there, the phrase refers to the ἄωροι, while here Silvia's stag seems to have been rescued after its dam's death (?in another hunt), only itself soon to die. In any case, a recognised means of animal-taming: Eudem. *ap.* Ael. *NA* 4.45, E. Coughy, E.Saglio, *DS* 1.1, 696 (imprecise but excellent).

485 nutribant A common and metrically indispensable form of the imperfect: cf. **790**. Note the involvement of the whole family, though the elaborate chiasmic sequence brothers-father-daughter(*bis*)-father-brothers is surely fortuitous: **484**, **485**, **487**, **503**, **508**, **532**.

Tyrrhusque pater An exceptional case of V. inheriting a minor character from the Aeneas-legend (cf. *GR* 34(1987), 48): Tyrrhus is the foreman of Latinus' swineherds (as Τυρρηνός) at *DH* 1.70.2 and *magistrum patrii* [Latinus'] *pecoris* at *OGR* 16.1 (vd. G.Brugnoli, *EV* 4, 854f., 5*,189f., though the further complications of the story may be post-Virgilian contaminations); *nomen Tyrrhi ab historicis traxit* Asper *ap.*Schol.Ver. *ad Aen.*7.485 (cf. A.Tomsin, *Étude sur le comm. d'AA*(Paris 1952), 71f.). What his name (like Tu.'s, **783**) might suggest about an Etruscan presence among the Rutuli is not clear, *pace* Della Corte, 235, J.Gagé, *REL* 55(1977), 102ff..

cui..parent The poet seems to take frisky delight in devising lofty periphrases for humble objects, acts and occupations (cf. **107-47**, §iii, index s.v. euphuism). Tyrrhus, mind, is no mere *upilio* or *bubulcus* (cf. *Ov.Met.*11.348, *F.3.61* for analogous stylistic 'elevations'), but clearly (as **lati..campi** makes clear) a *magister pecoris* (*Varr.RR* 2.2.20), a figure of local note, to give further effect to the death of his daughter's pet.

regia.. / 486 armenta Not merely *regis*, but the loftier adj. **regia** (hence, 'frisky', *supra*; a word predictably dear to V. in his more exalted manner: e.g. **668**, 1.677, 5.252, 11.447); *Ov.* tries yet harder with *regale* at *Met.*2.842.

486 late F₂γVω Serv., **lati F₁MRa** *utrumque* TCD. The gen. is very much *facilior lectio*, a combination notably common in poetic texts (*G.1.492*, *Aen.*6.887, 10.408, 11.465, *Hor.C.* 3.11.9 etc.), whereas the advb. is peculiarly in V.'s manner and should certainly be read here:

cf. 1.181 *late..petit*, 2.495 *late loca milite complent*, 4.42 *lateque furentes Barcaeii*, 409 *litora feruere late*.

custodia..campi Cf. Sall. *Ep.Mithr.*8 *custodiae agri captiui*, G.4.327 *pecudum custodia*. Ov.*F.*1.119 *uasti custodia mundi*.

credita Cf. Just.12.12.3, but just possibly also the proper legal term for entrusting the supervision of something: cf. Modest.*Dig.*48.3.14.1. For the triple alliteration, cf. **190**.

487 adsuetum imperiis Cf. (e.g.) Gratt.*Cyn.*328, Stat.*Silv.*2.5.3, Apul.*Flor.*12, Claud. *carm. min.*18.2 for *imperium* exercised over animals; the verb is often used of the habits animals acquire (von Mess, *TLL* 2.907.83, Varr.*RR* 2.9.5, Cic.*Rep.*2.67 (the docile elephant), Caes.*Gall.*6.28.4).

soror..Siluia Cf. 4.634 *Annam..sororem*, 8.157 *Hesionae..sororis*. Serv. well remarks *bonum puellae rusticae nomen formauit*; but also a name of high resonances, for both Aen.'s son by Lavinia who *in siluam profugit* (*OGR* 16.1; a hint at *Aen.*6.765, O'Hara, 177) and Ascanius' son, *casu quodam in siluis natus* (Liv.1.3.6), were named Silvius and *mansit Siluiis postea omnibus cognomen* (ib.). Cf. further 9.673, 10.417. The motif of exposure of the king's son (cf. J.N.Bremmer, *RMM*, 27ff.) itself engenders a family name, perfectly in keeping with V.'s general picture of Latium at Aen's arrival (not to mention—**82**, **172**, **387**—the prevalence of woodland in the landscape). V. makes explicit, for future use, the involvement of the entire family in their stag's well-being.

omni..cura Cf. G.3.229 *omni cura*, *Aen.*6.654f. *quae cura nitentis/ pascere equos*; see **483** for the excesses of ancient theriophiliacs.

488 mollibus..sertis So Tib.1.7.52, 2.2.6, Prop.3.1.19, Ov. *F.*5.340; the same adj. of the *thyrsus* at **390**, in tactile contrast to the hard, fighting horn. No surprise if both words were favourites with Gallus (*Buc.*10.41f.).

intexens Cf. *Buc.*5.31 *et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas* (Dionysiac), G.2.221 *intexet uitibus ulmos*.

ornabat cornua The main verb too belongs to the lexicon of pastoral (*Buc.*6.68, 7.25) as does the decoration of the pet (cf. Theocr. 11.41, CS 6.32ff., 38), though Ov.*Met.*2.867, 10.113ff., VF 6.71, Ps. Arist.*Mir. ausc.*110, and the artistic evidence quoted by O.Keller, *Thiere des class. Altertums* (Innsbruck 1887), 90 with J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman life and art* (London 1973), pl.70 suggest that pet-adoring reality and pastoral convention were not at all far apart.

489 pectebatque ferum *Ferum natura dixit, non moribus* TCD.; there remains, though, an element of oxymoron, for V. has after all used a

general term evocative of the stag's wild origin; *feris*, though, also of Neptune's team at 5.818 and of Hercules' cattle at *Ov.F.*1.556 (Fordyce); both writers (*Plaut.Capt.*116) and lawyers (Gaius, *Dig.* 41.1.5.2ff., G.McLeod, in *New perspectives in the Roman law of property. Essays for Barry Nicholas* (Oxford 1989), 170f.), though, realised that wild/tame was an unworkably oversimplified distinction and V. here plays with the ambiguity (cf. further, E.Vance, *Arethusa* 14(1981), 128f.). Combing was routine for the careful animal-owner: cf. *Eur.Hipp.*1.174, *Sil.*13.122, *Stat.Ach.*1.859 (of a 'tamed' lion).

puroque in fonte lauabat Cf. *Buc.*3.97 *omnis in fonte lauabo* after *Theocr.*5.145f.; cf. **662**, *G.*1.272, *Varr. RR* 3.7.5, *Colum.*2.21.2, 6.15.2 for the more realistic view. The *purus fons* (only the best is good enough for Silvia's pet) is a stock element of the *locus amoenus* and hardly metapoetic here; cf. *Buc.*2.59, *Hor.C.*3.16.29, *Ep.*1.10.20, 16.12f., *Ov.Am.* 2.16.2, *F.*2.250, NH on *Hor.C.*2.3.6, 12.

490 ille V. has begun with human care lavished on the stag; now he passes to the stag's viewpoint: though used to petting and fixed meal-times, he retains, fatally, some independence.

manum patiens Cf. Gk. χειροθήης, Lat. *mansuetus*; *Serv.* and *Frg. Bob.*, *Gramm.* 5.563.2 (cf. *Prisc.*, *Gramm.*2.364.12ff.) take **p.** as adjectival and **m.** as gen.plur., well comparing 6.653f. *quae gratia currum/ armorumque fuit uiuis*, but this contracted gen.plur. is very rare in classical dactylic poetry (cf. *Ov.M.*12.216(??) and *Mart.*2.5.3, with NW 1, 547f.). The parallelism with **mensaeque adsuetus erili** has (*pace* Norden on 6.653f.) no bearing at all on the case of **m.** (note **manu** in **FM**₁, interesting only as a symptom of scribal perplexity). Henry is likewise quite mistaken in suggesting that sing. **manum** could refer only to a single caress. For participial **patiens** (*G.*2.472, *Hor.C.*1.8.4 *et saep.*) and **manum** as acc., cf. *Ov.Ars* 1.180 *signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus*, *Sen.Ben.*3.2.3 *quae in usu sunt et manum cottidie..patiuntur*, 7.19.6 *a ueris feris et numquam humanum manum passis*, *Luc.*4.239 (so Fordyce) *hominem didicere pati*, *Tert.Resurr.*6 *quotiens manus Dei patitur*. Willingness to accept humans' caresses is the first test of tameness (Cougny, Saglio, *cit.* with n.152, *G.*3.186, *Ov.Met.*2.867, *Sen.Ep.*85.41, *Ira* 2.31.6, *Sil.*4.264, 13.121, 16.356f., *Nemes.Cyn.*296, *Luxurius* 6/292.7, *Non.*483.8ff.etc.).

mensaeque..erili As so often, the loftier adjectival expression; so the dog of VF 7.124 *adsueta toris et mensae dulcis erili*; cf. *Aen.*8.462 *gressumque canes comitantur erilem* for *erus* of an animal's master or owner.

adsuetus Cf. **487**; from the hounds of Priam (*Il.*22.69) on (cf. Varr. *RR* 3.13.3 (Hortensius), *Stat.Silv.*2.4.4f., Dio 79.7.2, SHA *Elag.*21.1, *Ael.NA* 2.11, Luxurius 6/292.7. Cougny, Saglio, *cit.*, *passim*) humans delight in sharing their meals with animals, from affection, affectation, or mental affliction; vd. in particular, E.Esperandieu, *Récueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* 2(Paris 1908), 432f.(n°1666), a stag being fed by a servant at a funeral banquet.

491 errabat siluis Cf. *G.*3.246 (lioness) *erravit campis*, *Aen.*1.184f. *litore ceruos/ ..errantis*, *Buc.*6.40, and of grazing animals, *Buc.*1.9, 2.21.

rursusque ad limina nota The stag's freedom of action causes its death; hence V.'s dwelling on the trust and habit, untouched by fear, which determine its actions. The **tecta** are also **nota** at **500**; 'unconsciously, no doubt'(Fordyce), having just drawn attention, rightly, to V.'s 'affective' use of the adj.(note 2.401, 4.648 *notumque cubile*, 6.499, 689,12.759 *notum..ensem*, 942; cf. Clausen on *Buc.*1.51)! The repetition is of course tragic, calculated and essential to the development of the action (within the **tecta** live Tyrrhus and his valiant family), but the hounds (**480**) have *their* instincts too, incompatibly, and that first use of **noto** is another link in the chain.

492 ipse *Id est sua sponte* Serv.; cf. *Od.*9.451, the *ipsae* of *Buc.*4.21 (with Hor.*Epd.*16.49 *iniussae* (with Mankin's n.), αὐταί Theocr.11.12, *ipsae memores* *G.*3.316 (with Mynors' note), *Stat.Silv.*2.5.4f. *rursusque in claustra reuertit/ suetus* (Domitian's lion). The point is of some importance (Horsfall 1971, 145, McLeod (**489**), 169ff., R.J.Starr, *AJP* 113(1992), 435ff.). Game preserves (for deer, cf. Starr, 436, Varr.*RR* 3.13.2f.) and collections like Hortensius' (**490**) lead perforce to the creation of a body of law to cover what 'tame' animals do, or what is done to them (on deer, cf. in particular Gaius, *Dig.*41.1.5.5, Just. *Inst.*2.1.15; they are wild by nature but remain our property while they have the *reuertendi animum*). TCD 2.75.24ff. (vd.Starr, *cit.*,439) envisages an imaginary trial of Asc. for killing the deer (cf. Geymonat, *EV* 2,8). A real, 'live' issue, therefore, for the ancient reader; recent discussion (cf. **483**, Starr, 435, n.5, S.Rocca, *Etologia virgiliana* (Genova 1983), 147f., J.Griffin, *GR* 26(1979), 66 = id. (**321**, 1985), 170f., R.Thomas, *MD* 29(1992), 67f.) adds only heat to the issues TCD sketches; it is peculiarly Virgilian (*Companion*, 156 et *passim*) to leave the reader hopelessly entangled in an endless sequence of irresolvable moral dilemmas. We only resolve them if, alas, we are convinced we really must.

domum Cf. *Buc.*4.21, *G.*1.182, 2.209, 4.159, Hor.*C.*3.29.37: of

course animals have ‘homes’; the stag’s is Tyrrhus’ too and the pathos of **nota** is increased.

sera..nocte Cf. **16**; it is perhaps a further sign of the trust and liberty the stag enjoys that it is permitted to keep late hours (contrast the use of musical signals for mealtimes at Varr.*RR* 3.13.1, 3, Plb. 12.3.5f.). The ‘echo’ of the *senex Corycius* (*G.4.132f.*) seems (*pace* Putnam (**483**, 1995), 124 = (**475-539**, 1998), 111f.), given that neither word recurs in the same *sedes*, not to be significant.

se..ferebat Already in Enn. (*Ann.537*).

quamuis So too *quamquam* with adj. at 6.394 (cf. LHS 385, *EV* 3, 993).

493 hunc Taking up the ‘*est locus*’ structure noted at **483**.

procul errantem Possibly a significant variation on **491 errantem**; at a distance from Tyrrhus’ farm, Ascanius has less reason to suspect the presence of domesticated animals in the wild, and consequently to keep his hounds in close check.

rabidae../ 494..canes Neither rabid, nor maddened, as we have seen (**479**; taken up here); highly and naturally excited, though, and not necessarily under the close control of the inexperienced Ascanius. The adjective’s position, well prior to the noun, augments this excitement by hyperbaton.

uenantis Iuli The pres. part. used with extreme economy to replace a *dum*—clause (cf. Görler, *EV* 2,270, KS 1, 774ff.; compare e.g. *G.1.246*, 4.31, *Aen.11.802*).

494 commouere Cf. *G.4.471*, *Aen.5.213*; not, I think, a technical term, like ‘start’.

fluio..secundo Which one? The Numicus is too small (particularly in summer, Cormier, **483**) and the Tiber too far off to the NW (*pace* Buchheit, 180), unless we press **procul** or (readily enough) dismiss ‘real’ topography as irrelevant here and leave Maro in his armchair. For the adj. (‘with the current’), cf. **23**, *G.3.447*, *Aen.8.549*, *OLD* s.v. §A2a.

cum../495 deflueret We should not forget that deer take easily to water: Xen.*Cyn.9.20*, Opp.*Cyn.2.217*, *AP* 9.244, 370, 275, D.B.Hull, *Hounds and hunting.* (Chicago 1966), 81, N.Douglas, *Birds and beasts of the Greek Anthology* (London 1929), 27f.. The verb is common enough with a personal subject: cf. *G.3.447 missusque secundo defluit amni*, *Aen.8.549*, Curt.4.8.7 *regem, cum secundo amne deflueret*, Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.363.2f.. But syntax and situation are both (superficially) tricky (so the commentators from La Cerda to Paratore): Asc.’s hounds (**480**)

pick up the stag's scent, but cannot (as we all know) follow it while their quarry is in the water. Has he therefore already returned to dry land? No, because the verbs are of the same tense and *-que*, as often, indicates an alternative (cf. Austin on 2.37, with ample bibliography): in this case, two means of avoiding the heat are mentioned. If we must ask the improper question 'but what if the stag really was in the water?', then the hypothetical answer could be that the hounds *saw* their quarry, gently swimming to relieve the heat, and recovered noisily (with *Allecto's* help?) from their check. V. does not actually tell us where the stag was when started, and the question should never have been asked!

forte 'The force of *forte* is to emphasize coincidence' Fordyce on 509; cf. Austin on 6.186, 682.

495 ripaque..uiridante Cf. G.3.144 *uiridissima gramine ripa*; the verb is Lucretian (2.33, 5.785, 1396; for the word-type, cf. André, 242 and vd. *ib.*184, Edgeworth, 168, *Buc.*9.20 for the 'green shade'(Marvell, cited by Clausen *ad loc.*) implied here.

aestus..leuaret Cf. Hor.C.2.5.7 *solantis aestum* (with NH), 3.1.23, Lucr. 2.29f., *Buc.* 5.46f., Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.63 *aestusque leuare*, *TLL* 7.2.1228.42 (Koster). *δὴ γὰρ μιν ἔχεν μένος ἡελίοιο* says Hom. of the stag coming out of the forest to drink (*Od.*10.160).

496 ipse etiam. /497 Ascanius Despite appearances, not at all formulaic; cf. 548, G.1.450 *hoc etiam*, and 464, 466, 4.144, *Aen.*10.198 *ille etiam*, 11.653 *illa etiam*. Iulus' hounds were mentioned at 493; only now does he enter the action in person (**ipse**; cf. Cat.64.207, *Aen.* 2.146, 4.141, *TLL* 7.2.342.3 (Tietze) for comparable majestic hyperbata) for he too (**etiam**) has his contribution to make to the natural sequence of disaster; the context is bucolic, the content, tragic.

eximiae laudis..amore For the adj., cf. Cat.111.2, Cic.*Cat.*4.21, *Rep.*2.61; note *laudis amor* in Acestes' appeal to Entellus (5.394), Euryalus, who *obstipuit magno laudum percussus amore* (9.197, where Hardie finely notes the influence of Lucr.1.922-5), and Brutus' *laudumque immensa cupido* (6.823; cf. 5.138). Asc.'s boyish eagerness (cf. 4.157ff., 5.667f.) is not, however tragic its results, in the least reprehensible (cf. further 1.461, 5.230, 10.371, 12.49), in the narrower context of an heroic hunt; he has no idea of the stag's antecedents (cf. TCD, 495ff.) or of the Fury's presence and no notion of his shot's eventual consequences; that ignorance might of itself be deemed, again, tragic. A.J.Boyle (*The Chaonian Dove* (*Mnem.* Suppl.94 (1986), 163) is averse to glory in any form, but moral censure of Asc.'s

motives here might seem a bow to dogma just when we need, rather, recognition of the heroic impulse, despite the (entirely unintended but undeniably) tragic consequences.

succensus Lucretian (2.592) and prose hitherto; possibly first here of 'fired by a passion'. In an amatory sense, cf. Prop.1.2.15, 3.19.15. Trojans are 'fired', like Rutuli, though the fire-image is of itself morally neutral.

497 curuo..cornu Cf. Lucil.605 (musical); cf. *Buc.*10.59 (with Clausen's n.), *Aen.*9.606, 11.773, 859, Lyne on *Ciris* 299. An occasional, metrically handy synonym for *arcus*, without, I think, necessarily implying that V. thought of horn used in the making of bows (cf. Malavolta, 126, Saunders, 155). Possibly he has the stag's antlers in mind (Paschalis, 257).

derexit FRγV; direxit F₁My₁ω. The evidence is a good deal complicated by scribal oscillation (as here), but it seems clear (Dittmann, *TLL* 5.1.1232.49ff.) that *derigere* was the *vox propria*: cf. **523**, 10.401, 11.654, *Ov.Met.*12.606, *Sil.*3.273, *Veg.*3.24 (and should therefore also be printed at *Hor.C.*4.9.18).

spicula The metaphor (little bearded ear of corn, *spica*) and the *pars pro toto* (barbed arrow-head: cf. 12.403f., *Il.*11.507) are essentially moribund; the noun (note plur. for a single arrow; the cretic sing. is unviable) is a metrically convenient term for 'arrow' (cf. *sagitta*, *calamus*, **499 harundo**): vd. Harrison on 10.888f., Lyne on *Ciris* 299). Cf. *Il.*11.475, 15.580, 18.319, *Od.*6.102ff. (in similes), *Aen.*1.187ff. (but vd. W.V.Clausen, *Atti Acc.Mantova* 63(1995), 26) for the epic pedigree of hunting the deer with bow and arrow.

498 nec dextrae erranti..afuit Densely expressed, with some resultant confusion in the commentaries. Heyne saw (obscurely though he phrased it) that the negative was to be understood twice over, with both verb (cf. 2.620, 6.90f.) and participle; cf. further A.Weiske, *Philol.*54(1895), 355 (noting the Grecism; cf. *Soph.OT* 1391f., *KG* 2.2₃,199, Schwyzer 2, 596), Ogilvie on *Tac.Agr.*18.6, Bell, 301; compare also *Tac.Ann.*3.11.3, 14.32.4 and notably *Aen.*9.220 *nec mea iam mutata loco sententia cedit*. *Erranti* is also proleptic (cf. *Ind.Serv.* s.v. *prolepsis*; 'anticipatory', Fordyce): the *deus* did not fail (cf. 5.514, 9.631) the right hand [which would turn out] not inaccurate (numerous instances in Fordyce; cf. **626**).

deus Allecto or not? Discussion continues (cf. R.Jenkyns, *JRS* 75(1985), 76, n.66), not always helpfully. Despite G.P.Goold, *HSCP* 74(1968), 115, cf. Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 145, n.6 and Courtney on

Calvus fr.7 *pollentem deum Venerem*: “θεός is ..of common gender, and, probably calqued on that, *deus* [metrically handy, too!] can be applied to female deities when they are thought of in a depersonalised way, simply as ‘a divine power’”. Cf. further A.Perutelli in *Disiecti membra poetae* 3 (Foggia 1988), 90-8, Austin on 2.632, *EV* 2, 34, citing (e.g.) *G.*4.221, *Aen.* 1.199, 6.749, 12.677. At **505** *pestis* will of course refer to *Allecto*, unchallenged; here her agency is momentarily wreathed in sinister terminological indirection.

actaque Not that far different from *Enn. Ann.*539 *spumas agit*; cf. *Varr. Men.*54, *Aen.*9.431, 706, 10.707, 11.645, 804 and compare too **380**.

multo/ 499..sonitu The arrow is fired with such force (a sign, surely of that *deus* at work) that the string sounds still (that must be the implication of the hyperbaton) while it pierces *perque uterum*; the noise (cf. **462**) is not the stag’s (that will come in a moment), nor that of the arrow in flight (not traditional or notable); cf. rather λίγξε βίός, νευρή δὲ μέγ’ ἴαχεν (*Il.*4.125), βαθυφθόγγοιο ν. (*Pind. Isth.*6.34), *Aen.*5.521 *arcumque sonantem*.

499 perque..perque Such anaphora a common means of conveying wide spread or deep penetration: cf. 1.537, 2.364f., 4.671, 11.696 *perque arma uiro perque ossa*; note too *Buc.*10.23, *Aen.*1.204, 2.358 *per tela, per hostis*, 664, 12.682 *perque hostis, per tela ruit*.

uterum..ilia Asc.’s arrow emasculates the *ceruus*: so Putnam (**475-539**, 1995), 112 = (*ib.*, 1998), 101! That seems not to be in keeping with the best euphemistic usage (cf. Adams (**363**), 50, 100, J.André, *Le vocabulaire latin de l’anatomie* (Paris 1991), 228f.). Such wounds are not below the belt of epic decorum (cf. Wickert, 450f., J.N.Adams, *BICS* 27(1980), 50ff., Harrison on 10.588f., 778, 785f.), but here the anatomical implications, though not perspicuous, lie elsewhere: *uterus* in the general sense of ‘belly’ is perfectly acceptable Latin (*Lucil.*541, *G.*4.556, Adams, (**363**), 100); *ilia* do bear a sexual sense at *Cat.*63.5 (with much help from the context), but far more usually indicate (Adams, *ib.*, 50) ‘the sides of the lower belly’. ‘That part of the belly which was the loin or flank’ (Henry on 2.51, cf. André, *cit.*, 228f). See *TLL* 9.2.326.18 (Bulhart).

uenit Just (*sedes* and metrical form too) the Hom. ἤλυθ’ ἀκωκή (*Il.* 5.67, 16.478). Cf. 5.504, 9.412, 705.

harundo Cf. 4.73, 5.525, 544; like *calamus* (Clausen on *Buc.*3.13), a useful synonym for *sagitta* (Malavolta, 126f.); cf. (again, material for thing) δόναξ, *Il.*11.584.

500 saucius With marked emphasis (cf. 11.753); note *Cat.*64.58

immemor at iuuenis; for the placing of **s.**, cf. 12.5 *saucius ille graui* and the remarkable postponement at 2.528. The adjective is Ennian (*trag.*216, 326); cf. *EV* s.v..

at Hardly adversative at all; V. passes to a new viewpoint (*EV* 1,440). **quadrupes FMy**; **quadripes RV**, Mynors. *Quadru-* before *p*, *quadri-* before other letters seems correct usage: Leumann, 198, 488. Ennian (*Ann.*236; cf. Jocelyn on *trag.*169 for *quadrupedans*); as ‘horse’ from Acc. (*trag.*381; cf. Harrison on 10.892f.). Cf. *fera, ales, sal* and Lunelli-Kroll, 39f. for the development in poetic diction of metonymies (which can end up as kenningar; cf. *Maia* 41(1989), 254, n.15).

nota intra tecta Cf. **491**; the stag, seriously wounded, but still able—in the best tradition of epic wounds—to run and to groan, returns **ad limina nota** and, in a crisis, goes in doors to his stables (theme and double variation, **501f.**).

refugit Cf. 6.472f. (Dido) *atque inimica refugit/ in nemus umbriferum*. V. plays heavily upon the stag’s acquired instincts: the Tyrrhidae have given him a home, and he reacts in kind.

501 successit A compound V. particularly likes (cf. *EV* s.v., **36, 214**; *bis* in *Buc.*, *quater* in *G.*, 25 in *Aen.*); the stag goes up to and into the *stabula* (which acquire increased importance at **512**).

gemens A verb used of various animal noises (**15**; *G.*3.223, 506, 517, *Aen.*12.722); here, though, the stag’s reactions are increasingly human, in detail and expression (Rocca (**492**),96f., *EV* 2, 651ff); the groans are of pain (3.664) and approaching death (10.674, 11.633).

questuque../502 replebat The abl. is thrust into marked prominence; six words will intervene before the verb; cf. *Lucr.*5.992 *et nemora ac montes gemitu siluasque replebat*, *G.*4.515 *maestis late loca questibus implet*, *Aen.*2.679 *talia uociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat*, 9.480 *caelum dehinc questibus implet*. The imperfect is inceptive; note that γ_2 **RV** have **repleuit**, under the influence of **successit**, while the impf. of **MyV₁** is harder and less predictable.

cruentus The adj. (for the type, cf. **625, puluerulentus**) is in Enn. (*trag.*138); cf. (used in a comparable way) 1.471, 12.385 and note Harrison on 10.862.

502 imploranti similis The Hom. $\epsilon\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma$: for the history of this stileme, cf. A.Traina, ‘Laboranti similis’, revised from *Maia* 21(1969), 71ff. in *Poeti latini* 2(Bologna 1981), 91ff., *id.* *EV* 4, 865f.. Unfortunately, the participle has been widely misunderstood: Traina (*cit.*, 1981, 97), Fordyce, Williams, and Putnam(**475-539**, 1995), 113=(*ib.*, 1998), 102 view it as an extension of the ‘human’ lamentations men-

tioned in **gemens** and **questu**. Not at all, as has long been clear (W.Schulze, *SBBerlin* 1918, 484 = *Kl.Schr.* (Göttingen 1934), 163f.; cf. Horsfall 1971, 62, A.Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford 1968), 11ff.): the stag is *uiro similis*, *Quiritium imploranti fidem* and *implorare* is the verb used, traditionally, of appealing for the help of one's fellow-citizens in the face of danger or injustice (cf. Plaut.*Rud.*615, Caecil.*com.*212, *trag.inc.*40, Varr.*LL* 6.68, Liv.3.44.7, 47.6, Paul.exc.Fest. 67.13f., 96.23, J.B.Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.646.7ff.; for the intrans. use (uncommon, in any sense), cf. Cic.*Dom.*26; comparable, e.g. (as Schulze noted in passing, amid much parallel material) to the 'Haro' (= 'Ha! Rollo!'; cf. **504**) of the Channel Islands (I thank both Dr.Lionel Moignard and Julian Deahl for the arcane details; the latter refers me to F. le Maistre *Dict.Fersias-Français* (St. Helier 1966), 108, s.v. *cliame*). This is one of V.'s typical concentrations (cf. **460 arma.. arma**, **504**, **522 auxilium**) of learned antiquarian material (*Alambicco*, 114); the attentive reader is not expected to pass by such hidden but concentrated erudition.

tectum omne *Pastoris tugurium* writes Heyne of the **stabuli** of 511; a predecessor, allegedly, of the more recent Italian shepherd's 'capanna' (cf. B.Tilly, *Vergil's Latium* (Oxford 1947), pl.4 and cf. *EV* 4, 1008f.). But these words (cf. 2.679, 757) should have signalled caution, for they indicate some large structure, not a hut where even a mouse could raise an echo; the reader used to Virgilian anachronisms (cf. *EV* 1, 151ff., F.H.Sandbach in Harrison, *OR*, 449ff.) will think rather (cf. Fordyce on **512**) of some ill-defined ancestor of contemporary farm-buildings: cf. Varr.*RR* 1.13, Colum.1.6, (ed.) A.Carandini, *Settefinestre* 2 (Modena 1985), 182ff., J.J.Rossiter, *Roman farm buildings.* (BAR Int.Ser.52, Oxford 1978).

503 Siluia prima soror Cf. **487 soror..Silvia**: V. has the human reaction begin from the daughter of the household, devoted to her stag's toilet and ornament; this shows minute attention paid to the natural credibility of the chain of events (*Serv. bene puellae dat doloris impatientiam*).

palmis percussa lacertos The verb is Ennian (*Ann.*548, 565); the 'middle' use of the past participle passive, probably under Greek influence (cf. Fordyce's long n., Görler, *EV* 2, 267). Similar alliteration often marks slapping gestures (4.589, 673, 12.155). The gesture itself (*pace* Fordyce) is familiar (Sittl, 20, n.7, 26, n.4): cf. *Ov.Met.* 3.498, 4.138, 9.638 *planxitque suos furibunda lacertos*, *Sen.Tro.*117, *Stat.Theb.* 12.110, *Apul.Met.*8.9, often, but not always indicating mourn-

ing, and thus perhaps a hint of Silvia's perception of the seriousness of the wound. For **1**, cf. **163**.

504 auxiliium uocat So in the Haro 'À l'aide, mon prince, on me fait tort'; we are still (**502**) in the sphere of the traditional public appeal for help and justice: cf. Ter.*Ad.*155 *obsecro, populares, ferte misero atque innocenti auxiliium*, Cic.*Dom.*12 *auxilium implorasse*, Apul.*Met.*4.27 *populi testatur auxiliium*, 3.29, 9.41, Schulze (**502**, 1918), 492ff.=(*ib.*, 1934), 171ff.

duros..agrestis Cf. **747** for the adjective; Silvia's brothers and their fellow-shepherds are just as tough as Turnus' army; for the noun, cf. on **681** (there, adj.). The Trojans will confront the best of traditional country Italy, in which a rural existence prepares young men for the practice of arms; that was no paradox to a Roman reader.

conclamat Cf. Ov.*Met.*13.73 *conclamat socios*, but not a t.t. of the appeal for help; before V., the verb is much more common intransitive (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 272, A.Lunelli, *Aerius* (Roma 1969), 79f., 85, n.16 for transitivization of verbs). V. may (Williams) have in mind the regular military expression *conclamare ad arma*.

505 olli MR; illi M₁γV; a regular archaism. Cf. **458**.

pestis Furia remarks Serv., correctly (Stok in *EV* s.v. briefly explains the persistence of some curious misunderstandings here). So too used of the Harpies (3.215) and the Dirae (12.845); Enn. (cf. Thome, 269f.) had used **p.** of an Erinys (*trag.*24) and of Paris (*ib.*61); so too Cat. of Lesbia (76.20). 'Plague' or 'pestilence' is likewise firmly anchored in Cicero's lexicon of insult (Catiline, Piso, Clodius, Antony; Opelt, 137ff., Thome, 268ff.).

enim As often, parenthetic; Squillante Saccone (*EV* 3, 972) compares 1.261, 4.20, 105, 9.340, 354, 10.724; *neque enim* is commoner and *nam* only *ter.*

tacitis..siluis But not to remain so: cf. **513** (the same technique at 2.255); cf. J.Thomas, *Structures de l'imaginaire* (Paris 1981), 47, Thome, 172, n.406. Amata's **limen** too was **tacitum** before All. intervened (**343**); here, she is not required to ensure the rustics' bellicosity (that is a necessary consequence of her earlier actions), but her presence accelerates arming and mobilisation (**506**), eliminates any doubt and confusion and shortly too she will sound the alarm over a vast area.

latet Not disguised this time but hidden and perforce herself *tacita* (cf. L.Ricottilli, *EV* 5*, 9 on the association of secrecy and silence in V.- e.g. 3.666f., 4.289, 11.763); by her presence, the woods' silence (cf. 6.386) acquires menace.

aspera Juno herself is called *aspera* (1.279); cf. the *aspera..saecula* of 1.291. Mezentius (647) and the Saticulus (729) are *asperi* also in a tactile sense that is, I suspect, absent here (cf. 351, 753: All.'s snakes breathe their poison and do not bite). V. may mean nothing more specific than 'fierce' or 'savage'.

506 improuisi adsunt Before, that is, the '*quiritatio*' could be expected to have taken effect; thanks, that is, to Allecto. Cf. 2.182 (the Greeks) *improuisi aderunt*, 9.49(Turnus) *improuisus adest*. V. apparently introduces the adj. to poetry; its bulk limits the number of *sedes* available, and I hesitate to read significance into the 'echoes'(but cf. Hardie on 9.49).

hic../ 507 ..hic Cf. 150f., 473f..

torre..obusto Details of armament taken up chiasmically at 523f. **non iam certamine agresti/ stipitibus duris agitur sudibusue praeustis.** Cf. too 11.893f. (*matres*) *ac robore duro/ stipitibus ferrum sudibusque imitantur obustis*, 12.298f. *ambustum torrem Corynaeus ab ara/ corripit*. These billets of wood hardened in the fire are even more extemporised (cf. Saunders, 141, 159; perhaps to be thought of as literally snatched up from the fireplace; cf. *Moretum* 8) than *claua* (10.318) and *contus* (9.510): **t.** twice in Acc.(*trag.*439, 452); the verb conceivably a coinage (cf. *Ov.Met.*12.299, *Sil.*4.282). But cf. also, in the 'real world', the use of *sudes*; cf. *Sall.Hist.*2.fr.87, *Cat.*56.3, *Caes. Gall.*5.40.6, *Prop.*4.1.28, *Tac.Ann.*4.51.1 (Woodman and Martin recognise the epic flavour!).

stipitis..grauidi nodis We graduate to the (?)more sophisticated club (Homeric and classical Roman; Seymour, 667f., Saunders, 159: still in use in Trajan's time, in the battle immediately after the Danube-crossing: vd.e.g. P.M.Monti, *La colonna traiana* (Roma 1980), 27, 72), or at least a very stout stick. Cf. 8.220f. *nodisque grauatum/ robur* (Hercules' club) and 11.553(Metabus' spear) *solidum nodis et robore cocto*. Storms (*Lucr.*6.259), quivers (*Hor.C.*1.22.3, after *Liv.Andr.trag.*(?) 29.7), and the Trojan horse (*Enn.trag.*72) show *gravidus* used as 'metaphorically pregnant', while here (cf. 8.220) V. seems to be looking for a handy synonym for *gravis* (*Serv.*, *nodorum ponderibus praegrauatum* TCD, VF 8.98). The suggestion of knotted mass rules out, I think (*pace* Horsfall, 1971, 146), the throwing-stick of pastoral and epigram: Gow on *Theocr.*4.49. The genitive is easier to exemplify (cf. Bell, 219f., Görler, *EV* 2, 265 citing 2.235f. *rotarum/ ..lapsus*, 1.204 *discrimina rerum*, 4.132, 8.518f. *robora pubis/ lecta*, 9.700f. *reddit specus atri uulneris undam/ spumantem*, 11.680 *ingens oris hiatus*; 4.88f. is doubtful and not

all Bell's instances are quite comparable) than to name (?‘attributive’, KS 1, 241ff.). Here, the expression as a whole is a periphrasis for *stipite nodis grauido* and is much closer to (e.g.) **650 corpore Turni** (cf. 4.132, 9.532, Görler, *cit.*) than to *loricaeque moras* (10.485: ‘material’; cf. Harrison’s n.).

quod..repertum V. generalises, with striking economy of expression (cf. **642**, 9.175), to avoid tedious amplification; one further detail at **510**. There is a marked distinction between these improvised arms and the ‘antiquarian’ weapons of the Catalogue (**685ff.**, **730ff.**, **741ff.**); cf. Saunders, 158f.

cuique../ 508 rimanti Dat. of agent. The verb is deponent in Enn. (*Ann.*354; vd. Paulus’ lemma) and *trag.inc.*83, in Pacuv. (*trag.*71, 203) active (cf. NW 3, 86); here used (cf. Fordyce on **27**, Harrison on 10.239f.) intransitively (Conington, with unusual colour: ‘groping about’).

508 telum ira facit Energetically epigrammatic phrasing (cf. 2.494 in the same vein); *ira* is an attribute of All.(**326**, **445**) and is revealed as a characteristic of Turnus (**462**; cf. further, Schenk, 194f., 199f.). The rustics’ wrath derives rationally from the call for *auxilium*; that the speed of its spread owes something to Allecto is no more than a suspicion.

uocat agmina Cf. 2.613f. *agmen/..uocat*, 6.572 *uocat agmina saeua sororum*, **7.694 agmina in arma uocat**, 8.696 *uocat agmina*. Tyrrhus finally returns (cf. **485**) to the centre of the action. In striking contrast with **571ff.**, there is no check on the rush to arms.

509 quadrifidam quercum../ 510 scindebat Cf. *G.*1.144 *nam primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum* (before the invention of the saw), 6.181f. *fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur/ scinditur*, 11.137 *robora nec cuneis et olentem scindere cedrum..*; Blümner 2, 299f.. Serv. comments here *exprimit autem antiquum morem*, citing *G.*1.144 (without realising that the iron saw is perforce more ‘advanced’ in V.’s argument, while, in fact, saw/axe and wedge remain complementary). I own, and regularly use, three *cunei*, bought at an ordinary ironmonger’s: when driven in by a sledgehammer, still a quick, neat way of splitting the wood (particularly if seasoned) of a large tree, with the grain, into more easily-burned segments after it has been sawn or chopped (**510 securi**) into lengths. Conington envisages four wedges (which do not have a sharpened edge) driven against the grain to meet in the centre: a very droll scene of injury, perspiration, *mala dicta* and an empty hearth to follow. Poor Latin too: cf. rather *G.*2.25 *quadrifidasque sudes*.

Note too that the adj. is used (cf. **498**) proleptically; a cylinder of seasoned oak will indeed split beautifully into four segments (cf. Colum.4.33.4 on vine props of split chestnut)! Cf. Blümner 2, 299.

cuneis..coactis The alliteration continues, suggesting the blows of the hammer on the wedges, to force them (**coactis**; cf. G.4.420) into the cracks in the seasoned wood. 12.457 uses the words in a quite different sense.

ut forte Cf. **494**.

510 rapta..securi Cf. **638** for the same urgency in the quest for weapons. Tyrrhus' axe is traditional for both (i) felling trees and (ii) warfare. Cf. (i) *Il.*13.391, 16.484, *Od.*9.391, Seymour, 294, *Enn. Ann.*175, *G.*3.364, *Aen.*6.180, K.D.White, *Agricultural implements* (Cambridge 1967), 59ff. and (ii) Seymour, 667, *Il.*13.612, 15.711, for the *Aen.*, vd. **184**, **627**, 11.656, 696, 12.306, Saunders, 159ff., Malavolta, 130ff..Tyrrhus passes from one activity to the other without pause for breath; that is perfectly natural in his circumstances and Allecto's presence is but a guarantee.

spirans immane Cf. the Gk. πνέων μένος or μέγα; energy and passion depend upon the spirit or breath-soul (Onians, 50f.; cf. Henry's long n. here); Tyrrhus exhales monstrously, uncontrollably (cf. 6.77, 10.726, 12.535) his passion (*immane* is after all notably stronger than μέγα!). The form of expression passes from Hom.(e.g. *Il.*2.536, 3.8) and tragedy (e.g. *Aesch. Agam.*376, *Eur. Andr.*189) into Latin: cf. *Lucr.* 5.392, *Hor. C.* 4.3.24, 13.19, *Prop.*1.3.7, 2.15.53.

511 at Just as at **500**, to indicate a change of focus (but note also—cf. Thome, 171—the αὐτάρ of *AR* 4.127, with which the sequence of the dragon's hiss is introduced).

saeva..dea Of Juno at **287** (cf. 1.4, Buchheit, 70), *All.* at **329**; cf. 3.214 of the Harpies. Not, though, any sort of stock epithet (cf. Thome, 106f.).

e speculis Possibly ring-composition with **477 speculata locum**; at **505**, *All.* **tacitis latet aspera siluis**. Her present whereabouts are left appropriately unclear. The expression also at 4.586, 11.877 and *sexies* in *Liv.* (not clearly a t.t. of military prose).

tempus..nacta nocendi My; nancta R. The spelling with a second n is vigorously rejected by *Serv.* on 1.480 and others (*NW* 3, 571; cf. *Leumann* 533, 536) and I am not clear why it attracts some edd. of *V.*. Cf. *G.*1.253 *tempusque serendi*, *Aen.*4.293f. *fandi/ tempora*. Cf. **326 crimina noxia cordi** for *All.*'s delight in doing harm.

512 ardua tecta..stabuli Cf. **160f. tecta Latinorum/ ardua**. We

have seen (502) that V. is likely to be writing of contemporary farm-buildings, and perhaps not so much the humble cottages of *Buc.*1.68, 82 as the ample structures of *Colum.*1.6.4f.; Fordyce whimsically thinks of additional dovecotes (Roman, indeed, but superfluous, surely).

petit Cf. 562.

de culmine summo Cunningly, All. selects a prominent, central spot, from which it would seem quite natural to sound the familiar alarm. The words are borrowed from *G.*1.402; cf. also *Buc.*1.82, *Aen.* 2.458, 695, 4.186.

513 pastorale..signum All.'s horn-blast has unusually mixed origins: the Homeric Eris, standing on Odysseus' ship, in the centre of the line, ἦ ὕκε θεὰ μέγα τε δεινόν τε / ὄρθι' (*Il.*11.10f.); so too the Colchian dragon (vd.516ff.) sees the Argonauts, ῥοίζει δε πελώριον (*AR* 4, 129); more to the point, the *bucina* was used to summon both the flocks (*Varr.RR* 2.4.20, 3.13.1, *Prop.*4.10.29f., *Col.*6.23.2; cf. *Plb.* 12.3.5ff., Wille, 111) and the primitive assembly, at Asorus, near Enna (*Cic.Verr.*2.4.96 *signum quod erat notum uicinitati, bucina datur; homines ex agris concurrunt*) and notably at Rome (*Prop.*4.1.13, *DH* 2.8.4; cf. *Varr.LL* 6.92, *Gell.*15.27.2, Wille 97ff., Riepl (549), 26f.). Again at 817 it will be clear that *pastoralis* indicates not Eng. 'pastoral' but Lat. 'as used by *pastores*'; robust, practical, and potentially warlike countrymen.

canit With *signum*, cf. *Sall.Iug.*94.5, 99.1, *Liv.*7.40.10, 10.19.12, 10.40.14, etc.: standard military language.

cornuque recuruo Vd. on 615; All. uses a familiar instrument (the signal is conventional and the instrument natural on a farm) with supernatural force. Fordyce notes that *procuruus* too (5.765) appears first in V..

514 Tartaream..uocem If *u.* referred to Allecto's voice, then either she would have to shout down her horn (very silly) or (hardly less silly) blow it and then shout (leaving *c.r.* inexplicable); it therefore refers to her horn (cf. 519, *Cat.*63.21, *Ov.Met.*1.338) and the difficulties of the verb can be faced. Cf. J.G.Landels, *CQ* 8(1958), 219f.. For the adj., cf. 328.

intendit incendit *M₁R₂*. *Voce aliquem incendere* is possible Latin, but *uocem incendere* is not. Gk. ἐντείνειν is little help, because its technical sense in music is not clear (Landels, 219, n.6; too hard for *EV* 5*, 96). Given the common sense of *intendere* as 'draw, aim' (cf. e.g. 8.704, 9.590, 665, 776), Landels suggests that V. "may have likened the

sound ‘shot’ from a bugle [but we are on a farm, and the word is *cornu!* Cf. **615**] to an arrow shot from a bow”. This is fanciful, in the absence of analogies to sustain the image. Usage is clear enough (Nielsen, *TLL* 7.1.2114.70): cf. 9.776 *numerosque intendere neruis*, Cic.*de orat.*3.216, *Orat.*59, Varius *trag.*4, Quint.2.8.15, 9.4.9, Pers.6.4. The implicit sense is one of stretching or straining and here V. suggests that Allecto blew a note effortful, powerful, and perhaps both sustained and high-pitched!

qua../515 contremuit Cf. Enn.*Ann.*554 *contremuit templum magnum Iovis*, Cat.64.205, Lucr.3.835 but in V. only here and at *Aen.*3.673. Nature trembles at the blast of All.’s horn: cf. **722**, 3.672f. *quo pontus et omnes/ intremuere undae*, 8.91f., 296, 305, 9.124f., 715 *Prochyta alta tremmit* (with Hardie’s n.), Reeker, 43ff.; this is not the pathetic fallacy (cf. **759**), for Italy does not weep for a stag’s death but trembles at a hellish signal; however, personification and the reaction of the natural world are present here too.

protinus Cf. **601**.

omne/ 515 ..nemus Cf. *Buc.*6.11, 7.59, *G.*2.400f., 429, *Aen.*5.149, 8.215f., 305, 12.722. For **n.**, cf. **83**.

siluae..profundae Cf. *G.*2.391 *complentur uallesque cauae saltusque profundi*, Lucr.5.41 *siluasque profundas*; literally, the Hom. βαθείης.. ὕλης (*Il.*5.555), but (so Mantovanelli, *EV* 4, 305; a full discussion, after his book) closer in reality to the Apollonian ἄσπετον (*infra*): inexpressibly vast.

insonuere Cf. 2.53; possibly a coinage (cf. **451**). We remember Colchis, more and more: ἀμφὶ δὲ μακρὰι/ἠϊόνες ποταμοῖο καὶ ἄσπετον ἰαχεν ἄλκος (4.129f.).

516 audiit...audiit Apollonius has the verb only once, the metrically identical ἔκλυον in the same sedes (4.131); those who hear, far from Titanian Aea live along the river Lycus (131-2); AR is lavish with information on the Lycus, but misses the chance to list a geographical spread; that was clearly suggested to V. by Call.*H.*3.56ff.: at the beat of the Cyclopes’ hammers αὔε γὰρ Αἴτνη,/ αὔε δὲ Τρινακίη Cικανῶν ἔδος, αὔε δὲ γείτων/ Ἴταλίη, μεγάλην δὲ βοήν ἐπὶ Κύρνος αὐτεῖ: just the same hyperbolic range of sound, list of toponyms and anaphora of verb; while the initial vowel of the verb remains unchanged the sense passes from ‘crying’ to ‘hearing’. Upon a meticulous, anticipatory selection of Italian toponyms, V. superimposes a double Hellenistic allusion, of sound, structure and sense. The anaphora eliminates the need for a connective (cf. Clausen on *Buc.*4.6). For the topos of ‘even the XYZ hear’, cf. **225**.

et 'Even' (contrast, *pace* Fordyce, **327**); the lake is deep in an ancient volcanic crater, normally protected from extraneous sounds.

Triuiaae..lacus Cf. **763, 774**.

longe The ἐκός of AR 4.131; cf. **288**.

amnis/ 517 ..Nar Mod.Nera (cf. **712; 540-640** and **568** for the Nar in Ennius), which flows from the Monti Sibillini (SE of Visso and NE of Norcia) down into the Tiber SE of Orte (*EV* 3, 706).

517 sulphurea..aqua Abl. of cause. So Enn.*Ann.*222 *sulphureas posuit spiramina Naris ad undas*; cf. too Mart.7.93.1, Sil.8.451, etc. (vd. Skutsch's note on Enn.*loc.cit.* for the adj.'s history and orthography, *EV* 3, 706) and, perhaps more to the point, Plin.*Nat.*3.109 (Varronian; **641-817**, §vi). But all that may be but a bow to Ennius. SDan. complicates the issue: *et Sabini lingua sua nar dicunt sulphur* (cf. O'Hara, 190f., and *id.*91f. with my index s.v. gloss for Virgilian dialect-etymologies): if he is right, the etymology is of course also present in Enn., though that is a poetic, not a chemical truth. SDan. is convinced *ergo hunc fluium ideo dicunt Nar appellatum, quod odore sulphureo nares contingat*, but his sources have slipped in a Latin etymological construct alongside a Sabine! The Nar is in part one of Sabinum's boundaries. but its valley (*saepius vidi*) does not reek like Aquae Albulae (**82-6**) or Ampsanctus (**563-71**). Nissen (*Ital.Landeskunde* 1(Berlin 1883), 312) and Philipp (PW s.v.*Nar*, 16.2.1696.62ff.) are properly hesitant: water in limestone areas (like the Nar's) is full of tiny white particles, superficially like a sulphur spring's (whence probably the names **Albunea, Albulae**; cf. **81-106**); for that matter, a tumbling river like the Nera foams white. A possible genesis for Enn.'s association of ideas begins to emerge; the river's name, moreover, reappears both in Interamna Nahars and in nearby Narnia (so Serv. *ad loc.*), on the Nera, where (cf. Skutsch, *cit.*, after Pasquali *cit.* (**625**), 227 = *GGA* 177(1915), 597) there is a medicinal sulphur-spring. Norden (*EuV*, 36f.) was disgusted at V.'s hyperbole here (so peripheral to the main thrust of his narrative, for the horn only rouses a few peasants to arms), and was answered vigorously by Fraenkel (170f.). I would add that **Triuiaae lacus** looks forward to **761ff.** and **fontes Velini** to **712**; the Nar here is an Ennian echo which does not, probably, have anything to do with **540-640** (vd.introd. there, §c), but which reappears fleetingly, perhaps, in the **spiracula** of **568**; Allecto's blast on the horn is an extraordinarily economical and imaginative anticipation of the geographical spread of the war.

fontesque Velini The precise topographical sense is not absolutely certain: cf. **712** for the possibilities.

518 et trepidae matres We return to the hiss of the Colchian dragon. V. abbreviates AR 4.136ff.: δείματι δ' ἐξέγροντο λεχωίδες, ἀμφὶ δὲ παισὶ/ νηπιάχοις, οἳ τέ σφις ὑπ' ἀγχαλίδεσσιν ἴαυον/ ροίζω παλλομένοις χεῖρας βάλον ἀσχαλώωσαι (where Eur.*Tro.*557ff. might in turn be sensed); cf. also Call.*H.*3.70f. and Astyanax in Polygnotus' fresco in the Lesche of the Cnidians, Paus. 10.25.9. The *trepidae..matres* at 11.893ff. are more mettlesome.

pressere ad pectora natos Cf. Stat.*Theb.*1.122 *gremioque Palaemona pressit*; marked alliteration here. **Nati** are children viewed with particular tenderness and affection (cf. *G.*2.523, *Aen.*2.138, 4.33, 8.413, *EV* 3, 664f.).

519 tum uero Cf. **376** and see Fordyce here; the adversative force of **uero** is very slight (*EV* 1, 442); a particle almost always subject to syaloepha and limited to epic poetry (Axelson, 86f.).

ad uocem celeres../ 520..concurrunt Cf. 3.669 *ad sonitum uocis uestigia torsit*; the wording is Ennian: *Ann.*144 *concurrunt undique telis* where Skutsch remarks that V. has changed the sense of the verb from 'engaging' to 'gathering' (cf. Cic. *Verr.* cited at **513 pastorale..**); five lines later, though, the rustics are fighting and here at least a muster before the battle proper appears superfluous. **Celeres** is used adverbially as at 6.425 *euaditque celer* (cf. Harrison on 10.55f.).

qua Cf. **100, 801**, Wetmore, s.v.

bucina../ 520 dira B. is used as a synonym of **cornu (513)**; as Varro says (*LL* 5.117): *cornua, quod ea quae nunc sunt ex aere, tunc fiebant bubulo ex cornu* (the etymology of *bucina* from *bos*—vd.WH—will certainly once have been current, for that from Gk. βου- still is: DH 2.8.4, *CGL.* 2.31.34, Wille, 97). Cf. Hier.*PL* 25.861D (=CC 76.56.224f.) *bucina pastoralis est et cornu recuruo efficitur*, Wille, 80 with n.46 (closest to the *cornu* was the *bucina*; cf. Veg.2.22, Wille, 99): if the words are not taken as synonyms here (and a single rustic instrument of horn has been indicated, **513, 514**) the whole sequence becomes farcical and incomprehensible. For the later brass *cornu*, cf. **615**; Veg. uses this *cornu* both as distinct from *bucina* (3.5, Wille, 80) and as the instrument of the *bucinatores* (2.22, Wille, 93)! The adjective **dira** (used of All. herself, **324, 454**) is in enallage; cf. the *bucina's signum.. cruentum* at 11.474 (and in turn cf. Enn. *Ann.*451).

signum/ 520 dedit Poetical (Enn.*Ann.*295f., *G.*1.439, *Aen.*11.474) but also standard military language in Caes..

raptis..telis Cf. Turnus' frantic search at **460**; likewise **rimanti**, **508** and **rapta**, exactly, of the axe at **510** (and cf. **638**).

undique The incautious reader will ask whether the advb. 'goes' with **raptis** or **concurrunt**; experience suggests rather that it should be understood with both (unless there is some very good reason not to do so); cf. *Companion*, 229f.. The Ennian echo (cf. **519 concurrunt**) does not impose a comparable limitation (i.e. to the verb) upon V..

521 indomiti agricolae The **duros..agrestes** of **504**; cf. 8.728 *indomitique Dahae*, *Ov.Pont.* 2.2.3, *Epic.Drusi* 17, *Liv.*33.12.10, *Tac. Hist.*4.50.4 and the *Cantaber non ante domabilis* of *Hor.C.*4.14.41; an adj., that is, normally used of Rome's as yet untamed foes. These Latins have not yet been defeated by their Etruscan neighbours (8.492f.; cf. 474) and have also beaten their other enemy, the land (9.608).

nec non et *Quinquies* in *G.*, *decies* in *Aen.*; an instance of popular accumulation of particles (in e.g. *Varr.RR*), introduced (because spacious and formulaic in appearance) into high poetry by V. (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 235, LHS 778, Löfstedt on *Per.Aeth.*3.4 and cf. Fordyce here).

Troia pubes Cf. **614**, **794**; all the young Trojans of fighting age; V. never makes it clear how exactly they become involved in hostilities.

522 Ascanio auxilium..effundit The verb is transitive (Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.220.2f.; cf. *Cic.Sest.*95, *har.resp.*34, *Planc.*40, *Liv.*30.11.8, 30.32.3 *auxilio effuso*, 38.17.7) and the active forms seem not to occur in an intrans. sense (though it is tempting to compare index s.v. intransitivisations; e. intrans. would not actually be hard and **auxilium** would be notably attractive in apposition to **pubes**); the Trojan warriors—once we leave aside grammatical dreams—pour forth and lavish assistance upon Asc.(compare the **auxilium** of **504**, on the other side).

castris..apertis Cf. **159** for the building of the Trojans' camp, on an elaborate, urban scale. The gates (cf. 9.176, 183, 570, Carcopino, 365, n.8) are flung open for reinforcements to rush out; just because *portas aperire* is common in (e.g.) *Caes.Civ.* (1.18.2, 20.5, 3.11.4, 81.2), that need not mean that V. is using specifically military language; his choice of words is plain, bald and businesslike (cf. Lyne, *WP* 7ff., *Companion*, 220f.).

523 derexere acies Cf. *G.*2.281 *derectaeque acies*, *Caes.Gall.*6.8.5, *Bell. Afr.* 13.1, 13.2, 41.2, 59.2, *Bell.Hisp.*29.3, *TLL* 5.1.1235.2(Dittmann); here at least, clearly military language.

non iam..(525) sed Long since recognised (Fraenkel, 155) as V.'s explicit signal of the action's intensification within this episode; cf. 10.510 *nec iam fama mali tanti sed certior auctor*.

certamine agresti No longer a rustics' skirmish (cf. **482**, **504**, **521**, **681**); their life, we must recognise, was never an unbroken pacific idyll, and V. takes some pains to make this clear (cf. the detail of **513**, **817**; see also *G.2.531*), but neither was it an existence of regular warfare, whether heroic or hoplite, and it is the passage beyond pre-existing experiences of conflict that V. now signals. The label of 'perversion' or 'invasion' does not sit easily on what we would now more fairly call escalation. Cf. (*aliter!*) Wimmel (**817**), 228, Lyne, *WP*, 143. The synaloepha here is common (Norden, 455f.); the noun in poetry at *Cic.carm.Hom.8.7*.

524 stipitibus duris Cf. **507**; the adj. is common of both agricultural implements and weapons (*G.1.261f.*, 2.355, 540, *Aen.9.510*, *EV* 2, 153f.); we are also, of course, mindful that V. is writing of the arms of (**504**, **747**) hard men who till a hard land.

agitur The impers.pass. is often rather military in tone (**553**); the verb ('there is action') is common in political and military contexts (but not exclusively so): cf. *Caes.BG 7.37.7*, *OLD* s.v. §20, Hey, *TLL* 1.1389.68.

sudibusue Cf. **506**.

praeustis The correption of *prae-* rare in dactylic verse: cf. 5.186 *praeunte*, *Ov.F.1.81 praeunt*, (Leumann, 106, M. Platnauer, *Latin elegiac verse* (Cambridge 1951), 64). For the part., cf. *Caes.* and *Tac.* as cited (**506**).

525 ferro ancipiti Cf. Hom.'s ξίφος ἄμφηκες; cf. *Lucil.839f.*, *Lucr. 6.168*, *Cat.64.369 ancipiti.ferro*, *Ov.Met.8.397*; all these passages refer to the still potentially rustic axe (cf. **510**); with *ferrum*, *anceps* perforce indicates 'two-edged', not 'critical' or 'deadly' in a looser sense, and V.'s language has significantly sidled closer to that of 'real' warfare.

decernunt Cf. *Enn.Ann.132 decernere ferro*; the effect of molossus after 2½ caes. (cf. **68**) is lightened by the proclitic *-que*.

atraque../526..seges A remarkable nexus of images (taken up at **551**), to which we are alerted by a paradox: a *seges* would normally be (e.g.) *flava* and here instead (cf. xxiii, **456f. atro/ lumine**) is dark and menacing (cf. 11.876, 12.450); necessarily, therefore, remarkable and sinister (cf. Horsfall 1971, 147f., Setaioli, 264, n.117, Lyne *WP*, 142f., 154, Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.384*). Homer (*Il.4.281f.*, 7.62 ἄσπίδι καὶ

κορύθεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρκυῖαι, 13.339f., 23.599) and Euripides (*Phoen.*1105) talk of bodies of men a-quiver with long spears and Aesch. writes of the tip of a spear as of an ear of corn (*Nereids*, fr.154R): ἀθήρ'. But, very much as in the case of Scylla's hounds (588), myth acts upon image: of the sown men who rise up against Jason, AR writes (3.1354ff.; cf. Hunter's n. on the mythological antecedents): οἱ δ' ἤδη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνασταχύεσκον ἄρουραν/ γηγενέες· φρίξεν δὲ περὶ στιβαροῖς σακέεσσι/ δούρασι τ' ἀμφιγύοις...AR (Lyne) already alludes to Hom.'s image in his scene. Predictably, such complexities appeal to Lyc.(252f.): πέφρικαν δ' ὥστε ληΐου γύαι/ λόγχαϊς ἀποστίλβοντες. Enn. has *horrentia tela* (*Ann.*267), *horrescit telis exercitus asper utrimque* (*Ann.*384), *horrescunt tela* (*trag.*143), *sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret* (*Varia* 14). Cf. then *G.*2.140-2 (*seges horruit*—with Hardie *cit.*(411f.), 66, Nelis, 298ff.), 281f. (*infra*), *Aen.*3.45f. *hic confixum ferrea textit/ telorum seges*, 10.237 (where vd.Harrison), 11.601f., 12.663f., *Hor.Serm.*2.1.13f. *horrentia pilis/ agmina*, and *Liv.*44.41.6 of the phalanx *intentis horrentis hastis*. The gleam of weapons reaching up to the sky is likewise a hallowed epic motif: *Il.*2.457f., 11.44f., AR 3.1357f. (the sown warriors themselves), *Lucr.*2.325 *fulgor ubi ad caelum se tollit*.

late Not a skirmish any more, but a large-scale engagement; note in particular *G.*2.281f. *derectaeque acies ac late fluctuat omnis/ aere renidenti tellus*: the first participle, the adverb, the wave-image, the gleam of bronze all recur here, though precise verbal echo is elusive.

526 horrescit Cf. *Enn.Ann.*384 *supra*, *trag.*143 *supra*.

strictis..ensibus The verb (hitherto common enough in prose of various kinds) apparently introduced to poetry by V. (in a variety of senses; *EV* s.v.*stringo*); cf. 10. 568, 577, etc.. For the noun, cf. **640**.

aeraque fulgent Cf. *Cic.Tusc.*2.59 *fulgentes gladios hostium*, *Liv.*1.25.4 *micantesque fulsere gladii*, *Prop.*4.10.21, *Aen.*10.869, 8.593 *fulgentis aere cateruas*; V. (and I have no explanation) associates *fulgeo* often with *arma*, rarely with the metrically identical *aera*. For bronze arms and armour, cf. **633**, **703**, **743**.

527 sole lacessita The verb 12 times in *Lucr.*(often of an effect upon the senses); here (too) in the sense of 'assaulted repeatedly by' (cf. *G.*3.233) so as to produce brilliant reflections on the (**626**) highly polished metal.

lucem sub nubila iactant Cf. *Cic.Arat.*331 *iactantes lucibus ignem*, 458 *radios laeto cum lumine iactans*, *Lucr.*2.823 *iactare colorem*, 5.303 *lucem iactare*, 576 *iactat..lucem*. **N.** in *Enn.* as adj.; in *Lucr.* very common as a synonym for *nubes* (cf. **699**).

528-30 In all three phases of Allecto's intervention, there is a simile, and in each case it occurs just after her intensification of the action (cf. **341-640**), but here the movement within the simile is significantly more rapid and violent (with appropriate metrical effects), perfectly in keeping with the increased tempo of the action itself. Cf. in particular *Il.*7.63f. (62 has perhaps just been in V.'s mind; cf. **525f.**) οἷη δὲ Ζεφύροιο ἐχέυατο πόντον ἔπι φρήξ/ ὀρνυμένοιο νέον, 4.422ff. the Greeks advance like the sea breaking on the shore (424) πόντῳ μὲν τε πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα...; the slow development of the sea's movement at *Cat.*64.272-5 may also have contributed. The simile makes briefly explicit the recurrent image of the storm of war (cf. **586-90** with discussion); see S.J.Harrison *PLLS* 5(1985), 101f., Pöschl, 31, NH on *Hor.*C.1.6 *passim* and 2.7.16. At *G.*3.236ff. (the fighting bull; Mynors' n. is particularly helpful) V. had already experimented with some of the material he uses here: *fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto, / longius ex altoque sinum trahit...*[240] *ima exaestuat unda*; however, in *G.*3, the picture is fundamentally different (a great wave that curls in from mid-sea, right (239) *ad terras*); cf. W.W.Briggs, *Narrative and simile from the Georgics in the Aeneid*, *Mnem.*Suppl.58(1980), 19f..

528 fluctus..coepit..albescere Cf. *Lucr.*2.772 *nullo possent albescere pacto* (sc. *aequora ponto*), *G.*3.237, *Ov.**Met.*11.480f., Edgeworth, 82; cf. André, 243 for inceptive verbs of colour (rather favoured by V.). For foam or 'white horses' at sea, cf. *Lucr.*2.767 *canos candenti marmore fluctus*, *Cic.**Progn.*fr.3.3 *saxaque cana salis niueo spumata liquore*, *Aen.*8.672 *sed fluctu spumabant caerulea cano*, André, 359.

uti..cum 16 times in V. (including *uelut*; cf. **462**); Harrison on 10.454 rightly notes the influence of Hom. ὡς δ' ὅτε; the archaic *uti* (NW 2, 657) *octies* in V..

primo..uento γωTCD, **ponto** (as *G.*3.237) MR *Macr.*5.13.20. "I always think this is a *classical* instance of echo-corruption, because at first glance either word would do in either place and the moment you think, *ponto* here is as irrelevant as it is relevant in *G.*3.237"; Mynors *per litt.* With **primo..uento**, cf. *Il.*7.64 ὀρνυμένοιο νέον, a detail essential to the picture here of the swelling storm; I am not quite sure what **primo.. ponto** would mean (yet Sabbadini printed it and Paratore defends it: his defence deepens my sense of **ponto**'s ineptness, as do Williams' efforts to explain the inexplicable). The line also serves as a good illustration of how the Carolingian mss. can preserve irreproachable readings at points where the capital mss. succumb to elementary vices.

529 paulatim 23 instances in Lucr.; 11 in V.. A notable accommodation of movement to sense here: three spondees (slow rise of wave; likewise in **530**); acceleration with the unusual synaloepha at 4tr. (Norden, 454) and enjambement of dactylic **erigit** in **530**. Cf. n. on **533**.

sese tollit mare Cf. 1.103, 3.564 (*t.* of the action of waves); *tollere* is common with the reflexive pronoun (*G.*2.47, *Aen.*5.369, etc.), after *Cat.*(62.50) and notably Lucr.(2.325, 3.877, 4.1027, 6.689); the iterated form of *se* is (given the limitations on synaloepha of monosyllables) notably convenient and occurs 88 times in V., 36 in synaloepha, against *se*, 217 times in V. and only 33 in synaloepha!

et altius undas/ 530 erigit Cf. Lucil.999 *fluctus erexerit*, *Aen.*3.422f., 576.

inde So already *Enn. Ann.*536, to mark a development in the action within a simile; thus here the waves at a certain point rise to the sky, precisely in step with the development in the action; the episode 'is designed to grow crescendo-wise to a crashing climax'(B.Otis, *Virgil* (Oxford 1964), 325), though that is not quite how I should have phrased it.

imo..fundo Cf. 2.419, 5.178; note *Sall. Hist.*4.fr.28 (of Charybdis) *naufragia fundo emergunt*.

consurgit ad aethera Cf. 2.338, 3.462, 564, 572, 6.130, 12.409 for similar 'cosmic' hyperboles; vd. in particular Hardie, *CI*, 108f. on 1.103 *fluctusque ad sidera tollit*; we might also compare [Aesch.] *PV* 1088f., *Eur. Hipp.*1207, and, less closely, *Il.*4.442f., *Eur. Ba.*972, *Enn. Ann.*545. The verb *septies* in Lucr..

531 hic 'At this point', temporal rather than local (as at **29**).

iuuenis The first youthful casualty of the war in Latium (cf. 10.445, 793, etc.); his identity is postponed, but typical Virgilian exploitation of tension requires that he shall be someone we already know: in fact, one of the harmless theriophilic of **484**.

primam ante aciem Cf. **673**, 9.595, 10.643 (plur.); Fordyce compares Hom. ἐν προμάχοις.

stridente sagitta The verb impeccably Ennian (*Ann.*355, 356); cf. 5.502 (just as here), 9.632, 12.319.

532 natorum Tyrrhi..maximus The whole scene has been constructed closely round Tyrrhus and his family; it is an inevitable consequence of Virgil's fundamental principle that everything costs dear and much arguably too dear that a member of the family—and the eldest son at that—is the first casualty (as is only now revealed,

after his dangerous position and the fatal weapon have been specified) of the struggle between Trojans and Latins. Cf. 9.545 *primaevus Helenor*, Il.6.24, 11.249. Serv. comments very well here *mouet autem miserationem ab aetate..a uirtute..a dignitate.. a uulneris etiam crudelitate*, cf. Macr.4.3.6 and 4.4.3 on the death of Galaesus; for further comment of this character, cf. Serv. *ad Aen.*9.479, 11.42, SDan. *ad Aen.* 2.678,12.611, Macr.4.3.6, 4.4.1ff.. J.Griffin, *Homer on life and death* (Oxford 1980), ch.4 makes one realise how much we need a study of V.'s battle-obituary (though Harrison offers useful stray remarks on bk.10); A.Pomeroy, *The appropriate comment* (Frankfurt 1991) alas does not stray from historiography into epic. Cf. further 9.28; the sons fight on.

fuerat qui Anastrophe of the relative to fourth position (**659**); very marked emphasis given to the eldest son. The use of the pluperfect is odder than Fordyce recognises: 'had been (before he was killed)' is not quite right, for Almo is still alive (though we already know he will die by an arrow-wound); the 'epitaph' is placed just before the death-wound (so too e.g.10.391-2). 12.519 is no parallel to cite for the plpf. here, for Menoetes is dead when V. recounts his precedent life. At 6.166f., V. uses plpf. and impf., posthumously, in successive lines, of Misenus. Presumably here V. writes of Almo as though already dead. Raabe's 'analysis'(170) is too cursory to pick up such difficulties.

Almo A river-name, as Galaesus (**535**); cf. Ufens (**745**), Umbro (**752**), Holland *passim*, R.Thomas *MD* 29(1992), 68. Italian waters both weep (**759f.**) and actually (as here) die.Cf. rather the more amply Pater-esque vision of Putnam (**475-539**, 1995), 124ff.=(*ib.*, 1998), 111f. and *id.*, (**756**), *passim*.The actual stream rises between the Via Latina and Via Appia, crosses the latter 200 yards N. of Domine, Quo Vadis? and enters the Tiber a km.S. of the Porta Ostiensis (vd. Platner-Ashby, s.v., Lugli(**31**), 123f. rather than Bömer on *Ov.F.*4.337); important only for the ritual washing of the statue of the Magna Mater (Wissowa, 319).

533 sternitur Pause at 1D, after enjambement; cf. **530**, **808f.** and 2.385 (with *sternimus*). For this much-used (some 28 instances) euphemising synonym for 'kill' (cf. **574**), cf. **426**.

haesit..uulnus For the verb, cf. 4.73, 9.419, 10.384, 11.804, 864, all of weapons; *id est sagitta*, writes Serv. of the noun, helpfully comparing 2.529f. *illum ardens infesto uulnere Pyrrhus/ insequitur* (where Serv. remarks *bonum schema: uulnus pro telo*). Cf. also (Williams) 9.745f. *uulnus../ detorsit*, 10.140 *uulnera derigere* (where vd. further Harrison). The 'com-

parable instances' collected at *EV* 5*, 611 do not advance our understanding of 'proleptic metonymy'.

enim Cf. 10.394, 401, 815; an Homeric narrative pattern in death-blows (cf. *Il.*15.645).

sub gutture Comparison with the common *sub pectore* ('down inside' *vel sim.*) suggests that V. refers to an arrow-head lodged 'down into' the throat, penetrating the windpipe. For throat-wounds, cf. 10.323, 347, with Harrison's notes, 10.907f., 12.358, Wickert, 450, comparing *Od.*22.15f.(arrow, too); very common in *Il.*: 7.12, 262, 10.455, etc..

et udae/ 534 uocis iter Enallage for *uocis iter udum* (cf. Serv. here and Bömer on *Ov.M.*2.830). Almo is choked with blood and his life is cut off because he cannot breathe (cf. 9.580 *spiramenta animae letali uolnere rumpit*, Onians, 168f.). This anatomical sense of *iter* is present at *Cic.ND* 2.141, 144; 'moist': cf. *Ov.M.*6.354f.. But not too moist, for the good speaker (*Quint.*11.3.21).

tenuemque..uitam Cf. *G.*4.224 *tenuis..uitas* (where vd.Biotti's useful n.), *Aen.*6.292: life is as insubstantial as the breath upon which it depends (cf. *tenuis* of *aura*, etc.; **646**), in almost tactile contrast to the choking gush of blood. Cf. 10.908 *undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore* (where blood and life-soul are lost together; here one cuts off the other).

inclusit sanguine Cf. *Lucr.*6.1266 *interclusa anima nimia ab dulcedine aquarum* (as *Varr.RR* 1.63.1, *Val.Max.*9.12.ext.1); contrast *Liv.* 21.58.4, 22.51.8, *Vell.* 2.22.4 (*spiritum*). *Liv.*21, *Vell.* and *Val.Max.citt.* all use (like V. here) the conveniently shorter *inclusa*.

535 corpora multa uirum Cf. 1.100f., 2.18 (with Austin's n.), 10.662 (with Harrison's n.), 11.204f., 12.328: cf. **650**; periphrasis in high epic tone (Ennian: *Ann.*88f. *corpora sancta/ auium*) for 'multi uiri (sc. of fine physique)'. Serv. well remarks *et rhetorice uiles trudit in medium, nobiles [i.e. notos] uero primo et ultimo commemorat loco*; V. is sparing in his references to the *sine nomine uulgu*s in battle-narrative (e.g. 10.430, 11.102, 634). There is no main verb: if we do not supply *sunt* (perhaps unnecessarily flat), then we may carry forward **sternitur** from the previous sentence.

circa Probably to avoid a sequence of words in *-um -um*; cf. 6.865 (with Norden's n.; cf. also p.407), 11.197, 12. 757.

seniorque Cf. **532**; Serv. could have said again here *mouet miserationem ab aetate*; cf. , of course, Priam: 2.509ff., 544 (so too e.g.*Il.*8.90). Iapyx (12.401) is perhaps non-combatant. Numanus Remulus takes

the view, though, that even old Latins make good warriors (9.610). V. balances age and youth about an innominate mass in the centre. The *-que*, it has long been noted, points the passage from the general to the individual: cf. 8.330 (Fordyce), 9.454 (Hardie), 5.746; see Putnam (475-539, 1995), 124ff. (= *ib.*, 1998), 111f., Cairns, 101. On possible links between this Galaesus and another *senex* who lived by the Galaesus (G.4.126), cf. R. Thomas, *MD* 29 (1992), 68f. (and Putnam, *loc. cit.*); our Galaesus is a rich, public figure, in a markedly epic/historical context (the very first clash between Trojans and Latins), all of which makes me a little sceptical of Thomas' ingenious remarks.

Galaesus He again bears a river-name; a stream on the outskirts of Taranto, a famed beauty-spot, whose waters contributed to the excellence of the famous local wool (cf. Mart. 2.43.3, 4.28.3; cf. here **greges..balantum**), of not-quite-certain identification; vd. NH on Hor. C. 2.6.10 (a particularly rich note), A. La Penna in *EV* s.v. *Galeso*.

536 dum paci medium Just as Aeneas will plead in vain for peace at 12.311ff. after the breach of the truce. A dative of purpose (Roby 2, xxv^{ff.}, LHS 98; cf. **611** and contrast **482**). The adj. is a significant expansion of a familiar idiom (next n.); for *medius* used in the sense of 'mediator', Bulhart (*TLL* 8.590.47ff.) compares Prop. 2.9.50 *Thebani media non sine matre duces*, Ov. *M.* 5.564, Luc. 1.100, 118. *Hoc per se non est dignum memoria belli tempore, sed admouit causam...* comments Macr. (4.4.4), realising (before Lyne, *FV*, 226f.) that every word here contributes to the pathos of G.'s death.

se offert Cf. *Buc.* 3.66, *Aen.* 2.371, 4.557, 8.611, 10.552; tragic (Acc. 360 *uitam offerre*), Lucretian (3.1041 *letum caput..obtulit*) and standard prose (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.32 *se pro patria offerret ad mortem*).

iustissimus unus So more fully Rhipeus, *iustissimus unus/ qui fuit in Teucris et seruantissimus aequi/ (dis aliter uisum)*, 2.426ff.. *Indignum istius hominis letum multis generibus demonstratur* remarks TCD. Austin remarks that this use of *unus* was in origin colloquial; cf. now Hofmann-Ricottilli 242f., LHS 193.

537 qui fuit The superlative and the intensificatory **unus** are thrust ahead of the—comparatively—insignificant relative and verb.

Ausoniisque..aruis Cf. **39**, **547**; the noun = 'country' in general (as **721**, **799**); when a specific sense is found, it is of ploughland, not pasture.

olim Cf. 9.360f. *Tiburti Remulo ditissimus olim/ quae mittit dona..(sc. Caedicus)*; a useless gift, no protection to Remulus' somnolent grandson Rhamnes, and fatal to Euryalus who carries them off. Compare

too the *quondam* of 2.556: the power of Troy, the wealth of Caedicus and Galaesus are equally transitory.

ditissimus Cf. also Camers son of Volcens at 10.563f. *ditissimus agri/ qui fuit Ausonidum*, after *Il.*20.220 (Erichthonius s. of Dardanus): not only ἀφνειότατος ἄθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, as V. does here, Hom. specifies his wealth numerically (3000 horses). Note that the specific amplification of claims to wealth is in the best epic manner: *Il.* 11.244f., *Od.*12.129f., 14.100f.. Traditional obituary material, as Harrison remarks *ad loc.* (cf. also *Il.*5.612ff. (which, along with a notable scholium, Schlunk, 20 perhaps overvalues, not having taken Erichthonius into account), 708, 6.14f., 13.664, 16.596, 17.576). Macr. (4.3.6) cites **d.** rather than **iustissimus** as one of his examples of V.'s techniques of rousing *miserordia*; nothing immoral or unwarlike about wealth in the epic ethical code. V. has also balanced his victims: young-old; rustic-proprietor; eager warrior-pacificatory.

538 quinque greges..quina../ 539 armenta The distinction sheep-cattle is nearly but not quite rigid (NH on Hor.C.2.16.33); for the polarity, cf. *G.*4.223. Fordyce remarks in an ample note that, whereas at **687f.** the distributive numeral indicates that each man carries two spears, here the five **greges** correspond, one to one (cf. 5.560), to the five **armenta**, and yet it seems that in practice distributives were often enough used (so surely here) as metrically handy alternatives for cardinals (Williams on 5.85, LHS, 212f.). 'Five' is a small general number: cf. LHS 211, *Aen.*2.126, 12.763 (and *EV* 3, 786f.); contrast the *greges centum* of Hor.C.2.16.33.

illi Possessive, with *erant*—parallel to **redibant**—implicit.

balantum Where periphrasis merges into Kenning (cf. **500**): already in Enn. (*Ann.*169 *balantum pecudes*, *Lucr.*2.369, *G.*1.272, 3.457, etc.); Skutsch notes that already at *Lucr.*6.1132 it is qualified by an adj. and is losing the flavour of archaic mannerism.

redibant La Cerda took this—most oddly—as indicating profit or interest (as in *Varr.RR.*1.2.8); cf. rather (Mynors, *per litt.* and atypically, 'you are certainly right') *Buc.*4.21f. *ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae/ ubera*, *G.*3.316, *Hor.Epd.*16.50 *refertque tenta grex amicus ubera*; cf. Horsfall *RFil.*119(1991), 357 and Clausen, 149f. for radically opposed views of the priority of Hor. and V. here.

539 terram..uertebat Cf. **725**; even more closely, *G.*1.1f., 147. Cf. also *G.*1.98, 179, 2.399f..

centum..arattris A large number: cf. *Hostius* fr.3.2, *Lucr.*fr.1.2, *Hor.C.*2.16.33, **153**, **609**, E.Wölfflin, *ALL* 9(1896), 186 and **653** for

mille in the same sense. According to O'Hara (191) etymological play with **armenta** (*armenta*—*arare*: cf. Varr.*LL* 5.96) and not just, as I would prefer to say, paronomasia.

540-640 Not satisfied with her threefold intervention, Allecto proposes to Juno the creation of chaos on an augmented scale; she is turned down—'Jupiter would not approve'— and sent back to Hades (cf. introduction, xvi). Juno herself takes charge of the final touches in unleashing war (**572ff.**). Or rather, she does nothing as yet, for Allecto's victims, in mannered sequence (**576, 595**) apply increasing pressure upon King Latinus: he resists, passive but not inert, for his violent petitioners achieve nothing. They take political action, in an episode never narrated (cf. H.-G.Nesselrath, *Ungeschehenes Geschehen* (Stuttgart 1992), 74-84 for similar instances): the Latin *patres* vote for war and bid Latinus open the Gates, the necessary ritual prelude to military action against Aeneas (**611, 616f.**; cf. **107-47**, §v, **664-9**, §c); in character and consistently with earlier policy, he refuses and only now does Juno intervene, directly and violently, opening them herself (**620-2**). Military preparations follow, a prelude to the muster ordered at **637**, and the necessary preliminaries (at least in the 'real world', but V. is markedly realistic here) to the Catalogue itself.

This sequence of events is profoundly novel; V. here makes limited use of Homer (vd. **558, 563, 575, 585, 586, 592, 598, 604, 607, 609, 620, 623, 625, 629, 633, 634, 639, 640**: unimportant) and Apollonius (**563-71, 622**) and markedly less of the tragedians (but see **543, 545, 547, 557, 585, 593**) than in the Allecto-scenes themselves. But it has long been realised that the closer V. gets to Italy, the more Roman his reading becomes. So here, both in 'the antiquarian tradition'(we cannot for the moment be more precise: **565, 602, 611, 614, 623, 633, 637, 640**) and above all in Ennius. Here we should distinguish between (1) lexical and stylistic debts or reminiscences at large (**543, 551, 553, 557, 559, 560, 562, 568, 569, 571, 574, 575, 581, 583, 589, 592, 584, 595, 596, 607, 613, 616**), (2) influence in the muster (**624, 625, 628, 640**) which itself may (cf. **625**) be of Ennian inspiration and (3) the major issue of Ennius and Juno's opening of the Gates.

On (3), see (I offer a drastic selection) Norden, 10ff., Fraenkel, 165ff., S.Timpanaro, *SIFC* 23(1948), 34, 53, W.-H.Friedrich, *Phil.* 97(1948), 291ff., D.Lassandro, *Inv.luc.* 3-4(1981-2),187ff., Buchheit, 82ff., Büchner, 375ff., Wigodsky, 63-5, Klingner, 523-6, Häussler, 151ff., Skutsch, 392ff., Gleis, 188ff., Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 640ff.,

Nuovi contr., 203f., Thome 362ff. and now for a most helpful critical reading, D.P.Fowler, in Stahl, 155-74. Eighty years after Norden, it is not clear (so, rightly, Wigodsky) that we have made any certain progress in understanding the relationship of *Ann.7* to *Aen.7*: *EuV* was a brilliant book, but the discrete elements in Norden's reconstruction nevertheless require discrete (and dispassionate) evaluation:

(a) The structure of **323-640** suggested to Norden (8f., 33f., 38; cf. Büchner, 375, Häussler, 165) a *contaminatio* of sources. Juno descends to Earth at **323** and summons (**324ff.**) Allecto from Hades to act on her behalf. Allecto, at **540**, has finished her task and suggests further action to Juno, in vain. She is returned to Hades and (**570ff.**) Juno again takes a hand, intervening directly on Earth at **620ff.** Macr. 5.17.1ff. (reflecting, I grant, far older analyses of bk.7) suggested to Norden that V., here bereft of Homer, *laboravit ad nouae rei partum*, the beginning of war in Italy, and led him to apply, explicitly enough, the too-sharp tools used to analyse Terence's originality (33ff.; Homeric separatists worked in much the same way!): V.'s narrative shows duplication in Juno's role and must therefore contain an extraneous strand—Ennius, no less, in a major borrowing from *Ann.7*. Or does Juno return because she is anxious about her success and about Jupiter's attitude? Is her return, in short, not bad architecture but good characterisation? Once that possibility is admitted, Norden's argument loses a great deal of its probative force.

(b) The second closing of the Gates is rather more problematic even than recent discussion suggests. We are told that this closure occurred in the consulship of T.Manlius (235 B.C.), at the end of the First Punic War (241 B.C., when A.Manlius was in fact consul); so, e.g., Varr. *LL* 5.165 (*traditum est memoriae*; possibly following Piso; cf. fr.9) and Liv.1.19.3 (cf. too Plut.*Fort.Rom.*9). Simple confusion between the two Manlii? Identical confusions, though, in the strongly disparate Varro and Livy are markedly disquieting. Vell.2.38.2 and Eutr.3.3 link the closing with T.Manlius' triumph in Sardinia which itself removed the threat of a new war with the Carthaginians (so Plb.1.88.8ff., Oros.4.12.3): that does suggest a neat explanation of the oversimplification in Varro and Livy, whether or not they had a common source, and seems to set the date firmly in 235. But is Enn.*Ann.*225f. about the historical Gates at all? His *Discordia* (cf. *Aen.*6.280, 8.702) is rooted in Homeric *Eris* and Empedoclean *Neikos*, whether her bursting open the *Belli ferratos postes portasque* (cf. on **607 Belli**) was a metaphorical act (i.e. the unleashing of a demon

of war contained within the shrine; for comparable images, cf. LSJ s.v. πύλη, II, to go no further) or rather referred to an historical sequence. The latter, admittedly, would fit 241 well: a short war against Falerii just after peace was concluded with Carthage, Plb.1.65.1f.. The Gates were reopened *eodem anno* according to Varro *loc.cit.*(*pax ista unius anni*, Oros.4.12.8; cf. Plut.*Num.*20.2, *Fort.Rom.*9). How long a closure in 235 might have lasted is not specified in the sources; at all events, contrast the sixteen years implied by Norden, 145f.! Whether, then Enn. speaks of history or in metaphors remains an open question, whereas V. refers to real openings of real Gates in both historical and mythological time. There has been no completely convincing answer to Fraenkel's observation (167) that Enn. was unlikely to record the culminating act of a demon's intervention in a subordinate clause (*postquam Discordia taetra...*); grammar is in favour of the interpretation of Enn.'s lines in metaphorical terms, though of course the metaphor could have been influenced by the record of the real opening of Janus Geminus in 235 (or whenever, if indeed that opening ever actually occurred; cf. n. on **602f. nunc maxima rerum Roma**).

(c) The relationship of *Ann.*222-4 (and conceivably 245) to **563-71**. If Enn.'s Discordia was a demon as real and as mobile as Allecto, then did she return to Hell somewhere in the Nera valley, just as Allecto chose Hirpinia? Did Virgil prefer a remoter area, after the Via Flaminia had de-romanticised the Nera valley (Norden, 27)? Do the 'errors' of V.'s ecphrasis derive in fact from Enn.'s ecphrasis of a quite different Plutoneion? If V. viewed Italian scenery in terms not of autopsy but of certain 'typical' sites (as I have suggested, after Rehm, and like Reeker; cf. on **563-71**) then exactitude in the description of one particular site is not to be sought, while Ampsanctus, for all its remote and desolate air, is just off the Appian Way. Did Enn. actually go and look at the sites he described, any more than V.? The link between the Nera valley and Discordia's disappearance depends entirely (Fraenkel, 169) upon Norden's reconstruction.

V., at **622**, just like Hor. at *Serm.*1.4.60f., cited the magnificent Enn. *Ann.* 225f. The cautious reader will advance beyond that humble fact only with extreme circumspection.

540 atque ea...dum Cf. 1.494 *haec dum*, 9.1 *atque ea...dum...geruntur*, 12.383 *atque ea dum...interea...* Cf. *EV* 4,874 and G.Krokowski, *Quaestiones epicae* (Wroclaw 1951), 11-25 for such 'formulaic' treatment of simultaneous events.

per campos Perceptibly flatter than the Ennian (*Ann.*124) and Lucretian (3.1002) *per aequora campi*; even than (Ov.) *Hal.* 81 *camposque*

per omnis. Compare rather *Bell. Afr.* 51.2 *per medium campum*, Liv. 7.24.8, 25.4, 10.27.8, 21.25.10, 37.20.14 *per campos*.

aequo..Marte First huntsmen against peasants; both parties thereafter (**523ff.**) more conventionally armed. That is the issue, not (*pace* Servius) that the only losses hitherto specified are Latin. Ennius (*Ann.* 160) has *aequis manibus* while *aequo Marte* is markedly common in Livy, though that need not be where V. found it (cf. Ogilvie on 2.40.14).

geruntur The passive is equally typical (cf. n. on **553 pugnatur**) of stock military language (for *haec/ea geruntur*, cf. Caes. *BG* 4.32.1, 6.35.1, *BC* 1.48.1, 3.57.1; cf. now Dingel on 9.1); V. systematically accumulates the colourless commonplaces of the business of war (cf. *Companion*, 220f. with bibl.), though Ennius and Lucretius too talk of *rem gerere*; cf. in particular *Ann.* 323 *quod quisque in bello gessit*.

541 promissi..potens Juno gives Allecto her instructions at **331-40** and Allecto's silent departure at **341ff.** implies obedient acceptance; certainly she has now done all her mistress could have hoped. "Promise" is therefore implicit!

dea cf. **346, 408, 511**, *EV* 2, 35 (Batteggazzore); the noun, in a moment of triumph (underscored by hyperbaton and alliteration), infinitely more evocative than a mere pronoun would have been.

facta: as perf.part. of *fiō*, with predicate (as Lucr. 6.1024f. *rarior.. factus*; cf., in the present, *Aen.* **7.351, 419**, 5.620, *G.* 4.407, *Buc.* 8.97).

potens: cf. *TLL* 10.2.2.285.21 (Kuhlmann); close to (but not identical with) *trag.inc.* 39 *supreme belli..potens* (cf. *G.* 1.27 *tempestatumque potentem*, *Aen.* 1.80, 3.528).

ubi: for frequency statistics of temporal conjunctions in V., cf. *EV* 1, 874.

sanguine bellum/ 542 imbuit The literal sense (cf. Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.428.12) of 'stain', 'dip in', 'embrace' (cf. Matius fr. 11f. (*tapetes concha purpura imbuens*) is regularly extended to 'permeate' (cf. Hor. *AP* 330f. *haec animos aerugo et cura peculi/ cum simul imbuerit*); something of both these senses is clearly present here. Servius glosses with *initiauit*. This sense of *imbuere* is markedly post-Virgilian (first, apparently, in Apul. *Met.* 11.27), however attractively 'modern' a reading of the text it may seem (cf. Lyne *FV* 119f. on the seductively similar 12.67 *sanguineo uiolauerit ostro*). If Serv. is linguistically anachronistic, we have no business to attribute to Virgil's Allecto an act of perverted religious initiation, nor does such a 'reading' derive any reinforcement from other elements in the present context. Cf. further on **554**.

542 et primae commisit funera pugnae All Allecto's brief speech and these preliminary lines are to be read with **475-539**

precisely and continuously in mind. The **funera** are those of Almo and Galaesus; we have seen how V. renders these victims of the *prima pugna* (cf. **40 primae reuocabo exordia pugnae**) emblematic of all the casualties to come. **Commisit** (*pace* Mertel, *TLL* 3.1909.78) may perhaps suggest something of our 'commit' (cf. *Ov. Tr.* 5.2.17 *si facinus nullum commisimus* but otherwise hitherto prosaic). More to the point, the verb may be used of 'bringing together' the lines in a battle (*Prop.* 4.4.59 *acies*; cf. *ib.* 4.6.53 *rates*), and very commonly of starting (in general) an engagement (*Plaut. Persa* 112, *Quadrig.* fr.96 etc.). *Pugnam* therefore is the 'expected' object, just as **bella**, not **urbes** is at **549** (where *vd.* note); the 'extension' of conventional usage by substitution of the expected object is easy but arresting.

543 deserit Of a divinity, cf. 4.144, *G.* 1.16 (Pan) *nemus linquens patrium*, *Hor. C.* 1.17.2 *mutat* (with NH), *ib.* 30.2 *sperne* (again with NH); the relative vigour of some of the verbs employed should not be taken as implying irate relinquishment.

Hesperiam Perhaps not as a proper noun before *Enn. Ann.* 20 (though *AR* 3.311 uses the adjective in the sense of 'western', as does Agathyllus Arcas, *Suppl. Hell.* 15.3); to my remarks in *JHS* 99(1979), 39, add C. Guittard, *Caesarodunum* 15 bis(1980), 178ff., Skutsch on *Enn. loc. cit.*; *EV* s.v. *Esperia* is incautious.

caeli..auras *Per auras* is a Lucretian line-end (3.544, 751); *caeli..per auras* also at *Aen.* 11.595 and **caeli..sub auras** at **7.768** (cf. **aetherias..auras** at **557**): apparently a Virgilian combination (but cf. *aeris..auras* at *Lucr.* 1.207). See *TLL* 2.1476.78 (Hey).

conuersa So **M**; **conuexa** **M**, **Р**ϰω, *Serv.* (both here and elsewhere; see Geymonat), *TCD*. According to *Serv.*, *Probus* (*sic*; cf. H.D. Jocelyn, *CQ* 35(1985), 469, n.188), *Asper* (ed. Tomsin (**485**), 137) and *Donatus* took *per* with both *caeli convexa* and *auras*. Very properly unacceptable to both *Timpanaro* (*Per la storia*, 127, n.81) and *Delvigo*, 41. *Serv.* continues *dicit enim quidam commentarius* (at which point *SDan.*, as corrected by *Timpanaro*, has *dicit Firmianus commentator: Contributi*, 448, n.39, *Per la storia loc. cit.*; cf. *Delvigo*, 41, n.4; on this *Firmianus*, cf. now *Kaster*, 407f.) '*conuecta*' legendum, ut sit ipsa conuecta: quod difficile in exemplaribus inuenitur. Indeed not: such a meaning 'non pare attestato' (*Timpanaro*, *Per storia, loc. cit.*). One of the hardest textual problems in V., according to *R. Caldini Montanari*, *AR* 38(1993), 210! Possibly so, if you dismiss **conuersa** as 'conjectural bodging' ('rabberciatura', *Timpanaro*, *Per la storia, loc. cit.*, cf. *id.* 1988, *infra*) or 'non del tutto soddisfacente' (*Delvigo*, 41) and plunge either for the hypothesis of an unfinished passage (*Timpanaro*, after *W.F. Jackson*

Knight, *CQ* 34(1940), 129f.; *contra*, Timpanaro, *MD* 20/1(1988), 113, n.34 = *Nuovi contr.*, 285, n.35, Delvigo, 44, who prefers a lacuna, 45) or for conjecture (Bothe's *caeli connixa per auras* is currently à la mode: Caldini, Timpanaro 1988, *cit.*). *Nitor* (*simplex*) is Ennian (*Ann.*151). But, while **conuersa** (Delvigo, 41, n.8) is said to be attested elsewhere with indications of goal, not of medium (but what of *Luc.*4.779, with *inter?*) and is claimed (G.Moretti, *SIFC* 84 (1991), 116f., cf. Timpanaro *cit.*, 1988) to be an expression too tame for Allecto's swoops (**557-9, 561f., 568-71**), that does not mean that it is in therefore unacceptable (cf. Jacobsohn, *TLL* 4.864.26f., *OLD* s.v., §4, citing Cic., historians), slightly flat and prosaic though it may ring, while the presence of **convexa** in almost the whole tradition is easily explained as echo-corruption from 4.451. Mynors commented *per litt.* "**conuersa** seemed so obviously right, I couldn't understand why this was a *locus vexatus*"! It seems hardly necessary to invoke the Euripidean ancestry of this passage (but cf. **545 en**) and that poet's fondness for compounds of *στρέφειν* (precisely analogous to *vertor!*); Cf. M.Fernandelli, *MD* 36(1996), 193f. for a similar application of Euripidean language to a Virgilian problem.

544 Iunonem..adfatur *Adfor* perhaps in Accius (538 Klotz, not Ribbeck); Cic. (*Cat.* 1.1) thought the verb appropriate to an Ennian context.

uictrix..uoce superba Allecto had accepted her orders in silence (cf. n. on **541 promissi**); triumphant success (**uictrix**; common as a cult-title) lends her pride (cf. 5.473 *Entellus uictor superans animis tauroque superbus*. See also A.Traina, *EV* 4,1073f., *G.*3.226, *Aen.*1.529, 8.721, 12.236. R.B.Lloyd, *AJP* 93(1972), 129 overstates), a voice, and a desire for independent initiative. Neither *uictoria* nor *superbia* are elsewhere attributed to Juno or to her subalterns.

545 en..tibi König (134) well notes the reference to Eur. *HF* 867 ἦν ἰδού, on the occasion of Lyssa's departure (with Iris) after their first successful intervention against Heracles. The originally lofty *en* (cf. **452**) has also taken on the role of the humble *em* (Hofmann-Ricottilli, 146).

perfecta Note (cf. Highet, 274) the entirely dissimilar *en perfecta..munera* of 8.612f.; the verb twice in the fragments of tragedy.

bello..tristi Cf. *EV* 1,479, *TLL* 2.1848.72 (B.A.Müller/ Hey): not so much a stock epithet as a stock type of epithet. Cf. **41 horrida**, **325 tristia** (q.v.), **583 infandum**, **604 lacrimabile**, *Buc.*6.7 *tristia* (with Clausen's note), *Aen* 8.29 *tristi*. Given the flexibility of the Virgilian

ablative, it is unwise to enquire too closely into the precise relationship between **discordia** and **bello**: ‘by means of’, ‘characterised by’, ‘arising out of’ represent unprofitable distinctions.

discordia Long recognised as a key word: Fraenkel 157, Cairns 101, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 225, Gleis, 187. Not only does it belong to the language of contemporary politics (Hellegouarc’h, 134) but it contributes (cf. Clausen’s note on *Buc.* 1.71) to the characterisation of the war in Latium as a civil war (cf. *Alambicco*, 88, 106, 111; cf. **335**, index s.v. civil war) and prepares the reader (cf. *Alambicco*, 103-16 for V.’s use of such ‘signals’) for V.’s famed and ample bow to Ennius’ *Discordia* at **622** (for remoter sources vd. on **540-640**).

546 dic ‘Ironice tamquam ἄδύνατον’ Heyne; *ac si diceret: ita bella commouit, ut ne tuo quidem imperio possint in pacem redire. et hoc est quod dixit ‘adfatur voce superba’* Serv.; *ut etiam ex uoluntate tua concordia populorum reparari non possit* TCD. *Dic* + jussive subj. is entirely regular too (cf. 4.635, 5.551). Nevertheless, there have even been attempts to emend. **in amicitiam coeant** Cf. 11.292 *coeant in foedera dextrae*, **317 coeant** (where see n.; the language of contemporary politics). **Amicitiam** likewise suggests the alliance of Pompey and Caesar; cf. Hor. *C.* 2.1.3f. *grauisque / principum amicitias* with NH, P.A. Brunt “*Amicitia* in the late Roman republic”, now revised in *The fall of the Roman republic* (Oxford 1988), 351ff., Hellegouarc’h 13, 64ff.. For a later period, our texts are scantier (cf. *Nep. Att.* 8.4 *coiturum*), but V.’s first readers may well have thought rather of Antony, Octavia and Octavian (cf. *Jal*, 52f.). *Allecto*, in the pride of her success, not only denies that *Juno* can restore peace but describes that hypothetical peace in language strongly evocative of recent carnage.

et foedera iungant Cf. 4.112 *aut foedera iungi* (would *Jupiter* approve a Trojan-Carthaginian alliance?); we shall see (**548**) another echo of the same passage in bk.4, but Moskalew’s suggestion that the war in Latium evokes the Punic wars (168) is markedly unpersuasive (cf. above, **540-640**: the intervention of Ennius’ *Discordia* is not connected securely with either the First or with the Second Punic War!). The peace of vv. **202, 264** was never ratified; that of 12.793ff. is still far off (cf. R.P.H.Green in *Studies..Deroux (Coll.Lat.* 196, 1986), 393ff.). **547 quandoquidem** Once in *Buc.* (3.55), and thrice in *Aen.* (cf. also 10.105, 11.587, always in speeches; for the high emotional level of the contexts, cf. F.Klingner, *SBMünchen* 1956.6, 89f. = *Studien* (Zürich 1964), 222f.). Common in comedy (note the shortened o; vd. Fordyce here), but upwardly mobile (*Cat.* 40.7, 101.5; eighteen times in *Lucr.*),

though perhaps increasingly archaic in tone. Cf. LHS 609, Lyne on *Ciris* 323.

Ausonio..sanguine V. tersely opposes the future allies, for now bound only in the guilt of bloodshed; that so far only two deaths, of Latins, have been narrated is convenient for All.'s argument. Contrast the *hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget* of 12.838 and for the development of the whole motif, cf. Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 21-4. On *Ausones* and derivatives, cf. **623**, **795**.

respersi Cf. Cat.64.181 *respersum iuuenem fraterna caede* (whence *Aen.* 4.21), 230 *ut tauri respergas sanguine dextram*. The image of **551 spargam** (solids, not liquids) is surprisingly different.

548 hoc etiam his addam Such polyptoton of *hic* common in older Latin: *Naev.com.*74, *Enn.trag.*163 (with Jocelyn's note), *Plaut. Bacch.*510, *Mil.*377, 418, *Liv.*1.24.8 (Fetial formula), *Macr.Sat.*1.12.35 (Augustan SC), *TLL* 6.3.2741.31ff. (Ehlers); it here lends an archaic flavour. The same may be true of the element of pleonasm in *etiam.. addam* (cf. *Plaut.Poen.*385, Hofmann-Ricottilli 225ff., 373ff.).

tua si mihi certa uoluntas Words used by Juno to Venus at 4.125 (vd. on **546 foedera iungant**; a non-significant echo). Hyperbaton gives **tua** a particular emphasis, appropriate to the difference of stature between All. and Juno. **Certa uoluntas**: cf. 2.349f. *si vobis... cupido/certa*, **7.611 ubi certa sedet patribus sententia**. While Juno invites Venus' specialised aid in cementing the union between Aeneas and Dido at 4.125, Allecto's humbler status justifies this implicit request for full support, in an apparently unparalleled attempt to undertake independently conceived action.

549 finitimas..urbes The adj.(Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.800.9) hitherto in prose authors and here V. could as well have written *uicinas* (*Lucr., Buc.*); Horace *C.*, though, has both. All. proposes intervention even beyond the scale of **516ff.**(no expansion outside these limits by 8.1-14), which, to judge from **553f.**, was quite enough for Juno; she too (**557f.**) recognises a potentially dangerous higher authority.

in bella feram Contrast (e.g.) *Sen.Tro.*444 *bella in Argiuos ferens*; the war, after all, is more mobile than the city (note too *Sueius fr.*1.4f. *fera proelia bello/in Persas tetulere*, *Liv.*3.2.3 *bellum afferre*, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.543.32). Cf. note on **542 commisit funera pugnae** (where we saw that *pugnam* was the 'expected' object); on such instances of substituted object vd. W.Görler, *WJhb* 8(1982), 71ff., *Vergilius Suppl.* 2(1982), 56ff., *EV* 2,276f., *PBA* 93(1999), 269ff. who cites numerous comparable cases; cf. also G.B.Conte, *JRS* 83(1993), 208 ('enallage'; I

follow Görler's terminology (here, hypallage) in this un-settled field). Little matter if they are never strictly analogous: we are after all talking about inventive anomalies; but note e.g. 12.174 *pateris altaria libant* for it is 'normally' the portable *paterae*, not the immobile *altaria* that are the object of *libare*.

rumoribus Cf. 9.464, 12.228, Fur.Bib.fr.12. The Fama of 4.173ff. is not mere grandiose fantasy; the effect she has presupposes a poet who had seen her at work in the Civil Wars, and rumour has a firm place in contemporary historiography. Cf. W.Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* (Leipzig 1913), 326, R.Laurance, *GR* 41(1994),62-74; the frequency of *rumor* and *fama* in Caes. *BC* is no surprise.

550 accendamque animos Cf. **482 belloque animos accendit agrestis**, 12.426 *animos accendit*, and n. on **445** for the association of fire-imagery with Allecto. The verb (cf. *TLL* 1.277.26 Lommatsch) also a favourite with Sallust (12x), perhaps recognisably so.

insani Martis amore Too easily (e.g., Bell, 326) labelled as enallage, or transferred epithet. There is, first, a sort of oxymoron in the collocation *Martis amore*, as in **461 amor ferri**, 9.760 *caedis.. cupido*, 12.282 *sic omnis amor unus habet discernere ferro* (cf. 8.327 *amor..habendi*), though *amor* perhaps enjoys a semantic range wider than that of 'love' (cf. *EV* 1,144), which lessens the paradox. Secondly, though desire can of course be called 'crazed' (9.760 *insana*, 2.343, *Buc.*10.44, where Clausen argues that the *amor* is indeed *duri Martis*), war too was itself regularly called 'mad' by the Augustan poets (cf. *Jal*, 421f., *Aen* 1.294, *Hor.C.*4.15.17f.). There is no way to determine whether or not the epithet is transferred, nor in truth does it matter greatly. It is more important to remember (cf. **340, 472**) that Allecto operates by creating a perverse desire for bloodshed.

551 undique Cf. **520 raptis concurrunt undique telis**. Allecto aims above all at the geographical extension of the war.

ut auxilio ueniant Cf. *TLL* 2.1625.2 (Münscher), Caes.*BG* 2.29.1, 6.8.7, *Sall.Jug.* 56.1, etc.: V. certainly does not shy away from the standard language of the business of war (cf. n. on **540 geruntur**).

spargam arma *Spargere* is common in agricultural contexts: *Cic. S.Rosc.*50 *spargentem semen*, *Col.*10.120, *Quint.*4.2.54 (the dragon's teeth; cf. **525**) and though the verb is quite often used in military contexts (*spargunt hastas*, *Enn.Ann.* 266, *Aen.*11.650), it may be that V. here wishes us to think of All. as very literally sowing war (note the (?)growing sequences -rg-, -rm-) in the fields of Latium (cf. W.Wimmel, *'Hirtenkrieg' und arkadisches Rom* (München 1973) and see n. on **339 sere crimina belli**).

per agros Cf. *sparsere per agros* of Orpheus' limbs at G.4.522.

552 tum contra Iuno For **contra** thus used, cf. 1.76, 6.544, 9.93, etc. With the brusque lack of verb here contrast the presumptuous amplitude of **544**; Juno neither begins nor ends at verse-end, perhaps as a sign of haste (Highet (**599**), 197f.).

terrorum et fraudis Cf. **458 pavor**, **518 trepidae**. Rosati (*EV* 2, 588) insists on All.'s subterfuges being the preliminaries for war: as indeed they are, but **fraudis** here refers precisely enough to Allecto's deceit in her use of the serpent against Amata and of disguise against Turnus (*aliter*, Pötscher, 149). Cf. her closely comparable **insidiae** at **326**; vd. **478**, Thome, 208. Juno, let us be clear, criticises not what Allecto has done hitherto but only her proposal of further expansion and intensification, which threatens her own authority and may invite Jupiter's intervention (**557-60**). Allecto has been so successful that Juno wants for herself alone the glory of final victory against the Trojans. Cf. Buchheit, 78.

abunde est For such uses of adverbs ('much', 'more', 'less', 'enough'), cf. LHS 52, *TLL* 1.231.1f.(Lehnert).

553 stant *Manifestae sunt* Serv.; cf. *Lucr.*5.199 *tanta stat praedita culpa*, *Aen.*1.646, 10.467 *stat sua cuique dies*, *Hor.C.*1.16.18f. *et altis urbibus ultimae steterae causae* (where vd.NH). 'Obtain', 'exist'; a great deal more than *sunt* (cf. Pease on 4.539).

belli causae Cf. **481f. quae prima laborum/ causa fuit**. Thus Hor. of Pollio's histories *bellique causas* (*C.*2.1.2, where see NH). The poets reflect a serious concern on the part of contemporary historians, in the Thucydidean and Polybian tradition, with the causes of Rome's civil wars; here V. signals not only his view of the war in Latium as a civil war but his intention to write of it analytically and historically. Cf. *Alambicco*, 106, *GR* 38(1991), 207, Jal,360ff., M.Pohlenz in *Epitumbion Swoboda* (Reichenburg 1927), 201ff., Fraenkel 149, A.D.Momigliano, *Actes FIEC* 2(1954) 1(Copenhagen 1958), 199ff.= *Secondo contr.*(Roma 1960), 1ff., P.Pedech, *La méthode historique de Polybe* (Paris 1964), 99ff., M.Lausberg, *Gymn.*90(1983), 209f..

pugnatur The impersonal passive carries associations both of archaism and of military prose: vd. E.Fraenkel, *Eranos* 54(1956), 72 = *Kl.B.* 2, 72, Ogilvie on *Liv.*2.26.6, Harrison on 10.355f., 709f., LHS 287f., 418. In the present context (see below), the military flavour dominates: note the marked frequency of *pugnatur*, *pugnabatur*, *pugnatum* in Caes.

comminus Cf. **732**.

armis Not redundant; after **525**, they are fighting with real weapons of war. The semi-colon in Con. is preferable to the comma in Hirtzel, Mynors.

554 fors..dedit Cf. Cat.64.366 *dederit fors*, Hor.C.1.9.14 *fors..dabit*, Aen.4.653 *dederat..fortuna*, 10.49, 11.128 *dederit Fortuna*.

prima To be taken with **fors** or with **arma**? Cf. Fordyce *ad loc.* for a representative discussion. While there are cases (fewer, though, than have been suggested!) of real doubt in V.(for discussion and bibliography, cf. *Companion*, 229), here the question may be resolved: **imbuit** takes up **542 imbuit** and there V. writes of **primae.. funera pugnae**. The double echo (**imbuit, prima**) must be decisive in determining the sense of **prima** here and it may be that we are also meant to associate ‘fresh’ blood with ‘first’ weapons. The whole dialogue between Juno and Allecto refers to the very first occasion on which Latins and Trojans shed blood; at the outset **ira** (**508**) led them to use improvised weapons and only later (**523-7**) V. describes weaponry escalation, inspired by All. herself (**511-21**). Chance (contrast 2.387 *prima..Fortuna*) had little place in these events (certainly not enough to justify V. speaking here of *fors prima*), while Juno has every reason to refer to the very first occasion on which All. had caused **arma** to be used in the shedding of blood. This argument remains valid even if we punctuate with Sabbadini and Geymonat, with strong pauses at **causae** and **dedit** (ingenious but unconvincing; the short final member, **sanguis..arma** is unattractively anticlimactic). **sanguis nouus** Not a ritual expression, nor comparable to our ‘first blood’ (or blood shed where before there was none); thus rightly Nosarti *EV* 3,768; cf. F.Mencacci, *MD* 17(1986), 28ff.. **Nouus** indicates that the blood is freshly shed, not dried or crusted. Cf., of milk or wine, *Buc.*2.22, 5.67, 71; of blood, cf. 8.695, 9.693, 10.515 *caede noua* (with Harrison’s note).

imbuit Ring-composition with **542** (where see note): we have seen that the echo is decisive in interpreting this verse.

arma After **armis** in the same sedes in the preceding line (cf. *amore* at the end of 1.349, *amorum* at the end of the following verse, 5.569f., **7.653f.**, etc., Wills, 422). It has long been clear that V. repeated words with unusual freedom (or laxity), at least for modern tastes. While further enquiry (Wills, 473ff.) seems to reveal that at least some of the verbal repetitions collected by commentators are after all inserted for effect, the accumulated evidence for frequent unconcern

remains impressive (*pace* Hardie on 9.17): see Wills, 469ff., Fordyce on 7.491, 8.271f., and Austin on 1.85, 6.685, and notably 2.505 (a classic note, with ample references).

555 talia..tales Cf. 4.437 *talibus orabat talisque miserrima fletus*, 2.535f. **coniugia..hymenaeos** Cf. Cat.64.141 *sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos*, Aen.4.316 *per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos*; *coniugium* is in poetry from Cat.(66.28, etc.); it is not clear why V. did not write *conubium* (the u always long in acc.; the plur. form only here in V.) in **555**. Here, the nouns are precisely synonymous, as the anaphora suggests and as *EV* ss.vv. confirms. Synaloepha at 2D followed by monosyllabic **et** (which, as proclitic, blurs the caesura; cf. *Buc.*9.33, Austin on 4.674), with no word-break at 1½ (so too *G.*4.140 *primus abundare et*) and Greek quadrisyllable at line-end (cf. **344**, Norden, 438). Characteristically, Virgil clusters metrical anomalies to render in sound the stumbling rush of Juno's fiat. As goddess of marriage (cf. Buchheit, 74, Feeney, 133, 146), Juno is peculiarly involved (**314**, **317ff.**) in opposition to the union (destined though it is; cf. (e.g.) 12.805) of Aeneas and Lavinia.

celebrent Cf. Cat.64.302 *nec Thetidis taedas uoluit celebrare iugalis*, *EV* 1,722f..

556 egregium Veneris genus *Ironia est*, as Serv. says of 4.93 *egregiam uero laudem*; the same holds for 6.523, Helen as *egregia..coniunx* of Deiphobus, betraying him to the Greeks. The respectful use of *genus* (Cat.61.2, 64.23, Aen.4.12, 6.500, 792, 839, **7.213**, 12.127, 515) turns acid on Juno's lips, as Aeneas inherits the loathing (cf. 1.26f., Wlosok, 112-6) Juno has long felt for his mother. On Virgilian irony, cf. Sidgwick 2,503 s.v., R.B.Lloyd *EV* s.v.*ironia*.

rex ipse Latinus Formulaic; cf. **220**, **432**, 11.231, 12.657. For such formulae in *Aen.*, cf. Eden on 8.18, Moskalew, 80ff. Unlike Aeneas, Latinus is not a direct participant in the forthcoming nuptials, but in proper Roman manner negotiates for his daughter.

557 te Exceptionally emphatic by position. One such as Allecto has no (further) business on this earth. Note Venus' lament at 10.40f. *superis immissa repente! Allecto*; cf. too the anticipated reactions on Olympus at **558**. Here Juno acts from anxiety, not respect.

super aetherias..auras 'In the air above' (so Fordyce here and cf. his note on **531** and Austin's on 6.273; for a similar use of **sub**, cf. **82**); the phrasing (which evokes **543**) is Lucretian in origin (3.405; cf. *G.*2.291f., Aen.1.546f., 4.445f., 6.761f.), but König (133f.; cf. n. on **545**) well notes the marked similarity of Eur. *HF* 872f., Lyssa's closing

words to Iris: *στεῖχ' ἐς Οὐλυμπον πεδαίρους*, Ἴρι, γενναῖον πόδα· / ἐς δόμους δ' ἡμεῖς ἄφαντοι δυσόμεθ' Ἡρακλέους; she wonders if the analogies might be merely fortuitous but they are so numerous (*cede locis, Olympi, errare licentius, ipsa*) that it seems beyond doubt that V. has transferred Lyssa's final division of roles with Iris to Juno's final dismissal of Allecto.

errare licentius The verb already in Liv.Andr. (fr.11Bü.); also Enn. *Ann.* and *trag.*, Pacuv. and Cicero's poetry; the adverb apparently first here in poetry. It is high time Allecto returned home (312, 324, Thome, 182ff.); the upper air is (thanks to the etymology Hera-Ἥρα) intimately associated with Hera/Juno and V. sometimes alludes more or less explicitly to this link (cf. 287, 301).

558 haud..uelit As Venus too presupposes in addressing Jupiter himself, 10.40f.. With the polite uncertainty of *uelim* (cf. LHS, 333), Juno feigns (cf. nn. on 552 **terrorum et fraudis**, 557 **te**) respect for her spouse to hold her minion in check..

pater ille Archaic ritual language: cf. Austin on 2.779, Ogilvie on Liv.1.24.8, Harrison on 10.875 and n. on 110; *pater* is Homeric, *ille* deictic (Harrison). Given the tone of the next three words, 'formulaic' (*ib.*) is to underrate the phrase's solemnity; Juno overawes Allecto with grand and ancient language.

summi..Olympi Homeric (μέγαν or μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον) and Ennian (cf. Skutsch on *Ann.*1 and Harrison on 10.437).

regnator Twice in Naev. *Bell.Poen.*(10.3,18). Virgil (but cf. Cat. 64.204) avoids *rector* of deities; *rex* here would be lightweight. Cf. Lunelli-Leumann, 161, n.30 on the (different) case of *ductor* and *dux* (see in general *EV* 4,1062 on V.'s use of agent-nouns in *-or*). For some observations on Virgil's representation of cosmic monarchy in *Aen.* cf. Cairns,26, Hardie, 297.

559 cede locis Allecto is to depart from the scene of her victory (contrast NH on 2.1.26: gods who leave their cities in defeat). Distinguish 332f. **cedat/..loco**, 9.220 *loco..cedit*: the language of military withdrawal, or worse (Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1601.8), hardly appropriate here (cf. Fordyce *ad loc.*).

si qua Juno neither asserts brutally nor questions pathetically the outcome; we cannot attribute a tone of pitiful anxiety for the future (cf. nn. on 4, 401) to the *regina deum* just before she bursts open the Gates of War. Very similar is 1.18 (Juno's ambitions for Carthage *si qua fata sinant*); compare also the tone of (e.g.) 3.433 (Helenus can hardly call his own prophetic skill in question, though he expresses

himself with due modesty), *Buc.*6.57, *Aen.*9.41 *si qua interea fortuna fuisset*. There is no general rule for the interpretation of such expressions in V..

super..est Tmesis. Cf. Clausen on *Buc.*6.6 *super tibi erunt* and 8.17 *praeque diem ueniens*, Norden 452 on 6.254 *pingue super oleum fundens*, [*Aen.*]2.567, Gell.1.22.14 (perhaps wrongly!) on *Enn. Ann.*149, Housman on *Manil.*1.355; distinguish the mannered tmesis *inque ligatus* of 10.794 (where vd. Harrison; cf. too Lunelli, index s.v. 'tmesi artificiale') and cases (cf. Williams on 3.634f.) where the 'prefix' may really be an independent adverb.

fortuna laborum Cf. *G.*3.452 *non tamen ulla magis praesens fortuna laborum est*; we notice, even with wry amusement, that Juno attributes to herself those very *labores* (cf. **331**, n.) she has inflicted on the Trojans: *Aen.*1.10, *EV* 3,86, P.McGushin, *AJP* 85 (1964), 225ff., Cairns, 31ff.). The genitive indicates the sphere in which *fortuna* is (not) to occur: cf. *Enn. Ann.*188 *belli fortuna*, *Aen.*4.603 *pugnae.fortuna*, *TLL* 6.1.1188. 74(Hey). *Fortuna* here might indicate 'good luck'(cf. 8.15, 12.920, Bailey 235) or 'fate'(cf. 5.624f., 6.683, Bailey, 239), though the distinction itself is not Roman (cf. Scarcia, *EV* s.v.)!

560 ego..ipsa regam Successive lines begin with strong pause at 1½: not rare (cf. 6.196f., 407f., 12.263f., 267f.). For the redoubled pronouns, cf. *Buc.*2.51, 5.44, *G.*4.401, *Aen.*5.650, 846, 8.57, *Hor. C.*1.20.2 and common in comedy: Juno will really now take personal charge herself. She is after all *regina deum* (cf. Wissowa 187ff., Cairns 26, n.107); for the absolute use of the verb, cf. *Acc. trag.*142 (*di*). With Allecto's dismissal, Juno reasserts the initiative she delegated at **310** (on the element of ring-composition cf. Buchheit 77f.); an essential preliminary to her opening of the Gates of War(**620**).

talis dederat..uoces Cf. **557**, *Enn. trag.*258 (*orationem*), *Lucr.*6.110 (*crepitum*), *Aen.*11.534f. *uoces/..dabat*, 840 *dedit..uoces* a Virgilian coinage, apparently (Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1687.35). Perhaps pluperfect because V. wishes to indicate that Juno had finished speaking before Allecto departed.

Saturnia So already *Enn. Ann.*53 (daughter of Saturn; future friend of the *Saturnia terra*; so Skutsch *ad loc.*). Particularly common in the later books of *Aen.*(cf. **428**, **622**), because of Italy as *Sat. tellus* or (so SDan on 1.23, 4.92) on account of the baleful influence of Saturn and Juno's consequent cruelty: the idea is not anachronistic (cf. NH on *Hor. C.*1.11.2, Manilius, ed. G.P.Goold, xcviij). The two explanations are not necessarily exclusive (cf. L.A.McKay, *GR NS* 3(1956),

59f., and W.S.Anderson, *Stud. Phil.*55(1958), 520f.). Geymonat punctuates with a full stop at the end of this verse; correctly, given that from the first words of **561** the focus of the narrative changes entirely.

561 illa autem Sharp transition from principal to minion: after what she has achieved, Allecto can hardly be dismissed from our thoughts or from the text like Iris (bk.4) or the Dira (bk.12); her departure will recall the attributes and manner of her arrival, just as **573 regina** takes up **560 regam**, as Juno, now sole mistress of the action, sets to work (cf. Buchheit 78, Fraenkel 157f. and see below on **572 nec minus interea**).

attollit An unobtrusive workhorse of V.'s lexicon: cf., just of parts of the body, 1.354 (Sychaeus' ghostly *ora*), 4.688 (the dying Dido's eyes), 5.278 (a serpent's neck), 364, 847, 9.682.

stridentis Of hissing snakes, cf. 6.288 (the Lernaean hydra) *horrendum stridens*, *Culex* 179 *furit stridoribus*, Luc.1.574, Stat.*Theb.*1.599. Cf. **447 sibilat**.

anguibus Already Ennian: *trag* 384 *angue uillosi canis* (of Cerberus) if not *ib.*26.Cf. *EV* 4,798 for Virgilian synonyms for 'snake'.

alas: cf. **408, 476** (of Allecto), 8.369 (of Night). But are we really to conclude that Virgil here describes Allecto's wings as fringed (?) with hissing serpents? That would be entirely unparalleled, for literature, art and indeed the text of *Aen.*7 itself (**346, 450** hair; **347** hand) consistently locate snakes either in the hands, or in the hair of the Fury (cf. Thome 120, n.276, *LIMC* 3.1.841; note one deviant Apulian vase from Petersburg, *LIMC* 3.1, 834 n°65, for snakes on shoulders. Thanks to Prof.Margot Schmidt). Either, therefore, the poet here and here alone departs radically and inexplicably from a tradition elsewhere scrupulously respected (the tiny exception quoted is trivial; possibly the artist simplified the common snaky hair cascading to the shoulders), or we have to suppose another particularly complex (and hitherto unsuspected) case of transferred epithet (cf. **542, 549**). It is not the wings that hiss, of course, but the snakes (simple enallage), and because the snakes are not themselves on the wings, **stridentis** cannot be taken as actually describing those wings, but must apply, if we read the text with care, to **anguibus**, which—thanks to the transferred participle—has turned, it appears, into a (concealed) ablative absolute. Inevitably, readers shocked by this degree of grammatical unorthodoxy will prefer to attribute to the poet mythological /iconographic *Schlamperei*; nevertheless, the many experts in Greek vase-

painting I have asked about the problem are no less shocked at the thought that a Fury might be represented as carrying one of her principal attributes simply in the *wrong* place!

562 Cocyti..sedem Cf. on **472 Cocytia virgo**. For *sedes* + gen., cf. **209**, *EV* 4,750 (Spallone); see already Cat.81.3 *ab sede Pisauri*.

petit..linquens Simple **linquens** at Naev.*trag.*23.2 = 31 Ribb., Enn.*trag.*128, Pacuvius, Accius...; usage (cf. Scarcia's useful comparison, *EV* 4,229f.) of the compound *relinquo* suggests that for V. the verbs are synonymous; it would be inappropriate to talk of archaism here (cf. Harrison on 10.35f., Lunelli-Janssen, 127f.).

supera ardua supera γ (invaluable as supplement to the lacunose **P**) ω; **supra** f (Carolingian); **super** MRbdnr. Cf. 6.241, 750, 787, 10.251 for similar confusion; it should be noted that in these disputed cases the capital mss. tend—on a simple count—to prefer *super*. That is not in itself decisive, but adverbial *super* is common Virgilian usage.

Supera ardua, though, printed by Mynors, Perret and Geymonat, is also excellent poetic Latin: both adjectives occur as nouns in high poetry (**supera**: Enn.*trag.*309, **ardua**: Varius, *de morte* fr.4.5, *G.*3.315) and adj. used as noun and itself qualified by adj. is likewise adequately attested in uncontested passages: Lucr.2.96 *per inane profundum*, 122 (et *passim*) *in magno..inani*, *Buc.*6.31 *magnum per inane*, *G.*3.124, *denso..pingui*, KS 1,229. Despite ms. statistics, *supera* is slightly more difficult and (subjectively!) just more 'interesting': to be preferred, therefore, though with some very slight hesitation.

563-71 Intense recent work on the ecphrasis (cf. B.W.Boyd, *Vergilius* 41(1995), 71ff. for a lucid sample; vd. also M.C.J.Putnam, *ICS* 19(1994), 171ff. = (475-539, 1998), 75ff.) has concentrated on description of objects; places have lagged behind noticeably (as in Putnam *cit.* (1998), *ubique*): for V., cf. Rehm (1932), and Reeker (1971) and for some remarks on the conceptual background to topographical description in Latin, cf. *PBSR* 50(1982), 45ff. and *GR* 32(1985), 197ff.. V. employs nine lines to describe in seeming detail a spot whose active narrative function is limited to the words **quis condita Erinys**; his aim is therefore (Thome 78, n.150, 189, n.448, Reeker, 69) in some sense symbolic. When V. has to extract Aeneas swiftly from the Underworld, he transforms the practical necessities of narrative into a Mystery of genius (cf. *Companion*, 146f. for a summary of recent work); so here, on a lesser scale, V. employs a kind of ring-composition, taking up his first description of All. and Juno's appeal/orders to her (**323-40**). The details of Ampsanctus are (many of

them) a final evocation of Allecto herself in her full horror (and V. has probably in mind AR 2.298f., the disappearance of the Harpies—kin to Allecto, **323ff.**—into a cave; whether the departure of Ennius' Discordia is also relevant remains quite uncertain; cf. **540-640**); Hellish she was from the first and to Hell she returns. V.'s language is thus often both aptly topographical, yet specifically evocative of Allecto.

The violently sulphureous pond (of volcanic origin) at Ampsanctus, 23 km. ESE of Benevento (and only just off the Appian Way, though still memorably wild and remote), site of a shrine of Mephitis (cf. **84**, Giuliani (**670-77**), 24f., G.Radke, *Götter Altitaliens*(ed.2, Münster 1979), 211f.), interested the Romans: Cic.*Div.* 1.79(where see Pease's note), Varro *ap.Serv.* on **563**, *chorographi*, *ibid.*, Plin.*Nat.* 2.208 (vd. on **568**). These pools (listed by Varro, according to Serv. on **563**; **81ff.** describe another, Albunea, where vd. nn.. Ganschi-nietz' list at PW 10.2386.49ff. is perplexingly exclusive) are called *Charoneia*, *Plutoneia* or (cf. **568**) *spiracula* (*vel sim.*) and the notes to the ecphrasis that follows will draw attention to the numerous stock features in our literary descriptions (Rehm, 74f., Reeker, 68f.); it will also emerge that some details of the site of the planned ambush at 11.515ff. are likewise comparable. That says more about the inflexibility of topographical description than about significant associations. Sometimes such *Plutoneia* also counted as 'navels' of their home country, as Ampsanctus itself does (**563 Italiae medio** and the *chorographi* just cited): Delphi was Greece's most famous (M.Delcourt, *L'oracle de Delphes*(Paris 1981), 144-9), but there were several others (H.-V.Herrmann, *Omphalos* (Münster 1959), 100, n.300). In Sicily, note Enna (Cic.*Verr.*2.4.106, DS 5.3.2); in Italy, cf. also Cutilia (Cic.*Div.*2.115, with Pease's note, Plin.*Nat.*3.109, citing Varro; nothing monstrous about an Italy with two navels). Virgil shows fleeting acquaintance with the erudite tradition on Ampsanctus; for him this is not a learned or bookish, but a moral, or evocative landscape; for the myth of V. as curious traveller, cf. n. on **569 monstrantur**. On Ampsanctus, see: Mommsen, *CIL* 9,91f., Norden *EuV*, 23ff., J.A.S. Evans, *Vergilius* 10(1964), 12ff., K.Wellesley in *Vindex humanitatis: essays .. J.H. Bishop* (Armidale 1980), 164, *EV* s.v. *Ansanto* (Andreucci), I.Rainini, *Il santuario di Mefite* (Roma 1985), A.Bottini et al., *NSc.* 101(1976), 359ff., G.Tagliamonte, *I Sanniti*, (Milano 1996), 67f., *PGCS* 52 (L.Richardson).

563 est locus ἔστι δέ τις introduces an *ecphrasis loci* already in

Hom. (*Il.*2.811, *Od.*4.844); later instances have often been accumulated (*EV* 2,183f. (Ravenna), Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.*20, Ogilvie on *Liv.* 1.21.3, Austin on 2.21, Williams, *TORP*, 641); in *V.*, cf. 1.159f., 530, 3.163 and the similar 1.441f., 4.480f., 5.124f..

Italiae medio For geographical and terminological issues, cf. on **563-71**. For *medium* as noun, cf. 3.354 *aulai medio*, **7.59 tecti medio**, *Liv.*5.41.2 *medio aedium*, *TLL* 8.587.76(Bulhart); for the use of adj. as noun, cf. n. on **562 supera ardua**, LHS 154.

sub montibus altis Cf. **82f. sub alta /Albunea** (the prelude to an intimately related description; cf. on **563-71**). *Montes* are *alti* seven times in *Aen.*; cf. *Buc.*1.83(with Clausen's n.). Even Serv. drew attention to the discrepancy between reality and description (on **563** *nam in hoc loco montes penitus non sunt*), very little though it matters.

564 nobilis Cf. 8.341 *nobile Pallanteum*. Bell (207ff.) notes other passages where *V.* links roughly synonymous adjs in *-us* and *-ilis*: *G.*3.39, *Aen.* 5.591, **7.623**; given *nobilis*' regular slide of meaning towards *notus* (so with many other adjs. in *-bilis*), he proposes (208) that we really ought to interpret *V.*'s full meaning here as *nobilis notusque et memorabilis memoratusque*. But study of Virgilian adjs. in *-bilis* suggests that the termination's original sense ('passive', Leumann, 349f.; 'capable of being..', we might paraphrase) was in many cases felt very weakly (cf. *horribilis*, *terribilis*, *habilis*, *passim*) if at all: cf. **250 immobilis haeret**, **776 ignobilis** (where see nn.), 12.619 *inlaetabile murmur* (cf. 3.707), 3.39 *gemitus lacrimabilis*; the suspicion arises that many of these adjs. came to be treated just as metrically convenient synonyms (cf. *EV* 1,53; the *-ilis* termination is truly handy for the 5th. foot!). **764 placabilis** is a (different but) analogous problem.

et fama..memoratus Theme and much expanded variation. Cf. 5.391f. *ubi../. memoratus..? ubi fama?.*, *Liv.* 22.7.1 *haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna atque inter paucas memorata p.R. clades*. The verb is found in the tragic fragments. *Fama* applies to a toponym of the poet's world (cf. **2**), not the hero's (cf. 2.21, of Tenedos); *fama est* can likewise apply to both (cf. *PLLS* 6(1990), 49-63 = (much revised) *Alambicco*, 117ff.).

multis..in oris Despite appearances, not demonstrably archaic: cf. 2.788, *Hor.C.* 2.1.36. S.v. 'de marginibus regionibusve terrae vel mundi', *TLL* 9.2.866. 80 (Baer). So here 'regions', 'lands'. On this fluid and impalpable word, cf. the helpful discussion by Fo in *EV* s.v. More interestingly, cf. 3.97 *hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris*, *G.*2.171 *qui nunc extremis Asiae iam victor in oris*, *Hor.C.*3.3.45f., Christ,

23f.. As at **225f.**, V. introduces language his readers associated with imperial or national panegyric, though Ampsanctus' fame belongs, improbably enough (cf. **563-71**), to the poetic present.

565 Ampsancti γ (=P); **ampsacti** M; **amfracti** R; **amsancti** Serv. The spelling with -p- is attested in Cic.*Div.*1.79 and Plin. *Nat.* 2.208 and should therefore—V. is after all writing here partly in antiquarian vein—be followed in the text. Gen.sing. or nom.pl. (Fordyce)? The former, as is instantly clear from *TLL* s.v. (1.2017.50-66; cf. Mommsen, *CIL* 9, p.91f.). For toponyms thus in gen. cf. LHS 62f.; cf. below **697**, **713**.

valles A depression in a low plateau, in truth. Cf. 11.522 *est curuo anfractu ualles*.

densis..frondibus Self-borrowing from *Buc.*9.60f.. Woods are (cf. Rehm, 74f., n. on **82**, 3.442, 6.186, and compare too 11.523, cited below, n. on **566 ualles**) a standard element in such scenes.

hunc Cf., for this basic structural element in the geographical ecphrasis, **87 huc**, **611 has**, 1.170, 2.24 *huc*, 5.129 *hic*, 1.450 *hoc..in luco*, 11.526 *hanc super*, 3.276 *hunc*; *G.*2.532, *Aen.*2.18 and 6.138 are scarcely extensions.

atrum A colour particularly appropriate to Furies (**329**) and Hades (Lucr.3..966, *G.*1.243, *Aen.*9.105, Edgeworth, 82, Thome, 115ff.), NH on Hor.C.2.12.34,14.17, *EV* s.v. So inevitably too to Cacus' den: 8.262.

566 urget Like **valles** in the previous line, also present in the ecphrasis of the ambush site at 11.523f.. The likeness is extensive; there V. writes (*ualles*)..*quam densis frondibus atrum/ urget utrimque latus* (cf. Sparrow, 153, Moskalew, 95). Though in a finished version of the text V. might have eliminated such self-borrowing, he may also have wished to signal the similarity of the two scenes.

utrimque V. hints delicately (cf. O'Hara 191) at Ampsanctus' etymology (Serv. on 7.125 *id est undique sancti*, 565 *id est omni parte sancti*; cf. Varr. *LL* 5.28 on Amiternum); cf. O'Hara and index s.v. etymological play for lexicographic learning in epic narrative. Rainini's map (**563-71**, tav.C) shows just how different the site is from V.'s gorge.

latus nemoris Sparrow (*loc.cit.*) rightly notes, after Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 86, that at 11.524 *latus* is very hard without *nemoris*; for 'the side of a forest', cf. 6.42 *latus..rupis* (cf. 4.246 *G.*4.419), 1.160 *obiectu laterum* (the sides of a natural harbour), 3.418, 420 (the sides of the Straits of Messina), Hor.C.1.22.19, *TLL* 7.2.1028.60 (Kuhlmann).

medioque Cf. on **563** and vd. n. on **554** for V. and casual repetition.

fragosus/ 567..torrens The adj. is Lucretian in origin (2.860): cf. *fragor*; at **587**, 1.154, Albinov. *Pedo carm.*8; of Avernus, *G.*4.493; on adjs. in *-osus* cf. Harrison on 10.141, Leumann, 341, Lunelli-Leumann, 164: both colloquial and common enough in high poetry, in part as equivalent to Gk. *-όεις*. The *torrens* gains in importance by postponement; Reeker, 153 claimed this *torrens* as a Virgilian 'error' (as though accuracy had anything to do with ecphraseis!), wrongly (Rainini (on **563-71**), 5ff., Andreussi, *EV* s.v. *Ansanto*); such landscapes anyway change markedly with farming, time and weather.

dat sonitum Ennian (*Ann.*411,450 *sonitum dare uoce parabant*); vd. also Varr. *Atac.*fr.15.2, *G.*4.409. *Lucr.*6.110, 129, 143 are also very similar. Such composite phrases (**560**, *EV* 2,116) have an obvious advantage in weight and dignity over (e.g.) *sonat*. It is easy enough to conjure up an explanation for the alliteration in this line; note, though, that there is alliteration of the same consonant in **568**, where the same explanation cannot apply!

saxis et torto vertice That which causes the sound, exactly comparable to Ennian *voce* (*Ann.*450). V. may recall *Lucr.*1.293 *uertice torto* (cf. too V.'s own Phlegethon, *rapidus flammis..torrentibus* which *torquet..sonantia saxa*, 6.550f.). The phrase suggests not only rocks and whirling water, but also (by a sort of enallage, again, in as much as the water is not only itself whirled but is also the agent) *uertice qui saxa torquet*; cf. **378**, (less striking) **94f. effultus tergo stratisque.. uelleribus**, 6.558 *stridor ferri tractaeque catenae*, *EV* 2,220, Lunelli-Kroll, 31-3.

568 hic Cf. on **565 hunc**.

specus horrendum The gender of *specus* was contentious: cf. Serv. here and NW 1, 850f.. Virgil's choice of neuter was unconventional (possibly cf. Gk. *σπέος*, Leumann, 355) and little followed (*Ps. Quint. decl. mai.*10.19). Caves are part of the conventions of the scene (*Cacus*, 8.193, 210, 212, 224, 234, 241, 304; entry to Hades, 6.237; cf. 8.418, Rehm, 74f.) and that is enough, for it seems unlikely that *specus* could refer to the entire hollow within which the pool of *Ampsactus* stands.

saeui..Ditis *Dis* without *Pater* not in poetry before Virgil (for *Dis pater* cf. *Enn. var.*78, Wissowa, 309f.); the adjective is familiar—in its application to *Allecto*: vd. on **329**, **511**. Wagner (*ap.*Heyne) thought the adj. applied to *Ampsactus*' truly disagreeable smell (cf. **84**).

Interestingly (Thome, 104ff., *EV* s.v.), though *saeuus* is often applied to Juno (287), Mars, Furies, Harpies, Hydra (6.577) and the like, it seems not to have any sort of conventionally infernal connotation.

spiracula Technical language (cf. Plin.*Nat.*2.208 *quae spiracula uocant*, with list, possibly after Varro (as 2.209 is); cf. Beaujeu *ad loc.*, Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.79), found in Lucr.(6.493), but also close to Ennius, *Ann.*222 *sulpureas posuit spiramina Naris ad undas* (where vd. Skutsch's admirable n., and Norden *EuV*, 27f.) . Cic.'s reference (*loc.cit.*) to *aspiratione terrarum* makes it clear that the *spiraculum* is a vent through which the subterranean world takes breath (cf. **pestiferas**, O'Hara, 190) .

569 monstrantur Cf. 6.440f. *non procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem/ lugentes campi* (cf. *Alambicco*, 120); there it is significant that the 'learned' *sic nomine dicunt* follows, for the *campi* are not only shown to Aeneas by the Sibyl, but have been displayed to earlier readers by V.'s predecessors (Setaioli, *EV* 2,960f. is invaluable). Yet of *monstrantur* here, Wellesley (563-71), 164, n.24 writes: "is a clear indication of V.'s visit". Nevertheless, we are not dispensed from evaluating *monstrantur* in its literary tradition (cf. *Athen.* 66(1988),33), and Ampsanctus is 'shown' by V. to his readers, as it had been to earlier readers by V.'s sources (cf. on 563-71); it is high time we all realised that *uidi* very often does not mean 'I have seen' (*Companion*, 71f.: 'I have seen, sc. in a book', yes, often! Cf. also Thomas (492), 44ff.); no more does **monstrantur** imply 'I went and was shown'.

ingens..vorago For V., *uorago* is always infernal: cf. 6.296, 9.105, 10.114, a marked limitation of the word's range (a full entry (Caviglia) in *EV*). The application of **ingens** to a small smelly pond (the whole depression is of 4000 sq.m.) is of course perfectly in keeping with its narrative importance; Henry's discussion, 3, pp.39-45 remains unchallenged.

ruptoque Acheronte The *uorago* is created by the bursting out of Acheron (cf. 6.107 *tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso*), here clearly understood as the river and not the whole underworld (*EV* 1,23); the name enters Latin poetry early (Enn. *trag* 98, 192; cf. NH on Hor.*C.*1.3.36). Allecto (312) is going home (cf. Thome,78, n.150, 188ff.). For the participle in a middle sense ('bursting', rather than 'burst'), Fordyce compares *G.*3.428, *Aen.*1.246; cf. too *EV* 3,996, Fordyce on 503. With Allecto home, the circle opened at 312 **Acheronta mouebo** is closed.

570 pestiferas..fauces The *fauces* both emit (cf. 6.201, 7.84) noxious vapours (as they still do) and serve as a passage for the *pestis*

herself, **Allecto** (**505**; cf. 3.215, of Harpies, 12.845, 865 *Dirae*; cf. Thome 271, *Companion*, 211). For adjs. in *-fer*, cf. Colonna, *EV* 1,861. Harrison on 10.170. *Fauces* are a standard, even a technical term for such openings (Boscherini, *EV* 2, 480, Wulff, *TLL* 6.1.397.65): Cic. *ND* 2.95 *patefactis terrae faucibus*, Lucr.1.724, 6.639 etc., *G.*4.467, *Aen.*6.201,241, Liv.10.1.5, Mela 1.72, 2.95, *quinquies* just in Plin. *Nat.*4.

aperit Cf. 2.246f. *aperit Cassandra..ora*.

condita Rfrstuv; **condit** Myabcdeh, *alii ap.*Serv.. Serv. suggests implausibly that we supply *se* with *condit*; the only alternative justification of *condit* would be (to paraphrase) *Erinys condit suum inuisum numen*, a flaccid and cumbrous periodic sequence. Clearly V. wrote *condita* (cf. 8.66, 12.893), and scribes were disconcerted by the 5th. foot synaloepha (cf. on **464**); so at 12.741. Seventeen cases in *Aen.*(e.g. **523**) of synaloepha of a here in the verse, Norden, 455; synaloepha of e at this point is much more common, but that is no reason (*pace* Norden, *loc.cit.*) for fussing about the text here.

Erinys Cf. **447**, *EV* 2,621, Thome, *passim*. Apparently a rare (though metrically handy) synonym for *Furia*; Lucilian (170 *Eumenidum sanctissima Erinys*) and presumably once in the tragedians.

571 inuisum numen Necessarily in apposition with **Erinys**, once we realise that V. wrote **condita**, not **condit**; hardly retained accusative after passive verb (cf. Harrison, p.290f.). Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 73, quoted at **327 odere sorores**; cf. Thome, 103 . **Numen** as at *G.*1.10 *agrestum praesentia numina*, *Fauni*, *Aen.*12.182, *EV* 3,781, E.Henry 189, n.14

terras caelumque The realms, not her own, to which Juno had called her. Cf. Hardie, *CI*, 298, NH on Hor.C.1.12.15, 28.1: part of an old nexus of polar expressions; here, cf. Enn.*Ann.*556, *trag.* 235, 223 *caelo atque terrae*, Lucr.5.417, 446 *terris discernere caelum*; for the plural *terras*, cf. Clausen on *Buc.*6.32.

leuauit R; the impf. **leuabat** (in the rest of the transmission) I find very hard to explain: her departure is instantaneous and the consequences of *Allecto*'s terrestrial sojourn remain with us until the end of the *Aen.*; thus her descent in no way 'begins' a process of alleviation, for the situation in fact worsens (as Fordyce, printing **leuabat**, cheerfully admits), and if the impf. is not inceptive, it becomes even harder to explain. The perf. should not be dismissed as a vagary of **R**; rather, I suspect that **R** alone was unaffected by the very common substitution of b for v (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*,390), which has permeated

our other mss. It is hard (cf. *ib.*, 299f.) to find an account of **R**'s (admittedly rather infrequent) lapses into merit (for yet another, cf. the previous line!).

572 nec minus A Lucretian transition (6.14, 550); cf. also *G.*1.393, 2.429, *TLL* 10.1.4.26ff.(Gatti).

interea Apparently first in **V.**; the advb. can indicate 'loose temporal sequence', rather than the stock dictionary tr. 'meanwhile' (so e.g. Harrison on 10.1; see too *EV* s.v. and O.W.Reinmuth *AJP* 54(1933), 328, for whom it has become an adversative particle!). But here, Juno drives her minion back home (**560**) and only now (cf. **540-640** for the structure of this narrative and note that both Juno's titles are repeated from **560**) herself sets about starting the war proper: her actions are sequential, while Allecto's departure coincides perhaps even with both (cf. T.E.Kinsey, *Glotta* 57(1979), 263), for she has after all to fly 200km. to her point of descent!

extremam..manum..imponit Hyperbaton underscores Juno's climactic action. Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 126 *manus extrema non accessit operibus eius*, *Balb.*17, *TLL*.7.1. 655. 32 (Hofmann). An expression which struck ancient readers: *et est translatio a pictura* (Serv.); *Iuno succedens complebat quae illa forte..imperfecta dimiserat* (TCD) *extremam manum, quam imposuit Iuno per Furiam; perfectionem autem significare e.m. inde magis apparebit...* (*id.* on **7.815**), and Aelius Donatus himself on Ter. *Andr.*412 *cum perficitur id quod coeperit*, contrasting this passage and the *opere in medio* of *G.*3.519. Note Icarus' *manus ultima* at *Ov.M.*8.200 and cf. Brink on Hor. *AP* 291, 294 for the diffusion of metaphors from artistic finish. *Manum imponere* literally (of Mucius Scaevola) at *Sen.Ep.*24.5.

Saturnia Cf. n. on **560**.

bello It has begun (**482**, **541**, **545**), yet is still (**553**) less than a proper war.

573 regina Cf. n. on **560 regam**; a title used by **V.** rarely and at critical points (1.9,46, **7.620**).

ruit Of large bodies of men also at 2.64, 12.123, 621.

omnis..numerus Cf. (e.g.) the *numerum* of refugees ready to follow Aeneas at 2.797 and the *nemo ex hoc numero* of 5.305; vd. Zorzetti *EV* s.v. A flat, neutral word (Lyne, *WP*, 13).

in urbem Latinus' city is no less focus of the action than Troy had been. Cf. my remarks at *Athen.*78 (1990), 525 for **V.**'s view of the urbanisation of heroic Italy.

574 pastorum ex acie The *pastores* in a body (*numerus*) rush from array (*acies*) to settlement. **Pastorum** is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (cf. De Meo, *EV*

1,219). V. uses *acies* to denote not a regular Roman line of battle but any body of troops (9.27f., 12.368f., Malavolta, *EV* s.v., Kempf, *TLL* 1.404.13), in line rather than column. Virgil frequently adopts technical military language (cf. index s.v); here the soldiers' and historians' word has drifted into poetic imprecision! By this point *pastores* are not charming rustics swept unwilling into war by superior powers, but robust countrymen able and willing to take up arms; cf. **504ff.** on this metamorphosis.

caesosque For the poetic lexicon of killing vd. Axelson, 65-8, Lyne *WP*, 106-8 with further bibl.: 'the somewhat lurid *occido*' (Lyne, 107) is very rare in V., while the *simplex caedo* (in origin 'hew down!') is poetic from Enn. on (*Ann.* 121, 130). **577 caedis** may have been Ennian (*trag.* 23, 281, both doubtful); in Lucr. and Cat..

reportant So Pallas' body is returned to Evander's city (11.26f.) while the Latins gather their dead *urbique remittunt* (11.206; cf. Saunders, 123).

575 Almonem puerum Taking up **531-3**; cf. in particular **531** (with n.), the pathetic use of **iuuenis**, balancing the no less pathetic **535** (with n.) **seniorque Galaesus**; on **p.**, cf. **162**.

foedatique ora Galaesi The mode of his death was omitted in the narrative, because Almo's was specified (**533f.**); now we are told that the fatal wound was in the face (cf. Heuzé, 296, n.343). *Foedo* (of Priam's death-wound at 2.501f. *per aras/sanguine foedantem..ignis*; cf. 12.99): a word (cf. Austin on 2.55) of noble literary ancestry: from Enn.*trag.* 399 *ferro foedati iacent*, Cic. *carm.* Aesch. 2.19 (of Prometheus' torment), Lucr. 4.844, Cat. 64.224, Cornificius fr. 2, inc. vers. 25 Büchner. V.'s periphrastic mode of expression renders specific the literal de-facement (with enallage of the participle); for the stileme's Greek antecedents and Roman history, cf. **650**.

576 implorantque deos Contrast the sense at **502**; mysteriously absent from Hickson's account of Virgilian verbs of petition (45-51); perhaps (cf. **7.311**, 12.652, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.647.53), in keeping with the circumstances, a verb of greater colour and intensity that (e.g.) *oro* or *precor*. V. reintroduces in reverse order (Fraenkel 156, Buchheit, 78f.) the elements (*matres*, Turnus, rustics) of his narrative of Allecto's activity. Now all (**cuncti**, **583**) her victims call for war.

obtestanturque Latinum As climax to their role, the rustics call on their king to witness the corpses they have brought; the verb is Ennian (*Ann.* 498) and Pacuvian (*praetext.* 2), of appropriate weight and grandeur (for the second half of an hexameter similarly constructed, cf. 8.626 *Romanorumque triumphos*).

577 Turnus adest Latinus' abdication of *active* authority (**586-600**) is set in the context of universal recognition of his supremacy (cf. **585**) in the region and (potentially) crucial role at this point: a precisely calculated disappointment of expectations.

medioque in crimine caedis "In the midst of accusations of homicide": the expression is strikingly compressed, though not unusual: cf. Hor.C.2.4.7 *medio in triumpho*; **caedis** is not "the objective genitive expressing the object of the charge" (i.e., the person or thing charged; Owen on Ov. *Tr.*2.564) but the defining genitive which conveys the grounds of the accusation; *OLD* s.v.§1c weakly renders "the outcry at the slaughter", but far better, §b cites e.g. Cic. *Att.* 9.2a.2 *ingrati animi crimen*, Liv.8.22.3 *crimine stupratae matrisfamiliae*, Tac. *Ann.*4.36.2 *uiolentiae criminibus*; cf. Hor. *AP* 262 *artis crimine turpi*. So here "the accusation of murder (sc. against the Trojans)" .

et igni MyRω; ignis γ₁ *abderet*. The gen.(not an acceptable option) is presumably under the influence of preceding **caedis**. **Igni** (cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.295.84) is not particularly easy (another reason for corruption), but possible, as Serv. (*feruore seditionis*) realised; cf. Val.Aedit.fr.2.5 *ignem Veneris* , *Buc.*5.10 *Phyllidis ignis* with Clausen's note; here, though, *caedis* is clearly not dependent and *igni* must bear a sense close to that suggested by Serv.; **355 ossibus implicat ignem**, where **i.** suggests both the poison and the consequent madness is not far distant. The forger of 2.575, a master scholar of Virgilian anomalies (cf. now E.Courtney, *CJ* 93(1998), 157ff. on the skill of some of these nameless poets), allowed himself *exarsere ignes animo*.

578 terrorem ingeminat Possibly a Virgilian coinage and rather a favourite: thrice in *G.* and eight other instances in *Aen.* Fear not only of invasion but at the lack of organised resistance. For O.O. dependent not on a verb of speech, cf. **151**, with n.(after **explorant**), **255ff.** (meditations upon an old *sors*), **469f.** (no longer dependent on **iubet**), 9.67f. (Turnus' thoughts; cf. 9.399ff., 12.486), 11.102ff.(after noun *oratores*; *ib.*227, after *responsa*), 11.449 (the *terrores* created among the Latins by Aeneas' onset!), 11.898ff. (after *nuntius*); Hight's list of instances of O.O. in *Aen.*(342f.) could be bettered.

Teucros in regna uocari Turnus' fomenting of popular fears (cf. Cairns, 67) in reaction against Latinus' understanding of Faunus' prophecy (**96ff.**; cf. 8.147ff.) and consequent decisions (**259ff.**); **regna** reveals Tu. in his (inconsistent) vein as the Latins' (heroic but interested) defender. Cf. *Companion*, 209f. with full references; cf. Dido too, at 4.374 *et regni demens in parte locauit*.

579 stirpem admisceri Phrygiam Cf. Venus on Trojans and Carthaginians, 4.112; for intermarriage of Trojans and Latins (beyond, that is, the symbolic union of Aeneas and Lavinia), cf. 6.93, **7.96** etc; on bk.12, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35(1989), 21f., *RFil.*119(1991), 188-92. The choice of both noun (after all, a metaphor from arboriculture, the 'stock'; cf. *EV* s.v. and n. on **293**) and adj., *Phrygiam* (as often, opprobrious; cf. nn. on **207**, **294**, **358**, **363**, **430**) play on native fears—officially purged from the Aeneas-legend, but implicit when required for plot or polemic—of the Trojans as Eastern degenerates: cf. Horsfall, *Lat.*30(1971),1113-6, *RFil.* 117(1989), 57-61, *Vergilius. cit.*, 23, Gruen (**783**), 30f.. **Admisceri**: at Suetius fr. 1.1, Cic. *Arat.* fr.10.2 and eight times in Lucr.; cf. *TLL* 1.747.11(Klotz).

se limine pelli The threshold both of power and of consummation; though in *V. limen* has an almost unvaryingly public implication (4.645 and **7.343** are private but not erotic; cf. *EV* s.v.), Tu. can hardly be speaking here with no thought of the 'betrothed'(cf. **424**) of whom he comes to believe himself robbed (cf. e.g. Tib.1.2.17, NH on Hor.C.1.25.4 for amatory *limina*). **Pelli** might seem to suggest Turnus as virtually an *expulsus amator* (cf. Ter. *Eun.*215, 1080, Prop.3.16.9, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.7.1010.43), but *simplex pellere* can just as well bear a public sense (**217**, 1.385,10.852, 11.539 etc.) and the public Turnus (vd. on **578 Teucros..**) here gives no explicit hint of confused motives and private interests. Despite Amata's support of Turnus, Latinus has said no word of him since the beginning of his meditations upon his daughter's destiny; cf. on **98**.

580 tum quorum The genitive's antecedent is the unexpressed subject of **coeunt**, qualified by **undique collecti**; **matres** suggests that their sons are meant, Turnus' contemporaries, as their mothers are Amata's. While the **matres** are still cavorting in the undergrowth, their warrior sons more properly call for action.

attonitae Baccho Often used of reactions to divine intervention: cf. *TLL* 2.1157. 31(Otto), *Aen.*3.172 *attonitus uisis*, 4.282 *attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum*, 5.659 *attonitae monstris*, Hor.C.3.19.14f. *ternoster cyathos attonitus petet/uates*. First at Sall.*Hist.*fr.1.136 and a favourite with both Livy and Ovid.

nemora auia The home (cf. **83**) of birds at Lucr.2.145, 346 (*nemora auia peruolitantes*); of the first musicians (*auia per nemora*) at 5.1386. The presence of *matres* in pathless woodland is not merely oxymoron, but a measure of their (indecorous) frenzy. The transposition of Greek ὄρειβάκία (cf. now J.N.Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, *GR* New Surveys 24

(Oxford 1994), 78ff.) to the Roman Campagna is bold, paradoxical and terrible.

581 insultant Cf. Enn.*trag* 124 *inibat alacris Bacchico insultans modo*; rare, though, with a direct object: Wieland, *TLL* 7.1.2045.24 cites Ter.*Eun.*285, Apul.*Met.*2.26.7. For this phenomenon of ‘transitivisation’, cf. A.Lunelli, *Aerius* (Roma 1969), 81, Görler, *EV* 2,267, *id. Vergilius* Suppl.2(1982), 50-2 with n.11.

thiasis The Greek technical term for a company of Bacchantes (Dodds and Roux on Eur.*Ba.*56f.); cf. Cat.64.252, *Buc.*5.30 *thiasos inducere Bacchi* (with Clausen’s note).

neque enim In the area of ‘really not’ or ‘truly not’ (*enim* in the affirmative sense); cf. 6.52 *neque enim ante dehiscens*, 368 *neque enim, credo, sine numine diuom*, Hand 2,100, KS 2, 43f..

leue nomen N. is a good deal more than ‘mere’ denomination: ‘name’ in the widest sense, fame, and authority are all implied (*EV* s.v.). Cf. 11.688f. *nomen tamen haud leue patrum/manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae*, **7.232 fama leuis**, 12.764f. *leuia..praemia*.

582 undique collecti An historians’ verb: Sisenna fr.64, Caesar (and the Corpus), Livy; but also common in both *G.* and *Aen.* (*undique collecti* already at 2.414).

coeunt At Cat.64.37, *trag.* inc.57, Lucr. 6.1148, *carm.bell.Act.*5.40, but also Caes., Livy.

Martemque fatigant *Trag.* inc.38 *Martem fatigat prodigus uitae furor* might be Servius’ invention (Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1.348.81). Cf. rather Lucr.2.1169 *saeclumque f.*, 4.1239 *diuom numen sortisque f.*, Hor. *C.*1.2.26ff. *prece qua fatigent..Vestam*: the sense is clearly that of calling ceaselessly and importunately upon (cf. Hardie on 9.24). The young men are enamoured of Mars (**550**) and Juno will shortly open his gates (**608**).

583 ilicet Cf. Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 17-38 (esp.31) (summarised, *EV* s.v.): an archaism (originally, “farewell”) revived by V. in a temporal sense, not a convenient synonym (as is often said, from SDan./Serv. on) for *ilico*, but, *quinquies*, “all in a context of trouble or alarm” (Austin on 2.424), with the meaning “c’est en fait” (Perret), “it’s all up”.

infandum..bellum..poscunt Cf. 12.804 *infandum accendere bellum* (cf. 572 *belli..nefandi*); Accian (*trag.*131) and in the one fragment we have of the *Thyestes* of V.’s friend Varius; a favourite with Virgil (once in *G.*, seventeen times in *Aen.*). V. deploys powerful means in his summary of the effects of Allecto’s maleficence: the adj. as second word juxta-

posed with the subject **cuncti** (not a simple synonym for **omnes**: “all together”, from Enn. on; cf. *EV* s.v.) the hyperbaton **infandum.. bellum**, the anaphora of **contra** and the delayed verb.

contra omina Cf. **64ff.**, **269f.** We may think of the auspices a Roman general takes before battle (Bailey, 15, comparing 11.589); cf. D.S. Levene *Religion in Livy* (Leiden 1993), 42, 48 *et passim*.

584 contra fata deum In the context, we think above all of *fata* as the spoken word of the gods (in particular **82**, **239**, **255f.**); fate in this sense is the gods’ will (Bailey, 225, Heinze, 293, Pötscher, 83ff.). They have expressed themselves through portent (twice, **71**) and prophecy and to oppose them is impious, as Latinus comes to realise (12.31 *arma impia sumpsit*), and as the civil war had itself been impious (*G.*1.511, *Aen.*1.294, *Hor.*C.2.1.30 *impia proelia*, Jal, 391ff.). Cf. **595 sacrilego**. For the moment, though, the epic voice (Lyne, *FV*, 79).

peruerso numine In Virgilian usage (cf. *EV* s.v., Bailey, 60-9), *n.* refers to divine will or influence, though *Lucr.*(e.g.3.144) differs. Here, therefore, either V. departs, violently, from his own coherent sense of *numen*, or the word must refer not to the Latins themselves but to their evil inspiration, *Allecto* (cf. 1.674, 3.372, **7.385 simulato numine Bacchi**, Pötscher, 59f.). The variation of construction (**contra..**, **contra..**, abl.abs.) eliminates any linguistic awkwardness in the passage from Latins to deity (*aliter*, Buchheit, 106). **Peruerso** is not far from Eng. ‘perverse’ (cf. *Cic.**Att.*1.13.2, *Buc.*3.13); but here perhaps also ‘perverted’ (cf. *OLD* s.v. §3b, *Ov.**Tr.*2.301 *omnia peruersas possunt corrumpere mentes*).

585 certatim Cf. **146**, **472**. At *Cat.*64.392, and *Ciris* 412, but also in Plautus and the historians (Sisenna, Sallust, Livy); the three groups advance their grievances in (noisy: vd. the alliteration) rivalry.

circumstant At Ennius, *Alcmeo*, 27, *Lucr.*3.469; nine times in V. (cf. 11.388 *circumstant undique muros*).

tecta Latini: cf. **161 tecta Latinorum**; very convenient at Lend (cf. 6.211 *t. Sibyllae* and **342 Laurentis tecta tyranni**), but never a Virgilian ‘formula’.

586-90 Resistit is the one word that tells of the resistance L. offers to the triple pressure applied, though the **uerum** of **591** shows that the whole simile is to be read in the same spirit (Balk, 77-80), while resistance is excluded from the narrative. Rock is, conventionally, symbolic of inflexibility (4.366f., with Pease’s note, 6.471); here, paradoxically, Latinus’ positive obduracy is ephemeral! Water in violent motion links **462ff.**, **528ff.** and this simile; the imagery is then taken

up by **594** and **598** (v.Duhn, 80, S.Harrison, *PLLS* 5(1985), 100f., P.Johnston, *Vergilius* 27(1981), 27). The simile's origins are a little more complex than has been suspected, however: *Il.*15.618ff. ἴσχον γὰρ πυργηδὸν ἀρηρότες, ἥύτε πέτρη/ ἠλίβατος, μεγάλη, πολιῆς ἄλος ἐγγυς ἐοῦσα/ ἢ τε μένει λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα/ κύματά τε τροφόντα, τὰ τε προσερεύγεται αὐτήν (Hector assaulting the Greek ranks; note in the very next simile 626 ἄχνη, which might have suggested **spumea**; so too the foam-covered rocks of *Il.*4.426), whence more obviously 10.693-6 (Mezentius' implied phase of passive resistance to the Etruscans' assault, where vd. both Harrison's note and A.Perutelli, *Gnom.*67(1995), 313); here, note passive resistance to mass verbal assault (cf. Balk, 77f.), a notable reversal of the Homeric situation. But consider also Oedipus, *Soph.**OC* 1240ff πάντοθεν Βόρειος ὥς τις ἀκτὰ/ κυματοπλήξ χειμερία κλονεῖται, where like here the lone individual is the object of assault. Note also *Il.*2.209f. , the crowd pouring out of the assembly, like a wave breaking against the headland, thunderously (cf. V.'s insistence on the element of noise). Implicit is also the ancient comparison of turbulent crowd and choppy sea (cf. 1.148ff., with Austin's note, 10.97f.).

586 ille uelut.. Ille refers to Latinus, **immota** to **rupes** and **resistit** to both. Cf. 6.471 *quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*, 10.134 (Ascanius) *qualis gemma micat fuluum quae diuidit aurum*, *Cat.*64.240 **liquere** (subj. is both *mandata* and *nubes*, from the simile; see Baehrens' n.), *Hor.**C.*4.4.42-4 *Afer..cei flamma per taedas uel Eurus/ per Siculas equitauit undas*, *Ov.**Her.*10.139 *corpus ut impulsae segetes aquilonibus horret*. This particular form of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ or zeugma (LHS, 834f.) has a long literary history, both Homeric and Hellenistic (cf. Norden on *Aen.*6 *cit.*, Lunelli-Kroll 35, n.38 and J.Vahlen, *Opuscula Academica* 2 (Leipzig 1908), 192, n.30).

pelago rupes V, Mynors, Geymonat. Might **V** alone have preserved what Virgil wrote here? Not at all impossible (cf. Geymonat, *SCO* 14 (1965), 94, *MPL* 8 (1987), 53); even **R** does, sometimes (vd. index s.v.). And **pelago**[dat., of course] **rupes resistit** is admirable, as sense and grammar, needing no further confirmation from Homeric models (cf. **586-90** and compare *Ov.* *Met.*15.339 (the Symplegades) *uentisque resistunt*). It is superfluous to explain **pelago** as abl., though that would not actually be unvirgilian (cf. 1.364, 2.179, 10.165). The difficulty lies in **pelagi rupes** (codd.; **pelago** scripsi) in the following line: while multiple epanalepsis (cf. Wills, 156f., citing

Aen. 1.108ff., 12.896f.; ‘epanalepsis’ at Lausberg 1, 317) regularly involves variation in sequence (Munro on *Lucr.* 5.1189; cf. (e.g.) Wills 125, n.5), variation of word-form seems to be avoided entirely (LHS 811f., E.von Wölfflin, *SB München* 1882.3, 427ff. = *Ausgew.Schr.* (Leipzig 1933), 288ff. Norden and Austin on 6.164, Fordyce here, Wills 124ff., *EV* s.v. *geminatio*; *Rhet.Her.* 4.38 **eiusdem unius aut plurium uerborum iteratio**); distinguish, however, passages (not epanaleptic) such as *Il.* 6.395f. or *Aen.* 11.358 where the variation (comparable to polyptoton; cf. Wills, 272ff.) itself has rhetorical value and cases (cf. **554**; after Wills, perhaps fewer than we once thought!) where repetition seems almost casual. The repeated **pelagi** of almost the entire transmission (**V** excepted) is not to be thought of as locative (NW 1.370, 2.643ff., Leumann 426f.) but genitive, and with **rupes**, to be sure, not **fragore** in 587 (*pace* Mynors, *per litt.*), for eye and mind cannot leap over the immediately adjacent noun to light by intuition of hyperbaton upon some distant preference. The genitive, though, is itself slightly problematic, for the rock does not exactly belong to the sea, but is opposed to it. Caesar, however, can say *insula fluminis* (*BC* 7.57.2), or *uadum fluminis* (*BC* 1.83.4); cf. [Sen.] *Oct.* 382 *Corsici rupes maris*, Juv. 13.246 *maris Aegaei rupem* and Turpilius (*com.* 114) *maris scopuli*. Possible, therefore, but apparently not a usage of high poetry. I suggest that a scribe who did not realise **pelago** was ind. obj. of **resistit** brought the ‘easy’ and pervasive **pelagi** into the tradition at **586**, which in turn caused—by eye and echo—the omnipresent **pelagi** in **587**; the double dat. will occasion surprise, yet—once it is acknowledged that variation of form between **586** and **587** is unacceptable (though Wills, 167 mysteriously does not recognise the difficulty and prints Mynors’ text without comment)—we cannot but acknowledge its superiority to the double gen.

immota resistit See above **586—90** on the *rupes* of 10.696, *ipsa immota manens*; cf. too the *portus* of 3.570 *ab accessu uentorum immotus*. First attested in Virgil: he uses his (?) coinage fourteen times!

587 magno ueniente fragore Cf. **462 magno ueluti cum flamma sonore**, **677 magno..fragore**, 1.154 *pelagi..fragor*, 3.555 *gemitum ingentem pelagi*; if there is *exornatio* of sound in the -e -e endings, I cannot hear it, and there is nothing else just like it in V. (G.3.401 *sole cadente* is not exactly similar), but cf. Norden, 407.

588 sese..mole tenet Cf. 10.802 *furit Aeneas tectusque tenet se* (with Harrison’s note). Though *moles* can indicate a great piece of rock (9.516, 711), here it surely denotes the bulk or mass of the *rupes*, as

ships (5.118), monsters (3.656, 8.199), or warriors (Mezentius, 10.771: *mole sua stat*) have their imposing *moles*; the word itself is particularly common in Accius and Lucretius.

multis..latrantibus undis We have already seen at **526** **horrescit strictis seges ensibus** how myth influences metaphor; here, the attentive reader hears the barking of Scylla's dogs: cf. *Acc.trag.*569f. *hac ubi curuuo litore latratu [latrans Scaliger]/ unda sub undis labunda sonit*, *Cat.* 60.2 *Scylla latrans*, *Sall.Hist.*4.fr.27 *quia collisi ibi fluctus latratus uidentur exprimere*, *Ciris* 59 *latrantibus inguina monstris*. Note also *Luc.*6.66: *latrare Pelorum* (which implies that he understood V. here as I have suggested). The elder Pliny twice uses *adlatro* of the sea with no sense of the word's resonances. Lyne (*WP*, 97) ingeniously draws attention to the use of *latrare* to describes raucous and untimely speech: *latrant enim iam quidam oratores, non loquuntur (Brut.*58). Could V. therefore be hinting, via the simile, at the bawling of the crowd before Latinus' palace? Or is Lyne barking up the wrong tree? The two interpretations here suggested are not even necessarily exclusive, but I am more confident (as is now M.L.Delvigo, *Gnom.*67 (1995), 215f., independently of Horsfall 1971, 150!) of Scylla's presence behind Virgil's choice of metaphor!

circum Cf. *G.*1.377 *lacus circumuolitauit hirundo* (= *Varr.Atac.*fr.14.4; very clearly a verse V. loved), 2.698 *et late circum loca sulphure fumant*, **7.104 sed circum late uolitans ..Fama**, 12.606f. *tum cetera circum/turba furit*, *Sen.Dial.*6.22.5 *circumlatrare hominem*. Virgil clearly used *circumuolitare* both in tmesis and entire; *circumfurere* and *circumfumare* are instances of tmesis possible but not secure, while here the analogy of *circumuolitare* suggests we should print *circumlatrare* as a single word. *TLL* 3.1153.40 is undecided. Cf. n. on **589**.

589 scopuli I.e. Gk. κρόπελος, not a Lat. diminutive! Cf. *trag.* inc. 140, *Cat.*64.244, twice in *Hor. C.*; very dear to V.(5 in *G.*, 27 in *Aen.*); see *EV* s.v. Whether **rupes** (**586**), **scopuli** and **saxa** (**590**) may usefully be distinguished is very doubtful (Capasso, *EV* 4,691, citing 5.124-209, 864-6, 3.559); elegant variation.

nequiquam Unevenly favoured by prose authors; also tragic (*Enn.*, *Pacuv.*), *Lucretian* (thirteen), *Catullan* (seven); in V., 5 times in *G.*, 36 in *Aen.*, against *frustra*, 2 *Buc*—8 *G.*—19 *Aen.* Cf. Wölfflin, *ALL* 2(1885), 9-11, Axelson, 128, Harrison on 10.121f. It is clearly the sea that roars in vain against the cliff (cf. *Eng.Hymnal* 375.5.1: "In vain the surge's angry shock!"); Virgil, however, transfers *nequiquam* to the cliff itself, that roars to no effect (a sort of hypallage; the cliffs after all

echo or amplify the roar of the sea): thus Fordyce and Williams *ad loc.*, Balk, 79.

et spumea..saxa The copula is omitted by **V**, unattractively: **scopuli** as gen. has no charms while the coupling of the roughly synonymous **scopuli** and **saxa** is entirely in the poet's manner (Serv., unlike some older edd., got this quite right). Cf. Cat.64.121 *spumosa ad litora*, Aen.5.124f. *est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra/litora*; for (metrically convenient and often new-coined) adjectives in *-eus* (cf. here the *pontus..spumeus* of 11.626), vd. Leumann, 286, Ross, 60ff., Norden on 6.281, Lunelli-Leumann, 163f. The alliteration may suggest the hissing of the foam on the rocks.

circum..fremunt We should not exclude that this may be another case of tmesis. So too Elsperger, *TLL* 3. 1146.80f.. Thus 6.175 *ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant* and Sen.*Dial.*9.5.4 *armis circa et catenis frementibus*; clearer, *ib.* 6.7.2 (*aves*) *cum stridore magno inanes nidos circumfremuerunt*. The evidence necessary to resolve these questions is sadly confused by scribal and editorial conventions, nor is it clear whether prose and verse usages might be different. With *fremunt* (Ennian and Lucretian), cf. 11.299 *uicinaeque fremunt ripae* and *EV* s.v. (Traina). For the hypallage, cf. on **nequiquam** *supra*.

590 lateri Cf. G.4.419 *l.montis*, Aen.3.420 *latus(sc. freti)*, 6.42 *l.rupis*, **7.566 l.nemoris**, Hor.C.1.22.19 *l.mundi*, *TLL* 7.2.1028.60 (Kuhlmann).

inlisa Cf. G.3.261f. *et scopulis inlisa reclamant/aequora* (death of Leander), 9.713 (underwater building) *penitusque uadis inlisa recumbit* (and *quater* elsewhere in *Aen.*); the verb is perhaps Lucretian (4.1080) in origin.

refunditur alga Seaweed: Iliadic (9.7), and Catullan (64.60; cf. Hor.C.3.17.10); it is flung against the rock by the incoming wave and then sucked back. as the sea recedes. Participle and verb, juxtaposed in position, are opposed in sense and metrical shape. At **225**, the sea itself, as elsewhere, is 'poured back'; here the verb (*quinquies* in **V**.; cf. **225**) is strikingly transferred to the sea's vegetation.

591 uerum ubi.. The end of Latinus' explicit resistance, though the careful reader will discover that more is to follow; *uerum*, as often (e.g. G.4.405, 443, Aen.3.670) is strongly adversative (*pace EV* 1,442).

nulla..potestas Cf. 3.670 *uerum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas*, 9.739, 813, Varr. fr.24GRF, *TLL* 10.2.2.318.6 (v.Kamptz). For the ('prolative') infin., cf. Lunelli-Janssen, 109, n.50, Görler, *EV* 2, 271, Harrison on 10.88. Balk (80f.) rightly insists that L. abandons active

resistance only after an unequal struggle against supernatural forces; the last, passive struggle is yet to begin.

datur The power to resist implicitly denied by some superior or external force (*EV* 2, 115f.): cf. 6.140, *sed non ante datur telluris operta subire*, 600 *nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis*.

caecum..consilium *TLL* (3.46.29, Burger) is quite wrong to classify this passage s.v. *de eis rebus quae cognosci male possunt* (cf. *G.1.464*, *Aen.* 1.356, 2.335, 4.209, 6.157, 12.617); clearly the sense here is 'blind, unseeing, rash, impetuous': cf. *Acc.trag.450 cor ira feruit caecum*, *Lucr.* 2.14 *o pectora caeca*, *G.3.210 caeci..amoris*, *Aen.2.357*, 12.279 *caecique ruunt*, *Hor.Epd.7.13*. Vd. *EV* s.v.(Militeri Della Morte).

exsuperare Possibly not *Enn.*(cf. Jocelyn, 320ff. on *Vahlen trag.* 222), but *quater* in *Lucr.*, *Cic.carm.fr.vii.1*, p. 281), and seven times in *Aen.*.

592 saevae..Iunonis Cf. 1.4 *saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram*, **287**. Cf. on **560 Saturnia** and **329, 511** (of *Allecto*); also **222**, s. of 'her' *Mycenae*. At 12.850, of *Pluto*. It is noteworthy that *V.* does not in fact use *s.* as a regular epithet of his clearly cruel and savage *Juno*.

nutu The Homeric nod by which the gods signify their will: much more usually expressed by *numen* or by a verb (*adnuo*, e.g.). Cf. *EV* 3,781, *Hardie* on 9.106, *Harrison* on 10.8, 31 and 115.

eunt res Cf. the *ibit* of *Enn.trag.225*, *Lucil.1197*, *Cic.Lael.43 res coepit ire*, *Ov.Ars* 3.546, *Rubensbauer*, *TLL* 5.2.650.68. Originally colloquial (so *Fordyce*, on the basis of *Cic.Att.14.15.2*, 20.4; more strikingly, cf. *Petr.78.5 ibat res ad summam nauseam!*). We undervalue the presence of elements of spoken Latin in the lexicon of the *Aen.* cf. (*bene*) *Lyne WP*, *passim*; also index s.v. colloquialism, *Companion*, 221, *EV* s.v. *parlato*. *Res* at line-end is in itself *Ennian* (*Ann.363*); for monosyllabic line-ends in general, cf. *EV* 3,572 (*Hellegouarc'h*), *Fordyce's n.* here, *Harrison* on 10.2.

593 multa..testatus The clearly correct **testatus** is attested by *V* alone of the capital mss. (*Geymonat*, *MPL* 8(1987),53); **testatur** elsewhere. The traditional and conventional way in Latin of calling upon the gods to witness an oath (*Appel*, 67; *Hickson* 119 is insufficient), synonymous with *iuratus* + acc. The double acc. (of deity and object of prayer) is usual. Cf. *Ernout-Thomas*, 37, *LHS* 43, 9.429, 12.197, 496.

deos aurasque..inanis It is the second element that gives this invocation its precise value: for appeals and commissions to the winds, cf. [*Aesch.*] *PV* 88-92 with *Griffith's note*, *Eur.Med.57f.* (with *Page's*

note), *Andr.*93 (with Stevens' note), *Cat.*64.164, *Hor.* C.1.26.2 (with NH), *Prop.*1.16.34 (with Fedeli's note), *Ov.Met.*7.197, *Ciris* 407; *TLL* 7.1.823.34 (Prinz) most unwisely takes *i.* of lack of physical substance (cf. *G.*4.196, *Aen.*6.740); here there is a strong sense of 'vain, useless' (cf. 4.210, 218, 10.627 etc., Scarcia, *EV* s.v.): in his complete isolation (G.Lieberg in *Vergiliana*, 175-91, D.C. Feeney, *CQ* 33 (1983), 213ff.), L. calls upon the gods (deaf or hostile) and, for want of a sentient audience, upon the empty and unheeding (cf. 2.794, 6.75, 702, Otto, 364f.) winds. So Philoctetes to the bays and headlands of Lemnos (*Soph.Phil.* 936ff., 1464ff., B.Knox, *Heroic Temper* (Berkeley 1964), 141).

pater As father both of his people and of Lavinia, so called with both point and pathos at the moment of his withdrawal.

594 frangimur..fatis Cf. 2.13 *fracti bello*, (*Laud.Tur.*)2.61f. *calamitate frangor*, *Prop.*3.21.33 *non turpi fractus amore*, *Ov.Am.*2.18.4 *tener ausuros grandia frangit Amor*, *TLL* 6.1.1249.63(Bachelier). Here the metaphor (which Cicero liked, *Off.*1.71 *frangantur infamia*, *Tusc.* 4.37 *frangatur timore*, *Cic.Phil.*3.31 *fortuna fractus*) clearly points—between **586-90** and **procella**—at a continuation of the sea-metaphor: 'shipwrecked', therefore, rather than just 'broken' by destiny. The first person plural refers, as will become apparent, to all those present.

heu Both colloquial and part of the language of high poetry (cf. **293**; from *Enn.*: *Ann. semel*, *trag.*, *quater*), which is where the (rare) postponement puts it (cf. 6.188f. *quando omnia uere/ heu nimium de te uates..locuta est*); rare in prose: Clausen, *THP*, 150, n.83, Hofmann-L.Ricottilli, 113f., *EV* 2,995.

inquit Such postponement of the vb. of speaking is quite common; on *i.*, cf. *EV* 2, 986-8 (D'Anna).

ferimurque procella Tragic (*Acc.*397) and Lucretian (*sexies*). The metaphorical use of *p.* (discussed, *Quint.*8.6.48) is common in prose (*Cic.*, *Liv.*, *Nep.Att.*10.6 *ex tot tamque grauibus procellis ciuilibus*; perhaps Lucretian—cf. 3.805—but cf. Marchionni, *TLL* 10.2.101511.37f.). V. has the word six times, as an occasional but dignified term for 'storm', particularly suited to verse-end. The verb is a favourite with V. (already in *Iul.Caes.Strabo trag.*3, *Cic.carm.*, *Lucr.*) to express violent and uncontrolled or involuntary motion: *G.*1.514 *fertur equis auriga*, *Aen.* 2.498 **7.381** (the top) **curuatis fertur spatiis**, *EV* 2,495. The interwoven alliteration of f and p is remarkable, and mildly perplexing (cf. xxii): *Cic.Orator* 163 calls f an *insuauissima littera* and *Quint.*(12.10.29) claims it *paene non humana uoce..efflanda est* (cf. Austin's

note), yet (Marouzeau, 26f.) poets from Enn. on use alliteration of *f*, often to convey the whistling of wind.

595 ipsi L. warns his people that it is with their own blood (heavily emphatic position) that the Latins will pay. Cf. n. on **576** for the sequence rustics-Turnus-Latinus.

has..poenas By brachyology for *harum rerum p.*; so quite commonly with *is, ille, hic*: LHS 187, KS 1, 64ff., *TLL* 6.3.2741.75ff.(Ehlers), 7.1.364.35ff.(Prinz), 7.2.481.57ff.(Buchwald), 1.463 *haec..fama*, 2.171 *ea signa* (with Austin's note), 4.387 *haec..fama*, **7.383 cursu..illo**, 9.142 *haec..fiducia*, 757 *ea cura* (cf. 4.379), 12.468 *hoc..metu*, Hor. *AP* 11 *hanc ueniam*, Bell 216, and for earlier usage, W.M.Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus* (Oxford 1907), 48, Sonnenschein on Plaut.*Rud.* 906, Holden on Cic.*Off.*1.14.

sacrilego..sanguine Cf. Enn.*Ann.*95 *nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas* (with Skutsch's note) and *EV* 4,153, Hardie on 9.422 for the various Virgilian imitations (cf. **766**). Cf. NH on Hor.*C.*2.13.2 for a warning against taking *s.* too readily in a lax, lay sense (we are not talking about comic abuse); so here, the Latins want war in the face of portents and oracle (**583-4**), and despite their knowledge (**103-4**) of Aeneas' destiny. Though the sense is transferred from 'pertaining to temple robbery' to a wider 'sacrilegious', the notion of an offence against religion remains plain and (formally at least; cf. 4.386!) the voice is Latinus'(cf. on **584**). Cf. Balk, 82, Schenk 326, 379, Fugier, *EV* 4, 630.

pendetis Most striking interlaced word-order, with the line balanced between **ipsi** and **poenas**, with the verb central. Of punishments, *p.* is used in prose and comedy before *V.*; cf. 6.20 *pendere poenas*, *TLL* 10.1.7. 1046.2ff. (Gatti).

596 o miseri *Quinquies* in *Aen.*; with noun, already in Enn.(*Ann.*4), Acc.(*trag.*80). Cf. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 123ff., *EV* 2,993f.. A sudden rush of pity after a virtual curse.

te, Turne, ..te Violent anaphora (cf. Wills, 85) and alliteration, stuttering and/or deictic; Tu. too will have to pay (so too will Lat. himself, he realises, **mihi**, **598**) for his jealous fury. Cf. *Buc.*6.10f. *te..Vare..te*, G.2.159 *te*, *Lari maxime*, *teque*, 4.465 *te*, *dulcis coniunx*, *te*, *Aen.* 6.373f. *o Palinure*, *tibi..tu*.

nefas Simply a noun, referring to Turnus' present wicked actions (cf. **583 infandum**), subject of **manebit** and parallel to **supplicium**; such a sense is perfectly easy (cf. 2.184, 4.306, 563, etc., *EV* 3,676-7), as is the expression of crime and punishment in parataxis (11.257f.

infanda per orbem/ supplicia et scelerum poenas expendimus omnes, Hor. C.3.11.25f. *audiat Lyde scelus atque notas/uirginum poenas*). It is very difficult to interpret **n.** as exclamatory, for that drives us to suppose that Lat. is—just at this point in the narrative and in his appearance of inwards retreat—driven to exclaim ‘**nefas!**’ by the thought that Tu. in particular (**te..te**) will be held accountable for his deeds. Exclamatory *nefas* in V. is used to express a sense of largely religious horror and disgust, on the part of the speaker or the narrator (cf. **73**, 8.688, 10.673), far from the sense in which it would have to be used here (*EV* s.v. significantly fails to disguise the difficulty!). Alternatively (and even more improbably), Hor.*Epd.*15.23 or C.4.13.17 could theoretically be used to interpret **n.** here of a future exclamation by Turnus, but that is to set the reader mere puzzles and to torture the plain sense of the passage. Let us stick to ‘crime and punishment’ (sc., instead of victory and marriage).

triste manebit/ supplicium Cf. **128 manebat**, **319 manet**; the future (contrast 10.438 *sua fata manent*) suggests that whatever Tu. may do, his punishment will be waiting. Punishment, in particular, for war undertaken despite divine admonitions (**583-4**, *EV* 4,1086, comparing 11.257f.).

597 uotis..seris At 12.895, Tu. recognises that Jupiter is his *hostis*; G.E.Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense* (diss. Princeton 1933), 58 well noticed the importance of this anticipation. Rarely is the sense of ‘too late’ quite so strong: cf. 10.94 and *EV* s.v. *serus* (P.Radici Colace).

deos uenerabere Cf. G.1.338 *in primis uenerare deos*; Ennian (*Ann.* 100). Tu. is not portrayed as particularly impious (9.24, 12.778, Schenk, *passim*).

598-9 Splendide emendax, Housman (on Manil.2.303), accepted C.Wordsworth’s corrections of **omnisque** into **somnique** and **portus** into **postus**; the ‘three minutes rule’ (*id.* ed. Juv., xi) should perhaps have been applied. *Alii alia* (Ladewig: **non** for **nam!** Vd. further Heyne’s apparatus). But these are two difficult lines; Fordyce, Williams and notably Paratore emerge with some credit.

nam Elliptical: punishment will come, for the Latins and Turnus (and, in a sense, for me too), for.. Something of the same at 1.65, 731, 3.374, 11.91.

mihi parta quies **Q.** is often used of the sleep of death, tranquil and euphemistic: cf. 10.745 (with Harrison), NH on Hor.C.1.24.5, P.Colafrancesco Carletti, *Vet.Christ.* 32(1995), 278ff.. After the prophetic **594-7**, Lat. can hardly be thinking of a placid old age (cf.

Cat.4.26). **Parta**: cf. 2.783f., 3.494f. *nos alia ex aliis in fata uocamur./ uobis parta quies*, 5.229, 6.435, 11.24f. *quae sanguine nobis/ hanc patriam peperere suo*, *trag.inc.171*, *Scip.Afr.mai.fr.3 ORF* (Gell.4.18.3), *Cic. Rep.1.7 parere commune reliquis otium*. To be taken not as an aorist, but as a true perfect..

omnisque Adverbial; cf. *Buc.7. 32 levi de marmore tota/..stabis*, *Hor. C.3.30.6 non omnis moriar Serm.1.4.6.*, 9.2 *totus in illis* (with Lejay's note), *Ep.1.1.11 omnis in hoc sum*, Löfstedt 2, 368f., K.F.von Nägelsbach, *Lat.Stilistik*, (Nürnberg 1905), 349n., KS 1, 236, LHS 171, n. on **625 puluerulentus**; no punctuation is called for, either before **omnis** or after **portus**.

in limine Cf. *Il.22.60 γήραος οὐδᾶ*, *Lucr.2.960 leti..limine ab ipso* (cf. 6.1157, 1208), 3.681 *uitae cum limen inimus*, *Cat.68.4 mortis limine*, *Aen. 6.427 in limine primo* (of life), 10.355 *limine in ipso* (of the shore, with *Macr.3.1.2*), *Curt.6.3.16 in ipso limine uictoriae*, *Tac.Ann.3.74.5 in limine belli*, *TLL 7.2.1406.40* (Meijer). For the significance of the threshold, cf. M.B.Ogle, *MAAR* 11(1933), 81ff. and K.M.D. Dunbabin, *JRA* 3(1990), 106, n.99.

portus For the image of the harbour of death, cf. *Sen.Dial.7.19.1*, Powell on *Cic.Cat.71*, C.Bonner, *HTR* 34(1941), 49ff., while *TLL* 10.2.1.63.49f. (Plepelits) misunderstands the passage. Both 'threshold' and 'harbour' are metaphorical; when the latter depends on the former, we can but suppose that the latent images have been weakened (cf. *Companion*, 115, 117); otherwise, V. would be risking the absurd. Lat. senses that his end is very near, but he realises prophetically that he will be deprived of the tranquillity (and consequent *felicitas*) that the very language he uses implies; his wife's suicide is after all close.

599 funere felici **Funere** is variation upon **quies**; 'funeral' (so, e.g., Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1601.41) is entirely irrelevant. With *felici* (after Gk. μάκαρ, *Hes.Erga* 141, etc.), cf. *Publil.401 mors infanti felix*, 6.669 *felices animae*, 11.159 *felix morte tua*, *Hor. Serm.1.9.28 felices*, *Ov.F.1.297*.

spolior Ennian (?) *Ann.618*; in *Lucr.*, 2.842, 4.377 and 5.762 are metaphorical; in V., cf. 6.168 *uita..spoliauit*, 12.935 *spoliatum lumine*.

nec plura locutus Cf. 11.461 and similar formulas at 8.443, 11.98, 12. 896 and 6.408. Highet (*HSCP* 78(1974), 205) suggests that Lat. has not the strength to finish the line, pointing out how rare it is for such formulae to occur in mid-line (cf. 3.312, 6.883, 8.583, 12.45).

600 saepsit se tectis Cf. 11. 398 *hostilique aggere saeptus*; outside military contexts, cf. 1.506 *Dido saepta armis* and 1.411 *gradientis aere*

saepsit (with 439 *saeptus nebula*), where the sense of protection or defence is likewise strong; Lat. therefore withdraws indoors for security (vd. Tartari Chersoni, *EV* 4,642f.).

rerumque reliquit habenas Cf. *Lucr.*2.1095f. *quis habere profundi/ indu manu ualidas potis est moderanter habenas*, *Cic. de orat.*1.226 *cui populus ipse moderandi et regendi sui potestatem quasi quasdam habenas tradidisset*, *TLL* 6.3.2394.6 (Bulhart); elsewhere, *h.* is used almost as a synonym for *frenum*: e.g. *trag.inc.*126, *Aen.*12.499. Lat. withdraws, but does not surrender; at **616ff.**, after all, he does not himself open the Gates of War. Cf. Dingel on 9.369, Cairns, 66, Buchheit, 99f., Gleis, 187, Balk, 83.

601 mos erat Cf. *hunc morem cursus..Ascanius..rettulit* (5.596-8), nn. on **602, 731**. The structure of these lines is that of an ecphrasis: the opening is taken up by **616f. hoc et tum.. more** and a 'real' ecphrasis in fact lies within: **sunt geminae Belli portae (607).. has(611)**. The non-local narrative extensions of the ecphrasis (**483**) have not been properly studied: cf. 1.343 *huic coniunx Sychaeus erat..345 cui*; 9.176 *Nisus erat..182 his*. P.Johnston *Vergilius* 27 (1981), 27, D.Fowler *CQ* 33(1983), 298 and W.Schmid, *Vergil-Probleme* (Göppingen 1983), 336 have all revived, simultaneously and independently, Hilberg's observation (*WS* 21(1899), 269) that vv. **601-4** give the acrostich **Mars**; cf. further E.Courtney, *Phil.*134(1990),11, for the literary tradition. Like it or not, this was an old Alexandrian game and however serious the passage, such an ornamentation is truly not grotesque.

Hesperio in Latio Cf. **4 Hesperia in magna**; here 'in Latium, part of Hesperia', ennobling and distancing in time.

protinus 'Successively'; cf. Austin on 6.33, Mynors on *G.*4.1., Varr. *LL* 7.107 *continuitatem significans*.

urbes/Albae The hallowed sequence, emblematic of unbroken continuity, is Troy →Lavinium and/or Alba→Rome (cf. 1.1ff.,264ff., 5.599f., 6.756ff.,12.826f.); the cities of the Latin league (6.773ff.) and Alba's own colonies (Schwegler 1,346f.) do not enter into it. **Vrbes** therefore refers to the city of Alba: cf. **61, 207, 364** for the use of a plural to denote a single city (vd.Lunelli-Leumann, 158).

602 coluere sacrum../603..colit For predicative *sacrum*, cf. **391 sacrum tibi pascere crinem**, *G.*3.160 (*uitulos*) *aris seruare sacros*. Behind V.'s phrase (cf. *Cic.Rep.*5.2, *Sall.Cat.*9.1, Sigwart, *TLL.*3.1677.52), there also be may be thoughts of the common *mos sacrorum* (3.408, 12.836) and *sacra colere*. Cf. *EV* 4, 629f., Bailey, 75.

Repetition of the verb in altered tenses embodies linguistically the temporal continuity, laying marked emphasis on the present validity of an ancient usage (5.599f., 12.826f. employ anaphora less strikingly to similar effect).

nunc maxima rerum/ 603 Roma The anachronistic *nunc* of V.'s 'voice'. Cf. 5.602 *Troia.. nunc pueri*, and the common use of *n.* to underscore the continuity evoked by an etymology (cf. 6.234, Horsfall, *EV* 1,152, O'Hara, 90f.). **M.** as at 5.600, Prop.4.1.1, Christ, 84; cf. G.2.534 *rerum..pulcherrima Roma*. The partitive **r.** augments the force of the superlative (cf. LHS 54, 8.727 *extremi ..hominum Morini*, Hor.C.1.35.29f. *ultimos/orbis Britannos*, *Serm.*1.9.4 *dulcissime rerum*, with Lejay's n.). The entire ritual may have been a c.2 antiquarian invention (or at least, elaborated recreation; after K.Latte, *SBBerlin* 1960.7 = *Kl.S.*(München 1968), 837ff., *id. RR*, 132f., n.3, cf. S.Weinstock, *JRS* 50(1960), 48, E.Rawson, *Lat.*35(1976), 707 = *RCS*, 262, Skutsch, 402f., Häussler, 317, Gleis 188, n.44): not incompatible with its attribution to King Numa (Liv.1.19.3, cf. Galinsky (174),34f.) and no obstacle to its Augustan revival (*Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri uoluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta uictoriis pax: RG* 13.1; Syme *RP* 3,1179ff.), one peculiarly compatible with a vision of peace as the fruit of victory: Horsfall, *Orazio* (100f.), 26f., *SO* 68(1993), 39, Syme *RP* 3,1180).

603 prima..in proelia Cf. *TLL* 10.2.9.1349.7f. (Kruse, comparing 3.69, 5.857, 12.632, etc.) and on **542**: in 29 and 25 the Gates were closed; in 27, at the beginning of the Spanish campaign, they had been reopened (Oros.6.21.1) but (Syme *RP* 6, 443) it is not clear when after 25 (closure: Dio 53.26.5) they were reopened anew (possibly in 22/1, to initiate the Parthian 'campaign', Syme, *RP* 3, 1181, 6, 443): at least, then, in 27, Virgil might even have seen the ritual opening: the proper prelude to a new series of battles. So here.

mouent..Martem κίνοῦσι; Hor.*Serm.*2.2.126 *atque novos moueat Fortuna tumultus*, C.4.1.2 *rursus bella moues*; G.3.236 *signa mouet*, *Aen.*8.565 *arma mouenda*, 6.813f. *residesque mouebit/..in arma uiros*. So what exactly is the force of the metonymy (Lunelli-Kroll, 38)? Bailey (115) correctly sees **Martem** here in the sense of 'army', comparing 8.676 *instructo Marte* (the fleets at Actium); cf. also *Pan.Mess.*103, *Aen.*12. 187 *nostrum..Martem*.

604-6 cannot give us an absolute date for the composition of bk.7, whole or part; careful examination of the rhetorical structure and historical value of such lists (cf. Christ, 29f., *Companion* 14f., 93f.)

shows that they serve only as an indication of campaigns (whether past, present or future, historical or fantastical) discussed around the time of composition (and Wendell Clausen remarks uncomfortably that, *Getis* apart, they all occur in Cat.11.2ff!)). Cf. further Horsfall, *Orazio* (100f.), 23ff., E.Gruen in *Between Republic and Empire* ed. K.Raaflaub, M.Toher (Berkeley 1990), 48ff., *id.* in *Age of Augustus* ed. R.Winkes (Providence 1985), 51ff., P.A.Brunt, *Roman imperial themes* (Oxford 1990), 96ff., 433ff. At all events, to the Augustan poet they are *bella iusta*, unlike that sought by the Latins (Glei, 188f.).

604 Getis The Getae occupied both banks of the lower Danube and are attested from Moldavia to Thrace (R.Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford 1978), 164, *RP* 6, 435ff.; note Tac. *Ann.*4.44.1; *triumphalia de Getis* won by Cn.Lentulus (cos.14 B.C.): Syme *Hist.Ovid*, 68, 166; cf. Hor. *C.*4.15.22. M.Licinius Crassus had triumphed *de Dacis* in 27 and the frontier remained unquiet (NH 1, xxxiii-xxxiv). But no regular campaign against the Getae and perhaps some recollection (Brunt, 449) of Caesar's unfulfilled plans!

inferre manu..parant For **parant**, cf. **624**. *Bellum inferre* (*TLL* 2.1837.62 B.A.Müller/Hey) is a stock expression from public business prose (e.g. Cic. *div. Caec.*62, *Nep.Ham.*4.1). **Manu** 'forcibly'; "often a fill-in word, implying personal effort of some kind" (Austin on 6.395; Fordyce on **621**); Ennian (*Ann.*398, with Skutsch). At **621** rather more than 'fill-in'! Cf. *TLL* 8.359.21ff. (Bulhart).

lacrimabile bellum Cf. NH on Hor.*C.*1.21.13 *lacrimosum*; both adjs. are deliberate evocations of the Homeric πολύδακρυς or δακρυόεις. Used also at 3.39 in an active sense. A clear Virgilian coinage; on his partiality for adjs. in *-ilis*, cf. **564**.

605 Hyrcanis Located S. of the Caspian, in N.Iran, subjected by Alexander (cf. *Plut.Pomp.*34.7); whence by literary, not military osmosis to Caesar's dreams (*Plut.Caes.*58.6) and (rarely) Augustan texts: Syme *RP* 6, 372ff. A remote and fabulous realm, no better than Massagetae or Geloni: cf. Cat.11.5, *Aen.*4.367.

Arabisue They belong both to the real world of Aelius Gallus' unfortunate campaign (cf. *RG* 26.5) in the Yemen (24 BC) and to the realm of the fantastic, remote and exotic. Cf. Hor.*C.*1.35.40, NH 1, xxxiv, 338, Brunt (**604-6**), 440, Horsfall, *Orazio* (100), 24f.. The noun is heteroclite (NW 1, 494f.), inevitably; *Arabibus* had no place in dactylic poetry.

tendere ad Already in Acc.(*trag.*318) and *Lucr.*(4.325) as a grand word for 'go'; common thus in V.(5.286, 8.113, *EV* 5*, 95).

Indos Their ambassadors actually did reach Rome, twice, a fact which (faintly) legitimated talk of subjection (Hor.C.1.12.56), and perhaps tended to feed dreams (how wild, we do not really know; cf. Plut.*Crass.*16.2) of marching one day in the steps of Alexander (NH 1, xxxiv, 167, Brunt *cit.*, 104, 436, Horsfall, *cit.*, 30). Cf. the (morally) dangerous Indians who threaten Rome at G.2.172, with *Ancient History* 27(1997), 13.

606 Auroramque sequi A markedly High Augustan way of saying 'to march E.' (cf. 6.796, 8.686, Hardie *CI*, 356, n.64, Christ, 35ff., Bömer on Ov.*F.*5.557f., Crinagoras, *GP* 1929); again, as Norden (*Kl.S.*,422f.) showed, the extension of Empire to the farthest limits traversed by the sun is a certain debt to the Alexander-panegyrists. Note Nic.Dam.*FGH* 90F130.95 of Caesar's intentions to march πρὸς ἕω.

Parthosque The standards won from Crassus in 53 were restored—without further recourse to arms—in 20; V. could even in theory be writing after that date. After the defeats (cf. RG 29.2 *trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi.. coegi*) of Crassus, Antony and Decidius Saxa (and the almost more embarrassing triumph *de Parthis* of the Antonian Ventidius), a real new campaign, in the footsteps of Caesar's intentions, would have been, for Augustus, an unacceptable gamble. Diplomatic pressure and military demonstrations were, though, hardly the stuff of patriotic poetry. Hence the poets necessarily reclothe diplomacy in martial garb (Hor.C.4.14.41ff. and *Ep.* 2.1.256 are as near as you will get to reality): their frequent thumping of the drum is best taken neither as a demonstration of impatience at the emperor's excessive caution nor as the strident voice of a pressure group! *Aliter*, R.Seager, *Athen.*58(1980), 103ff.. See NH 1, xxxii, Syme *RP* 6, 385f., 441ff., Brunt *cit.*, 104f., Gruen (604-6, 1990), 396ff., *id.*, (604-6, 1985),65, Horsfall *cit.*, 33f.

repscere signa The double object with verbs of asking standard from the archaic period: LHS 42f.; *r.* common in both verse and prose, and used by Lucr.(6.920).

607 sunt The **nunc** of 602 has prepared us: **sunt** refers to the Virgilian present; an ecphrasis (vd. n. on 601 **mos erat**) of a monument that the poet's readers could—in theory—go and visit. What follows—formally, at least—describes an Augustan opening; almost necessarily that of 27 (nn. on 603 **prima..in proelia**, 612 **consul**).

geminae..portae There really were twin doors, as is clear from the numismatic representations (F.Coarelli, *Il foro romano* 1 (Roma 1983),

92 pl.29, E.Nash *Pict.Dict.Anc.Rome* 1₂ (London 1968), 503, pl.619; so too, explicitly Plut.*Num.*20.1); the ‘correct’ explanation of the title Janus Geminus (as at Varr. *LL* 5.156, Vell.2.38.3, Suet. *Nero* 13.2, etc.), though, is not clear, for twin-headedness may well enter into it (G.Capdeville, *MEFR* 85 (1973), 413f.), but the etymological play, pointed in the second half of the line, neatly enables the epic text to refer to the current name (O’Hara, 191f. is mysteriously hesitant). The doors themselves were of bronze (Procop.*BG* 1.25.21f.). The shrine—at least in its c.5 AD restoration—is perhaps to be identified with a decrepit shed used by the Forum ‘custodi’ at the SW corner of the Basilica Aemilia (Coarelli, *cit.*, 95; cf. E.Tortorici in Steinby 3 (1996), 92f.).

Belli Personified, as at Enn.*Ann.*226, *Aen.*1.294, 6.279, **7.622**; implicit in Hom., present in Pindar, painted by Apelles and placed prominently by Aug. in his Forum (Plin.*Nat.* 35.27, 93f.; Gruppe, 1083f., Weinstock, 66, *EV* s.v. *Personificazione* (Pöschl), R.Daut, *Röm. Mitt.* 91(1984), 115ff.). Note Hor.C.4.15.8f. *uacuum duellis/ Ianum Quirini clausit*. Thanks to the Gates’ function, and thanks also to Apelles, they acquire a further name (cf. *RG* 13.1 (*uers.graec.*), Plut.*Num.*20.1, F.Castagnoli, *EV* 4, 550); thanks to their form, to Apelles again, and to *Aen.*1 they come to be viewed as both passage and prison.

sic nomine dicunt Cf. O’Hara 75ff. for this common formulaic signalling of wordplay: cf. e.g. 1.277, 533, 3.210; cf. *ib.*, 10f., 25ff. for the Homeric and Alexandrian antecedents.

608 religione sacrae Cf. **60** (Latinus’ bay-tree) **sacra comam multosque metu seruata per annos** 8.598 *religione patrum late sacer; religio* here indicates a religious sense of dread (Bailey, 69f., *EV* 4, 425). The ablatives explain the cause of the awe felt (Fugier, *EV* 4, 630 Bailey, 70, 73).

saeui..Martis Cf. 11.153, *saeuo..Martis*; here as so often as metonymy for ‘War’ (cf. *G.*1.511, *Aen.*6.165, Bailey, 112ff.). The shrine is Janus’; to it, bloodier associations cling.

formidine Present in both the *carm.euoc.* at Macr.3.9.8 and the *carm.deuot.* at *ib.*10; also Pacuv.*trag.*53. Lucr. has (5.1218, 6.52) *formidine diuum*; in V., common enough for awe felt at the divine (e.g. 3.30, 259, 12.776). Terror felt in the face of Mars’ cruelty contributes to the *religio* of the place. Cf. **60**.

609 centum ‘Numerous’(cf. **539**)! Irrelevant that the actual shrine was (and remains, if at last identified) small. The four successive spondees describe eloquently the weight of the bars; **aerei** spondaic,

of course, by synizesis (cf. **33 alueo**, Harrison on 10.116 *aureo*, Lunelli-Janssen, 91, S.Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 879f.). The heavier the gates here, though, the more striking Juno's intervention.

aerei..uectes The doors of the shrine were truly of bronze (cf. **607**; the facts ignored by Häussler, 161, with sad results) and indeed (Procop.*ibid.*20) the whole building was bronze-clad. Mars' bars here, though (in prose, *repagula*; cf. Ov.*F.*1.280 *dempta..sera*), recall 1.294ff.: *claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus/ saeua sedens super arma et centum uinctus aenis/ post tergum nodis..* (so Apelles' figure, *restrictis ad terga manibus*, Plin.*cit.*). Horace (*Ep.*2.1.255) has *claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum*, with V. in mind (vd.Brink). Ov.*F.*1.281 *pace fores obdo, ne qua discedere possit* too maintains the idea of the shrine as a sort of prison, containing not War, now, but Peace, eager to slip away! Cf. L.A.Holland, *Janus and the Bridge* (Rome 1961), 132, n.107. V. here has passed easily from the Forum to the imagination; the morbidly curious may compare—in vain—the surviving coin illustrations.

claudunt Sc. *portas*; cf. Tib.1.2.6 *clauditur et dura ianua firma sera*.

aeternaue ferri robora Cf. Pacuv.*trag.*11 *saxi robore*, Lucr.2.449 *duri robora ferri*, G.1.162 *inflexi..graue robur aratri: r.* is literally 'heart of oak'; there is a nice paradox in its application (cf. 11.893f., *EV* 4,512) to *ferrum*, typically warlike (Häussler, 162). Juno is about to break down 'everlasting' bars (Turcan, *EV* 1,43); the various restorations of the historical shrine are clearly irrelevant (Holland, 122f.). Perhaps (cf. Nelis, 305) V. is thinking of the Homeric Hades: *limina* of bronze and *portae* of iron (*Il.*8.15). Cf. further on **622 ferratos**.

610 custos..Ianus Cf. 11.785 *sancti custos Soractis Apollo*, G.4.110f (and elsewhere; vd. *EV* 1, 967) of Priapus; in Hor.*Ep.* (cf. n. on **609 aerei..vectes**), J. is *custos* of peace, not of the shrine. Clearly not standard religious language.

absistit limine Cf. **579, 598**. J. bides firmly (litotes) within the threshold (cf. **613**, 8.720) of his shrine; with *portae* tight barred, he is guarantor of peace. The god of doors (Capdeville (**607**), 416) clings to his own lintel!

611 has Closing the circle of the 'inner' ecphrasis (cf. n. on **601 mos erat**).

ubi Cf. n. on **541**.

certa sedet.. sententia pugnae Not the language of public business: for *c.s.*, cf. Cic.*Tusc.*2.5, *ND* 2.2, [*Laud.Tur.*] 1.19, Liv.35.42.6 (cf. too *Aen.*2.349f. *certa..cupido*, 10.240 *certa..sententia*); *sedet*: cf. 4.15, 5.418, 11.551 *sententia sedit* and M.Spallone's useful survey of the

idiom at *EV* 4,750. **Pugnae** not genitive after **sententia** but ‘final’ dative (LHS 98, KS 1,346; cf. 3.305 *causam lacrimis*, 11.707 *pugnae accingi*, Williams on 3.540, 5.686, Fordyce on **482**); V. may have in mind the ‘public’ use of this dative with *signum*, *dies*, *feriae*, *comitium*, *vel sim* (Roby 2,64); that **patribus** is also dat. is no objection: clearly **patribus** ‘goes’ with **sedet**.

patribus Cf. n.on **617**. The vb. is present and under Augustus, scrupulous of appearances, *ter me principe senatus claudendum* (sc. the shrine of Janus) *esse censuit*; cf. Dio 54.36.2. The power to vote on opening the Gates is nowhere explicitly assigned (except here and **617**, unexceptionable high Augustan testimonies!), but it is presumably linked to that of voting on declarations of war, one long contested, in the annalistic tradition, between Senate and comitial assembly (Willems **152**), 466, n.5), with consequent complications and inconsistencies in the record. Cf. E.Gabba, *Athen.* 38(1960), 186ff., 207ff. on DH 2.14.3, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* 3, 341f., U.von Lübtow, *Das röm. Volk* (Frankfurt 1955), 155f.. Cf. on **540-640**.

612 ipse..consul In 27, perhaps Augustus himself, but not in 22; a timeless Roman magistrate for Pomathios, 149, unconvincingly: these lines merit consideration (elsewhere!) as a contemporary account of the ritual employed (cf. Syme, *RP* 3, 1181); if the Parthians were meant to be alarmed, it will have been a memorable occasion. The consul (**ipse..ipse**) is focus of the occasion: note than V. does not explicitly ‘Augustanise’ his account here (for the rare and powerful anaphoric **ipse**, cf. *G.*4.112ff., *Aen.* 4.268ff., 5. 176).

Quirinali trabea On the *trabea* itself (Etr. *tebenna*), see **187** (cf. Suet. *de gen.uest.* fr.165Reiff., Bömer on *Ov.F.*6.375, Ogilvie on Liv.1.41.6, Wilson (*infra*), 36ff., Bonfante Warren (*infra*), 613f.). The consul thus wore, quite exceptionally, the purple cape that Romulus himself was thought to have worn (SDan. on **610**, *Ov.F.*2.503, 6.796, J.-C.Richard, *MEFR* 75(1963), 376f.): hence *Quirinali* (cf. **180**). But there is special force in the *trabea*’s use for this particular ceremony, in that Hor. (*C.*4.15.9) and Aug. himself (*RG* 13.1, cited on **602**; cf. D.Porté, *ANRW* 2.17.1(1981), 306, 312; I am grateful for her further elucidations *per litteras*) call Janus Geminus ‘Janus Quirini’ or ‘Quirinus’. The explanation was not quite clear (cf. Capdeville(**607**), 422f.): the claim that Mars was called *cum tranquillus Quirinus* (Serv. *ad* 1.292; cf. *ad* 6.859; cf. further D.Briquel, *Rev.Belge* 74(1996), 99-120; *contra*, Porté, 326ff.) may be—at least in terms of ancient readings of the evidence—misleading, for Quirinus bears elsewhere strong mar-

tial associations (Macr.1.9.16, Fest.302.33f., *Aen.*6.859, etc., Porte, 305ff.) and I suspect that Serv. has assigned to Quirinus the double character so clearly an attribute of Janus. Octavian's flirtation with the title Quirinus in 27 (cf. Syme *RR* 313f., Porte, 337ff., J. von Ungern-Sternberg, in *Polit.Theorie u. Praxis*, ed. W.Schuller (Darmstadt 1998), 168ff., Suet.*Aug.*7.2, Dio 53.16.7) may perhaps also be relevant.

cinctuque Gabino A manner of securing the toga firmly round the waist, allegedly thus once worn in battle and so named on account of its origin in the struggle between Rome and Gabii (Paul. exc. Fest. 251.19f., Serv. and SDan. here; VM 1.1.11 suggests that the link with battle was not a recent fantasy): cf. Ogilvie on Liv.5.46.2, L.Bonfante Warren *ANRW* 1.4 (Berlin 1973), 596f., S.Stone in *The world of Roman costume* ed. J.L.Sebesta and L.Bonfante (Madison 1994), 39, n.6, L.M.Wilson, *The Roman toga* (Baltimore 1924), 88, A.Dubourdieu in *Hommages..Le Bonniec* (678-90), 163ff..

613 insignis Cf. 6.808 *ramis insignis oliuae*, 855 *insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis*; *i.* as noun in Enn.*Ann.* and Acc.*trag.*; as adj. in Lucr., but without the defining abl.

reserat stridentia limina Literally 'unbolts'(cf. 12.584 *urbem alii reserare iubent et pandere portas*); whence more generally 'opens'(8.244). The adj. is one naturally applied to a door or hinge (cf. 1.449 *foribus cardo stridebat aenis*, 6.573, *Ciris* 222); we might thus say flatly that the noun here signifies 'door' by metonymy (so e.g. *OLD*) and that the adj. is therefore unexceptionable. But the noun was used as 'threshold' as recently as **610** (cf. **598**), and the verb remains in tension, however we 'translate' the noun. A challenging phrase; both verb and adj. provoke. Better yet, after the **has** (sc. **portas**) of **611**, there is anacoluthon (cf. 11.554, *Aen.*9 ed.Hardie, index s.v., Henry on 5.708).

614 uocat pugnās Serv. comments *euocatio, quod genus (sc.belli) nunc tangit. Nam ad subitum bellum euocabantur, unde etiam consul solebat dicere 'qui rem publicam saluam esse uult, me sequatur'*. Well observed, in a scene rich in antiquarian detail (cf. **540-640**); compare his n. on 8.1, Ael.Don. on Ter.*Eun.*772 (also citing **693**), Isid.*Orig.* 9.3.54, Mommsen *Röm. Forsch.*2(Berlin 1879), 247. *Staatsrecht* 1₃, 695, 3, 241, n.3, *Ges.Schr.*8 (Berlin 1913), 447. Cf. **460 arma** for the precise sense to be given to both noun and verb here: cf. 3.185 *saepe Itala regna uocare*. The sense of the verb seems unusual, but the informed reader will presumably have found orientation in the implied *euocatio*. Virgil has (probably,

but reinvented tradition knows few limits!) slipped out of the Augustan present!

sequitur tum The army, or at least a token detachment (given the shrine's size: cf. n. on **607**), follows the consul through the Gates: cf. *Lyd.Mens.*4.2, *Suda* s.v. "lavoc; *Mart.*10.28.3f. (a shrine of J. used as a regular thoroughfare) is of uncertain relevance (?Janus Quadrifrons; Holland (**609**), 92ff., 98), though the language of v.8 is close enough to that we have seen used of Janus Geminus.

cetera pubes All the young men of military age, who have answered the consul's call (cf. **105**, **219**, **429**, **521**).

615 aereaque.. cornua Cf. Varr. *LL* 5.117 *cornua, quod ea quae nunc sunt ex aere, tunc fiebant bubulo e cornu*, *Veg.*2.7, Wille, 97: no oxymoron, therefore. Cf. Wille, 32f. on the use of music in ceremonial that was both religious and military; note trumpets and horns in Trajan's triumphal procession on the arch at Beneventum (I.S.Ryberg, *Rites of the state religion* (Rome 1955), 151 with fig.82a.

adsensu.. rauco Cf. 10.96f. *cunctique fremebant/ caelicolae adsensu uario* (the noun is common in Ciceronian prose); in 'braying approval' there may be a faint hint of amused oxymoron. The adj. is conventional: cf. *Cat.*64.263 *raucisonos efflarunt cornua bombos*, *Lucr.*2.619 *raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu*; *G.*4.71 *Martius ille aeris rauci sonor increpat*, *Aen.*11.474f. *rauca../ bucina*.

conspirant Lucretian (4.1216), of *mutuus ardor*: there Brown sees both metaphorical harmony and implied heavy breathing; so here the horns sound and the players blow together.

616 hoc.. / 617 more Taking up **601 mos erat**. Cf. 5.596 *hunc morem cursus*, closing the description of the *Lusus Troiae* as executed by Ascanius and companions; similarly, 3.408 *hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto*.

et tum Cf. **92**, passing from the Italians' practice of incubation, to Latinus' particular use of Faunus' oracle.

Aeneadis Of the Trojans in general, apparently first in V.(**334**); of the Romans at large, vd. Accius *Decius sive Aeneadae* (Ribbeck, p.281), *Lucr.*1.1(*EV* 3,1030): *Aen.* is 'father' of his people. Compare (vd. Fordyce) 8.638 *Romulidae* (Lucretian), *G.*2.383 *Thesidae* (Soph., Eur.). Dat. and abl.pl. remain firmly in the (far more convenient) first declension: *TLL* 1.983.60ff.(Diehl).

indicere bella Cf. **467f. iter../indicit**; *Enn.Ann.*216 *Appius indixit Carthaginensibus bellum* (cf. *Plaut.Epid.*160); standard in prose.

Latinus/ 617 iubebatur In obedience to the order of the *patres* (**611**), then just as in the Augustan present; he has not (vd. n on **600**)

abandoned all activity, for this last refusal is itself highly significant (cf. on **540-640** and **727**).

617 tristisque..portas Cf. on **545 bello..tristi**.

recludere V., in describing the current ritual, Latinus' refusal and Juno's intervention, is committed to ample variation: **reserat** (**613**), **recludere** (**617**), **impulit** (**621**), **rumpit** (**622**); similarly **portae** (**607**), **limina** (**613**), **portas** (**617, 621**), **postes** (**622**). Cf. here Lucr.3.360 *foribus..reclusis*.

618 abstinuit tactu The vb. (Plautus, prose) first here in high poetry; the Gates are not even to be touched (? from a sense of ill-omen or threatening pollution), let alone opened.

pater Cf. **593**; as father of his people, with a clear vision (**595-9**) of what war will bring them, L. refuses to execute the behest of the Latin *patres*. The short word is given due emphasis by its central position (cf. n. on **furit, 625**, though here no pause follows).

auersusque refugit A verb of particularly unhappy associations: cf. **500** (Silvia's stag), 6.472 (Dido), 2.380 (the man who realises he has stepped on a snake). **A.** could be transferred in sense ('disinclined'; cf. 1.568, 2.170 *auersa deae mens*, 12.647) or literal ('looking away'; 1.402, 9.412, etc.; cf. Sittl, 84), or, for this is V., both.

619 foeda ministeria The noun introduced to poetry by V.; it refers to the task enjoined by **617 iubebatur**. The adjective is found in comedy, and occasionally in Lucr.; much commoner, though, in prose than in poetry. In V., rare and very strong (*quater* elsewhere in *Aen.*, *semel* in *G.*, *bis* the advb.). The vb. *foedare*, though, rather to V.'s liking (11x in *Aen.*).

caecis..umbris Thus Cic.*Arat.*338, 411; similar, *Aen.*3.203. *C.* of night in Acc. (*trag.*32), Cat., Lucr.. We must remember that this is a royal palace; in mourning, though, for Amata's absence and perhaps for the discord between king and people; the Latins go to war directly against their king's wishes and the palace, now in untimely darkness, will end amid the flames (12.576ff.).

se condidit Cf. 2.621 *spissis noctis se condidit umbris*. V. is careful not to specify just where this last refusal by L. has occurred.

620 tum Only then, when her best efforts and ablest subaltern have failed, thanks to Latinus' passive insistence upon peace and Aeneas, does Juno intervene decisively.

regina deum Cf. **560, 573**.

caelo delapsa Cic., *Alcyones*, *carm.*1.1, *Aen.*2.693 *de caelo lapsa* (cf. Grassmann-Fischer, 35, n.46; part of the technical language of prodigies), 5.722 *caelo facies delapsa parentis*.

morantis But in the presence of a deity, they should, for all their hundred brazen bars, fly open (F.Williams, *Mnem.*30(1977), 289-91, also on *Ov.Met.*8.628ff.); a traditional sign of divine presence or power (cf. *Hom.II.*5.749, 8.393, *Pind. Nem.*1.41, *Eur.Ba.*447f.(with Dodds' and Roux' notes), *Theocr.*24.11ff.(with H.White, *Mnem.*30(1977), 135ff.), *AR* 4,41f., *Call.H.*2.6f. (with Williams' note), *Pacuv. trag.* p.111 Ribb., *Ov.Met.*3.696ff., *Philostr. Vit.Apoll.*8.30, *Nonn. Dion.* 45.282f., *Acts* 12.10, etc.; cf. M.B.Ogle, *AJP* 32(1911), 270, n.2, H.Herter *RhM* 89(1940), 152ff., O.Weinreich, *Geneth...Schmid* (= *Tüb. Beitr.*5, Stuttgart 1929), 229ff., 280ff.(also repr. in *id.*, *Religionsgesch. Studien* (Darmstadt 1968), 38ff., 118ff.). As a manifestation of divine influence, the unprompted opening of doors can also, though rarely, be of ill omen; so here, according to C.D.Small, *CQ* 36 (1986), 278ff. (infelicitous), citing Ogle *loc.cit.*; see too *Cic.Div.*2.67 (?inconclusive), *Stat.Theb.*7.407f., *Suet.Iul.*81(cf. *Obseq.*127), *Ner.*46, *SHA Comm.*16 (of the temple of Janus; a specially learned joke!). But these passages refer to spontaneous openings and closings (clearly not the case here), and to doors which actually open, whereas here Juno pushes against resistance. **Morantis** is clearly significant: we might wish to compare 6.211, *cunctantem* (the golden bough) or *Ov. F.*4.300ff. (Cybele's statue aground in the Tiber; cf. *Prop.*4.11.51). On the motif, cf. J.N.Bremmer, *RMM*, 105ff.: resistance dramatises the gates' opening and criticism may also be implied (but on 6.211, cf. *Alambicco*, 26f.). Here, Juno exerts her power, for evil; as a result, the gates, which should open automatically, resist, not only because they are heavy and much-barred, but as a reproach of her evil intentions.

621 impulit..portas 'Aperuit', *TLL* 7.1.536.78 (Hofmann); *Trabea, com.*2 *adueniens digito inpellam ianuam* is close (so too are *Ov.Am.*1.6.51, *F.*3.642, but Hofmann cites nothing exactly comparable). One good push from the angry deity is enough to turn the hinges and break down metallated bars and leaves. Buchwald (*TLL* 10.2.1.9.33ff.; cf. Skutsch, 404f.) rightly insists (against Löfstedt 1, 43) that the temple did have double doors (cf. **607 geminae**); **p.** therefore is not a poetic plural.

ipsa manu Cf. **604** for **manu**; **ipsa**, though, strengthens the abl. (*ipse manu sexies* in *Aen.*; cf. *G.*4.329—Aristaeus to Cyrene—for the fem.).

cardine uerso Cf. P.Howell, *Phil.*112(1968), 132ff. for the terminology of Virgilian door-posts: *cardo* is not 'hinge' in the modern sense; it can indicate both the socket and pin at the ends of a *postis* and also

the entire pivot (so 2.480, 493, once **postis**, *infra*, is clarified). Vd. the next note for Juno's direct assault.

622 Belli ..rumpit..postis For **B.**, cf. **607**, **609**. **Rumpit** **Mabderv**; **rupit** **FyRcfhstu**. The perf. possibly under the influence of Enn.'s *refregit*, or, more likely, because of preceding **impulit**; here the hist. present is almost indispensable and it is very hard to see how a Virgilian **rupit** could ever (thus Mynors, *per litt.*) have been altered to **rumpit**. Cf. 2.480 *limina perrumpit*. Howell shows (cf. too Blümner, *Privataltertümer* (München 1911), 16, n.7) that *postis*, while commonly referring to the jamb (i.e. the vertical post at the side) of a door, can also (cf. e.g. Mart.1.70.14, with Prop.4.8.51, Tib.1.2.31 with Ov. *Met.*4.762, Ov.*Met.*2.766f., Lucr.3.369 with *ib.*367) be used for the whole *ualua* or leaf. 'Doors' in general at Ov.*F.*1.253. It was not easy to destroy an ancient door by assault upon its *postes* (in the narrow sense); cf. 2.480, 493, Headlam on Herodas 2.65. Juno—hurried, wrathful and nearly omnipotent—must be envisaged as bursting open the hundred bars and parting the unwilling leaves. V. may also have had in mind Athena who pushed the Argo through the Clashing Rocks (AR 2.588-9, Feeney, 236f., Nelis, 301).

ferratos Iron-sheathed (cf. Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*226). Cf. **609**: inconsistent, imprecise, but powerful; Ennius apart, *ferrum* is more bellicose than *aes*. Also Lucretian (6.551).

Saturnia Cf. **560**, **572**.

623 ardet Of a country, cf. Caes. BG 5.29.4 *ardere Galliam*; the metaphor is common in Cic. (*TLL* 2.485.32, Weynand); here cf. **481**, and **345** for V.'s sequences of fire-imagery in 7; the blaze of madness/war is thus branded as destructive, though elements of a traditional heroic perspective remain (vd. e.g. the horses of Virbius at **781f.**). Much too far from **Ardea 631** for O'Hara's suggested etymology (192) to persuade. Knauer (234), noting the indebtedness of **616ff.** to *Il.*2.442-50, suggests that **623** corresponds to 2.451b-4, as a sort of coda. But that is to undercut the splendid climactic effect of **622**, and to ignore the function of **623** as a general introduction to what follows; the similarity noted is anyway faint. In V.'s description of the muster we notice marked Ennian touches (**624**, **625**, **634**; cf. n. there on **omnes.** for a possible source for much of V.'s detail and vd. **540-640**) and some hint of antiquarian research (**637**, **640**). The tradition of historical narrative may have been ungenerous in providing suitable material (cf. C.Saulnier, *L'armée et la guerre* (Paris 1980), 110ff., S.Oakley in *War and society in the roman world* ed. J.Rich and G.Shipley (London 1993), 9ff.): this is preparation, not action (for

636, cf. n. on **637**), antiquarian more than historical. Some earlier editors (vd. Geymonat's apparatus) decided V.'s account was illogically arranged (so too, alas, Horsfall 1971, 73) and proposed radical 'improvements' (not I, even then); once we grant V. the freedom to move swiftly and impressionistically between groups (cf. n. on **624 pars**), reasonable objections collapse.

inexcita..atque immobilis Inexcita is apparently a Virgilian coinage (cf. Williams on 3.420, 5.591; cf. **642 exciti reges!**); on **immobilis**, Serv., worried by the apparent inconsistency tries hard: 'not stirred by the Fury, perhaps; wars opened duly by Fetial ritual don't count!' The word is in Cic. (*Rep.*6.13, *Tim.*36; then Livy), and was apparently introduced into poetry by V..For the prosody. cf. **642**. "One of the most astonishing and unforgettable lines in the poem" (Williams); correctly. **Ardet**, in marked prominence, is followed by a line constructed, I sense, to reflect the (partial; cf. **636**, **693f.**) placid torpor of pre-invasion Latium. **Ante** balances **ardet** and the adjectives surround **Ausonia** symmetrically; the noun slumps inert across the centre of the line and synaloepha of **atque** blurs the caesura at 3½ (cf. Norden, 430f., Winbolt 100f.; at 1½, 2½ simply no word-ends). There are three synaloephae in all and those at 2S (Norden, 454), and 3D intensify the effect of the missing caesura.

Ausonia In origin, *Ausones* was the same word as *Aurunci* (**727**, where vd. Serv., **795**; historical occupants of the area between Volturnus and Liris: cf. Paul.exc.Fest. 16.24f.); for the early Greek historians (and Pindar), Ausonia stood for southern central Italy in general, and in Hellenistic poetry (Lyc.563, AR 4.660, etc.) became a synonym for 'Italy' at large; so too e.g. DH 1.35.3. Verrius Flaccus defines Ausonia as central Italy s. of the Apennines (Paul.exc.Fest.16.23ff.); so too Virgil, for whom Ausonia indicates the territory of the Latins and Rutuli, limited by Tiber and sea (3.385, 5.83; Ausonian Latium also in Ps.Scymn.(ca.110 B.C.) 228, Strab.5.3.6, Plin.*Nat.*3.56), though it seems at times to grow somewhat (e.g. **105**). *EV* s.v. *Ausones*, *Ausonia* (Cancellieri) is exemplary.

ante Cf. 46, 636.

624 pars..pars..omnes..pars The first pair are comprehensive, covering both infantry and cavalry; **omnes** summarises the totality. The third **pars** is in isolation; "the second **pars** of this second series is never produced, we slide off into the generality of the **iuuat** sentence; nobody minds this, they hardly notice it" (Mynors, *per litt.*; for V.'s technique in scenes of multiple activity, cf. now, admirably,

E.A.Schmidt, *Hyperboreus* 3(1997) 57ff.). Cf. 4.405-7. Does the alliteration convey massed marching feet? The context of 6.644 suggests a more Terpsichorean movement.

pedes As adj. in historical prose, common: cf. *Bell.Afr.*14.2, Liv. 9.19.15, 21.17.8,9, *TLL* 10.1.7. 968.75ff. (Kooreman), LHS 157f. Compare *comes ire* 2.704; also 6.880, 10.442. Norden (345f.) tries too hard to win the phrase for Enn.

ire parat campis Cf. Laev.fr.20 *para ire Ithacam*, Aen.1.678, 4.118; *ire* of the advance to battle is old high language: Enn.*Ann.* 502 *infra*, Acc.fr.7 *it nigrum campis agmen* (cf. *id.*, *trag.* 308, 541, Aen.12.73), while *ire campis* is itself an Ennian phrase (*Ann.*502).

arduus Not as odd as it looks at first sight: *TLL* 10.1.3.454,68ff. (Tessmer) lists *incongruentiae* of number and gender after *pars*: cf. Plaut. *Boeot.* 9 *maior pars populi aridi reptant fame*, Aen.5.108 *pars et certare parati*, 6.660 *manus..passi*, KS 1,23f., Löfstedt 2, 136ff., LHS 428f.. *Ardui* would be unremarkable (though metrically impossible!); the singular is imposed by the preceding *pedes* (Page, Fordyce). Compare 3.619f. (Cyclops) *ipse arduus altaque pulsat/sidera*, 11.638f. (horse) *furit arduus altaque iactat/...crura*, *EV* 1, 303; the adjs. are mutually reinforcing. Cf. n. on **285 sublimes**.

altis..equis Cf. Rabir.fr.3 *elephans..altus*.

625 puluerulentus Cf. *opulentus*, *uiolentus*, *cruentus*, *EV* 4,1062; *p.* (already in Laev. fr.7; cf. the prosier *puluereus*, 8.593) occurs also at *G.*1.66, Aen.4.155 and 12.463 (for the suffix, cf. Leumann, 336). Here *V.* probably has the Iliadic *κεκονιμένοι* in mind. Cf. *EV* s.v. *puluis* for the dustiness of the heroic battlefield. The two adjectives without copula (hardly 'asyndetic'; cf. LHS 831) are remarkable: one precedes **altis**, the other **equis**, so the coupling is there to be noticed. Vd. LHS 160f., Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.* 141, 385, Lunelli-Kroll 58, n.62, Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 665, *Nuovi contributi*, 33, 281, G.B.Conte, *JRS* 83(1993), 208, and particularly A.Traina, *Poeti latini..* 2(Bologna 1981), 113, n.5: at 1.384 *ignotus egens* and 12.930 *humilis supplex* the adjs. are juxtaposed and formally asyndetic (as in the instances quoted by Munro on Lucr.1.258), while here they are separated in a way that will surely have recalled Ennius (vd. *Ann.*141 *magnae gentes opulentae*, 385f. *quae me Fortuna fero sic/ contudit indigno bello confecit acerbo*). Cf. **643-4**. Less remarkably, the adjs. are both used adverbially (cf. n. on **598 omnisque**, Löfstedt 2, 369, Harrison on 10.56 *medium*), describing the circumstances of the cavalry's *furere*.

furit The madness inspired by Allecto in individuals and groups (cf.

348, 350, 375, 377, 386, 392, 406, 460, 464, etc.) swells terrifyingly into collective war-madness (**461, 550**). Here there is a further element of martial *χάρμη*—essential to the warrior, heroic and historic (*Companion*, 200, 213), however little we may like it (cf. 10.385, 545, though Harrison's notes underestimate the ethical complexities). The rhythm (pause at 3D, self-contained spondaic fourth foot) is singular: in this case specifically Ennian (*Ann.*169) *balatum pecudes quatit, omnes arma requirunt*; Winbolt 37ff. notes that V. employs the pyrrhic between caes. at 3S and a pause to convey haste or urgency, well citing 2.528, 9.330 and 10.545 (where cf. Harrison).

omnes arma requirunt For self-contained spondees at this point (normally avoided), cf. Austin on 1.1, *EV* 2,377 (Cupaiuolo). Skutsch (p.336), suggesting that *Ann.*169 (*supra*) may refer to the preparations at Rome on the news of Pyrrhus' landing remarks that 'it is probably more than a coincidence' that V. uses the same words to describe the reaction to another stranger's arrival in Italy. Pasquali thought of the *tumultus Gallicus* of 225 (*Pagine stravaganti* 1(repr.Firenze 1994), 237, n.20, citing Plb.2.23.11). Cf. **460** (Turnus) **arma toro tectisque requirit**.

626 leuis clipeos Cf. **789 leuem clipeum**, **639**, Hor.C.1.2. 38 *galeaeque leues*, *TLL* 7.2.1221.8 (Bader).

spicula lucida Cf. Lucr.4.845, *Aen.*5.306f. *lucida.. / spicula*. However we understand **tergent**, the adjs. must both be taken proleptically (cf. Fordyce's and my nn. on **350f.** and **498**).

tergent aruina pingui *Solent autem ungi arma, cum post bellum transactum reponenda sunt* (Porph. *ad* Hor C.2.1.5) and *aruina* is hard (Plin. *Nat.*11.127) fat (*pinguis* as at *Buc.*5.68, of olive oil) used *inter alia* as a preservative for leather (Apul.*Met.*10.15); cf. Blümner 4,352f. on ancient metal-polishes and A.K.Bowman, J.D.Thomas on Tab. Vind. 4.35 for the (?)comparable *axungia*. Not only (cf. T.Finnegan, *CR* 49(1935), 57) did you need (so rightly, Porph., *cit.*; cf. Cat. *Agr.*98.2, CIL 8.9052.13, and R.Shaw-Smith, *CQ* 31(1981), 469, despite its title, concerned wth preservatives, not polish) to apply some kind of preservative to stored metals, but hard lard will convey a dull, greasy film, not a bright shine to metal, at least to judge from what happens when you butter a pan! The Roman soldier—unsurprisingly—spent much time cleaning his arms and armour (Liv.26.51.4, DH 9.10.5, and notably Veget.2.14). So the Latins here clean off the grease from their arms and (vd. the proleptic adjectives immediately preceding) shine them. While an abl. with *tergeo* can indicate the substance or

object with which you clean (cf. Lucil.568, Prop.4.8.84, Colum. 12.50.2), here there is surely hypallage: for *tergeo* + acc. of the object cleaned and abl. of the substance removed cf. *OLD* s.v. §2 (e.g. Ov. *Her.*21.166 *tergit amoma comis*), and clearly the analogy of the abls. with *reluo* (Lic.Mac.fr.21HRR), *purgo* (Phaedr.1.22.3, Tac.*Ann.*3.17), *detergeo* (Claud.17.191) and *emungo* (Plaut. *Bacch.* 1101) meant that the attribution of a sense of 'wipe clean from' to *tergeo* was never at all hard linguistically (cf. KS 1,372ff., Bennett 2,280ff., LHS 106). It will be noted that *t.* is occasionally found in the poets; here the subject-matter leaves V. little choice (cf. Lyne in *Atti* 1981, 2, 82f.).

627 subiguntque in cote Just as (n. on **635**) agriculture declines in war, so arms decay in peace (cf. Weir Smyth on *Bacch.Pae.*3.8, Smith on Tib.1.10.49f.). Sharpening on the whetstone (Blümner 4, 353f.; cf. Hor.*C.*2.8.15, *AP* 304) is required, if not more radical repairs, **636**. If the verb can be used quite freely both in technical and non-technical (*tua subigatur pagina lima*, Calp.Sic.4.52, where vd. Schröder's comm.) texts, then the extension (*OLD* §9c) to 'finishing' a blade is easy.

securis Particularly appropriate as both a countryman's tool (G.3.364, *Aen.*6.180) and a weapon of war (**184**, **510**, etc., Wickert, 290, 447, n.113, Saunders 159-62, Malavolta, 130f. and *EV* s.v. *securis*), rare in Homer (Seymour, 667) and unknown at Rome as a weapon.

628 signa..ferre So too 8.498. Both poetic (Cat.64.222) and in 'business' prose (Cic.*Verr.*4.126, Caes. *BG* 1.39.7).

iuuat Cf. Hor.*C.*1.2.38 *quem iuuat clamor galeaeque leues*. The paradox is clear: thanks to divine malignity, induced madness and war-fever, the young men of Latium now take actual pleasure in forsaking their (prevalent) rustic idyll for the business of arms.

sonitusque audire tubarum Cf. G.4.72 *fractos sonitus imitata tubarum*; the *t.* is the straight trumpet of the Roman legions; an instrument virtually unknown in Homer (cf. Edwards on *IL.* 18.219-21) but familiar from the Hellenistic period on, in war and in the historians. Also Ennius. See Wille 78f., 84ff., Harrison on 10.310f., Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*126, Marzi, *EV* 4,1040f., Malavolta, 170f. The trumpet's loud clangour excited to arms (so Dryden) not only Purcell's audience but the Roman army: Wille, 95, 103, *Enn.Ann.*451, 485, G.2.539f.(cf. on **636 uomeris**), Tib. 1.10.12 and the most amusing *Sen.Dial.* 4.2.6. For *s.*, cf. **499**.

629 quinque Why five? I have no idea; their selection (why do three out of five begin with A? Cf. on **641-817**, §ii) and distribution re-

mains mysterious (but note Liv.1.10.1f.: Crustumerium and Antemnae fight Rome). But it is worth remembering that metallurgy is a traditional element in the *laudes Italiae*: cf. *G.*2.165f., DH 1.37.5, Strab.6.4.1, Plin.*Nat.*37.202.

adeo Cf. **427**; Serv. takes **a.** with **magnae**, wrongly; cf. Wagner *QV* 26.3. At 3.203 *tris adeo*, *G.*1.94, 287 *multa adeo*, 3.242 *omne adeo*, *Aen.*12.548 *totae adeo*, it is clearly the preceding numeral or adjective that is intensified. Full five arsenals make arms to resist Aeneas.

magnae..urbes The epithet is altogether conventional (cf. 3.106, 4.173, 187, etc.), but is also Ennian (*Ann.*590) and serves both to elevate Latium as a worthy foe of Troy and to ennoble her as an ancestor of Rome. For the urbanisation of primitive Italy in V., cf. n. on **573 urbem**.

positis incudibus Possibly with *Il.*18.476 in mind: $\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ of setting the anvil on the anvil-bed (Blümner 2,188f., 4,341). For *i.* at *G.*2.540, cf. n. on **635 honos**; for Hor. *C.*1.35.39, cf. n. on **636 recoquant**. The blacksmith is of course heroic: cf. **636 fornacibus**.

630 tela nouant Cf. 4.260 *tecta nouantem*, 5.752 *transtra nouant*; the old armouries are insufficient. The vb. in Lucr. and Cic.

Amitina potens corr.Hülsen; **Atina** codd. The epithet appears again unparalleled; like *superbum*, it suggests that V. is applying a patina of significance to half-forgotten sites in a legendary landscape. But **Atina** itself, however important in Volscian history (cf. *Enea nel Lazio*, 61ff.), is problematic, not because it lies in Camilla's territory, for she, like the Tiburtines, might have contributed arms, but because it is too far away: nearer 60 than 50 miles from Lavinium, as against 5 for Ardea, 26 for Tibur, much the same for Crustumerium, and 20-odd for Antemnae! Enough to trouble even an armchair poet, perhaps! Rehm(24f.) excavated a striking correction of Hülsen's (*BPhW* 9(1889),36): **Amitina**, most conveniently if not quite certainly located in the Monti Cornicolani N. of Tivoli (Hülsen in PW s.v.): cf. Plin.*Nat.*3.68 *Amitinum*, a text deriving from a (?very) old list (cf. R.Werner, *Der Beginn der röm.Republik* (München 1963), 416ff., C.Ampolo in *Tria Corda* (Como 1983),17f.); the hypothesis of a by-form is (vd. on **Crustumeri** in the next line!) altogether tolerable and the substitution of a rare name by a common one attractive. However, at 8.397, Sil. places Atina correctly *in Volscis* (in wholly unvirgilian company), while at 8.364ff., imitating the present passage, he omits *A(mi)tina*, but also *Ardea*, while including *Labicum*, *Monte-compatri*, in the Alban hills (**796**)! We cannot, therefore, form any

hypothesis about what Sil. might have read in his text of V. here and are, I think, free to accept Hülsen's ingenious and elegant correction, necessary to restore some sort of geographical unity to this phase of the narrative. Or keep **Atina** and call V. not merely an armchair poet (yes), but a careless one to boot (sometimes, but this arguably goes too far!).

Tiburque superbum Cf. on **670**. Horace's *supinum* (C.3.4.23) appears to mean something like 'gently sloping' (backwards); Juv.'s *proni* (3.192) sees the town as leaning forwards (Courtney)! V.'s epithet might (*pace* Servius) refer to the proud position looking down over the Roman Campagna (cf. perhaps Hom. αἰπύ); alternatively, Serv.'s *nobile* could suffice: Catillus and Coras rule a city of consequence. Rehm (26, n.57) found nothing else quite like it.

631 Ardea Cf. **411**; That Turnus' city should contribute to the Latins' arsenal was to be expected.

Crustumerique *Metri causa* for prose *Crustumium* (Liv.1.38.4, etc.) or *Crustumeria* (e.g. Liv.2.19.2, 3.43.3, DH 2.32.2); Sil has *Crustumium* (8.366); on the various forms of the name, vd. Quilici *infra* 21-3 while C.Hosius usefully discussed intractable toponyms at *NJhb.* 151(1895), 93ff.; cf. further Horsfall, *AION* (Sez.ling.) 14(1992), 173ff., Oakley on Liv.8.25.4. Perished *sine vestigiis* (Plin.*Nat.*3.68); now firmly located on the hill of Marcigliana, one km. N. of Settebagni station immediately E. of the Via Salaria: cf. *EV* s.v., *Enea nel Lazio*, 49f., L.Quilici, S.Quilici Gigli *Rend.Pont.Acc.Arch.* 3.47 (1974/5), 37ff., *idem*, *Crustumium* (Roma 1980).

turrigeræ Antemnae At the confluence between Anio and Tiber, S. of the former, on the L.bank of the latter; vd. *EV* s.v., *Enea nel Lazio*, 48f., L.Quilici and S.Quilici Gigli *Antemnae* (Roma 1978). The ancient town had (Plin.*Nat.*3.68) vanished without trace though the site was still inhabited under Augustus (Strab.5.3.2, DH 1.16.5). The epithet is not Gk.in origin, though it looks it and Norden cheerfully writes (438) πυργοφόροι (cf. Lunelli-Leumann, 170f.) But (cf. Thomas on G.1.138) V. was particularly talented at creating such illusions and for compounds in *-fer* and *-ger* (of marked metrical convenience), cf. now Harrison on 10.169f. *Turriger* is presumably an invention (cf. 10.253); cf. the closely similar *turrita* at 6.785. That is not to suggest a link between Antemnae and Cybele's mural crown, but V. does create associations of improbable majesty for A.. For the spondaic 5th. foot (with hiatus between adj. and noun), cf. notably *Buc.*7.53 *castaneae hirsutae*; see Norden, 445f., and Fordyce here; the

instances cited by Clausen on *Buc. loc.cit.* contain Greek names and are not therefore strictly comparable.

632 tegmina tuta..capitum The alliteration of t and the switch from coinciding ictus and accent (**tegmina tuta**) to conflicting (**cauant capitum**) renders brilliantly the beating hammers (cf. 9.809f.). For the phrase, cf. **742 tegmina quis capitum**, 9.517f. *armorum.. tegmina* and already Cat.64.129 *tegmina surae*, Lucr.2.662, 5.1016 *tegmine caeli* (cf. Bailey Lucr.1, pp.142ff.); cf. Laev fr.9.15 *tegmine onychino* for *flumina gelu concreta* (so Gellius 19.7.15f.)!. Cf. Horsfall, *Companion* 76, with n.59, Lunelli-Kroll 43f., Calboli *EV* 5*, 299 for the long history of the poets' unwillingness to call a helmet a helmet, with consequences both grand, as here, and comical (or tedious); periphrasis is analogous to Kenning (qq.vv., in index). **tuta**: that offer safety; cf. 4.87f. *propugnacula bello/ tuta parant*, *Pan.Mess.*83 *tutam..fossam*, Liv.6.29.5 *moenia tuta*: a kind of prolepsis; the adj. in these cases anticipates the role of the noun.

cauant Lucretian (1.313); at G.3.87 the verb is used of actual hollowing, at G.1.262 of making by actual hollowing out, and here, by an easy, elegant transference of making an object that has a hollow form.

flectuntque salignas Cf. G.1.169f. *flexa domatur/in burim*. For basketwork of willow withies, cf. Mynors on G.1.265,6.

633 umbonum cratis V. may (or may not) be thinking of a covering of leather (as in Plb.6.25.7) or even of metal; cf. Saunders, 171, Malavolta, 135, Wickert, 297. The wicker shield was familiar in the Greek world: ἰτέα, Blümner 1, 298): used by Persians (Hdt.7.61), Thracians (Plut.*Aem.Paull.*32), Trojans (Eur.*Tro.*1193). More recently, note Gauls (Caes.*BG* 2.33) and Germans (Tac.*Ann.*2.14). Possibly then a 'primitive' or ethnographic detail; cf. index s.v. ethnographic., and note also that *cratis* is the standard Latin term for 'fascine' in field engineering. **Vmbonum** (literally, the boss) by synecdoche (cf. Lunelli-Kroll, 39, Calboli *EV* 5*, 298f.) for *clipeorum* (so, rightly, Saunders, 173, Malavolta, 135).

thoracas aënos Cf. the Homeric χαλκεοθώραξ; possibly, suggests Sandbach (457) V. means not the old solid bronze breastplate but the 'modern' type, made of small plates or mail, on a leather backing (cf. **639**). That could be so, but there is no call to save V.'s consistency or technical credibility! For bronze arms and armour in the *Aen.*, cf. Saunders, 143, 182f. and for the cuirass, cf. **640 lorica**m. For a real Italic corslet (pub.1979), cf., conveniently, *CAH* 6., 383 (Purcell). The

form of the adj. (whether spelt *aenus* or *ahenus*) is Ennian (*Ann.* 532); *a(h)eneus* (cf. Norden on 6.281, Lunelli-Leumann, 163f., Ross, 60ff.) later gains ground, though its metrical advantages are less clear than those of *caeruleus* over *caerulus*.

634 leuis ocreas For the adj., cf. **626**; the symmetrical spondaic adjs. in *l-* add much to the dull, heavy movement of the line (cf. *G.*3.449), evocative of toil in the forge. **ocreas**: naturally, anapaest (the *o* is short before mute and liquid), not spondee by synizesis (which would also render the line wholly spondaic!). Greaves (Homeric κνημῖδες) are rare enough in *V.* (8.624, 11.488, 12.430, Malavolta, 144, Saunders 190ff.); Varro's Aeneas (vd. **639**) wears them, as does the Roman legionary (*Plb.*6.23.8). And 'silver' (cf. Saunders, 144) might derive from Homer's regular description of greaves as ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπιφυρίοις ἀραρυῖαι. On the widely discussed gold and silver armour attributed to the Samnites by *Liv.*10.39.13, cf. Salmon 103. 'Gold' or 'silver' when applied to armour will, one supposes, indicate chasing or plating, dedications (cf. Purcell, *supra*), or parade-ground kit (Sandbach, 458; cf. Rawson *RCS*, 594, **7.639**). **lento..argento** The slow hammering of the silversmith conveyed by the spondaic ending (Norden 446, *EV* 2,280). **L**: 'malleable'; cf. *G.*4.170 *lentis..massis*.

ducunt Gk. ἐλαύνουσι and Serv. here *extendunt*, TCD (better *parabant*; Varr. *Men.*201 *aerifce duxit*, *Lucr.*5.1264f. *ac tenuia posse/macronum duci fastigia procudendo*, *Aen.*6.848 *uiuos ducent de marmore uoltus*. Mynors' unwillingness to punctuate with a full stop at the end of this line I cannot understand.

635 uomeris..falcis..aratri Cf. *Cat.*64.38-42, Varr. *RR* 2 *praef.*3 *relictis falce et aratro*, quoted by *Colum.*1 *praef.*15 (the flight from country to city), *G.*1.506ff. *non ullus aratro/ dignus honos../..rigidum falces conflantur* [vd. **636** *recoquunt*] *in ensem* (civil wars and agriculture; cf. *G.*2.539f.); even if this is not actual reminiscence (but it surely is, successively of both *G.* and *RR!*), *V.* here underscores the consequences of civil war (cf. index s.v.) in Latium (cf. **798**), identical to those too familiar in his own day (cf. Glei 190, 269f., *Companion*, 69). For ploughshares, cf. Mynors on *G.*1.162, *EV* 1,268; *falx* 'is the general name for all cutting implements' (Mynors on *G.*1.157). The period is beautifully structured: its halves are linked by anaphora (cf. 12.743) and by parallel structure (**honos..amor**; appliances in gen.); the second half is heightened by **omnis** and by the affective intensification present in the *Steigerung* **honos..amor** (subj. postponed—cf. **332** for the form—and touchingly climactic).

huc..huc.. cessit Not only does love of farming depart, but it yields **huc..huc**, to civil war (cf. the *fiducia cessit/ quo tibi, diua, mei?* of 8.395f.). Cf. **332f. cedat/fama**, Cic.*de cons.*fr.6 *cedant arma togae*.

honus Cf. Buc.2.53 *honus erit huic quoque pomo*, G.1.507 (cited); compare Cato, *Carm. de mor.*fr.2 Jordan *poeticae artis honos non erat*, Vell. 2.89.4 (of Augustus) *rediit cultus agris, sacris honos* (cf. Woodman *ad loc.*, *Companion*, 69), *TLL* 6.3.2917. 15f. (Mehmel).

omnis..amor Commonly enough used of a strong, laudable and asexual love (cf. G.3.112, 285, 292, *Aen.*6.133f., 314, 889, *EV* 1,144 (Fedeli), but only here in V. of the farmer's feeling for his land or work. *TLL* well identifies a use of *omnis* that intensifies loss or absence (9.2.613.44ff., Oomes/Ehlers): eg. Cic.*Arat.*170 (stars)*expertis nominis omnis*, *id. Carm.*Hom.vi.2 *omni me orbatum laude*.

636 recoquunt Not a precise technical term: at 8.624, the sense of *recocto* is 'refined', as Serv. realises (*saepe purgato*); at Plin.*Nat.*34.96 *recocunt* refers to smelting and at Flor.2.8.24, to making shields by melting down chains and bars; the *simplex coquere* is equally inexact, not to mention *conflo* (cf. Blümner 4,109, 130)! In contexts such as this, the poets refer frequently to two distinct metallurgical processes: (i) melting down the instruments of peace to forge those of war (cf. G.1.508 *et curuae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem*, Ov.*F.*1.699, Val.Fl. 7.610f., cf. Val.Max.7.6.4, Sen. *Dial.*2.4.2, Juv.13.153, and for the reverse procedure *Isiah* 2.4) and (ii) forging new edges for old swords by heating, hammering and quenching (cf. Plin.*Nat.*34.144, R.J.Forbes *Studies in ancient technology* 9₂(Leiden 1972), 223, 228, J.Ramin, *La technique minière et métallurgique ..* (*Coll.Lat.*153, 1977), 169ff.): cf. G.1.261f. *durum proculdit arator/ uomemis obtunsi dentem*, Hor.C.1.35.39 (on *diffigas*, Porph. comments *refabrices*), Luc.7.146, Sil.4.15. It makes very little sense to say that the Latins are forging new swords out of old (after all, the tools of farming, **635-6** are laid aside, not melted down!), and we are therefore left with the (wholly acceptable) picture of the Latins, only sporadically warlike (cf. **46**; index s.v war and peace), putting new edges on their fathers' swords: 'they re-heat' (sc. to sharpen) clearly falls within the range of meanings of **recoquunt**.

patrios..ensis Cf. on **640** for the terminology of Virgilian swords. With *patrios*, cf. 3.595, 12.736, Turnus' *patrio mucrone*, G.3.346. V. plays neatly on Latium's conveniently ambiguous history (see previous n.); the Trojans arrive to end—though not with that intent—a long age of peace, but there are nevertheless ancestral weapons to hand. Cf. e.g. *Alambicco* 95, **7.184f.**, **474**, 9.361f.: Latins too have

weapons that carry an 'Homeric' history, in some cases (contrast **630 tela nouant**).

fornacibus Ennobled by mythological associations: *G.*1.472, *Aen.* 8.421, 446; note too the simile (varying Homer) at *G.*4.263.

637 classica..sonant Now (**iam**), after the **patres (617)** have voted for war, after the Gates have been opened (**622**), after weapons have been prepared (**623-36**), the signals are given, by *classicum* and **tessera** (cf. 8.1), for actual arming and mustering. The sequence 'swords on anvils; trumpet-blasts' V. recalls from *G.*2.539-40 (the Golden age in Latium, before such sounds were heard). The *classicum* (unusable in sing.) is not itself an instrument, but the sound or signal made by a trumpet (*G.*2.539 *inflari classica*, *Liv.*2.59.6 *classico signum profectionis dedit*, *Hor.Epd.*2.5, *Tib.*1.1.4, Wille 93-6).

it bello..signum Cf. 1.376, 4.173 *magnas it Fama per urbes*, 443, 8.595, 9.499. Compare 11.474f. *bello dat signum rauca cruentum/ bucina.*

tessera H.J.Thomson, *CR* 38(1924), 14f. cites from *Gloss.Abolita* (which contains material as old as Verrius Flaccus) *tesserarius: praepositus cursorum [currorum codd.] qui bella nuntiarent* (*Gloss.Lat.*3.174.26 Lindsay-Thomson); that is exactly the sense required here, and commentators' attempts to introduce the classical *tessera* (the tablet on which the legionaries' password was written) into an heroic muster are most unwelcome; the writing of 6.72f. is part of V.'s insistence on religious continuity and for the rest, unlike the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid* seems entirely to exclude writing. There are ample ethnographic parallels for the circulation of objects with an agreed meaning in pre-literate societies—notably the Fiery Cross of the Highlands (as in Walter Scott, *The Lady of the Lake* III 3-4 with n.28, S.R.Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* 2 (repr. London 1987), 138); further material in *EV* s.v. (Horsfall). Cf. index s.v. antiquarian for other instances of arcane antiquarian detail in this muster.

638 hic..ille Variation on the differentiated picture offered at **624-5**. Cf. 6.315, 320; note that V. uses *hic..hic* to similar effect (6.621-3, *EV* 4, 314).

galeam Almost V.'s only word for 'helmet' (but see 11.775); cf. **688f.** and **742** for exceptions to metal. See *EV* 2,208(Malavolta), Malavolta, 139ff., Saunders 176ff.. Not necessarily heirlooms; cf. **632**.

tectis.. rapit Cf. **460**, **510** *rapta..securi*, **520** *raptis concurrunt undique telis*, **625** for the motif of haste; alliteration of t and light pause at 4D give voice to sense.

trepidus Indicating hasty and disordered milling about, activity without organisation (Crevatin, *EV* s.v., well comparing 11.453 *arma manu trepidi poscunt, fremit arma iuuentus*).

trementis..equos So **FMR**, γ for **P**, aberu; **fremenis** cdfhstv, correctors of **My**. Geymonat, after Sabbadini and Ribbeck, prints *fremenis*, perhaps mindful of 12.82 (*sc.equos*) *gaudetque tuens ante ora fremenis* and disliking the vicinity of *trepidus* (as did R.G.Austin, cited by Mynors, *per litt.*, but vd. n. on **554 arma**). However (see A.Traina, *EV* 5*, 262, at length), the horse of G.3.84 who *tremet artus* at the sound of the trumpet, along with Phaethon's steed at Lucr. 5.403 *redegit equos iunxitque trementis*, guarantee the amply supported alliterative *trementis*.

639 ad iuga cogit Cf. *Moretum* 121 *sub iuga..cogit..iuuencos*, Hor. C.3.9.18 *diductosque iugo cogit aeneo*. For the (very limited) use of chariots in Virgilian warfare, cf. **655**.

clipeumque The round Homeric (or indeed hoplite) shield, of bronze and other materials; contrast the (legionary) *scutum* (**186**). *Clipeus* is much the commoner word in V.(and Ov., Luc., Sil.), but is usually limited to battle-scenes and to the shields of individual warriors. Cf. Malavolta, 132ff., Sandbach, 456f., Saunders, 169ff., Wickert 294ff., Lyne *WP*, 104f., *Atti* 1981, 2, 83.

auroque trilicem The same words at 3.467 (of Neoptolemus) and 5.259, of a second prize in the games, a *lorica* that Aeneas once stripped from Demoleos' corpse. Both also described as *consertam hamis*. Two men (5.263-4) could barely carry Demoleos' upon their shoulders! Not to mention the softness of gold. However, the metal was a hallowed feature of heroic warfare (Saunders, 142f., Seymour 302; for the 'real world', at least of the parade-ground, if not the battlefield, cf. **634**, Sandbach, 457, n.16, Rawson cited on **634 leues ocreas**, Wickert, 302, n.67). Cf. too 12.375f. *bilicem/loricam*. Fordyce's n. here explains the origins of *bi-/trilix* in weaving terminology (words with a long history—vd. also A.Barigazzi, *Prometheus* 18(1992), 69ff.-; cf. Eng.'drill'); the *licia* were the loops ('heddles') used to attach the warp-threads to one, two, three, or more horizontal rods. But that is not to convey a clear picture of the type of chain-mail meant; 'triple links' (Saunders, 182) or 'triple threads' (Malavolta, 138f.) are not quite true either to reality or to etymology. It may be that V. too was more attracted by the word than by the reality (or practicality) of the object.

640 loriam V. seems to have been cheerfully anachronistic over

his heroes' breastplates (Sandbach, 457); chain-mail (on a leather backing; cf. Varr. *LL* 5.116 on the etymology of *lorica e loris*) was recognisable Roman equipment (Plb.6.23.15, Plut.*Lucull.*28.1). But we should also perhaps remember that ancient scholars thought (unpersuasively) that Hom.'s στρεπτοῖο χιτῶνος referred to chain-mail (cf. Kirk on *Il.*5.113), and it might also be relevant that in the *Imagines* Varro represented Aeneas as wearing chain-mail (ap. Lyd. *Mag.*1.12 θώραξ κρικωτός). Cf. Couissin 99f., Malavolta 137ff., Saunders, 182f., Wickert, 301, Harrison on 10.313f., 485. For **thorax**, cf. **633**.

induitur Cf. 2.392f. *galeam..induitur*; for *indutus* + acc., cf. **668**. *Loricam induam* already at Plaut.*Cas.* 695; the vb. also at Enn.*trag.*396; for the construction, imitated from the Gk. middles ἐνδύεσθαι, ἀμφιέννυ-σθαι, and used already by Plaut.(*Epid.*223), cf. *TLL* 7.1.1267.1ff., Harrison, p. 290f., Görler, *EV* 2, 267 and notably Löfstedt 2, 421.

fidoque..ense Cf. 6.524 *et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem* (Helen, of Menelaus's word; *et ipsum ensem, in quo habere potui ultionem fidam salutis meae* TCD, *Moretum* 21 *lumina fida locat*). The warrior trusts his sword (cf. 9.707 *lorica fidelis*, D.A.West, *GR* 21(1974), 28f.) but such trust, strictly speaking, presupposes regular use (*aliter*, **636**). *Ensis* is the sword of poets; *gladius* is rare in verse after Ennius (cf. Harrison on 10.313-4, Lyne *WP* 103f., Malavolta 123ff.).

accingitur Used by Varr.*Atac.*fr.17.1 (the *orbis* and its five *zonae*); in the transferred sense of 'to gird oneself up to' older: comedy, Lucr. 2.1043. A favourite with V. (once in *G.*, ten other instances in *Aen.*), in both literal and transferred senses; of swords, cf. 2.614, 671, 11.489.

641- 817 Catalogue; introduction

(i) For e.g. Gibbon and Byron an essential part of an epic poem, but readers of V. who look only to epic emerge with a distorted perspective: to V., it will emerge, Aeschylus, *Persae* and Herod.7, not to mention the gazetteer of Italy in Varro *res hum.*11, also made significant contributions, aside from Homer, Apollonius, his contemporaries and heirs, and (?)Ennius. Cf. R.Scarcia, *EV* 1, 700ff., Harrison on 10.163-214, Knauer, 233f., Basson *passim*, Kühlmann, 180ff., 237ff., R.D.Williams, *CQ* 11(1961), 146ff., C.F.Saylor, *CP* 69 (1974), 249ff. Agamemnon's orders to the heralds at *Il.*2.441ff. correspond to Juno's substitution of Latinus' role (**616f.**, **620ff.**); the sequence of similes at *Il.*2.455ff. influences V. at **699ff.** and **718ff.**; the invocations differ markedly in tone and content, but V.'s placing is entirely

Homeric. His πεζῶν κατάλογος follows in hallowed sequence. Macr.'s comparison (5.15.6f.) is typically amusing and unfair (familiar in the schoolroom, as comparison with Serv. on **647** suggests): Hom. actually does not mention in the action all those listed in his Catalogue (9 Greeks and 8 Trojans are missing, V.Burr, ΝΕΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ (*Klio* Suppl.49(1944), 134f., D.L.Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959), 136, 140). Cf., in Apollonius, 21 names out of 54 (Fränkel, *Noten*, 40). The censure (Macr.5.15.7) *in catalogo nominatos praeterit in bello et alios nominat ante non dictos* is unnecessarily harsh, for only Aventinus, Oebalus and Virbius do not reappear, while no important minor ally of Turnus' is here omitted (cf. *GR* 34(1987), 48ff.). Homer's Greeks are fairly static (cf. Kirk (*Il.* 1-4), 170), though there are some references to mustering (516, 525f., 602, etc.) and special treatment is accorded to the peculiarly circumstanced followers of Achilles, Philoctetes and Protesilaus (686ff., 704ff., 724ff.). In neither Hom.(2.487, 493) nor AR (1.20f.) is there any clear external point of reference, whether temporal or local. AR varies his verbs with vigour, but mixes arrivals and departures in random but arid sequence, while time stands still and only Heracles' journey to Jason's side is narrated (122ff.). At **642** V. likewise offers no external points of reference, but within the Catalogue offers endlessly varied (vd. *infra*) arrivals and departures and represents all of central Italy in warlike movement (cf. **647, 655, 670, 681**). Contrast V.'s own necessarily more regimented picture of the Etruscan fleet sailing S.(10.166f.). Hom.'s lines immediately prior to his Greek catalogue clearly contributed much to the seething movement of **647ff.**: they convey eagerness for battle (451f., 473), din (466), and the gleam of weapons (455ff.); V. takes up all these elements and signals his formal debt at **699ff.** It is not unlikely that V. also has the parodos of Aesch. *Persae* in mind, where there is majestic *variatio* in the description of the Persian array and a handling of tenses (cf. 18, 25, 34, 41) closer to V.'s than either Hom. or AR. Ennius remains particularly mysterious: if *Ann.*229 *Marsa manus, Paeligna cohors, Vestina uirum uis* is Ennian (it surely is), then it might belong to a Catalogue in *Ann.*7 (rather too crowded already): vd. Skutsch *ad loc.*, after S.Timpanaro, *SIFC* 23(1948), 41ff., but no secure conclusions about a relationship with V. are possible.

(ii) Macr.5.15.1ff. remarks that Hom. observes a geographical sequence in his Greek catalogue, rightly (Kirk, 183ff.); *contra Vergilius nullum in commemorandis regionibus ordinem seruat* (§4), rightly, though elements of local sequence have been sought (even by Heyne, on **641**),

to no good purpose. A.B.Cook (*CR* 33(1919, 103f.) noticed that—if you leave out Mezentius, Messapus, Turnus and Camilla—there is an alphabetical sequence in V.'s list. This observation created much excitement (cf. the bibliography at J.O'Hara, *Phoen.*43 (1989), 35, n.2) and worse was to follow: L.W.Daly (*AJP* 84(1963), 68f., *id.*, *Contributions to a history of alphabetisation* (*Coll.Lat.*90, 1967), 55) suggested that V.'s geographical source was likewise alphabetically arranged. Unfortunately, we have long known what that source was, and since 1885 it has been recognised that its arrangement was geographical not alphabetical (*infra*), nor is it at all clear what sort of source would have listed, in alphabetical sequence, heroes both from the Aeneas-legend and from local foundation-stories, alongside palpable inventions, adorned with varying degrees of 'scholarly' plausibility. Caeculus indeed follows Catillus and Coras; Ufens, Umbro and Virbius do stand together by initial: that might be deliberate; it could be pure chance; a sound-effect might be intended. Given the remarkably mixed character of V.'s leaders, then, if he ordered them in alphabetical sequence (and it is not beyond question certain that he did!), it is not clear to me that the observation is rich in significant consequences. Even less plausible criteria of arrangement have been proposed (B.Brotherton *TAPA* 62(1931), 192ff., E.A.Hahn, *ib.*63(1932), lxii; cf. Basson, 132ff.). Williams (*cit.*, 149f.) rightly saw Mezentius and Turnus as balanced (and Serv.—vd.647—saw just why Mez. stood first). Camilla is a 'pendant'(803), not in the sense of 'appendage', but rather of a different, glorious ornament that rounds off the whole. The other ten contingents are not best understood through the imprecise categorisations to which Williams consigned them, but rather if we examine the variations between each one and its predecessor and successor, in terms of literary character (e.g. the intensely Euripidean and—at the same time—Alexandrian Virbius), the presence (or absence) of component elements (like geographical lists and descriptions of arms and armour), and of emotive intensity (contrast Oebalus and Umbro!).

(iii)The component elements of V.'s thirteen contingents are familiar enough (e.g. Fraenkel, 162f., Scarcia, *cit.*, 701, more fully, Horsfall 1971, 162f. and L.Zurli, in *Materiali e contributi per la storia della narrativa greco-latina* 1(1976), 125f.): transition (already elegantly varied in AR), figure of the leader, home town or area, ancestry, appearance, character and accoutrements; followers, connexion with their leader, their arms, habits and region of origin, similes and ecphraseis. These ele-

ments (themselves, for the most part, already, if minimally, present in Hom.) are variously selected, always in a varied sequence (*pace* Rehm, 91), and regularly expressed with variation of language, even, though not always, within name-lists (vd. already Macr. 5.15.15f.). Macr. concedes *diuina simplicitas* to Hom.'s structure (cf. Kirk, 170f.) but rightly notes that V. avoids repetition *uel dedecus aut crimen uitans* (cf. Serv. on **732**; Schol.b *ad Il.*2.494-877, Erbse 289.12ff.)! Aeschylus varies strikingly his verbs of motion (18ff.; note too verbs of sending, 34, 54: cf. **727**, **744**, **762**), mingles leaders and troops (with notable linguistic variation: 18, 34, 36, 38, 43, etc.), offering some individual characterisation, while Hdt. follows a strict sequence in his enumeration of the contingents in the Persian muster at Doriscus (7.61ff.), though allowing steps in time both back and forward (in the Homeric manner: 2.831ff., 858ff., 872ff.; cf. **756f.**). AR has little interest in equipment, but offers sporadic detail on his heroes' homes, fathers or families. He is, though, particularly concerned with their future histories, special qualifications or individual motives for joining Jason (cf. **691f.**, **810ff.**).

(iv) A little mechanically (one thinks of old analyses of Lucr. or Virg.G.), Macr. remarks (5.16.1) *uterque [Hom. and Virg.] in catalogo suo post difficilium rerum uel nominum narrationem infert fabulam cum uersis amoenioribus, ut lectoris animus recreetur*; to think in terms of similes (lacking within the surviving pre-Virgilian catalogues), digressions and descriptions that render the 'hard bits' more 'digestible' is to resort to a false antithesis, at least now that erudition in the Alexandrian tradition is so much more generally recognised as an integral element in the writing of Augustan epic. Mythological, etymological and aetiological elements (vd. also R.Thomas, J.O'Hara, *passim*) were hardly less delightful to the chalcenteric Augustan reader than to the present commentator. V. has ample precedent in AR's catalogue and Hdt. likewise enriches his with aetia (7.61, 74), anecdotes (7.69), and touches of geographical and historical learning.

(v) So what of V.'s scholarly reading for the Catalogue? He was *totius..Italiae curiosissimum* according to SDan. on *Aen.*1.44 and the picture of V. as a hardy traveller doing his own research on the ground (J.W.Mackail, *JRS* 3 (1913), 7) dies hard (cf. some more recent references collected at *GR* 33(1985), 197). The case for the literary origin of the Catalogue's geography was made, tersely and unanswerably, by B.Rehm (95ff.), who drew attention to the abundance of linguistic and antiquarian learning embedded in V.'s topographical verses, to

his idiosyncratic toponymy, to certain trite and even inaccurate elements in the choice of epithets, to the presence of much similar material in Sil.'s catalogue, and to the presence of some significant minor variations between V. and Sil.; a fair amount of material has since been collected, and not only by me (e.g. *EV* 5*, 449), that strengthens Rehm's case a good deal (e.g. Reeker, 102ff., O'Hara, 193ff., Bartelink, *passim*, Venini (695), 219ff.), and much of it will be deployed *infra*. V.'s primary geographical source is easily enough identified. Repeatedly, we realise that though there are many points (670-77, 678-90, 678, 680, 682, 710, 714, 723-32, 778, 783, 795, 803-17) at which V. could have used Cato, *Orig.*2-3, in which the Censor discussed *unde quaeque ciuitas orta sit Italica* (*Nep.Cato* 3.3), nowhere is it a mandatory conclusion that V. used Cato above all others, though it is not my aim to try to exclude that he read the *Origines* in full, rather than in excerpts and citations (e.g. in Varro; cf. 714, 741, 750-60, 752 for possibly instances of annalistic learning 'filtered' into V.). *EV* 1, 708f. proves nothing at all; 803-17 offers an instance of how the tricky fragments of Cato should not be read. Not Hyginus, *De Urbibus Italicis*, either, on chronological grounds (cf. *CR* 37(1987), 178), not to mention lack of points of contact (e.g. 690, 714: again proof of nothing) and contradictions of detail (Rehm, 100).

(vi) Varro, *res humanae* 11 is quite another matter: *Macr.*3.16.12 and (*Prob.*) *praef.ad Buc.*p.326.3Th.-H. show that this is where Varro charted Italian geography; the *de ora maritima* can be left out of consideration (cf. 794-802). We are hampered by the lack of a proper edition of the fragments of *res hum.*, and when working on its influence upon V. are left with (i) passages where we know that V.'s subject matter really was of direct and provable interest to Varro (e.g. 696, 711, 759; a question, often, of knowing whether a given chapter of *Plin.Nat.*, close to V. in content, is generally accepted as of Varronian origin), (ii) instances of V. demonstrating indebtedness to Varro on a point of geography, but to a text other than *res hum.*11 (710, 712, 713, 717; we shall see (§viii) that it is at least likely that *res hum.* re-deployed much geographical matter which Varro also exploited elsewhere, whether earlier or later) and (iii), more solidly, the long list, drawn up by R.Reitzenstein, *Herm.*20(1885), 532f. (which survives intact F.Bona's extended critique, *Contributo allo studio della composizione del "De verb.sig." di VF* (Milano, 1964); vd.p.44f.) of geographical notices in Festus, which have no obvious *raison d'être* in a

work *de significatu verborum* and must derive ultimately from a geographical source: p.464.18 names Varro and in several other passages identifiably Varronian material is to be found (cf. **Rosea rura 712**, **Anxurus 799**, Reitzenstein, 534ff.). Varro's gazetteer was clearly enough topographical in sequence (note in particular the collocation of Barium and Brundisium in geographical, not alphabetical order, Paul.exc.Fest.30.5f.). It is clearly significant that Reitzenstein's list of Festus-notices overlaps repeatedly with *Aen.7*: vd. **682 altum Praeneste** (cf. n. on **678-90**); **Hernica saxa (684)**; **Rosea rura (712)**; **Saticulus (729)**; **Sacrae acies (796)**; **Anxurus (799)**; **Sturæ (801)**. Moreover, for seventeen of the geographical notices in Festus, there are also parallels in Plin.*Nat.3*, confirming the central role of Plin. in our unravelling of V.'s sources (Reitzenstein, 536f., D.Detlefsen, *Die Beschreibung Italiens in der Nat.Hist...*(Leipzig 1901), 43, 57, Rehm, 105).

(vii) It is essential also to recall (for κτίσεις are a part of χωρογραφία, Plb.34.1.1) that Varro's geographical list contained mythological information: so a story of Orestes in (Prob.)'s key text (*supra*); cf. Hier. in Gen.10.4 (PL 23.1001A) *legamus Varronis de antiquitatibus libros ..et uidebimus omnes paene insulas et totius orbis litora terrasque uicinas Graecis accolis occupatas* and the Varronian notices Fest.486.23, Paul. exc.Fest.18.27, 22.27, 66.1. But never have I tried to repeat Ritter's attempt of 1901 to secure all (or nearly all) of V.'s Italian mythology for Varro. The thirteen sections of the Catalogue divide easily and naturally into three categories:

(a) Names deriving from the Aeneas legend: Turnus and Mezentius. Clausus belongs of course to Roman gentile legend.

(b) Names for whom some testimony independent of V. exists in the mythographic tradition (Catillus and Coras, Caeculus, also Halaesus and Messapus, prior to their forcible and perhaps quite casual removal from home).

(c) Names for whom no independent testimony exists (Aventinus s. of Hercules, Oebalus the Campanian, Ufens, Umbro, Virbius Jr., Camilla). That is not to deny the importance in V.'s inventive process of Aventinus the Alban king, Oebalus the Tarentine and the Callimachean Virbius Sr..

The distinction between (b) and (c) led me to the conclusion that (c) comprised Virgilian inventions (including a fair amount of traditional colouring), while (b) derived from his sources (Varro and possibly others). So *EMC* 29(1985), 403ff., *BICS* Supp.52(1987), 8f., *Mythos*

in mythenloser Gesellschaft (*Coll.Raur.3* (Stuttgart 1993), 133f.; ‘a very reductive analysis’ (T.P.Wiseman, *JRS* 79(1989), 130 = *Historiography and Imagination* (Exeter 1994), 25). But then source-criticism is out of fashion (cf. my lament at *RFil.122*(1994), 51); a pity, for it has much to teach readers of Virgil, and if the conclusions to be drawn from some simple sorting of a limited body of evidence suggest much invention and relatively unhelpful sources, we have nothing to gain from (neo-romantic) protest at what the texts indicate so plainly. Less controversially, Varro also included economic information: *Macr.* 3.16.12 *enumerans quae in quibus partibus Italiae optima ad uictum gignantur*, cf. **711**, **725f.**, perhaps **740** (and surely 10.174; vd. *Serv. ad loc.*).

(viii) The question of how much Varro V. read outside *res hum.11* is much complicated by the antiquary’s card-index methods and continuous re-use of material (cf. J.E.Skydsgaard, *Varro the scholar* (Copenhagen 1968), 89ff.); thus (e.g.) Varro mentions the *lacus Cutiliae*, a site in many ways similar to Ampsanctus (**563—71**) at *LL* 5.71, but *Plin. Nat.* 2.209 (vd. Beaujeu *ad loc.*) and 3.109 (vd. Detlefsen, *cit.*, 53) are both likewise Varronian in origin and might derive from (e.g.) *res hum.7* and 11 respectively. It is therefore worthwhile to list briefly those details in V.’s Catalogue for which Varro’s interest is somewhere attested: possibly, Virbius in his *Aetia* (**761—82**); securely the **prisci..Quirites** (**710**; cf. *LL* 5.51, 6.68); possibly the **populi Latini** (**716**); securely the rites of **Soractis..arces** (**696**; cf. *Plin. Nat.* 31.27), **Amiterna cohors** (**710**; cf. *LL* 5.28), **Feronia** (**809**, cf. **697**; vd. *LL* 5.74), Marsic snake-charmers (**753ff.**; cf. *Varr. ap. Plin. Nat.* 7.13 and compare 7.15, with F.Münzer, *Beitr. z. Quellenkritik.. Plinius* (Berlin 1897), 122), connexion of Hera with the cult of Juno at Falerii (**723-32**; cf. *LL* 5.162), foundation of Praeneste (vd. **678-90**), Mezentius as **contemptor diuom** (**648-54**); **Archippi** (**752**) and **Fucinus** (**759**) very possibly in the *Fundanius de admirandis* (cf. n. on **759**), conceivably Clausus (**706-22**). But Ritter’s 130 pages are a crushing warning of what happens if you try too hard! More to the point, **748-9** (explicitly, the *de gente*); **665 ueru..Sabello** and **Teutonico ritu** (**740**) fall in some sense under the heading of *Varr. de gente* fr.37Fracc.: *quid a quaque traxerint [sc.Romani] gente per imitationem* (vd. comm. and cf. *Varr. ap. Gell.* 15.30.7, Rawson *RCS*, 592: of course the Augustan legionary did not still use them, but that does not greatly matter); monopeditism (**689f.**) might well fall into the same category. Varro, *de uita* 3 was widely concerned with the antiquarian tradition about arms and armour (frr.86-91 *Riposati*), but no

actual analogies with V. can be drawn. Though many traces of earlier scholarship may be suspected in V.'s writing on the Italians' weaponry (**666**, **688** (!), **690**, **730f.**, **740f.**), their precise origin remains elusive.

(ix) Neither Ritter, nor Rehm nor I could claim, in many cases, to have a clear idea of what any 'passably educated Roman' would 'of course have known' about the geography of central Italy, and, that is, what even a Lombard like the poet would never have dreamed of looking up. But Catharine Edwards' positively inspiring pages (*Writing Rome* (Cambridge 1996), 27-43) on the emotional charge that various sites within the city of Rome carried, gave me the hope that something similar might emerge from V.'s Catalogue. That it seems not to do so is in itself significant: Hor.C.4.4.58, to take an isolated case, shows that Latium's latent emotivity need be no less than Rome's. But it will emerge that a lot of V.'s names are either obscure to the point of unidentifiability or occur but occasionally in the 'annalistic vulgate'. That of course is not true of the *mons Ciminus* or of Soracte, of the Quirites of Cures and the Allia, of Jupiter Anxur and Feronia, but with disquieting frequency, V. does come up with markedly unevocative toponyms. The rarer the name, the likelier, of course, that it came out of a book! Evocative names were a standard element in panegyric (Men.Rhet.387.22,25, 392.23,26, 445.29; cf. *Ancient History* 27(1997), 7ff., for G., another problem). It used to be rather too easy to treat the Catalogue with the sentimental eye of the pre-modern Italophile (Fraenkel, 158ff.); long residence in more recent times brings, perhaps, a cooler perspective. *Psogos* is not incompatible with panegyric (Norden, 314, *Companion*, 146, 149), but V. dwells with blunt emphasis on the Italians as violent and lawless, one necessary side of an unresolved ambiguity in their characterisation (cf. **681**, O'Hara (**817**), 206ff.). The Catalogue does not offer an unambiguous evaluation or a pretty postcard; much of it is difficult and bits are positively dry. What follows tries to offer some guide to the necessary, if often arcane, background to V.'s abundant detail.

641-6 Invocation After *Il.*2.484-93, obligatory and its presence here a formal bow to Hom. (Knauer, 233). But markedly unhomeric in form and content (though one might wish to compare the **reges** of **642** with the ἡγεμόνες καὶ κοίρανοι of 487) and equally devoid of 'cyclic' elements (vd. on **41f.**). Contrast in particular *Il.*2.485f. ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε πάρεστε τε ἴστε τε πάντα, / ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν with **645-6**: Homer asks his Muses for both

inspiration and matter; mere κλέος is not the stuff of poetry; here at least knowledge is called for (cf. Kirk on 2.491-3). Virgil, on the other hand, writes with the Roman annalistic and antiquarian traditions at his back; the former seems to have been relatively uninspiring on Aeneas' arrival in Latium (cf. DH 1.55-60, *Alambicco*, 73f.) and we have just seen something of the problems the latter created for the poet; he therefore here laments, after the manner of an historian (cf. **37-45**), the inadequacy of his source material: cf. E.Herkommer, *Die topoi in den Proömien röm. Geschichtswerke* (diss.Tübingen 1968), 86ff., Herod.2.29.1, 4.16.1, Thuc.1.1.3, 1.20.1, Liv.praef.6 (*quae..poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur*), 6.1.2 (*paruae et rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum*), DH 1.4.2, J.Poucet, *Gerión* 5 (1987), 69ff.. Virgilian epic depends on both inspiration and research; remarkably, the poet says as much! See T.Krischer, *RhM* 108 (1965), 3, Fraenkel, 160ff., Köhlmann, 191-5, Basson, 127ff.

641 Pandite..Helicon Repeated at 10.163 (cf. Knauer, 297, Moskalew 107); possibly V. repeats in catalogue-prooemia because Hom. does too (with *Il.*2.484, cf. 16.112, near the Catalogue of the Myrmidons) and, more clearly, to convey the unity-and-opposition of the two catalogues. **H.** denotes the range of mountains between Lake Copais and the Gulf of Corinth, home of the Muses since Hes.*Theog.*1 (whereas at *Il.* 2.484 they dwell on Olympus) and site of their actual sanctuary (E.Roux, *BCH* 78(1954),22ff., *La montagne des Muses* ed. A.Hurst, A.Schachter (Genève 1996), Roesch, *PGCS*, 806). But just how do they 'open' their home to the poet? *Pandere* (cf. 2.27, 234, Prop. 4.11.2) suggests not only the opening of a gate (and thus a link both with the image of (e.g.) Pindar, *Ol.*6.27, Bacchyl.fr.5.2 Sn. and even with Janus; cf. **613**, **622**, Fraenkel, 160, n.1, NH on Hor. *C.*1.24.17), but also (cf. 6.267 *pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas*) both the revelation of secrets therein held and the poetic exposition (cf. Lucr.1.55, *Aen.*3.179) of the Muses' revelation. Cf. Paschalis, 259f..

nunc Inspiration is required precisely at the point where information (**646**) becomes thin on the ground; V. writes both as inspired poet and as historian.

deae Cf. also Prop.3.3.37, Ov.*M.*5.663; so already (e.g.) *Il.*1.1, Hes. *Theog.*24 with West on *ib.*1.

cantus..mouete Monete by echo-corruption from **41** in Serv. (*legitur et 'monete'*) and **F**₂ (clearly wrong despite the attractive etymological link with memory, Varr. *LL* 6.49); **mouete** perhaps by analogy both with Gk.ἐγείρειν. (*Pind.**Ol.*9.47; cf. *Pyth.*9.104 etc.; the

cantus are therefore those of the inspired poet!) and with *mouere* itself in the sense of 'sing of' (45, Enn. *Ann.* 403, Bentley on Hor.C.3.7.20).

642 qui..quae..(quibus..quibus) The sequence of dependent relatives is entirely characteristic of proemium-style (cf. 37). The solemn moment requires stately expression: note **642**, **643** heavily spondaic; **quibus** in identical *sedes* in **643**, **644**, and 4th. foot caesura in **642**, **643**, **644**.

bello exciti reges These kings are epic, heroic, Homeric, mythical, not Italic: cf. Horsfall, *Athen.* 78(1990), 523f., Venturini, *EV* 4,466f.. For the dat. of goal, cf. Col.10.109 *excitet ut Veneri tardos eruca maritos* (with Boldrer's note), *TLL* 5.2.1247.60 (Rehm), LHS 100f. and the far commoner use with *in/ad*. The participle of *exci(e)o* is found with the *i* either short or long: cf. **376**, **623**, NW 3,577ff.

quae quemque secutae..acies V. is fond of *a.* in the sense of 'a military formation in ranks'; curiously (*TLL* 1.404.13ff., Kempf) it is not attested before *Aen.* **Quemque**: sc. *regem*; cf. 3.459, 6.892; commoner in *G.*(e.g. 2.177); cf. *Companion*, 230f. (with bibl.) for the epic's aversion to syntactical overelaboration.

643 complerint campos Both noun and verb are Ennian, but V. recalls primarily Lucr. 2.323f. *cum loca cursu/ camporum complent belli simulacra cientes*.

quibus..floruerit..uiris More than a restatement of what precedes; V. introduces an element of panegyric not explicitly present in the Catalogue itself. Cf. Lucr.1.255 *laetas urbis pueris florere* (the verb itself already in Enn.), *TLL* 6.1.920.32 (Kapp). S.J.Harrison well suggests that the word's tone is historiographical (Thuc.1.1.1 ἀκμάζοντες; common in Hdt.).

Itala..terra alma Not exactly analogous to the Ennian use of two separated adjectives in asyndeton applied to a single noun, identified at **624-5**, for **Itala..terra** is but a loftier synonym of *Italia* (cf. 5.703 *Italas..oras*, 1.252, 3.440, 5.82; see NH on Hor.C. 1.4.17 *domus exilis Plutonia*, citing *Aen.*10.408 *horrida..acies Volcania*: when one of the adjectives derives from a proper name, the character of the stileme alters perceptibly) and **alma** carries, as often in V., its implicit etymological force of *quae alit* (cf. Lucr.2.992f. *alma.. mater ..terra*, *G.*1.7 *alma Ceres*, Gargiulo, *EV* 1,116f.). Italy is the nutrient mother of these *uiri*.

iam tum So V. underscores both the antiquity and the continuity of Italian strength and virtue: cf. 1.18, 8.349f. *iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis*. So already Lucr.5.1037, 1169 and more to the point, com-

pare Liv.1.5.1 *iam tum in Palatio..*, 1.45.2, 6.26.3, etc.. Cf. O'Hara 91, n.347.

644 quibus arserit armis Warriors and their weapons, key themes of the lines that follow. V. carries the key metaphor of the blaze of war forward from the narrative (cf. **623** etc.) into the Catalogue

645 et..enim..et Enim links **et..et** to what precedes; so Varr. *LL* 5.29 *et colonia enim nostra Voltturnum et deus Tiberinus*, *TLL* 5.2.575.28 (Friederich). More important, *enim* ('For Thine is the kingdom...') is a traditional element of prayer-language: cf. 1.65 *Aeole (namque tibi..*, Hor.C.3.11.1, Tib.1.3.27, Appel, 153f., Norden, *AT*, 153.

meministis..memorare The latter already in Enn. (*Ann.35 et saep.*; cf. **564**) and Cato; Familiar paronomasia (O'Hara, 60-2) of related words (cf. Plaut. *Amph.417 memorat memoriter*, Ter.*Andr.43f. commemoratio..immemoris*, Cic.*Lael.71 meminisse..commemorare*, Liv.30.14.8 *commemoravi et memin*); the position of *diuae* between the two words makes it virtually certain (Conington, Horsfall 1971, 179f., Coleman on *Buc.7.19*; oddly hesitant both Bartelink 93 and O'Hara, 192f.) that V. intends also a play on the relationship between *Musae* (unnamed, but that matters not at all; for the suppression of a term in etymological wordplay, cf. O'Hara, 79-82) and memory (in mythology, their mother; West on Hes.*Theog.54*, Gruppe 1075, n.2), as at *Buc.7.19 Musae meminisse*, *Aen.1.8 Musa..memora*. Implicit already at *Il.2.492*; clear at (e.g.) Pind.*Nem.1.11 Μοῖσα μὲν ἄσθα*.

diuae Cf. **deae**, **641**.

potestis Cf. **335 potes**: like **enim**, a standard feature of *Gebetstil*.

646 ad nos Word-order underlines the chronological distance from Aeneas to Virgil; as anachronistic as 9.446 *mea carmina* (cf. **7.1 nostris**, 8.332 *diximus*; note too **602 nunc**), but for V. the *Aen.*'s time-scale (origins of Troy to mod. Rome) is notoriously elastic (cf. *EV* 1,152). Cf. on **641-6**, **732**.

uix..perlabitur The verb *quater* in Lucr.: the adverb is separated from the verb and thrust towards the beginning of the sentence; only with difficulty, because of its *tenuitas*, does the **famae aura** reach V.; cf. 6.340 *hunc ubi uix multa maestum cognouit in umbra*.

tenuis fama..aura *Tenuis aura* again Lucretian (*ter*, e.g. 3.232), while the application of *aura* to a 'breath' of rumour is Ciceronian (*Mur.35 parua..aura rumoris*; cf. *Verr.2.1.35*; also Curt.4.5.12). Cf. on **641-6**.

647-54 Mezentius Ample recent work of high quality (Thome (*M.*), A.La Penna *EV* s.v. and *Maia* 32(1980), 3ff.) justifies a briefer intro-

duction to this most complex figure: Cato (fr.10HRR) has Mez. an ally of Turnus against Latinus and Aeneas, killed in the last of three battles by Ascanius, after Aeneas' deification (cf. Liv.1.2.3, DH 1.65.4: Mezentius and Ascanius in the end make peace): see La Penna 1980, 6f., *EV* 3, 512, Schröder on *Cat.Orig.* fr.12, Thome (*M.*), 186ff., though Schwegler 1, 283-8 remains unsurpassed. Much (if not all) of fr.11HRR cannot be Cato's work and should long since have been relegated to a subsidiary place in the discussion: cf. **409**, Horsfall, *RMM*, 22, n.133 with further references. V.'s decision to separate Mez. (and Lausus) from the Etruscans as a whole is often hailed as brilliant innovation. Perhaps. Note, however, Alcimus, *FGH* 560F4 (Aeneas marries Tyrrhenia) and Lyc.1238ff. (Aen. shall come to Pisa and there receive help from Odysseus, Tarchon and Tyrse-nus, if this part of the text is in fact pre-Virgilian!): Horsfall *RMM*, 101, La Penna (1980),7, P.T.Eden, *PVS* 4 (1964-5), 34. The 'innovation', therefore, is far from certain (*pace* e.g. J.Perret *ap.D.Porté*, *L'étiologie religieuse dans les Fastes d'Ovide* (Paris 1985), 92f.).

Lausus, as a son of Mez. who predeceases him, is already an element in the Aeneas-legend by V.'s time (DH 1.65.3-5; Thome (*M.*),188f.) and the connexion of Mez. with Caere is likewise traditional (Liv. 1.2.3, Verrius Flaccus = *Fest.*212.20, Thome (*M.*),187). *Macr.*3.5.11 pointed out that **contemptor diuom** alluded to a story as old as Cato (fr.12HRR.); details vary widely, but (as action of the *Vinalia Priora*, 23 April) Mez. was said to have claimed the first-fruits vowed by the Latins to Jupiter (cf. *Varr.ap.Plin.Nat.*14.88 and *LL* 6.16, DH 1.65.2, *Ov.F.*4.879ff., *Verr.Flacc. Fast. Praen., ad diem*, and = *Fest.*322.16f., *Plut.QR* 45, *OGR* 15; see *Porté cit.*, 90ff., La Penna *EV* 3,512f., *id.*1980,8f., Thome (*M.*), 189f.). But V.'s characterisation is perhaps also (cf. e.g. La Penna 1980, 14) influenced by Aeschylus' Capaneus (*Sept.*441 θεοῦς ἀτιζῶν) or Parthenopaeus (*ib.*, 529ff.) and more clearly by Apollonius' Idas (1.151, 466ff.; cf. Harrison on 10.773f.). The epithet is learned, not just to be explained by Mezentius' tyrannical behaviour (*aliter* E.L.Harrison, *PVS* 19(1988), 73f.).

647 primus The sequence **primus..post hos (655)..tum (670)..nec defuit (678)** is not decisively either visual or temporal; **p.** is 'the first (of whom I am writing), but *Serv.* does well to remark *non mirum si sacrilegus et contemptor deorum contra piam gentem prior arma corripuit* (cf. *TCD ad loc.*); given V.'s first hints of M.'s character, his haste to take arms (cf. 8.6) is easily understood but only at 8.481ff. do we learn that he is also (by clear Virgilian invention) fighting to regain his kingdom (cf. A.La Penna *EV* 3,512, D.Briquel, *BAGB* 1995, 181).

init bellum Cf. the Lucretian *init..proelia* (1.638); V.'s precise phrase, though, belongs to the language of historical prose (Asell.fr.2HRR, *Bell.Afr.*91.1, Liv.4.24.2, etc.; B.A.Müller/Hey, *TLL* 2.1837.82, B.Rehm, *ib.* 7.1.1297.29ff.). No large-scale fighting till 9.25ff.(but cf. 8.8); here then, the phrase seems to indicate loosely 'enters the war'.

Tyrrhenis..ab oris Cf. **564**: 'from the land of Etruria'. Not M.'s point of departure, as Serv. notes, but his homeland (for *ab* thus qualifying a noun, cf. Cat.81.3 *moribunda ab sede Pisauri*, G.3.2 *pastor ab Amphryso*, Varr.*RR* 2.2.1, Liv.1.50.3, 6.12.6; cf. Munro on Lucr.2.51, Fedeli on Prop.4.6.37, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 1.26.44ff.).

asper Used of Turnus, 9.794 (cf. 9.62), Camilla, 11.664 and the Saticuli, **729**; cf. Thome (*M.*), 14, Wlosok, 71. Like 'rough', tactile in origin, but decidedly harsher in its connotations (*EV* 1, 371). *Gens dura atque aspera cultu debellanda tibi Latio est* warns Anchises (5.730f.); a quality to be extirpated, then.

648 contemptor diuum Vd. on **647-54**. Cf. 8.7 *contemptorque deum*, Liv.3.57.2 *deorum hominumque contemptor*, Suet.*Nero* 56 *religionum.. contemptor*; the word first attested at Sall. *Iug.* 64.1 *contemptor animus et superbia*. If traditional analysis of the phrase's origin is correct, however, it hardly makes M. an habitual or professional despiser of the gods, which is how the force of the noun's termination has been defined (cf. Austin on 2.164 and Roby 1,345ff.)!

Mezentius If F.Gaultier and D.Briquel, *CRAI* 1989, 99ff. are right in their reading of the graffito on a c.7 pot from Caere, the name was known in Etruria, as was not previously quite clear (*EV* 3, 512); even now its Etruscan origin is not entirely secure (so G.Bonfante, *viva voce*; vd. WH s.v. *mannus* for evidence which might suggest an Illyrian loan-word). The name's postponement heightens its impact but the alert and learned reader will already have worked it out from the preceding words. Cf. Harrison (**647-54**), 70ff. for the brevity of V.'s introduction of Mez.: did the poet not want to reveal too much of the plot?

agminaque armat The verb already *bis* (only; vd. Jocelyn, 350) in Enn.*trag.*; cf. **652**. The followers, presumably, of their tyrant's exile (cf. 8.492f.; Horsfall, *Athen.*66 (1988), 41, n.72). The same as the **mille uiros** of **653** and the *auxilia* of 8.8? We have no idea. Equally, we should do well not to ask why they had not been armed at **623ff.**, nor whether Mezentius and Lausus are really still arming their troops 'on parade' while the other contingents are depicted as already armed. Rather, we should recognise that Virgil is deliberately integ-

rating Catalogue and preceding narrative (though some details are left, we may think, ‘untidy’), and that the Catalogue is not (cf. on **641-817** §i) the uniform description of a march-past; V.’s choice of verbs is studiously varied (with **armat** cf. **694**, **724**).

649 filius..Lausus..Lausus Cf. on **647-54**. An Etruscan name (Schulze, 85, Montenegro Duque, 159). R.Parker (*LCM* 8(1983), 160) notes (but so already Horsfall 1971, 183f.) that Mynors’ punctuation (semicolon at **Turni**, **650**) awkwardly interrupts the epanalepsis of the name (cf. Nireus’ name (on his beauty vd. *infra*) in *Il.*2.671, 672 and 673, a passage much discussed in antiquity, Arist.*Rhet.*1414a2ff., Demetr.*Eloc.*61f.; see Wills 154, Housman on *Juv.*8.159 and compare **586**). Comma, therefore, after **650** and a strong pause after **651**.

huic Note the trivialising **hunc** of **M₁**. Cf. rather (e.g.) 8.104 *Pallas huic filius una*, *G.*3.79 *illi ardua ceruix*.

iuxta Riding, or marching (cf. **651**), side by side; so too perhaps Catillus and Coras (**670**).

quo pulchrior alter non fuit Cf. 1.544f. *quo iustior alter/ nec pietate fuit..*, 6.164f. *quo non praestantior alter/ aere ciere uiros..*, 9.179f. *quo pulchrior alter/ non fuit Aeneadum*, 772f. *quo non felicior alter/ unguere tela manu*. Virgil follows *Il.*2.673f.: Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε/ τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ’ ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα; cf. too *Od.*8.115ff., M.C.J.Putnam, (**756**, 1992), 12ff.=(*ib.*, 1995), 121ff.. Homeric heroes can be ugly (*Il.*2.216, 10.316) but quite often are not (P.Vivante, *The epithets in Homer* (New Haven 1982), 120f., 203ff.; Harrison on 10.345f. oversimplifies); in V., heroic pulchritude is rather more insistently pervasive, as in Apollonius (cf. the odd **656**, *EV* 4, 347, Heuzé, 247ff., Hardie on 9.179f.; even Aeneas himself (4.141ff.), transiently: see M.Griffith, *CPh.* 80(1985), 309ff.).

650 excepto Cf. *Hor.Ep.*1.10.50 *excepto quod non simul esses*, but (*TLL* 5.2.1249.2, Rehm) essentially a prose idiom (contrast Homer’s μετ’).

Laurentis It is not immediately clear how V. comes to call Turnus *Laurens*. Carcopino (236, n.2) suggests that the Rutuli were in some sense subject to the Laurentes, unconvincingly; I have wondered (*EV* 3,141) whether his status as Latinus’ potential (not actual) son-in-law and (imagined) future heir (cf. *Companion*, 210) might come into it. Certainly the Rutuli counted among the Latini (a far wider term; note the Latin Turnus of 6.89), and Latinus (not, for Virgil, either ancient eponym or unquestioned overlord of all the Latins) ruled from the *arx Laurens* (*EV* 3, 141f.), but that still does not quite solve the matter!

corpore Turni It was after all Turnus' beauty that (in large measure) made Amata want him for a son-in-law (55ff.; cf. 473, 783, Cairns, 68, Heuzé, 280, 306, 313); the periphrasis for 'Turnus' is not exactly Homeric (though cf. Kirk on *Il.*2.658-60, 15.640 with Janko's note, Russo on *Od.*18.34) but tragic in origin (cf. A.A.Long, *Language and thought in Sophocles* (London 1968), 123f., Bond on Eur. *HF* 1036, Harder on Eur. *Archel.*2.16); it has a long poetic history at Rome (cf. Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 88, 482, Jocelyn on *Enn. trag.*25, Kenney on *Lucr.*3.8, Munro and Heinze on *Lucr.*3.296, Munro on *Lucr.*4.681, Austin on 2.18 and 6.22, Pease on 4.132, Hardie on 9.272f., Harrison on 10.430, 662, *G.*4.13 *picti squalentia terga lacerti*, *Aen.*1.634f. *magnorum horrentia centum/ terga suum*, 4.511 *tria uirginis ora Dianae*, 12.335 *atrae Formidinis ora*) and serves to indicate the particular beauty of his *corpus* (Heuzé, 49ff.).

651 equum domitor The Homeric ἰππόδαμος (cf. 691); that V. knew the full etymological origins of Mezentius' name (see above) and is here referring to them—elegantly, with reference not to the father, but the son—is an hypothesis of a too-familiar type; it does not help to discover in V. allusions to 'facts'—in this case, apparently, the finer points of Illyrian onomastics—which he could not possibly have known! Cf. 189, Cic. *Off.*1.90, *Hort.*98.1 *domitores equorum*; V. here breaks down (Leumann's 'periphrases' is infelicitous) a compound epithet: cf. 700, Austin on 1.85, and Leumann-Lunelli, 169f., in contrast to the many cases in which the Latin poetic language developed its own (often cumbrous) compounds: Leumann, 395f., Janssen-Lunelli, 121f., Harrison on 10.215f., *Companion*, 220, n.18. Not that L. appears as a cavalryman in the narrative, but riding has a major role in the Augustan educational ethic: cf. Horsfall *Lat.*30 (1971), 1111 (vd. too, with some expansion but little acknowledgement, M.Dickie, *PLLS* 5 (1985), 193ff.) and nn. on 163, 691.

debellatorque ferarum The agent-noun is clearly a coinage (cf. 678, Görler, *EV* 2, 263); for the (very strong) verb *debellare* at 6.853, cf. Horsfall, *SO* 68(1993), 39. No less than riding, hunting is peculiarly Augustan and pedagogically correct, as one of the traditional propaedeutics for warfare (hence the choice of language; cf. Horsfall *Lat.*30(1971), 1110f.= Harrison, *OR* 308f., Dickie *cit.*, 190ff., Gleib, 322, E.Eyben, *Restless Youth* (London 1993), 83ff., *Aen.*9 ed. Hardie, 16, and *id.* on 9.590f., C.M.C.Green *Class. Ant.* 15(1996), 226f.). L.'s peculiarly Augustan virtues heighten the distance between son and father; both his manly exercises and his Caeretan origins (652,

8.489ff.) make him a natural companion of Pallas and Ascanius, Nisus and Euryalus. The pathos of the repeated name, the insistence on beauty and virtues, the immediate contrast with a vicious father, all lead the reader to anticipate (correctly) a tragic end.

652 ducit Homeric ἄγε (*Il.* 2.671; cf. on **649**); already in Naev. and Enn., predictably.

Agyllina..ex urbe Cf. **364 Troianas..urbes**, **678 Praenestinae..urbis** and **643f. Itala..terra**; similarly *Tyria urbs (arces)*, *Romanae arces*, 11.239 *Aetola ex urbe*: some repetition of geographical terminology is inevitable and V. resorts to conventional means of variation-by-elevation. Cf. Austin on 2.543, Harrison on 10.156f., NH on Hor.C.1.4.17, with refs. (add KS 1, 209). Hdt. used Ἀγυλλᾶϊος (1.167.2), Rhianus (48 Powell), Ἀγύλλιος; further variation is unsurprising (cf. Leumann, 326f., n. on **631**). Agylla, elevated by the adjectival reference, was for Virgil another name (8.478-80; cf. 12.281) of Caere (8.597, 10.183), mod. Cerveteri. V. calls the city, a great centre of Etruscan opulence (Jarrett, *PGCS*, 180f.), and an ally of Rome (as in Livy 5; vd. on **647—54**), both Etruscan/Lyidian (8.479f.) and Pelasgian (8.600). While many thought Agylla the Pelasgian name and Caere the Etruscan (e.g. Strab.5.2.3, DH 1.20.5, 3.58.1, Plin.*Nat.*3.51), Varro (fr.383GRF. = Schol.Ver.10.183) held Caere a Pelasgian foundation and Tyrrheni identical with Pelasgi (SDan. *ad Aen.* 8.600, after Hellanicus, *FGH* 4F4): a view entirely compatible with Virgil's use of the names (M.Pallottino, *L'origine degli Etruschi* (Roma 1947), 32, Briquel, 169ff.; *EV* s.v. *Cere* is inadvisable). Note that Caere also sends men to serve under Aeneas (10.183).

nequiquam..secutos Cf. **589**; the adverb ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with verb and participle. Serv. *quia in proelio periit nec patrium recepit imperium*; TCD *quia non erant euasuri*.

653 mille uiros *Mille* in the sense of 'numerous' curiously not in high poetry before V.: cf. E.Wölfflin *ALL* 9(1896), 180f., Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 787.

dignus..qui Not in hexameter poetry before V., but common in comedy, tragedy and prose: KS 2, 302f., LHS, 559.

patriis..imperiiis The noun (abl. of cause) suggests both monarchic rule (Mez. does not retain his kingdom) and military command (both father and son are killed). *Patrius* (cf. n. on **652**) as a slightly more elevated equivalent of *pateris* from Acc. *praetext.*15; cf. Harrison on 10.371. Compare *Il.*15.641f. τοῦ γένετ' ἐκ πατρὸς πολὺ χείρονος υἱὸς ἀμείνων/ παντοίας ἀρετάς but the son Periphetes is

mere spear-fodder for Hector, lent passing interest by contrast with his even less distinguished father! The eventually tragic Mezentius comes to realise (10.851f.; vd. Thome (*M.*), 135) that his misdeeds have blighted his son's life.

laetior An adj. unjustly neglected (but cf. **36, 147, 288**) by students of key terms in the *Aen.*: formally, we might compare 4.295 *imperio laeti parent*; more to the point (Evrard, *EV* 3, 99) there are many passages where Virgilian *laetitia* is significant by its absence (6.392, 862, 10.740, 11.238, 280, 12.616). The warrior son of a princely father 'ought' to have had fairer prospects.

654 et cui pater haud Mezentius esset V. is lavish in his use of formal devices in this grand (see Axelson, 91f., Tränkle, 45f. on *haud*) but melancholy climax: note the parechesis **patriis..pater** (cf. Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.*87, Harrison on 10.352, Wills, 240f.), the polyptoton **qui..cui** (cf. 4.247-8) and the repetition (here clearly deliberate, indeed mannered: cf. Wills, 422) of **esset** in the same *sedes* (cf. on **554, 586**).

655-669 Aventinus Again the hero's name is postponed, but what precedes here is purely descriptive and far less expectation is aroused. Furthermore, while *Mez.* is solidly rooted in the oldest strata of the developed Aeneas-narrative in Latium, *Av.*—a name also present among the kings of Alba (*Liv.*1.3.9, etc.)—is a palpable invention. *Lyd.Mag.*1.34 simply refers back to Virgil and Serv. adds nothing of note; the markedly unenterprising choice of name for Hercules' partner at **659** rather confirms this view. Eponym of the hill, *Av.*'s ancestry (cf. *Il.*2.658) may be influenced by the action of the altar of Jupiter Inventor (on the hill): *aram Hercules..punito Caco .. dicavit*, (*Sol.*1.7; cf. F.Castagnoli, *EV* 1, 429f.) but will have come easily to the poet, given Hercules' superhuman labours in Italian bedchambers (Schwegler 1, 375, n.23, R.Peter, *Roscher* 1, 2290.26ff., F.Münzer *Cacus der Rinderdieb* (Basel 1911), 13, n.15; see *Paul.exc.Fest.*245.6, *Serv. ad Aen.*8.51). We are not invited to speculate on the problems raised by V.'s view of Palatine (Evander!) and Aventine under independent and opposed administrations (assuming that we are meant to think of *Av.* as ruler of 'his' hill). V. may also have had in mind the Aventine's position overlooking the Forum Boarium, an area intimately connected with Hercules (F.Castagnoli, *EV* 4, 546).

655 post hos Simply transitional, with no particular implication of chronological or spatial sequence (though of course the preposition can carry either force).

insignem palma..currum Cf. Lucr.6.47 *insignem..currum*, *Aen.*7.75f. **coronam/insignem gemmis**. Av.'s chariot bears the symbol of agonistic victory (NH on Hor.C.1.1.5). Why? Hardly on Hercules' account, for the horses of Thracian Diomedes (which he bested; cf. **283**) were famed for cannibalism, not speed and those of Laomedon he never received. Allusion to the link between H. and the Nemean Games? No trace (though it is quite credible and would be welcome enough) in the letter of the text. Perhaps then Aventinus is presented as a famed charioteer in his own right (cf. **163**); V. occasionally depicts the Latins as riding to the battlefield in chariots and Turnus even fights from his (Malavolta 172, Wickert, 461, Heinze 200f., Saunders, 131, Andreussi, *EV* 1, 679); exceptional, but not unattested usage in Hom.(cf. the battle at the ships in *Il.*15, Seymour, 674f.).

per gramina Cf. 6.684 *tendentem..per gramina*, **7.808f. per summa uolaret/ gramina**; here, then, V. leads the reader to expect a verb of motion, and **ostentat** (in which motion is only implicit) surprises. **656 uictores..equos** Cf. LHS 157 for the adjectival use of agent nouns; note the *victor equus* of Cic.*Cat.*14 (where Powell's suggestion that the Ennian phrasing continues after the quotation is unpersuasive) and *G.*3.499. The agonistic implication of *palma* is heavily underlined.

ostentat The verb (in *Enn.Ann.*, *bis*, *Pacuv.*, *Acc.*) need not imply proud and ostentatious display (5.357), but clearly does so here (5.521, 567).

satus Hercule This convenient synonym for *filius* seems tragic in origin (**152**, *Acc. trag.* 653¹, *trag.inc.*102, probably after Gk.*trag.* σπέρμα etc.).

pulchro/ pulcher Cf. **649, 761 proles pulcherrima** for the intensive beautification of the Virgilian hero; the flower of young warrior Italy indeed, but prettier than Homer's Achaeans (vd. on **649**). For the polyptoton, cf. Hor.C.1.16.1 *o matre pulchra filia pulchrior* with the ample note of NH and Wills, 227, 232, n.24. Neither Roscher (nor the supplements of Bruchmann and Carter), nor yet Gruppe, not to mention *LIMC* (4.1.730) offer parallels for this description of Hercules; Prof.Thomas Carpenter confirms that in the artistic tradition too such a depiction of H. as a beauty would ring very odd. But if H. really was Av.'s father, and the latter, for V., was lovely to behold, then the emotive logic behind the polyptoton perhaps overrides our pedantic cavils.

657 clipeoque Cf. on **639**.

insigne paternum..gerit *I.* of the crest of a helmet at *Enn. Ann.* 174; cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 1106f., 1134f. (with Mastronarde's notes), G.H. Chase, *HSCP* 13(1902), 72 for a paternal feat as a shield-device. For the verb, cf. *trag. inc.* 50, *Aen.* 1.315.

658 centum anguis Paus. (2.37.4) reasons that the number of snakes was originally one, but was increased by Pisander (fr. 3 Davies) in the interests of horror: nine at *Alc. fr.* 443PLF (cf. *Apld. Bibl.* 2.5.2), fifty at *Simon. fr.* 64PMG and *Aen.* 6.576 and a hundred, as here, on the shield of Adrastus at *Eur. Phoen.* 1135 (where vd. Mastronarde), *DS* 4.11.5 and *Aen.* 8.300. Henry remarks on V.'s theme and variation: the line describes the same thing twice over and 'in the single view of the prosaist' may be rendered *suis centum serpentibus cinctam hydram*. The hydra dwelt at Lerna in the Argive plain; it was assisted by a giant crab and was killed by Heracles, helped by Iolaus, as his second labour. Cf. G. Kokkorou-Alewrás, *LIMC* 5.1.34f., Frazer on *Apld. Bibl.* 2.5.2.

cinctam..serpentibus Hydram The snakes presumably disposed round the edge of the shield: E. Simon, *EV* 1,344 = *Maia* 34(1982), 214, comparing the aegis of the Lavinium Minerva (*Enea nel Lazio*, 190ff.). Aventinus does not reappear in the poem; it is hardly possible, therefore, to evaluate the symbolic meaning of V.'s choice of shield device (cf. on **785ff.**): while Turnus' Chimaera confirms a (partly but unavoidably) negative view of its bearer, the Hydra reminds us, after all, of the heroism of Aventinus' father, conqueror of Cacus in bk. 8. Cf. *Cic. Verr.* 5.124 *Gorgonis os..cinctum anguibus*.

659 collis Auentini silua Cf. *Liv.* 1.3.6 (of Ascanius' son Silvius) *casu quodam in siluis natus*, (Prob.) on *G.* 1.20 (Silvanus), Horsfall, *Athen.* 66(1988), 42 (Camilla), n. on **678-90**; it becomes swiftly apparent that V. is decking out a (rather dry and unconvincing) invention with familiar motifs, to lend some degree of colour and credibility. Cf. on **679**. See n. on **172** for woods on the site of Rome; for the Aventine in particular, cf. *Plut. Num.* 15.3, *DH* 10.31.2, *Ov. F.* 1.551, 3.329, A. Merlin, *L'Aventin* (Paris 1906), 19. While (**586**) we have seen that *pelagi rupes* is potentially awkward Latin, a *silua* (cf. **172**, *G.* 3.2 *siluae amnesque Lycaei*) is almost as much a part of a *collis* as its *iugum* or *radices*.

quem Fourth word in the phrase (anastrophe), when the first three form a single unit; cf. Williams on 5.22, Harrison on 10.531, Norden on 6.792f. for some more striking cases.

Rhea sacerdos *Serv.* fairly remarks *adludit ad nomen matris Romuli, quae dicta est Ilia, Rhea Silua*. Rhea was a Vestal, the mistress of a god,

and her offspring were reared in the wild: V. therefore, by his choice of name, positively flaunts the rather banal origin of the details here related! *S.* of a woman also at 6.35, 41; at Hor.C.3.3.32 of Ilia herself.

660 furtiuum partu The expression common in amatory language: cf. 9.546f. (with Hardie's note, *Il.*2.515 and cf. 6.23ff.), Cat.7.8, Tib. 1.2.34 with Smith's note, 1.5.75, *Ov.Ars* 1.275, *Ep.*11.38 (cf. Knox on *ib.*6.43), *Aen.*4.171 (the adj. here too), 6.24, 9.546, *TLL* 6.1.1644.65 (Rubenbauer). The abl. 'of respect': 'in point of his birth' (cf. 8.726 *mollior undis*, 12.630 *numero inferior*, Bell, 329 (wayward), LHS, 134); the noun at e.g. *Pacuv.trag.*70.

sub luminis..oras A remarkable leap of stylistic level (might V. even be amusing the attentive reader?); from erotic intrigue, V. returns to the most exalted range of idiom: cf. *Enn.Ann.*109 *intra luminis oras*, 135 *dederat in luminis oras*, *Lucr.*1.22f. *dias in luminis oras/ exoritur, et passim*, *G.*2.47, *Aen.*2.91.

edidit Cf. *Varr.Atac.fr.*3.3, *TLL* 5.2.83.35 (Kapp/Meyer).

661 mixta deo mulier *μῖχθῆϊκα*, graece dixit': so Serv., well (cf. *TLL* 8.1087.48, Pfligersdorffer). A calque, then: E.Steiner, *Das Bedeutungslehnewort in Vergils Aeneis* (diss.Königsberg 1921), 45f.(since when, little or nothing: Lunelli-Kroll, 13f., A.Traina, *Vortit barbare* (Roma 1970), index s.v. *calco*, NH indices, s.v.). More 'usual' the phrasing of e.g. *Cic.Div.*1.60 *corpus miscere*. Cf. H.D.Jocelyn, *Antichth.*7(1973), 33 for the mortal antonym of *deus*; *mulier*, as against *femina*, is often pejorative in tone (F.E.Santoro L'hoir, *The rhetoric of gender terms* (*Mnem.* Suppl.120 (1992), 29ff.): here a (mere) woman, and fallen, too!

Laurentia..arua Cf. 1.569, 3.171 *Dictaea..arua*, 4.236; 'the (farm-)land of the Laurentes' (so 9.100, 12.24; cf. their *agri* (11.431), *campi* (12.542) and *solum* (12.547); Carcopino 247, n. on **151**). The disposition (cf. Worstbrock, 165f., Harrison, *Aen.*10, p.289) of the adjectives of place (cf. n. on **662 attigit**) in **661-3** is intended to underscore the range of Hercules' travels.

uictor Geryone exstincto Heroic victory, this time, not (**656**) agonistic. The verb comes from the language of tragedy (*Pacuv.*329, *Acc.*502; cf. 43, 337). The three-headed Geryon was Hercules' tenth labour: he killed watchdog, herdsman, then monster, before driving off Geryon's cattle for Eurystheus to sacrifice (so *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.10, where vd. Frazer; cf. also Hardie on 9.435ff.). A western location (by the river Tartessus) in *Stes.Geryoneis* (fr.7 PMG = *Strab.*3.2.11; contrast *Hes.Theog.*290) and regularly thereafter. Cults and legends of Heracles in Magna Grecia in the c.6, and in Rome by the following

century. His return after the elimination of Geryon provided a notably convenient narrative context for a wide range of aetiological stories (as from Timaeus *FGH* 566F89, T.S.Brown, *Timaeus of Tauromenium*, *UCPH* 55(1958), 37). Cf. J.Bayet, *Les origines de l'Hercule romain* (Paris 1926), 9ff., C.M.Robertson, *CQ* 19(1969), 207ff., P.Brize, *LIMC* 5.1.73f., J.N.Bremmer, *RMM*, 53, Poucet 187f., 287ff.). V. continues to innovate within a traditional framework, anticipating bk.8, as at **25ff.**

662 Tiryntius So at 8.228 (and cf. e.g. Alcides; synonyms where the name is inadmissible in dactylic verse): H. was born at Tirynt, served under Eurystheus there, and his mother, moreover, was daughter of Electryon, king of T.. See the admirable discussion of mythological periphrasis in Lunelli-Kroll, 43ff.(cf. *EV* 1, 54).

attigit In Plautus (*Vid.*76), Cic., Nepos, *Bell.Afr.* 85.2; cf. *TLL* 2.1145.31 (Bickel). Distinctly flat and prosy; strikingly so, within the elevated hyperbaton of **Laurentia..arua** (Housman, *Class.Pap.* 1,140, J.Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots* 1(Paris 1922), 112ff., *id.*, *TSL*, 324, Clausen on *Buc.* 9.2f., Lunelli-Kroll, 34), which indicates that it is Hercules' arrival in the territory of (at last!) the Laurentes that is the significant detail.

663 Tyrrhenoque..in flumine Compare *G.*1.499 *Tuscum Tiberim*, **7.242 Tyrrhenum ad Thybrim**, 2.781f. *Lydius...Thybris*; see Lugli, (31), 26ff., NH on *Hor.C.*1.20.5 *paterni fluminis*. But here the river's name is omitted and the expression belongs to an only-too-familiar type of (occasionally riddling) poetic periphrasis (cf. e.g. *Siculi pastoris* (Theocritus), *bellator deus*, *Troius heros*, *pastoris Hiberi* (for Geryon, *Ov. Met.*9.184!), Housman, *Class.pap.*3, 973 and again Lunelli-Kroll, 43f.).

boues..Hiberas The adj. at *Lucil.*405, *Cat.*29.19 (vd. on **661** for its position).

in flumine..lauit A positively pastoral activity: *Theocr.*5.145f., *Buc.* 3.97, **7.489**.

664 pila *Serv.*: *et multi uolunt per teretes mucrones 'dolones' dici, per ueru Sabellum 'pila' significari*; *Schol.Ver.* (on **tereti mucrone**): *dolonem significat..per ueru Sabellum pila*. Cf. too (Prob.) on *G.*2.167-9: *Volsci 'ueruti' ideo dicuntur, quod dolonibus in proelio soliti sint uti*. The 'chiastic hendiadys' thus proposed once had its followers (E.Meyer, *Kl.Schr.*2 (Halle 1924), 237, Saunders, 148), but is unacceptable as Latin and conflicts with the little we know of the rarer weapons involved. Nevertheless, Av.'s followers may seem rather over-armed; though some contingents in the Persian army (*Hdt.*7.63, 64, 72) have three weap-

ons, here, four are assigned, though the text does not require us to suppose that the entire contingent carried all four! *Pila*, the throwing-spears of the Roman legionary (inevitably, Enn.'s word, *Ann.*582), occur only here in the *Aen.*(cf. Lyne, *WP*, 105f.); though ancient texts differ on the precise date of the *pilum*'s introduction (Salmon, 105ff.), they concur on the c.4, and earlier occurrences (*Liv.*1.26.10, *Prop.* 3.3.7) are, like V.'s here, simply anachronistic (*EV* 1, 152; cf. Sandbach, 458, n.17, Wickert, 439, Saunders, 150).

manu..gerunt in bella For **manu**, cf. on **604**; here, as at **621**, in a full and literal sense; cf. **455 bella manu letumque gero**, **688**, 11.552.

saeuos..dolones The adj. (also used of *securis* 6.819, *arma*, 1.295, *uerbera*, *G.*3.252) probably also applies to *in bella* (cf. *G.*3.50f. *fortis ad aratra iuencos/..legat*). The *dolo* might seem more problematic (Saunders, 149 with n.45) since Serv. knows two distinct senses for the word: (i) a *pugio* concealed in the handle of a *flagellum* (cf. the fragment of Schol.Ver. here and note *Suet.**Claud.*13.1, *Dom.*17.2, *Plut.**Tib.**Gr.*10.9: a weapon for assassinations and *Isid.**Orig.*18.9.4 unsurprisingly finds a link with *dolus*) and (ii) *secundum Varronem ingens contus cum ferro breuissimo*. Since there is some reason to suppose (cf. **641-817**, §viii, **740f.**) that V. gratefully followed Varro on military technicalities we may well prefer to assign Av.'s men not the assassin's hidden poniard but rather (*inter alia*) a huge pike.

665 tereti..mucrone Here, clearly, **m.** denotes not the point of the sword (the original meaning; van den Hout, Buchwald *TLL* 8.1555.70ff.), but (synecdochically) the whole weapon (so Enn. fr. inc.3, *Fur.**Bib.*fr.10, *Aen.*2.333, 449, *TLL* 8.1556.34ff.); cf. Saunders, 164f.: a rare (though noble enough) synonym for *ensis/gladius*. The adj. (of smooth, round objects, cf. *Buc.*8.16, *Aen.*5.313, 6.205ff., **7.730f.**, *EV* s.v.) suggests a slender thrusting sword (cf. Saunders, 165), compatible (as though V. were much troubled!) with both Homeric and Italic usage.

pugnant μάχονται, πολεμιζουσι.

ueru Sabello The adj., as has been perfectly clear since 1897, means not 'Sabine' but 'Samnite' (E.A.Sonnenschein, *CR* 11(1897), 339f., cf. Horsfall, *EV* 4, 627f.: those who continue to write 'Sabine' are simply wrong!). And why should they not have contributed (or exported!) arms? Cf. on **630**. It is relevant that the antiquarian tradition on both the use of precious metals in armour (**634**) and on the introduction of the *pilum* (Salmon, 106f., **664**) contains a Samnite

element given that (vd.the *Ined.Vat.*) the regional origin of individual weapons was a regular feature in such writing (cf. E.Wendling, *Herm.*28(1893), 335ff., Fraccaro on Varr. *de gente* fr.37, Walbank on Plb.1.20.15, Rawson *RCS*, 592, **641-817**, §viii). The noun usually indicates a kitchen-spit (e.g..5.103 *subiciunt ueribus prunas et uiscera torrent*); also spiked railings (*ILS* 4914); hence, apparently, a weapon similar to the preceding *teres mucro*; disconcertingly so, if we are determined to look for trouble. Perhaps very little different (Couissin 25ff., Malavolta, 122) from the *uerutum* of the fourth class in the Servian army (Enn.*Ann.*351, Liv. 1.43.6, DH 4.17.1; cf. Paul.exc.Fest. 515.9 *ueruta pila dicuntur quod uelut uerua habent praefixa*, Non.554.29 *telum breue et angustum*, *ibid.*(in marg.) *missile angulatum et in extimo tenuatum* (*CGloss.*5.648.39), *CGloss.*5.253.11 *in quo ferrum solidum est atque productum*); this *uerutum* was also attributed to Nervii (Caes.*BG* 5.44.7) and Volsci (*G.*2.168). Note the rare sequence of word-ends at 4tr and 5tr: cf. Austin on 1.188, 2.380, 4.58, 6.140, Norden on 6.140, 789 (about 20 instances in *Aen.*, without *-que*, 100 with *-que*).

666 ipse pedes As at **707**, the pronoun points up the head of the contingent; it is not clear (cf. **664-9**(c) below) why Av. should here be $\pi\epsilon\zeta\acute{o}\varsigma$ (cf. **624**).

tegimen..immane leonis Aventinus is said to wear a lionskin as his father regularly wore that of the Nemean lion, killed as his canonical first labour (from (Hes.)fr.250MW, Pisander fr.2A Davies, Stes.fr.229 *PMG*; cf. W.Felten, *LIMC* 5.1.16ff., F.Brommer, *Herakles* (Münster 1972), 7ff. for the evidence from archaic art on). Note particularly Eur.*HF* 359f., a passage in V.'s mind at **674f.** V. has **tegmina** at **632**; here the anaptyxis (Leumann, 103; unexpected in high classical poetry) of the nom. yields a welcome dactyl. The epithet is not transferred: the lion had been *immanis* (cf. *G.*2.141, *Aen.*6.597, Varr.*Men.*299, Liv.26.19.7); its skin therefore retains both the scale and the horror (cf. *EV* s.v.*immanis*) of the live monster, fitting, in all senses, its mighty (cf. *LIMC* 4.1.730) slayer—and his son. So too Romulus *lupae fuluo nutricis tegmine laetus* (1.275; cf. 1.323, and the delicious burlesque at *Moretum* 22f.).

torquens So Aeneas *demissa ab laeua pantherae terga retorquens* (8.460).

667 terribili..saeta Contrast 8.266f. *uillosaque saetis/ pectora semiferi*. But the sing. ('collective') is likewise regular poetic usage (e.g. Hor. *C.*1.32.12 *crini*, Ter.*Phorm.*106 *capillu' passu'*, Lunelli-Kroll, 26, Lunelli-Janssen, 104f., *KS* 1, 85f., Löfstedt 1, 14., *LHS*, 13f.). With the (unremarkable) abl., cf. (Bell, 328 and see now Görler, *EV* 2, 268) 6.137 *lento uimine ramus*.

impexum Cf. Pacuv.*trag.*21 *et coma prolixa impexa conglomerata atque horrida.*

cum dentibus albis Cf. (of Camilla's victim, the hunter Ornytus) *caput ingens oris hiatus/ et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis* (11.680f.). **667f.** suggest that Av. is to be thought of as wearing the lionskin *more Herculeo*, with his head emerging between the beast's jaws (cf. n. on **666 tegimen**). Worn *ad terrorem hostium*, as Vegetius says of the bear-skin cap (2.16; cf. Plut.*Mar.*25.7, of the Cimbric cavalry); here not so much a mark of savagery as a symbol of heroic ancestry.

668 indutus capiti Retained (cf. on **669**) from an act. *tegimen induit capiti* (vd. Fordyce on **640**); the influence of the Gk. middle (e.g. Eur.*Ba.*852f. (στολήν) ... ἐνδύεται) is plain. **Capiti**, clearly, is dat. and not the archaic abl. (as Cat.68.124, Tib.1.1.72, NW 1, 366): cf. 11.76f. *iuueni..honorem/ induit*; the dat. should be no less unambiguous at (e.g.) *Buc.*7.47 *solstitium pecori defendite*, *G.*3.154f. *hunc.. arcebis.. pecori*, 10.270 *ardet apex capiti*. Cf. Mynors on *G.*4.165. At 9.271 *excipiam sorti*, therefore, the overly archaic abl. (by no means compulsory) would be quite anomalous (Hardie avoids choice). Cf. NW 1, 370.

sic Summarising, like Gk. οὕτως (LHS, 470) as at 1.225, 8.488 (cf. further Fordyce); unnecessary complications in Heyne and Henry.

regia tecta Nobler than *regis* (cf. **669**); cf. Cat.64.276 *uestibuli..regia tecta.*

subibat Cf. **22, 161**, 8.359, etc.: hitherto military (Caes. *BG* 7.85.5) and comic (Plaut.*Merc.*194).

669 horridus Nicely ambiguous: bristling in his lionskin, or with weapon-points, or else generally 'alarming'(or some or all of the above!); cf. 5.37 *horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae* (of Acestes; vd. Williams' full note, rightly comparing **746**).

Herculeo..amictu For the form of the adj., cf. **589** (*H.* perhaps coined by V. at *G.*2.66), Leumann, 286f.; such use of adj. for gen. is classic high poetic language (cf. **652**). Av. recalls his father both by shield-device (**657ff.**) and by dress (cf. Herrmann (**664-9**), 252). The noun first attested at Laev.fr.24.

umeros innexus Innixus PR, senselessly, against **MV**. Cf. 5.511 *quis [abl.] innixa pedem*, 6.281 *crinem uittis innexa*. The acc. 'retained' from an act. *innexuit* (cf. Gk. ἐμπλέκω, ἐμπλακείς), Harrison, 290f. (with earlier bibl.), R.Thomas, *Vergilius* 38(1992),136f.

664-9 are, it is claimed, in an unfinished state (though there are many more certain cases); so (e.g.) Geymonat *ad loc.*(but no indication in the OCT). See Mackail, Warde Fowler, Fordyce *ad loc.*, P.Lejay,

*RPh.*40(1916), 163ff., L.Herrmann in *Mél...Marouzeau* (Paris 1948), 251f., Klingner, 521f. We are asked to consider:

(a) **664 gerunt**: abrupt, with no subject specified; if the line belongs here, then it might seem obvious that the subj. is Av.'s followers. But elsewhere in the Catalogue there are no comparable suppressions. Norden (on 6.13) is not troubled by the omission here, though at 6.13 *subeunt* is 'explained' by the preceding *obuertunt*, just as the *uidet* of 2.485 is 'prepared' by the *Scyria pubes* of 477. But what of **79, 271**, to look no further?

(b) The attribution to Aventinus' followers of a **ueru Sabellum** (**665**); we have seen, though, that in the antiquarian tradition there is good reason why a proto-Roman should carry Samnite weapons (cf. **740f.**: the men of Abella are not themselves Teutons!) and V. has elsewhere (**630-1**) told us that Turnus' followers draw their arms from a wide range of arsenals.

(c) Aventinus is **equus** at **656** and **pedes** at **666**; because he has dismounted on approaching Latinus' palace according to Norden (p.147; answered by Warde Fowler, 49f.), who cites various cases of *κατὰ τὸ βιωπώμενον* in Virgilian narrative (cf. also **107-47**, §v, **540-640**). Perhaps: the words are not so close as to jar immediately.

(d) Aventinus' dress is described in two separate passages (and Norden does not suggest he donned his lionskin to impress Latinus!). Either **Herculeo** (**669**) takes up **656 Hercule** or **656** is the reason why (vd. *infra*) **669** was dislocated. Herrmann suggested that **664-5** belonged after **721**, while Warde Fowler (followed by Fordyce) wanted them after **749**: the case for **721** (which would make Clausus altogether too prominent) crumbles, once **Sabello** (**665**) is understood correctly (as Samnite and antiquarian). **749** is no better: Ufens' section of the Catalogue is indeed short, but he is chief of the Aequuli, not of the Sabines (confusion at Warde Fowler, 48; it is not clear that even he understands **Sabello** correctly), and even supposing he were a Sabine, the **ueru** of the Sabelli would unquestionably not be his native weapon! It turns out, therefore, that the case for transposition is very weak, and not even the four arguments advanced for lack of finish carry unanswerable weight; I am rather more worried by the tautology in **665**. The passage is untidy, but V. quite often is. Cf. Kühlmann, 203ff. (sanely untroubled).

670-77 Catillus and Coras The version V. here gives of the foundation of Tibur (mod.Tivoli)—aside from the Sicel origin at DH 1.16.5 (cf. Sextius *ap.*Sol.2.8) and the Alban version at DS 7.5.9—

survives elsewhere in various related forms. Cato (fr.56HRR) makes Catillus, *praefectus* of Evander's fleet, the founder of T. (the rest of Solin.2.8, after the reference to Sextius, is not securely Catonian); Serv. (*ad* 7.670) has the three brothers come from Greece; Sol.2.8 makes 'Catillus' the son of Amphiaraus and the three brothers Italian offspring of this first Catillus; Sextius (undiscussed and unexplained; unhappily emended to 'Sueius' (cf. Courtney, p.112) by Ritter, 330) *ap.Sol.loc.cit.* refers to them only as *Argiua inuentus* (and the rest of Sol.2.8 is not securely Sextius', either); Plin.*Nat.*16.237 makes the city's founder Tiburnus, son of Amphiaraus; Horace oscillates between Tiburnus (C.1.7.13) and Catillus (1.18.2). The names are impressively static (?all in Cato); Virgil's actual source is altogether unclear; the link with the seer Amphiaraus and with his native Argos might be a legitimation of the Tiburtine Sibyl (Varr.*res.div.*fr.56a Cardauns etc.), can hardly derive from the principal Tiburtine cult, that of Hercules (Giuliani, *infra*, 25ff.), but may be part of an action of the shield-bearing Juno Curitis (cf Argive Hera) venerated there. Cf. S.Weinstock, PW s.v. *Tibur*, 816.12ff., C.F.Giuliani, *Tibur* 1(Roma 1970), 7ff., G.de Palma, *Enea nel Lazio*, 38ff..

670 tum Not to be taken as a precise indication of sequence (cf. , in just this sense, Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 151ff.); similar is the loose αὖ in the catalogues of Hom. and AR.

gemini fratres Twins, possibly under the influence of the Roman legend (J.N.Bremmer in *RMM*, 59, Horsfall, *ib.*6f.), but cf. also Thebes (Amphion and Zethus), Sparta (Dioscuri; Procles and Eurysthenes, Hdt.6.52) and possibly Praeneste (Depidii/Digidii: Bremmer, *ib.*, 53f.; (?)under Roman influence, *ib.*, 59). See Bremmer *ib.*, 36f., V.Dasen in *Des Jumeaux et des autres* (Genève 1995), 138ff., T.P.Wiseman *Remus* (Cambridge 1995), 16f..

Tiburtia moenia Grander than *Tiburis moenia*, as we have just seen (669; cf. 10, 651f., 678; contrast Hor.C.1.18.2 *mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catili*); cf. Lucr.6.749 *Athenaeis in moenibus*, Cat.64.36 *moenia Larisaea*; Hor.*Epd.*1.30 *Circaea..moenia*, *Carm.Bell.Act.*14 *Pelusia moenia*.

linquunt In catalogues, Aeschylean (*Pers.*18), Apollonian (1.40, 105) and elsewhere Virgilian (728, 10.168); cf. too Cat.64.35 *linquunt Pthiotica Tempe*.

671 fratris Tiburti *Tibur vel Tiburnus* writes Serv., wrongly (so Wisowa, Roscher 5.935.15f.): the name is Tiburtus (11.519, 'Sextius' *ap.* Sol. 2.8), or Tiburnus (Hor. C.1.7.13, Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.74, Plin. *Nat.* 16.237: son of Amphiaraus).

dictam cognomine gentem Admirably discussed by O'Hara, 75ff. ('Naming Constructions as Etymological Signposts'): the city named for its founder (cf. e.g. 5.718, 8.48, 54, 11.246; cf. E.A.Hahn, *Studies.. J.Whatmough* ('s Gravenhage 1957), 53ff.). The third brother (?cf. Horatii and Curiatii and, doubtfully, the story at [Plut.]*Mor.*309c), not the twins, gives the town its name. The apposition between city (plur. *moenia*) and people (sing. *gentem*) is perfectly easy: cf. 6.179 *itur in antiquam siluam, stabula alta ferarum*, LHS, 443, Norden on 6.26.

672 Catillus The *a* is long; short at *Stat.Silv.*1.3.100; Hor. has long *a* but short *i* (*C.*1.18.2); cf. Horsfall, *AION* (Sez.ling.) 14(1992), 173f., C.Hosius, *NJhb* 151(1895), 93ff. Serv. here has *unde mons Catilli* and SDan adds *iuxta Tibur*; if this information is correct, the name's origin is thus explained as a toponym. Modern usage (which I have traced back as far as Nicodemi, 1589, and Zappi, 1580: not therefore far enough to constitute independent evidence!) applies the name to the hill directly N. of the Aniene at Tivoli, but that hardly demonstrates the same identification in Serv.'s sources!

acerque Coras A name inevitably associated with Cora, in the Monti Lepini, twenty-five miles SSW of Tibur (Horsfall, *RMM*, 6f., 98f.). The adj. (cf. *Enn.trag.*333 *nostram acrem aciem*) is often (as here) enfeebled in the *Aen.*; it has something of Hom. *δεινός/κρατερός/ἄλκιμος*, but has lost through over-use a precise field of reference (so, well, Zucchelli in *EV* s.v.).

Argiua iuventus The noun is often used by V. for a body of young men (*TLL* 7.2.743.75 (Heck), *EV* s.v., B.Axelson, *Mél...Marouzeau* (664-9), 13, n.3). Cf. 670-77 for the Argive element in Tibur's foundation; V.'s references the Greek origins of several of Aeneas' opponents is a significant element in his portrayal of the war in Italy as a 'replay' of that before Troy (*Companion*, 165, 182, n.26, U.Schmitzer, *GB* 20(1994), 116ff.; cf. 371f., 723, 794).

673 primam ante aciem So 531, 9.595, (plur.) 10.643; Hardie notes that *prima acies* is itself technical military language, citing *Caes. BG* 1.25.7 (cf. Kruse, *TLL* 10.2.9.1353.9ff.). V.'s language seems almost to suggest that the brothers are already in combat; rather, they (seem to) prance amid their followers' spear-points.

densa inter tela Anastrophe (for the second time in one line!) of the preposition (cf. *Lucr.*4.415, LHS 216, Harrison on 10.237) gives some added force to the adj.; cf. 2.383 *densis..armis*, 9.555 *tela..densissima*

feruntur Very common in V. of rapid, even uncontrolled motion

(from Pacuv.*trag.*393, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.561.80, Zucchelli, *EV* 2,495), particularly in battle (cf. 2.337, 511, 10.670, 12.575, etc.).

674 ceu...cum The Homeric $\omega\varsigma \delta' \acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$; cf. *G.*1.303 and *ceu* alone to introduce a simile in *Enn.*(*Ann.*361). Similes of mythological content (unhomerically: H.Fränkell, *Hom. Gleichnisse* (Göttingen 1921), 96ff.) are tolerably common in *Aen.*(e.g. 10.565ff., 763ff., 11.659ff., 12.331ff., M.Coffey, *BICS* 8 (1961), 71 with n.47); here, the picture recalls that of Homeric woodlands quaking at a deity's passage (*Il.* 13.18, 14.285), but V. probably also had in mind (i) *Eur.HF* 364ff.(cf. **666**, **674**, **675**) and (ii) *AR* 1.64(the Catalogue!): Caeneus overwhelmed by the pine-trees of the Centaurs. The Centaurs, rough, rowdy, disorderly (*furentis*, *G.*2.455f.) oppose the Olympian gods (*Soph.Tr.*1095f., *Eur.HF* 181, etc.) and the parallelism for Aeneas' primitive opponents is there to be drawn (Buchheit, 124, P.Hardie in *Homo Viator* (ed.M. Whitby, etc., Bristol 1987), 165, G.Arrigoni, *EV* s.v. *Centaurei*). Note though that both the Trojan Sergestus (5.122, 155) and Aeneas' ally Cupavo (10.185ff.) have ships named 'Centaur', which suggests the unwisdom of rigid ideological schematisation.

duo Two, to correspond with Catillus and Coras (cf. 8.294).

nubigenae./Centaurei The adj. also of Centaurs at 8.293, suggesting (Buchheit, *cit.*) that the two passages are to be understood in tandem (cf. **670-77**); apparently a Virgilian coinage (for such compounds in V., cf. *EV* 1, 862 (also Leumann, 280). Ixion and Nephele (the cloud substituted for Hera, Ixion's intended prey) are the parents of Centauros (*Pind.Pyth.*2.21ff.; vd. Cingano's note) or of all the (half-equine) Centaurs (Preller-Robert 2, 14, W.H.Roscher in *Roscher* 2, 1033.14ff., 1063.21ff.); *ex hac comparatione equites eos fuisse intellegimus, quod tamen dicturus est postea* [11.603], Serv. notes appositely.

uertice montis ab alto Cf. *Lucr.*6.467 *uertice de montis*, *Cat.*68.57, *Cic.Progn.*fr.3.5, *Aen.*5.35. Centaurs are mountain creatures: *Hes.* fr. 209.5MW, *Eur.HF* 364, *Roscher cit.*, 2.1063.21ff.

675 descendunt So Catillus, Coras and their men descend from Tibur (750 feet above sea-level) into the Roman Campagna, their modest descent ennobled (and disguised) by this comparison.

Homolen Othrymque niualem Indeed snowy (A.Philippson, *Thessalien und Epirus* (Berlin 1897), 83), not that that mattered! Cf. 12.702. Homole is the northern part of Mt.Ossa (A.Philippson, *Gr. Landschaften* 1 (Frankfurt 1950), 127); Othrys (Philippson *cit.*(1950), 181ff.) is a spur running E. from Pindus. Homole is associated with Centaurs at *Eur.HF* 371, Othrys (5660 feet) is home of both Titans (*Hes.Theog.*632) and Lapiths (*Plin.Nat.*4.30, *Solin.*8.3).

676 linquentes Corresponding exactly to **670 linquunt**. Presumably the opening molossi (cf. 6.831 *descendens*) in successive lines conveys their cumbrous motion.

cursu rapido Cf. 5.291 *rapido..cursu*, 12.683 *rapido cursu*, 10.870; *ingenti..cursu* at *Enn.Ann.*466. Cf. **673 feruntur**; compare *HHMerc.* 224f. for their speed.

dat..locum The monosyllable at this point is not very common (cf. J.Hellegouarc'h *Le monosyllabe..*(Paris 1964), 235f.; Ott's *Metrische Analysen* supply the detailed information: cf. **179, 181**); it can sometimes, as here (cf. 6.428), contribute to an effect of brusque, hasty motion. At e.g. *Plaut.Cas.*479, *Poen.*661, *Cic.Att.* 9.13a.1 *locum dare* means 'to give a place' in the literal sense, rather than 'to yield space' as here.

euntibus Nineteen instances of the present participle of *ire* in V.; all the others are trisyllabic. A terse means of referring back to the subject's(s) passage (cf. *TLL* 5.2.628.42, Rubenbauer).

ingens/ silua Cf. *G.*4.273 *ingentem..siluam*; note the Centaurs' use of trees in battle (e.g. *AR* 1.64 (with Vian's note), *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.4, Roscher *cit.* (**674**)1064.36ff.) and the names Dryalus and Hylaeus (Roscher 2.1063.31ff., Buchheit, 124); it is hardly relevant to point out (but cf. Philippson, *cit.* (1897), 83f., 168f.) that ancient Thessaly was heavily forested.

677 magno..fragore Cf. n. on **587**.

cedunt uirgulta Serv. is worried because *uirgulta* are inferior to *silua*, and he senses anticlimax; but 'theme and variation' (or 'whole and part'; cf. also G.B.Conte, *JRS* 83 (1993), 209) are sufficient explanation. So, rightly and with typical vigour, Henry *ad loc.*, appositely citing 12.522 *arentem in siluam et uirgulta sonantia lauro*, while 6.704 *uirgulta sonantia siluae* is thus to be taken as *genitivus inhaerentiae*: cf. *AR* 38 (1993), 204, *Companion*, 228, Mynors on *G.*1.76, Conte, *cit.*. Warde Fowler's picture of the Centaurs' progress from peaks, though pine-woods and then 'underwoods' to the valley (55f.) is eloquent but unconvincing, if *uirgulta* (on which cf. Mynors on *G.*2.3) are an integral part of a *silua*.

678-90 Caeculus The name itself may be Etruscan in origin and cognates are attested at Praeneste (Bremmer, 53, after Schulze); aetiological links with both *caecus* and Caecili (Fest.38.23f., Horsfall, 61) were irresistible (though the Caecili are not specially Praenestine) while the form recalls *Romulus* (cf. Wiseman (**670**), 93). Both Cato (fr.59HRR) and Varro (*Marius ap.Schol.Ver.* on **7.681**; *res hum.*11,

behind Paul.exc.Fest.250.22 (vd. **641-817**, §vi), etc. (Horsfall, 61) recounted details, but V.'s relationship to his predecessors is not clear here (Horsfall, *ib.*), though all the details in V.'s account we can still identify as traditional: birth from Vulcan/fire (**679**), discovery at the hearth (**690**), upbringing **pecora inter agrestia** (**679**), foundation of Praeneste (**678**). That the story is a Praenestine response or reaction to that of Romulus and Remus seems very likely (Bremmer, 58f.). Cf. J. van Ooteghem, *Les Caecilii Metelli.* (Paris 1967), 14ff., G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheim 1964), 154, Bremmer, *RMM*, 49ff., Horsfall, *ib.*, 59ff., L. Deschamps in *Hommages à Henri Le Bonniec* (*Coll. Lat.* 201, 1988), 144ff., Kühlmann, 208ff., Basson, 140f.. For the interrelationship of our surviving texts, see H. D. Jocelyn, *LCM* 17.7 (1992), 109f.. On Caeculus at 10.544, cf. S. Timpanaro, *MD* 20/1 (1988), 93 = *Nuovi contr.*, 270f..

678 nec..defuit Such variation-by-litotes is an Apollonian mannerism (1.45, 49, 51, 122, 224), sparingly used by V. (**733**, 10.185f.; cf. *G.* 2.200, *Aen.* 6.88f., **7.261f.**).

Praenestinae..urbis Elevated variation on *urbs Praeneste* or *Praenestis* (cf. **648**); V. elsewhere avoids the duplication here present: **678-682. fundator** Apparently coined by V. (so **debellator**, **651**), and not found again till Apul.; just as *Aen.* will be joint-founder of Lavinium, so here many of his adversaries are likewise of the generation of ktistic heroes. Caeculus is first attested as founder of Praeneste (cf. Bremmer, 56f.) by Cato (fr. 59HRR), if the *libri Praenestini* (*ap.* Solin. 2.9) are not even earlier.

679 Volcano genitum..regem Cf. **47**; the vb. in *Enn. Ann.*, the partic. in Acc. (*trag.* 242 *Semela genitus*). Literally 'fire-born'; cf. *Serv. resiliens scintilla eius* [the sister of the Depidii; vd. *infra*] *uterum percussit* (cf. the phallus in the flames: DH 4.2.1, following 'many Roman histories', on the birth of *Serv. Tullius*; Promathion, *FGH* 817F1 = *Plut. Rom.* 2.3 on *Romulus*). 'Expurgated' later into mere discovery by the hearth (**680**); cf. Bremmer, 49ff., after Momigliano, *Quarto contributo* (Roma 1969), 459.

pecora inter agrestia C. was raised by two brothers, called Depidii (Cato) or Digidii (Solin.), his maternal uncles (*Serv.*); this story of exposure and rustic upbringing is of a familiar and much-analysed type (Binder, *cit.*, Bremmer, 32f., 53f.). The paradox in Caeculus' history is pointed up by the word-order (cf. Harrison, p. 288f.): exalted parentage encloses humble origins. The adj, though, has distinguished antecedents: *Pacuv. (trag.* 2) of the tortoise: *quadrupes tardigrada agrestis humilis aspera* (cf. 272). For the anastrophe, cf. **673**.

680 inuentumque focis Cato fr.59HRR: *Caeculum..in foco inuenisse.. et quod oculos exiguos haberet, Caeculum appellatum*; Serv.: *Caeculus autem ideo, quia oculis minoribus fuit: quam rem frequenter efficit fumus* (cf. Horsfall, *GR* 42(1995),49ff.). Varr.*res div..* fr.159 *Caeculus qui oculos sensu exanimet* might possibly be relevant to the issue, but the story of the blinding of L.Caecilius Metellus is not (Horsfall, *RMM*, 61). Does this mean that **i.f.** is actually an etymology of the name (O'Hara, 194)? Serv. thought so, but the Verona Scholiast, citing Cato, apparently did not, if his separated explanations are both calculated and significant. Not proven. Cf. further **61**.

omnis..credidit aetas Cf. Cic.*Orat.*219 *ueteres illi, Herodotum dico et Thucydidem totamque eam aetatem* (cf. *ib.*186, *Div.*1.37, VM 2.9.4, Kempf, *TLL* 1.1137.48). V. (so Horsfall (**564**), 54 =124) both bows to the ample literary tradition on Caeculus and distances himself from any actual commitment to belief in it.

quem The relative pronoun dislocated to tenth word in the clause. 'Remarkable' (Austin on 1.109); the bibliography (**659**) offers nothing parallel. The poet takes *Volcano..focis* as a single unit of meaning, the (entire, summarised) content of 'tradition' on Caeculus, and gives it singular prominence by placing it *in toto* before both verb and relative. On 1.109 Quint. grumbles *peior mixtura uerborum* (8.2.14); more helpfully Marouzeau compares (*TSL*, 322f.) Hor.C.1.5.13ff.

681 Caeculus Postponed further than any other name in the Catalogue, and further highlighted by position before a strong pause at 1D: cf. **808f.**. On the name itself, cf. **678-90**.

hunc..comitatur Cf. Lucr.2.640 *armati Matrem comitantur, Aen.*6.863 *uirum qui sic comitatur euntem*; clearly, a word of greater affective force than Hom.'s regular but bald ἔποντο.

legio agrestis The noun is often applied to non- and pre-Roman forces and should not be counted 'anachronistic': *TLL* 7.2.1106.36ff. (Steinmann); cf. *ILS* 65.2, Plaut.*Amph.*100, 136, etc., Enn.*Ann.*292. The adj. V. will shortly justify in detail (**685ff.**); cf. **482, 504, 523, 746ff.**, 8.349, 9.11, 10.310, 11.682. Brave but backward, simple but savage, hardy, heroic and hopeless; the terminology follows a fundamental and unresolved ambiguity in V.'s approach: see nn. on the passages just listed and H.J.Schweizer, *Vergil und Italien* (Aarau 1967), Horsfall, *Lat.*30(1971),1108ff. = (with further bibl.)Harrison *OR*, 305ff., and *id.*, *RFil.*117(1989), 57ff., *Vergilius* 35(1989), 20, n.89, R.F.Moorton, *AJP* 110(1989), 105ff.. In another perspective, the *Männerbund* with which Caec. founded Praeneste (Binder (**678-90**),

31f.); not at all fanciful (cf. J.N.Bremmer, *ZPE* 47(1982), 133ff., *id.* in *RMM*, 32ff.). Both Homer and (early) Livy indeed view much action in terms of the personal followings of young heroes/nobles; anthropologists' terminology should not discourage Latinists from serious thought about the *sodales Caeculi*!

late Caec.'s large and disorganised band spreads wide: cf. *G.*4.515, *Aen.* 2.466, 8.14 *et late Latio increbrescere nomen*, 9.190.

682 quique..quique Cf. **712ff.**, **725ff.**, **738f.**, **797ff.**; V. reflects Homer's repeated οἱ τε. Only here does detailed geographical enumeration of the Italians begin (limited to contingents 4-8 and 12), in marked contrast to Hom. (cf. A.Lesky in *Festschr. K. Büchner* (Wiesbaden 1970), 190, Basson, 129ff.).

altum Praeneste Cf. Hom. αἶπύ; the climb from the (now-disused) station to the Barberini palace will have convinced many readers of the poet's precise observation. Rather, an etymological gloss (O'Hara, 194); cf. , for a start, Cato, fr.60HRR *quia is locus montibus praestet* (quoted by SDan.here). See *PGCS* 735f.(L.Richardson), *Studi su Praeneste*, ed.F.Coarelli (Perugia 1978), Oakley on Liv.6.21.9.

arua Gabinae/ Iunonis The association of Juno with Aeneas' enemies is omnipresent, but independent confirmation (beyond, that is, Serv. here and Sil.12.537) of her association with Gabii is lacking and the identification as 'hers' of the temple-*cella* still strikingly visible at the 12th. mile on the Via Praenestina is not perfectly secure (vd. e.g. Guaitoli, *EV* s.v.). Down to Rome's treaty with the Latin League (493) a major neighbour (cf. **612**); by V.'s time, in deep decay amid the suburban *uillae* (Hor.*Ep.*1.11.7, Prop.4.1.34). Cf. L.Caretta *Gabii* (Roma 1978), *Enea nel Lazio*, 43ff., M.Melis *Gabii* (Roma 1993), Oakley on Liv.6.21.9. For the variation (deity in a list of toponyms), cf. **799f.**

683 gelidumque Anienem The river Anio rises near Trevi, flows below Subiaco, Agosta and Tivoli (Tibur, **670**), and enters the Tiber at Antemnae (**631**); cf. M.G.Troccoli in *Arch.Laz.*7(1985), 175ff.. Note Enn.*Ann.*609 *Anionem* and Cato fr.74ORF *Anien* and *Anienem*; the change of vowel (vd.Skutsch on Enn. *loc.cit.*, after Meister) opened the way to alternative declensions (cf. NW 1, 290). V.'s choice of adj. is altogether conventional: cf. Lucr.6.1172, *Aen.*8.597, 12.331, the splendid Cic.*Leg.*2.6 on Liris and Fibrenus and *TLL* 6.2.1728.1 (Geissler). Compare Stat.*Silv.*4.4.17 *Aniena frigora*, Sil.12.539, Mart. 4.64.32. Unblurred diaeresis only at 1½; at 2½ and 3½, synaloepha: I hesitate to define a precise effect.

roscida riuus A charming alliterative picture (cf. the common (and coarser) modern toponym 'Pisciarello', nearby in *Aequis* (vd. xiv, *supra*), on account of the equally numerous springs and rivulets); for the free use of *roscidus*, 'dewy' (often applied to faces, skies), cf. Varr.*RR* 3.14.2 (*locum*) *manu facere oportet roscidum*. Again, altogether conventional: cf. *G.2.485 et rigui placeant in uallibus amnes*, NH on Hor.*C.1.7.13*, I.Troxler-Keller, *Die Dichterlandschaft des Horaz* (Heidelberg 1964), 87f., and Bömer's ample note on the *garrulus..riuus* of Ov.*F.2.316*.

684 Hernica saxa Recognised as a dialectal gloss (O'Hara, 91f.; cf. my index sv. gloss, non-Greek) by Serv.: *Sabinorum lingua saxa hernaie uocantur* (cf. Bartelink, 54, Briquel, 527ff., O'Hara, 194); Marsic, though, according to Schol.Ver. here and Paul.exc.Fest.89.24; that is, like enough, Varro: see **641-817**, §vi. Cf. n. on **diues Anagnia**. However, the Hernici appear normally to have been thought Sabellian, not Sabine (Schwegler 1,181, 241f., Salmon 36, n.7, Briquel, 531ff.). Serv. here makes the Hernici into Sabine settlers, possibly just to explain the text and there is no ready explanation for V.'s assignation to the Hernici of an 'alien' gloss (Sabine, that is, not Sabellian), unless (Salmon *MRI*, 7f., Colonna, *infra*) Verr. Flaccus and Schol. Ver. here actually meant that the Marsi too, like the Sabines (DH 2.49.1, after Zenodotus; Poucet 1963, 200f.), were of Umbrian origin, since they likewise used *hernaie* for *saxa*! The Hernici, more often allies than enemies of Rome, lived wedged between Aequi and Volsci in and near the Sacco valley: cf. *EV* s.v. (Cancellieri), T.J.Cornell, *CAH* 7.2., 276f., *id.*(**763**), 300f., G.Colonna in *Italia omnium terrarum alumna* (Milano 1987), 519, Oakley on Liv.6.2.3.

colunt Cf. Cat.63.70, Lucr.5.955 *montis siluasque colebant*, Varr.*Atac.* fr.17.3, *G.3.430*, *Aen.1.532*, 3.13, 5.735, **7.714**, *TLL* 3.1671.33 (Sigwart). Equivalent to Hom. ἐνέμουντο.

quos...pascit pascit codd., Ribbeck, Conington, Austin on 4.27; **pascis V**, Heinsius ('after some mss. of Pierio Valeriano'), Bentley, Geymonat, Mynors; **V** now lends support to the correction (cf. M.Geymonat, *MPL* 8(1987), 53) but we might equally suppose that a scribe was inveigled by the following apostrophe into 'normalising' **pascit**. The anaphora of **quos** (no discussion in Wills) does not, however, necessarily impose parallelism of construction in the two members, for syllepsis is after all perfectly tolerable. At 2.56 V. writes *Troiaque nunc staret Priamique arx alta maneres*, or so at least **M**; **PR** normalise there just as **V** does here. There is double apostrophe in V.'s undoubted source there, Eur.*Tro.45-7* (M.Fernandelli, *Lexis* 14

(1996), 108f.), but that is not always in itself a textual argument of overwhelming force (cf. **444**). No more are echoes: *staret*, as both Ussani and Austin realise, seems confirmed by Silius (7.561-3; better 10.658 (Ussani) *si stabat fatis, potius, Carthago, maneres*); I say ‘seems’, for all we really learn from the echo is what was in Sil.’s text of V.. But at *Aen.*2.56, a double apostrophe could hardly be cobbled on to the preceding *impulerat* by *-que* and Austin *ad loc.* rightly senses that the single-member apostrophe is artistically preferable; stylistic variation does nothing to impair the significance of the Euripidean echo. *Staret* in turn is a strong (if not quite decisive) argument in favour of **pascit** (though here no third-person verb precedes). Prof. W.Görler cites *per litt.* the further close analogy of 10.429f. *sternitur Arcadiae proles, sternuntur Etrusci/ et uos, Teucri*: apostrophe with syllepsis, very strongly in support of the third person here. If we read **pascit** (cf. *G.*4.152, *Hor.Ep.*1.17.47, 2.2.160 for the vb. so used), then a comma after **quos 685** is desirable.

diues Anagnia Rich, after the manner of Hom.’s Corinth, ἀφνειόν (*Il.*2.570), rather than on account of an Antonian mint there (Serv.: a peculiarly unwelcome association; his *aut fertilis* is more promising, and this is how Sil. (8.392), possibly not just expanding V., but following their common source, Varro, took it). In chiasmus with **pater**, though neither chiasmus, nor the elegant and studied variation of the order of places and inhabitants will help resolve the textual problem of **684**. The town (mod. Anagni, a πόλις ἀξιόλογος, Strab. 5.3.10) was mentioned, possibly in Varr.*res hum.*8 (Fest.476.11); a town of the Hernici, and central—as now—to their religious life, though absent from Livy’s early books (till 9.42.11) and from DH (cf. M.Mazzolani, *Anagnia* (Roma 1969), A.Manorodi in *Enea nel Lazio*, 60f., *EV* s.v.). Schol.Ver. calls the inhabitants *Marsorum coloni*; cf. on **Hernica saxa**.

685 Amasene pater The honorific of Ocean (*G.*4.382), and of Tiber (*G.*4.369, *Aen.*8.540, 10.421; cf. my remarks at *EV* 5*,157, Carcopino, 510f., Hickson, 27, Appel, 101f., A.D.Momigliano, *Terzo contributo* (Roma 1966), 610f.); likewise Apenninus (12.703). Ennian (cf. *Ann.*26, with Skutsch’s note), but also common usage. The Amasenus which appears in the pre-history of Camilla (11.547, discussed at *Athen.*66(1988), 41) is clearly the small river (43km.), which flows from the Monti Lepini, and below Privernum, to enter the sea just W. of Terracina (*EV* s.v., M.Cancellieri, *Arch.Laz.*7.2 = *Quad. Centro Stud.Arch.Etr.It.*12(1986), 149; so Vib.Seq., clearly with *Aen.*11

in mind); here it appears rather misplaced, though its source is not far outside Hernican territory (Warde Fowler, 59f., Rehm 27). Whether the little river now also called Amaseno, which flows E. of Alatri and Veroli and enters the Liri at Arce (so clearly Hernican), represents a recent learned renaming of Virgilian inspiration or is an authentic antique name is not quite clear, though the duplication perforce arouses (in me, and, more important, in Prof. Cancellieri) suspicion of recent antiquarian tinkering. I do not quite know why the Amase-nus should be thus personified and given the proper honorific, if not on account of the apostrophe, itself introduced for the sake of variation of tone and level, particularly necessary in a geographical section of a catalogue (cf. Harrison on 10.139, Lunelli-Kroll, 25, n.25).

non illis omnibus.. Cf. *Il.*13.714ff. οὐ γὰρ ἔχον κόρυθα..ἀλλ' ἄρα τόξοισιν..ἔποντο πεποιθότες and Hdt.7.85.1 ὄπλα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν..(cf. 62.1, 84.1).

arma/..sonant Cf. Enn.*Ann.*393 (*tinnit*) *aerato sonitu galeae*, Lucr.2.49 *sonitus armorum*, *G.*1.474, 3.83, etc. and **722**. Here **arma** is theme, the alliterative pair (cf. Timpanaro, *Nuovi contr.*, 15) **clipei currusue** (cf. **639** and **655**) variation; Ladewig and Geymonat (e.g.) do well not to punctuate after **arma** and those (cf. Conington's note here) who doubted whether to take **arma** with **sonant** at all can hardly have understood the structure of the phrase. V. means not that some of Caeculus' followers are unarmed but that not all are conventionally equipped: more carry slings than light spears and none the full heroic panoply. The definition of *arma* is flexible: cf. Cic.*Caec.*60, 62, 64, *Pis.*73 (with Nisbet's note), *Bell.Hisp.*32.2, Housman, ed. Juv., xxxiv, li. V. does not call a chariot a weapon, but by association with **clipei** it is subsumed among them.

686 pars maxima../pars Cf. 4.405f., 6.218, 642ff., 11.794f..

glandes The sling (Homeric, but only just: cf. *Il.*13.599, 716 with Paus.1.23.4 and Janko's notes) was both a common attribute of poorer or backward peoples in classical texts (as here; cf. (e.g.) Thuc. 2.81.8, Liv.38.21.2) and a recognised (and highly effective) weapon of regular troops (cf. Veg.1.16 for both aspects; vd. G.R.Watson, *The Roman soldier* (London 1969), 60f., W.K.Pritchett, *The Greek state at war* 5 (Berkeley 1991), 43ff., Couissin, 484ff.); in V., cf. elsewhere only Mezentius, 9.586ff. and Camilla, 11.578ff. (Wickert, 445f., Saunders, 157f., Malavolta, 130).

687 liuentis plumbi Xen.*Anab.*3.3.16f. might seem to suggest a c.5 date for the first improvisation of lead slingshot; they are in fact (vd.

Pritchett, *cit.*) of immense antiquity (easily made, easily carried, easily lethal); paradoxically, for all their native *saxa*, Caeculus' followers prefer the manufactured missile. The adjective (André, 171ff., Edgeworth, 136, Beikircher, *TLL* 7.2.1543.41) is used of plums (Ov. *Met.* 13.817; the etymological link with 'sliva' (as in 'slivovitz') is good: vd. WH, EM), of bruises (Ov. *Am.* 2.2.47, Luc. 2.37) and of elephants (Sil. 9.577).

spargit Cf. Enn. *Ann.* 266 *spargunt hastas*, **7.551**, 8.695, 11.650, 12.51; not elsewhere explicitly of small weapons, like slingshot, not because the implicit metaphor was unsatisfactory (quite the reverse: Enn. continues *fit ferreus imber*, on which vd. Skutsch), but because light arms are rare in both Homeric and Virgilian epic.

spicula.. / 688 bina Some carry a pair (cf. **538**) of throwing-spears (cf. 12.165, 488f., Sandbach 458, Wickert 440f., Saunders, 146, Malavolta 119, n.14); this is Homeric practice (δοῦρε δύω; vd.e.g. 11.43 with Hainsworth's note) as well as Roman (Plb. 6.23.8, the *hastati* carry two *pila*, Veg. 1.20). V. is precise elsewhere in the Catalogue in specifying exotic types of spear (**664**, **730**); here, though, despite the primitivism of the context, he uses a word so vague it can also be applied to arrows (Malavolta, citing 9.606).

gestat.. manu The verb hitherto comic and prosy; apparently introduced to high poetry by V. (Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1964.60); cf. 1.336 ('wear' rather than 'carry') and Hor. *C.* 1.35.18ff. *saeua Necessitas / clauos trabalis et cuneos manu / gestans aëna*, but later common. The noun is little more than ornamental: cf. **604**, as against **62**.

688 fuluosque.. lupi de pelle Cf. 1.275 *lupae fuluo nutricis tegmine laetus* (with Prop. 4.10.20), Ov. *Met.* 11.771, *TLL* 6.1.1535.35 (Klee). "The ordinary colour of the wolf is yellowish or fulvous grey" (*Enc. Brit.*); 'jaune foncé proche de brun rouge' (André, 133; cf. Edgeworth, 130ff.); V. therefore suggests the undertone of the coat's actual colour.

galeros Latin usage distinguishes sharply between *galea* and *galerus*; the latter is an ancient (*quod multi usi sunt antiqui*, Varr. *LL* 5.116) cap of skin, dear to antiquarian writers (Paul. exc. *Fest.* 225.10), used by peasants (*Moretum* 120, Calp. *Sic.* 1.7; cf. Horsfall, *RFil.* 125 (1997), 182) and priests (Varr. *res div.* fr. 51 (= Gell. 10.15.32), Suet. *de gen. vest.* p. 268.2f. Reiff.). Worn by an Etruscan Lucumo at Prop. 4.1.29; *velites* occasionally wear a wolfskin cover to a metal helmet (Plb. 6.22.3); Stat. *Theb.* 4.303 (worn by the primitive Arcadians). Compare **742**, *Il.* 10.257f., 335, Sil. 8.493, Plin. *Nat.* 8.95 for other esoteric alternatives

to the metal helmet. Both *galea* and *galerus* must be connected with γαλήη, weasel or polecat (cf. κυνέη and κύων), but the development of the two apparently distinct words is not clear (EM, WH). Binder (678-90), 31 compares the wolfskins worn at the Lupercalia and finds a reference to the uniform of the *Männerbund* (cf. 681 and Briquel, 530 for the implications of animal skins): to us altogether comprehensible; conceivable too that a Roman antiquarian should have recorded such a piece of Praenestine lore.

689 tegmen..capiti tegmen MRV; tegmina P. capiti M₁V₁PR; capitis M₂V₂. The plural (under the influence of *galeros* or perhaps because of **632 tegmina tuta..capitum**) is quite unnecessary; in apposition with *galeros*, the sing. **tegmen** is perfectly easy (Latin is remarkably tolerant: LHS 436ff.), while the discord between **tegmina** and **capiti** would be most disagreeable. The gen. **capitis** is (?) under the influence of **632** and the dat. unexceptionable (cf. *Ov.Met.*1.672 *tegimenque capillis*).

habent Cf. *Varr.LL.*5.130 *quod sacerdotulae in capite etiam nunc solent habere*.

uestigia nuda sinistri/.pedis Cf. *Lucr.*3.4 *ficta pedum..uestigia*, 389 *priua pedum uestigia quaeque*. **N.** as at 1.320, 8.425, 11.643.

690 instituere “They instituted naked the stepping part of the left leg” Henry. That is the likely sense: for *uestigia* thus, cf. *Cat.*64.162, *Lucr.*4.472, *Ov.Met.*5.592 *pedis uestigia tinxi*, and Lyne on *Ciris* 212; for *instituere*, cf. Varro, *de vita* fr.69Rip. *quod hos (sc.censores) arbitros instituerunt populi*, *Tert.Nat.*2.13.8 *cum ab initio sibi immortales instituere potuisset (sc. deus deos)*, C.F.W.Müller, *Synt. des Nom.u.Akk.* (Leipzig 1908), 154. The difficulty seems rather to lie in the tense of the verb, between the presents **habent** and **tegit**, a context in which a reference to the past origin of a custom is hardly welcome; hence, perhaps, *TLL* 7.1.1991.33 (Kröner/Szantyr) takes the verb as equivalent to *insistere* (so in *V.* at 11.574; cf. *Lucr.*1.406), without trace of comparable usage elsewhere! But if the perfect is aoristic or gnomic (KS 1,132f., LHS, 318, Ernout-Thomas, 224, *Aen.*2.379ff.)—‘they instituted (and abide by) the custom...’—, then the problem is removed.

crudus..pero Uncured leather (Gk. ἀδέψητος; cf. *Varr.LL* 5.116, *G.*3.20 *crudo.. caestu*, *Aen.*5.69, 9.743, Blümner, 1, 256) The *pero* was a leather shoe covering the whole foot (*Sidon.carm.*7.456); the hair, apparently, was not stripped, but worn on the inside (id. *Ep.*4.20.2). Clearly the *pero* was defensive—against the elements, not the enemy: peasants’ wear (*Juv.*14.185f., *Pers.*5.102, *Apul.Met.*7.18.1); similar,

therefore, to *ocreae* (*Moretum* 120, *Hor.Serm.*2.3.234, *Plin.Nat.*14.26). According to Cato, worn in Rome by those who were not curule magistrates (fr.111HRR). Cf. Marquardt, 590ff., O.Lau, *Schuster u. Schusterhandwerk* (diss.Bonn 1967), 117, 148f.. Serv. comments *sed bene nudus erat, quia tegitur scuto. Dextrum autem tectum conueniebat esse, quasi ab armis remotum*. That confuses the issue; some of Caeculus' followers carry (small) *clipei* while Serv.'s *scutum* recalls Livy's account (9.40.3; cf. Rawson, 593f. against Salmon, 103f.) of the Samnites carrying a *scutum* and (on the left leg) *ocreae*. More important (vd.Fordyce here) is the bare left foot: monopodilism has complex roots in mythology (notably Jason, *Pind.Pyth.*4.96, Pherecydes, *FGH* 3F105, AR 1, 7; also the sons of Thestius, *Eur.Meleager* fr.530.8N₂), folklore and magic (cf. J.Heckenbach, *de nuditate sacra* (*RVV* 9.3, Giessen 1911), 48f., P.Lévêque and P.Vidal-Naquet, *Hist.*9(1960), 299, Braswell on *Pind.Pyth.*4.75, A.Moreau, *Le mythe de Jason* (Paris 1994), 133ff., Briquel, 527ff.; Deschamps (678-90), 151ff. is off-target). But the apparently rationalising explanation of the bare foot is not only old (*Thuc.*3.22.2 (where vd.Gomme), *Arist.* fr.74R: Aetolians) but peculiarly appropriate here (cf. Warde Fowler, 60f.): slingers (like javelin throwers and bowlers in cricket) need a particularly firm grip with the (left) foot, while the other (right) arm is used for throwing, shooting or bowling. Contact with the earth or even with the underworld is here hardly a relevant association. The bare foot normally grips far better than the shod (hence studded boots!); V., or his source, must have known this! *Macr.*(5.18.15) maintains that V., showing *occultissima diligentia*, alluded to Aetolian monopodilism because (so Hyginus, *de urb.Ital.* fr. 8HRR = fr.13 GRF) the Hernici were Pelasgi, like the Aetolians (cf. Briquel, *cit.*). But (cf. Deschamps, 152) V. is not writing about the Hernici specifically and exclusively: the single sandal is a satisfying detail, rich in literary associations, that V. could so very easily have picked up with curiosity somewhere in his wide ethnographic reading, to unfold gatefully here in all its oddity, without thought of possible implications in pan-Pelasgian polemics with particular reference to the Hernici.

tegit altera *Figura etymologica* with *tegmen*? At least if the words are not too far separated for effect. 'Clad' in high poetry at least from *Lucr.* 4.936. The traditional periphrasis in 689 saves V. a struggle with the awkward *alterum*.

691-705 Messapus A major figure in *Aen.*7-12, possibly once of greater importance in the Aeneas-legend (vd. SDan. on 1.259,

12.794). Claimed as an ancestor of Ennius (a native of Messapian Rudiae): *Ann.*524, with W.Suerbaum, *Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung ält.röm.Dichter* (Hildesheim 1968), 137f.; his links with N.Boeotia (Messapion) and with Messapia are amply attested (Horsfall *loc.cit.*; e.g. Strab.9.2.13). More unexpectedly, with Sicyon, too (Varro, *de gente* fr.11 Fracc.). That V.'s **equum domitor** could allude to an etymology of the name is not likely: though the connexion between Mez-/Mess- and horses may have been good Illyrian (cf. nn. on **648**, **651**), there is no sign (other than—arguably—the two insecure Virgilian passages under discussion!) that this fact was known in antiquity, and O'Hara's list of V.'s non-Greco/Roman name-plays includes neither Illyrian nor the closely related Messapian, nor cognate languages (91f.; cf. index *infra* s.v. gloss). Halaesus, the conventional ruler of the area here assigned to Messapus, is solidly (vd. *infra*) son of Neptune; whence too invulnerability and horse-taming. So what has happened? A vast dislocation of the text (cf. J.Perret, *Mél...P.Boyancé* (Roma 1974), 557-68) or 'reine Willkür'(Rehm, 95)? Close examination of the details suggests that, perhaps surprisingly to some, V. really cared very little for such precise, cartographic aspects of his material. Cf. Kühlmann, 211, Basson, 141f., *EV* s.v. *Messapo* (Horsfall), with further bibl.. Cf. **641-705**, §v.

691 at No particular contrast is intended between Caeculus and Messapus; cf. Homer's δέ, the commonest transition between sections.

equum domitor Homeric: cf. **651**. A standing epithet of the Virgilian Messapus, with *Neptunia proles* at 9.523 and 12.128 and alone at 12.550; cf. also 10.353f. *Neptunia proles/ insignis Messapus equis*. Cf. Moskalew 78, 86 and Paschalis, 267, who acutely points to Posidon Ἰππιός.

Neptunia proles As Serv. points out, the two epithets are linked: *domitor..equorum quasi animalium a patre inuentorum* (cf. *G.*1.12f.). However, no ties between Posidon and Messapia are attested (though cf. F.Altheim, *ARW* 29(1931), 22f. on Paus.9.22.5); it is not enough to say that M. came from over the sea! On the other hand, Halaesus is securely Neptunian (cf. on **723-32**): allegedly mentioned in a Salian hymn, SDan. *ad Aen.*8.285. Sil. thinks (8.474f.) of Alsium; I am more attracted both by the vicinity of Nepet to Falerii and by an hypothetical etymology from ἄλς! **Proles** is an archaism, proper to verse (Quint. 8.3.26; cf. Cic. *de orat.*3.153) and dear to V.(6 instances in *G.*,

24 in *Aen.*); cf. *trag.inc.*121, *Lucr. passim* and Harrison on 10.353. The use of the adj.(cf. **652**, **659**) for gen. points the same way.

692 neque..cuiquam nec The order of words is doubly dislocated: **neque..nec** link the nouns **igni** and **ferro** but **fas** and **sternere**, respectively, intervene and are thereby thrown into prominence. Cf. 9.794f. *sed neque terga/ ira dare*, 12.352, 534 *nec domini memorum* (**7.498** is different); on such *traiectio* (a form of hyperbaton), cf. KS 2, 615, de Meo *EV* 2, 106f., Clausen on *Buc.*1.57f.(*nec..palumbes/ nec gemere .. cessabit turtur*) and for the general context, Lunelli-Kroll, 33ff.. **fas** In the sense of *fatum*: cf. (probably) *Enn.var.*23 *si fas endo..*, SDan *ad Aen.* 2.779 (not *fas* that *Aen.* shall carry Creusa away from Troy), O.Hey, *ALL* 13(1904), 212f., *TLL* 6.1.291.33 (Vetter); with 6.438 *fas obstat* and 9.95f. *immortale carinae/ fas habeant*, contrast 4.440 *fata obstant*; cf. also 12.28 *fas erat* and see too *EV* 2, 467. The fated invulnerability of Messapus is revealing: it derives necessarily from his (or rather Halaesus') father Neptune (cf. 3.242f., *Hyg. Fab.*28) and might also be connected with the fire-dance of his followers from Soracte (cf. 11.785ff. and **696** on the Hirpi Sorani). The simile of **699-702** suggests that V. may also have in mind the invulnerability of Cycnus (*Pind.Ol.*2.82, *Ov.Met.*12.64ff.). Messapia is irrelevant. Cf. O.Berthold, *Die Unverwundbarkeit in Sage u. Aberglaube.*(*RVV* 11.1, Giessen 1911), 46f., O'Hara (**641-817**), 36f. (but V.enriches Messapus with a touch of Cycnus; to say that the Cycnus-reference 'preserves' the alphabetical sequence, for Messapus really 'is' Cycnus, is not a convincing hypothesis).

igni..ferro The formulaic character of the phrase is shown by the presence of the abl. in *-i* (Leumann, 440); V. varies the conventional (but hitherto prosaic) alliterative pair *ferrum flammaque* (cf. **686**), as at 10.232 (where vd. Harrison), *Hor.Ep.*2.2.186 (where vd. Brink), *Juv.* 10.266, E.v.Wölfflin, *SB München* 1881.2.1, 57 = *Ausgew.kl.Schr.* (Leipzig 1933), 259, A.Giardina, *L'Italia romana* (Bari 1997), 101, n.170. *Ferrum* for 'sword': cf. *Enn.Ann.*121 *et saep..*

sternere A common poetic euphemism for 'kill': cf. **426**, **533**.

693 iam pridem Found in prose and Plautus; in high poetry from *Lucr.*4.767(Spöth, *TLL* 10.2.8. 1227.33).

resides populos The adj. introduced into high poetry by V. (cf. 1.722 *iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda* (erotic), 6.813ff. *residesque mouebit/ Tullus in arma uiros et iam desueta triumphis/ agmina*). V. thus reverts to his occasional view of pre-Trojan Latium as idyllically peaceful (cf. on **46**). Here, though, the language (cf. too *Liv.*25.6.21

clamorem pugnantium crepitumque armorum exaudimus resides ipsi ac segnes suggests not tranquillity destroyed, but torpor banished; the beneficent effect of *metus hostilis* (cf. Paul on Sall. *Jug.* 41.2).

desuetaque bello/ agmina The adj. apparently a coinage, and one that V. rather liked (*bis*, above; cf. also 2.509); the abl. of separation, as after *uacuus*, *nudus*, *orbis* and the like (LHS, 107).

694 in arma uocat In Caes., Cic. etc. (Bickel, *TLL* 2.595.79ff.); introduced to high poetry by V. (cf. 9.22; compare 10.242, with *iube*).

subito A brusque end to peace; haste, we have seen, is a keynote of **572-640**.

ferrumque retractat Cf. 10.396 (in a very different sense (cf. Harrison on 10.119), of the dying Larides' fingers) *ferrumque retractant*. The Latins still own arms and well know how to handle them (cf. **638**). For the verb (in a different sense in Lucr.; also in republican prose), cf. *Moretum* 113, Liv. 2.30.9 *tutius uisum est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma*.

695 Fescenninas acies Rehm (15) maintains that it is very difficult to separate the interpretation of **acies** here from the **acies** of **796** (**Sacrae acies**), 8.504, 9.639, 10.635, etc.: here too, that is, the word should denote a body of troops; however, after **habent**, that (cf. next note) is just what it cannot do. *Alii alia*, as we shall see; Ribbeck (with Rehm's approval) suspected a lacuna after 695, containing (e.g.) *ducunt*. But, if the word here meant (uniquely) 'ridge' or 'edge' (altogether appropriate to the tufa ridges of the neighbourhood), it would not be remote from other well-attested senses (the cutting edge either of a weapon or of the mind) and we might compare Ov.'s use of *acumen* (*Met.* 12.337, 13.778; cf. D.A. Slater, *CR* 19(1905), 38). The metrically intractable Fescennium has not been located: a town of the Falisci (DH 1.21.1, Plin. *Nat.* 3.52, Solin. 2.7), perhaps to be distinguished both from Aequum Faliscum and from Falerii (both Novi—that is, Sta. Maria di Falleri—and Veteres—that is, Civita Castellana!); worse, a town without a history, except as the home of Fescennine verse (cf. Serv. here). B. Tilly, *Vergilius* 23(1977), 39ff. is inconclusive but delightful; further bibl. at *EV* 2, 458. I offer what seems to be the only viable reading of the transmitted text, aware that it is not overwhelmingly convincing throughout; the alternatives, though, appear—linguistically, at least—far worse! On both Falerii, cf. E. Richardson, *PGCS*, 323f., M. Torelli, *Arch. Class.* 25-6(1973-4), 741ff., F. Castagnoli in *Ricognizione Archeologica, Quad. Ist. Topogr. Ant. Univ. Roma* 6(1974), 17, P. Moscati, *Rend. Linc.* 8.40(1985), 45, A. Comella, *I*

materiali votivi. (Roma 1986), R. Bartoccini, *Ann. Fac. Lett. Perugia* 23 (1985-6), 298ff.,

Aequosque Faliscos After *habent*, toponyms are required; that applies to all of **695-7** and remains a decisive argument. Though 'Falerii' is inadmissible in dactylic verse, and though there are cases of 'gens pro loco' (e.g. to avoid 'Liguria' or 'Asculum'; Horsfall, *AION* (Sez. ling.) 14 (1992), 176), that is no necessary hypothesis here: let us therefore dismiss Serv.'s fantasy about the Romans borrowing the *ius fetiale* from the Faliscans (hence their *aequitas!*). *Aequos* as part of the name is unproblematic (cf. *Aequimaesium*, and perhaps *Aequum Tuticum*) and presumably is to be taken as referring to the place's position in the flat Tiber valley. Cf. (with Rehm, 16) Strab. 5.2.9 οἱ δὲ Αἰκουουμφαλίσκον λέγουσιν, on the Via Flaminia between Ocricoli and Rome; the variation between sing. and plur. is immaterial (cf. Labicum-Labici, Crustumeri-Crustumerium, Schulze, 552, n. on **631**). *Tab. Peut.* has the place on the wrong bank of the Tiber, but if the distance from Rome is correct, it should be located ca. 5 miles N. of Civita Castellana on the Via Flaminia. Sil. 8.489 *Nepesina cohors Aequique Falisci* is, like *EV* s.v. *Falisci*, inconclusive; people, not place, in Sil. (Rehm, 15), but that is not mandatory for V., whom Sil. will not necessarily have understood on so fine a point. Cf. P. Venini, *Mem. Ist. Lomb.* 36.3 (1978), 167.

696 Soractis..arces Monte Soratte, twenty miles N. of Rome and 2400 feet high; its (now rare) visibility from the Gianicolo is a sure measure of the level of pollution. V. returns to the fire-dances of the Hirpi there at 11.785ff. (a topic dear also to Varro: cf. fr. 391 *GRF* and Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.787; for Varro on the sulphur spring there, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 31.27); cf. *EV* s.v., NH on Hor. C. 1.9.2. For *arces* of a mountain, cf. G. 1.240 *Riphaeas..arces*, 4.461 *Rhodopeiae arces*, *Aen.* 1.56 *celsa sedet Aeolus arce*, 3.291 *aeris Phaeacum..arces*, *Ov. Am.* 3.9.45 *Erycis..arces*, D. A. Slater, *cit.* and *CR* 33 (1919), 144f.; no need to excavate implicit references to the shrine of Apollo Soranus, or to transpose **acies** and **arces** (cf. Warde Fowler, 64f., A. W. van Buren, *CR* 34 (1920), 26ff.).

habent Hom. εἶχον; cf. *Enn. trag.* (?) *ap. Cic. Fam.* 7.6.1 (219 Jocelyn) *quae Corinthum arcem altam habebant*, Cato fr. 7 HRR, Sall. *Cat.* 6.1, Liv. 1.57.1, *Aen.* 8.100, *TLL* 6.3.2401.43 (Bulhart).

Flauiniaque arua Cf. the *Flavina* of Sil. 8.490 (Etruscan, Schulze, 568) and (by Latini's excellent conjecture for codd. *fluuialia*) the *Flauinia rura* of Sil. 13.85 (watered by the Capenas). Not an identifiable toponym; possibly (*EV* s.v.) an area not a settlement. Sil.'s Capenas is

probably the Gramiccia, which passes W. of Fiano and S. of the *luci Capeni* before entering the Tiber (G.D.B.Jones, *PBSR* 17(1962), 191); that may lend support to the old identification of Flavina with Fiano. For the synaloepha, cf. Norden 456, Winbolt, 172f..

697 et Cimini cum monte lacum A defining genitive with place-names is quite common, deriving originally from the name of the *deus loci*: cf. Cat.81.3, Lucr.6.786, Cic.*TD* 1.37 *Auerni lacus*, *Aen.*1.244 *fontem..Timaui*, 247 *urbem Pataui*, 3.6 *montibus Idae*, 8.231 *Auentini montem*, Hor.*C.*3.13.1 *fons Bandusiae*, LHS, 62. Monte Cimino (3420 feet) is the highest point of the Monti Cimini; still forested (cf. the remarkable Liv.9.36); the lake is now called Lago di Vico: created when Hercules threw down his club (Serv.), and containing a drowned city (*Paradox.Flor.*41).

lucosque Capenos Presumably the same as the *lucus Capenatis* of Cato fr.30HRR; the adjectival form here is anomalous (unique, indeed: *TLL*, *Onom.*153.57, perhaps influenced by the Porta Capena at Rome (cf. Schulze, 571f., Jones, *cit.*, 119, J.Heurgon, *Trois Études sur le ver sacrum* (*Coll.Lat.*26, 1957), 13). The *lucus* is clearly that of Feronia (on whom vd. Cancellieri, *EV* s.v., sober and informed), a major Sabino-Etruscan-Faliscan cult centre (E.Richardson, *PGCS*, 193, Cristofani, *EV* 1, 651); V. perhaps uses an alternative name here to avoid confusion with F.'s other great seat near Terracina (**800**). The Faliscan *lucus* was identified in 1953 at km.18.1 on the Via Tiberina, at mod.Scorano (Jones, 191ff.). Note that Varro was interested in the cult of Feronia (*LL* 5.74). See **82**, Reeker, 106f.,

698 ibant Cf. **761**, 10.213f. (the prosaic *ibant subsidio*).

aequati numero In regular ranks, or keeping step to the music? An old problem: 11.599 *compositi numero in turmas* supports 'forming fours', which is how all the ancient interpreters read the passage (*aequaliter ordinati* SDan., *digesti in ordinem* Serv., *ire compositis in ordinem numeris* TCD). The verb *aequare*, in a conventional military context, refers to the marshalling of troops, in a line equal to the enemy's: *aequassent aciem* Liv.3.62.7, *aequatis.frontibus* (Tib.)3.7.102, von Mess, *TLL* 1.1019.61ff., and *numerus* is sometimes added: Liv.31.35.2, Vell. 2.101.1. The common phrase, though, refers clearly not to dressing or to drill, but to the avoidance of enveloping movements on the battlefield by extending the front: irrelevant here (*pace TLL* 1.1019.76); the ancient interpreters, therefore, seem themselves to be guessing. It is very hard to divorce the two halves of the line altogether; *numerus* can certainly refer also to a musical beat (cf. *Buc.*9.45,

G.4.175; apparently no other instances combined with *aequare*) and the following simile of the singing swans may likewise suggest that it is not just the loyal Faliscans' songs that V. has in mind (see e.g. M.Desport, *L'incantation virgilienne* (Bordeaux 1952), 403f.). Curiously, it is not explicitly established that the Roman army marched in step to music: Caes.BG 8.9.1, cited by G.Wille, *Musica romana* (Amsterdam 1967), 77 is not conclusive (cf. the equally frustrating Liv. 42.59.6, Veget.1.9, Amm.19.6.9, 24.6.10 and A.Müller, *Philol.*64 (1905), 598, 73 (1914-6), 155) and we are perhaps reduced to the *ballistia..et saltatiunculas* of boys playing at soldiers (SHA *Aurel.*6.5, Wille, 138), though the suitability of the *carmina triumphalia* as marching songs (Wille, 135ff., Courtney, 483ff.) seems self-evident. Perhaps, though, the two interpretations are not as much opposed as might at first appear: the Faliscans' song helps them maintain a regular formation (**aequati numero**) and achieves this precisely by inducing them to keep step to the rhythm; it is very hard to see how armed troops in the Roman world could move, without farce, delay and frequent injury, if not in step (cf. I.Richmond, *Trajan's army on Trajan's column* (London 1982), 11ff.). Perhaps not so much actual ambivalence (perfectly Virgilian though that is) as a nexus of implications more complex than at first appears.

regemque canebant Cited by Serv. on l.1. for *canere* in the sense of *laudare*; cf. *Carm. Sal. ap. Varr.*LL7.27, *Cat.*34.4, *Buc.*6.11, *TLL.* 3.268.65f. (Poeschel). These battle-songs were an established element in ethnographic writing: on Tac.*Germ.*3.1, vd. E.Norden, *Germ. Urgeschichte*₁ (Stuttgart 1959), 112ff. (cf. Sil.3.346, Athen. 6. 246D, DS 5.29.4, 34.5), and 172, n.3 (comparing Sil.8.420f., Plut.*Lycurg.*21); see also Anderson's rich notes *ad loc.*(covering Germans, Celts, Volsci) and note too DH 2.34.2.

699-705 Not an imitation of multiple Homeric similes (cf. Kirk on *Il.*2.455-83), but as plain an instance as one could wish, confirmed by the truncated **702**, of the presence of alternative drafts in our text (cf. Günther, 70, 78; so already, if less clearly, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 82, Warde Fowler, 93f., Sparrow, 35). Both **699-702** and **703-6** re-work earlier material, though the former is incomparably denser (vd. *infra*); both draw on both *Il.* and AR; both convey the noise and number of the Faliscans. Comparison with the fully worked-up double simile at 11.456-8 (birds again) or, for that matter, with that closely following at **7.718-21**, is instructive; here, there is no significant difference of point or content between the alternatives (of which the first is clearly

—on account of **702**—later; Günther, 46). Cf. Günther, 15f. (admirable), rather than Berres, 97ff. or the reviewer's deplorably confused remarks at *RFil.*125(1997), 468 (Horsfall, alas, but cf. the correction at *ib.* 126 (1998), 249).

699-702 Cf. above all *Il.*2.459ff. (before the Homeric catalogue): the Greeks come on like flocks of birds, geese, cranes or κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων (cf. **longa..per colla**), Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι (cf. **Asia.. palus**); they make a great noise κυραγαεῖ δέ τε λειμῶν (cf. **sonat amnis et Asia longe pulsa palus**). V. had already used these lines (G.N. Knauer, *ANRW* 2.31.2(1981), 900), with more geographical detail, possibly unwelcome in an account of the familiar, near-suburban, *ager Faliscus*), at *G.*1.383f. (a weather-sign): *quae Asia circum/ dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri*. Here the point of comparison lies above all in song; in Hom., it had been number, and that might be implicit here too. V. may also have had in mind *Il.*15.690ff., where Hector leaps forward like an eagle at a flock of birds ποταμὸν πάρα βοσκομενάων and 3.2ff.: the din of the Trojans advancing like that of the cranes going against the pygmies (used more precisely at 10.264-6). At 4.1300ff., AR had already reworked *Il.*2.459ff.: maidens lament as when by Pactolus swans κινήσωσιν ἐὸν μέλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμῶν/ ἐρσήεις βρέμεται ποταμοῖό τε καλὰ ῥέεθρα. Cf. R.J.Clark, *Phoen.*24(1970), 248f., G.Thaniel, *ib.*25(1971), 241ff., R.Thomas in *Studies..Clausen* (145), 111ff.). Might the swans have been intended as a compliment to Messapus' descendant, Ennius? So Serv. (on **691**): *unde nunc et cantantes inducit eius socios et eos comparat cycnis?* Or (Suerbaum (690), 137, n.438) might the reference lie in the musicality of Messapus' followers? Though Messapus himself has been relocated, Ennius' own references both to the hero (**691-705**) and to aviform poetic immortality (*Varia* 18) make the allusion here more likely. For the invulnerable Cycnus, cf. **692 fas**.

699 ceu quondam Cf. 2.416, 6.492, **7.378** (with Fordyce): on **ceu**, cf. **674**; for *quondam* in similes ('sometimes', 'on occasion'; like *olim*, on which vd. Heinze on *Hor.Serm.* 1.1.25, Bömer on *Ov.F.*3.555), cf. *G.*3.99, 4.261, *Aen.*5.448, 588, 9.710, 12.863, Tränkle, 33, n.2, *EV*4, 385.

niuei..cycni Cf. *Buc.*7.38, *G.*2.199, *Prop.*3.3.39, *Ov.Met.*14.509, after e.g. *Eur.Hel.*215, *Rhes.*618. The adj. (cf. André, 360, Edgeworth, 142) is particularly suited to the dazzling white of the swan. W.G.Arnott (*GR* 24(1977), 149ff.) very usefully points out that the

ancients fail to distinguish terminologically between the mute swan and the melodious whooper (which even has a death-song); before 1977, surprising perplexity even among specialists (e.g. D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek birds* (Oxford 1895, 1936), 106). But it now turns out that the Greeks had good reason to adopt the swan as a symbol (so too here and often in Augustan texts, from *Buc.*9.36) of musicality and poetry (from (?)Alcman and Theognis): cf. Gow on Theocr.12.7, NH on Hor.C.1.6.2, and 2, 332ff., E-R. Schwinge, *Herm.*93(1965), 438ff., Clark (**699-702**), 244ff.

liquida..nubila P's flumina has no merits. Cf. 5.525 *liquidis in nubibus*: Serv. there notes incorrectly *nubes pro aere posuit: nubes enim liquidae esse non possunt*; on the standard ancient view, a damp terrestrial exhalation (ἀτμίς) causes a πύκνωσις of the air and the nature of clouds stands therefore between those of air and water (cf. Xenophanes A.19DK, Heracl.A.1.9ff.DK, Arist.*Meteo.*360a22, etc., O.Gilbert, *Die meteorol. Theorien des griechischen Altertums* (Leipzig 1907), 488ff., *EV* 3, 772. *Nubilus* is neut. of the adj. used as noun (Cic.*Arat.* 230, frequent in Lucr. and apparently absent from repub. prose; cf. **527**). For the very common application of the adj. to 'air' (= 'clear'), cf. NH on Hor. C.2.20.2.

inter In anastrophe; cf. **673**.

700 cum..et Note that *cum* stands as seventh word after *ceu* (cf. as fifth word, *G.*4.170f., *Aen.* 4.402f., as sixth, 2.627, 12.684f., *EV* 3, 994); cf. Mackail on 4.402f., Norden on 6.707 for the relationship of the main verb and the *cum*-clause in such comparisons. There are cases elsewhere in Virgilian similes of disturbed proportions or logic, accompanied by other symptoms of incompleteness (Austin on 2.626).

sese e pastu referunt Cf. **286 sese referebat**; note *G.*1.381 *e pastu decedens*, 4.186 *e pastu..decedere*, 434 *e pastu..reducit*, *Aen.*11.494 *in pastus..tendit*: *p.* is both the place and the food.

longa../..per colla 'Neck', in origin, rather than 'throat', but used, like αὐχὴν, in both senses; cf. Macer fr.5 (snake) *longo resonantia sibila collo*.

canoros/ dant..modos The noun is already Ennian (*trag.*124); with the adj., cf. *G.*4.150f. *canoros Curetum sonitus*, Hor.C.2.20.15, Prop. 2.34.83. **D.** as at 9.618; so in V. with *sonum*, *gemitum*, *sonitum* (vd. **567**).

701 sonat..longe The advb. hard with **pulsa**; better therefore postponed with **sonat** (cf. *G.*2.163 *longe sonat*, *Aen.*5.866 *longe..sonabant*).

amnis The Cayster, as the reader of *G.*1 will remember (**699-702**), which flowed into the sea at Ephesus.

et Asia..palus At *Il.*2.461, most ancient critics (including Aristarchus) read 'Ασίω, the gen. of 'Ασίης, king of Lydia. But Demetrius of Scepsis (*ap.*Strab.13.4.8) preferred 'Ασίω, suspecting Maeonia was the 'original' Asia and that is clearly enough what V. read (cf. Kirk on *Il.*2.461): Serv. is troubled, thinking that the A of 'Asia' (*prouincia*) should be long, and that V. is therefore referring to the marsh's specific name. But the distinction of prosody is quite illusory (and was never raised in discussion of *Il.*2.461); see (e.g.) Ellis and Kroll on Cat.61.22. Attempts to locate 'the meadow of Asias' continued (Strab.14.1.45), without altering the plain sense of the text here.

702 pulsa palus Homeric, via *G.*(699-702); cf. Buc.6.84, *pulsae..ualles* (with Clausen's note); alliteration here suggests echo. Metrically, a familiar type of hemistich (itself a peculiarly misleading term!), Sparrow, 27; here, in a context where we have already seen ample evidence of lack of finish (cf. 699-705). Nothing, uncertain taste and loose sentiment apart, suggests that V. could have meant to leave the half-lines as they were, and they are not mentioned explicitly (though on a hasty reading they might appear to be!) in VSD's rich but ambiguous account of the composition of *Aen.* (Günther, 68, Horsfall, *Companion* 16, 167). We do not therefore actually *know* what their existence proves, though their presence at the beginning and end of presumed insertions and in the vicinity of other indications of incompleteness is highly suggestive. For further bibliography, cf. Harrison on 10.16f., Fordyce on 129.

703-5. V. has in mind (as confirmed by **urgeri**, 705, where vd. n.) various descriptions (epic and didactic) of birds driven by foul weather; possibly too the flock of small birds, numerous and noisy, at *Il.*17.755f. and more certainly AR 4.238ff. οὐδέ κε φαίης / τόσσον νηϊτήν στόλον ἔμμεναι ἀλλ' οἰωνῶν / ἰλαδὸν ἄσπετον ἔθνος ἐπιβρομέειν πελάγεσσιν.

703 nec quisquam../.putet Contrast the preceding **ceu quondam.. cum**; a violent stylistic discord, only explicable if we have here unco-ordinated alternative drafts. Here V. uses hyperbole (cf. the citation of 1.162 at Quint.8.6.68; vd. Calboli at *EV* 2, 519): cf. *Il.*4.429f. οὐδέ κε φαίης / τόσσον λαὸν ἔπεσθαι, 3.392, 17.366, AR 4.238f.(*supra*), 2.171, 3.1044. Note that the positive 'you would say' is also found (*Il.*3.220f., 15.697 and AR 3.1265, 4.997; cf. too the third-person forms at *Od.*18.218, 23.135).

aeratas acies The adj. likely at Enn.*Ann.*393 (but impugned by Housman; vd. Skutsch *ad loc.*), [Naev.]*Bell.Poen.*fr.67.1, Bibac.fr.8.3,

Hor.C.2.16.21, 3.1.39; *nouiens* in *Aen.*(743). Bronze is both Homeric and contemporary; the almost universal metal in V. for defensive armour: 633, Sandbach, 455, Saunders, 143f., Wickert, 302, *EV* 1, 41f.

ex agmine tanto Housman, *CR* 5(1891),294f. = *Coll.Pap.*1,176-8, followed by Mynors, Geymonat and Fordyce, takes the **EX-AGMINE** of the capital mss. here (and at 2.727) as indicating not **ex agmine** (which is how Latinists pre-1891—and Sen.*Ep.*56.12, at least for *Aen.* 2(vd. *infra*)—took it), but **examine** (which is what two recentiores of V. actually read) in an archaic spelling. There are three issues: (1) orthography. At *Buc.*9.30, *G.*2.452, 4.21, 103, some respectable ms. support for the spelling of *examen* as *exacmen* or *exagmen* exists (cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*420). The *iouxmenta* (class. *iumenta*) of the Lapis Niger suggests an origin for *examen* in **ex-ag-s-men* (cf. Leumann, 114, 208), but the form *exagmen* in classical Latin, like the *subtegmine* (for *subtemine*) of **GMny** at 3.483, or Varro's *frugmenta* (fr.330GRF), is only analogical restitution (Sommer, 230, cf. F.Bücheler, *RhM* 60(1905), 319); add too *iugmenta*, *CGloss.*2.93.52f.: probably an old spelling, and a good try by quite a learned man, but not good enough! (2) lexicography. *Examen* means in origin 'a swarm' (of bees) and bees indeed (cf. 67, NH on Hor.C.1.35.31) are an occasional poetic equivalent of warriors, but *examina* of birds are less common (cf. Liv.38.46.5, Plin. *Nat.*10.77), though not unacceptably rare. (3) sense. V. can write (so Austin on 2.727) *ad terram gurgite ab alto/..glomerantur aues* (6.310f.); there is no ground for alarm, therefore, when he writes *aduerso glomerati ex agmine* (2.727) and (cf. the next n.) **misceri** here could fairly be paraphrased *glomerari*. Here **agmen** is the column of march and **acies** the line of battle and repeatedly in the Catalogue there are hints that the Italians are going not to a muster but directly to battle: 647, 673, 744, 761, 782. Housman, busy scourging the hapless Conington, misses the plain sense of the line.

704 misceri Cf. *G.*4.75f. *ipsa ad praetoria densae/ miscentur*, (?) *Aen.* 4.145f. *mixtique altaria circum/ Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt*; very similar is the *glomerantur* of 6.310f. (cf. *G.*4.79). *TLL* 8.1096.83 (Pfligersdorffer) suggests comparison with (e.g.) Liv.1.52.6 *miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque*, 21.33.3, 38.18.8 but there is no similar mingling of disparates implied in this passage. 'Massed' might be a fair rendering. **aeriam../..nubem** The wide hyperbaton perhaps suggests the great spreading flock of birds. At *Il.*3.7, the cranes themselves are ἡέριαι (strictly, 'in the lower air'); so too *G.*1.375 (vd. Mynors). Note Cat.

30.10 *ebulas aereas*, 64.142. Cf. A.Lunelli *Aerius* (Roma 1969), 22f., 55f.. With *nubem*, cf. the Homeric *νέφος*, *Il.*17.755 and *Aen.* 12.254 *facta nube* (of swans); compare too ‘clouds of men’ (*Il.*4.274, 23.133, *Liv.* 35.49.5, etc.) and ‘clouds of war’ (*Il.*17.243, *Simon. Anth. Plan.* 26.4, *Aen.*10.809, etc.).

gurgite ab alto After *Lucr.*5.482 etc., *Cic. Arat.*fr.8, *quinquies* in *Cat.*, cf. *Buc.*6.76 *gurgite in alto*, *Aen.*6.310 *gurgite ab alto*; here therefore V. is quoting himself, with (cf. next n.) common antecedents in mind; **g.** common for ‘open sea’ (*EV* s.v. §4a).

705 urgeri..ad litora Middle in the sense of ‘press themselves, or each other, on’ is wrong; Conington forgets that at *Il.*3.4, *Arat. Phaen.*918f., *G.*1.374f.(cf. **699-702**: V. certainly has that passage in mind hereabouts) and *Aen.*6.312 the birds are driven by foul weather (or by their presentiment of it; cf. 10.266); compare rather *Aen.*1.110f. *tris [sc. nauis] Euris ab alto/ in breuia et Syrtis urget*, *Prop.*2.26.35.

uolucrum raucarum Cf. (after *Lucr.*6.751) *Buc.*1.57 *raucae..palumbes* (not therefore our ‘raucous’! Contrast **615**), *Aen.*11.458 *rauci..cycni*.

706-22 Clausus

The Sabines’ leader (in action, 10.345f., where vd.Harrison) bears the name of a well-attested figure of early Roman history: Clausus, leader of a roaming band of Sabines which settled at Rome in the very early republic, was claimed as forbear by the *gens Claudia*: the traditional date for their arrival was 504 B.C. (*Liv.*2.16.4, *DH* 5.40, etc.), well after the arrival of Titus Tatius (*Liv.*1.13.4), and only a decade before the foundation of the *tribus Claudia* (495, the year of the first Claudian consul; *Liv.*2.21.7, with Ogilvie’s n. and *per.*2). Mommsen had maintained that the date was too low, for only under the monarchy could the Claudii have been admitted as patricians, but it is doubtful whether the senate of the early republic observed the rules with such rigour (Momigliano (1967), 212 = (1969), 489) may be the correct date both for arrival and for foundation of the *tribus* (E.Badian, *JRS* 52(1962), 201, T.P.Wiseman, *Clio’s cosmetics* (Leicester 1979), 57ff.), though an earlier arrival was sometimes claimed: cf. *App. Reg.*12 (the Tarquins), *Suet. Tib.*1.1 (Titus Tatius). Virgil refers to the events of 504 (**708**) and takes the name of the Sabines’ historical leader for their chief on an earlier occasion. The wide territory here assigned them is—even including **713**—compatible with the sober facts in *Strab.*5.3.1 and *Plin. Nat.*3.107. There is no reason to suppose that V. has resorted here to a Claudian family version of events, and indeed his precise source, for all Varro’s eager interest in

pseudo-genealogy (cf. my n. on *Nep.Att.18.3*), is quite unclear. For Clausus, see L.R.Taylor, *Voting districts* (Roma 1960), Poucet, 424ff., A.D.Momigliano, *JRS* 57(1967), 212 = *Quarto contr.* (Roma 1969), 489, *id.*, *CAH* 7.2., 98, M.Torelli in *Storia di Roma* ed. A.D. Momigliano, A.Schiavone 1, *Roma in Italia* (Torino 1988), 245, D.Musti in *Preistoria, storia e civiltà dei Sabini* (Rieti 1985), 75ff. = *Dial. Arch.* 3.3.2(1985), 77ff. = *Strabone e la Magna Grecia* (Padova 1988), 235ff., Cornell (**763**), 174f., *EV* s.v. *Claudia, Clauso*. For V., see Kühlmann, 215-7, Basson, 143 and with caution B.Tilly, *Vergilius* 19(1973), 2ff., F. Della Corte in *Preistoria cit.*, 57ff..

706 ecce V.'s Catalogue is a spectacle, not a versified gazetteer. Cf *EV* 2, 995.

Sabinorum The Claudii really were Sabine, and proud of it (*Tac. Ann.* 11.24.1; cf. , Syme *RR*, 344f., and Horsfall, *RFil.* 119(1991), 190, n.4 for patrician *gentes* claiming non-Roman origin, in the context of V.'s use of the motif of the *externus uir*). Sabine origins were rural, respectable, sober, virile (cf. Cato, fr.128ORF., *Hor.Epd.* 2.41, *G.* 2.513ff., Horsfall, *EV* 4, 627, C.Letta, *Athen.* 62(1984), 3ff., 416ff., *id.* in *Preistoria, cit.*, 15ff.). With **sanguine**, the sense is complete, but **Sabinorum** should also be understood with **agmen**, as the geography of **710-7** makes clear.

prisco de sanguine Cf. 10.203 *Tusco de sanguine uires* and the more common *de gente, de stirpe*; the adj. indicated a particularly admired or venerated antiquity: cf. *Enn.Ann.* 22, *Aen.* 5.598, *Hor.CS* 58. A hint even at the (disputed) autochthony of the Sabines (M.Scaffai, in *Stud. Non.* 14 (Genova 1992), 19; cf. Poucet 1963, 159ff.)? More likely, perhaps, on account of a (probable) learned point behind the **prisci** of **710**.

magnum/ agmen agens The assonance present in *agmine magno* (*G.* 1.381, *Aen.* 6.749) is here further extended, with a *figura etymologica* added (cf. 11.433, Wills, 245, O'Hara 195, 230, citing *Comm. Luc.* 1.478, *Isid.Orig.* 9.3.63 for the explicit link of *agmen* and *agere*): cf. **645**, O'Hara 61, n.316, Wills, *cit.*, E.S.McCartney, *CPh.* 22(1927), 199f., J.Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects de la formation...* (Paris 1949), 74, and (e.g.) 1.117 *uorat..uortex*, 6.160 *sermone serebant*. The sonorous *agmen agere* (quite possibly after a specific, archaic model) is much favoured: 5.833f., **7.804**, 8.683, 11.433, 12.457, *Liv.* 2.58.7.

707 Clausus Taken to be the original, Sabine form of the name by the antiquarians (*Liv.* 2.16.4, *Ov.F.* 4.305, *Tac.Ann.* 4.9.2, *Plut.Public.* 21.2); the shift from dental to sibilant in most Italic dialects makes

'Claudius', however, clearly the older form (vd. Schulze, 465, Conway and Ogilvie on Liv.2.16.4, Leumann, 154). His well-attested praenomen Att(i)us (as in Attus Navius), itself also Sabine, signifies 'father'.

magnique..agminis Most unusual double (and possibly archaic, as **706**) polyptoton (cf. Wills, 255f., citing Ov.*Am.*3.15.15, *Met.*15.862-5; cf. also cases of simultaneous anaphora and polyptoton, Cat.4.27, *Catal.*9.3f., Wills, 256). Clausus' entry is trumpeted in the grandest manner.

ipse..instar 'Fa pensare alla corpulenza vigorosa di Clauso' (Carbonetto)! Also his courage. Cf. 2.15 *instar montis equum* (with Austin's note), 3.637, Ov.*Her.*16.369 *unus is innumeri militis instar erit*, Tac. *Ann.*2.61 (Pyramids) *instar montium eductae*. K.Alt *TLL* 7.1.1969.9 (with A.Szantyr) and *MH* 16(1959), 161 suggests that the word often carries an implicit idea of 'a match' or 'a rival' (so 6.865, Ov.*cit.*, Manil. 5.64 *instar erit populi*, *Consol.Liv.* 471 *multorum filius instar*).

708 Claudia..et tribus et gens The gentilicium as first word; by hyperbaton, we wait for **et tribus et gens** at the close. Livia had been married to Tib.Claudius Nero; whence the future emperor Tiberius. Augustus' sister Octavia married first C.Claudius Marcellus (cos.50 B.C); whence the Marcellus of 6.860ff.. No ugly descent to court poetry; rather, by generous use of studied stylistic effects, V., at a convenient moment, renders due honour to the ancient origins of a family doubly linked to Augustus. The *gens Claudia*, Clausus' kin and retainers, were said, rightly or not, to have been granted on arrival land on the right bank of the Anio (i.e. in south Sabinum), between Fidenae and Picetia (?; perhaps Ficul(n)ea), and to have formed the *vetus Claudia tribus*, in which others from the same area were later enrolled (Liv.2.16.5 with Ogilvie's note, DH 5.40.5 with G.Forni, *EV* 1, 815, Taylor, 35f., 37, A.Alföldi, *Herm.*90(1962), 206f., Poucet, 425, Suet.*Tib.*1, Plut.*Public.*21.10). The problem of the many Claudii who did not belong to the *tribus Claudia* is irrelevant here (Taylor(**706-22**), 202ff., 282f., 285f.).

nunc Cf. **602** and Horsfall, *EV* 1, 152, O'Hara 195 on the way in which V. integrates etymology (Clausus-Claudius), genealogy (cf. 5.116-23) and anachronism (**nunc** is after all the Augustan present) in the interests on a sense of unbroken continuity, rooted in the history of the *gentes*, not only the *familiae Troianae*, but autochthonous too.

a quo diffunditur Is spread wide, like liquid (Cat.64.358) or light

(Lucr.1.9) uncontained: a verb rather to the taste of Lucr. (*decies*) and V. (*sexies*).

709 per Latium Up to a point; apart from Fidenae (cf. *CIL* 1₂.1709) and Ficul(n)ea, note elements of the *tribus Claudia* at Cliternia (Capradosso) and in the territory of the Aequiculi (cf. **747**): Mommsen, *CIL* 9, pp.388, 394, Taylor, 85, 95; Amiternum and Misenum are outside Latium.

postquam (cf. *EV* 3, 995; vd. **706-22** for the date) **in partem data** Cf. Liv.10.10.10 *ut in partem agri accipiantur*, Claud. *in Rufin.* 2.315 *in partem mihi regna dari*, *TLL* 10.1.3.463.8 (Tessmer): an unexpectedly rare idiom.

Roma Sabinis Cf. **706-22**, **708** for the story; V. brings the Sabines' arrival at Rome (itself an echo, of sorts of the Trojans' own arrival in Latium!) into sharp focus by juxtaposition of the names (cf. **233**, Harrison, *Aen.*10, p.288).

710 una Cf. in catalogues 2.476, 477, 10.170; the Homeric ἄμα is similar, used as advb. and prepos. in *Il.*2.

ingens..cohors 681 legio showed how V. uses modern military terminology without awkwardness: cf. 3.563, 11.500, Hor. *Epd.*16.60, *C.*2.19.22; Livy also often uses *cohors* of non-Roman forces.

Amiterna Adj. to avoid the metrically intractable toponym Amiternum (cf. Fordyce on **219**): the ancient town clearly visible 5 miles NW of L'Aquila (cf. S.Segenni, *Amiternum* (Pisa 1985), *Suppl.Ital.*NS 9(Roma 1992), *EV* 1,138f.). Still Sabine (Strab.5.3.1, Plin. *Nat.*3.107), and, more important (cf. Casperia, **714**), a name deriving from the story, related by Cato (fr.50HRR=DH 2.49.2), of the Sabines' original migration from Testruna, near A., to the plain of Reate (Poucet 1963, 159ff., D.Briquel in *Identità infra*, 37).

priscique Quirites For the adj., cf. **706**; cf. 8.638 *Curibus seueris* for the possibility of a moral implication here (and n. on **706**). V. may also here suggest that he is talking about the Sabine Quirites, before they became Roman (on DH 2.48.4, cf. Poucet 1963, 188ff.). Though Varro knew that the inhabitants of Sabine Cures were called *Curenses* (*LL* 6.68), the etymology of *Quirites* from *Cures* was widely accepted (*ib.*5.51, 6.68, Varr. *ap.*DH 2.48.2); cf. Poucet 12f., 59f., Ogilvie on Liv.1.13.5, Bömer on Ov. *F.*2.475, O'Hara, 195f., *EV* 4,382f., A.Prodocimi in *Identità e civiltà dei Sabini* (Firenze 1996), 227ff.. Cures (Muzzioli, *EV* 1, 964f.) was situated in the hills NW of mod. Corese Terra and excavations continue (vd. e.g. A.M.Reggiani, *Dial.Arch.*3.3.2 (1985), 87ff., M.Buonocore, *Rend.Linc.*9.5(1994), 329ff.).

711 Ereti 18 mp from Rome on the Via Salaria (*Itin.Ant.*; the milestone survives); 14 mp from Fidenae (*Tab.Peut.*). The site excavated as Eretum (near mod. Montelibretti: R.M.Ogilvie, *PBSR* 33(1965), 70ff.; cf. P.Santoro, *NSc.*8.31(1977), 211ff.), is not, however (cf. Quilici *loc.cit.*, **712**) identified with entire certainty. Of considerable importance in the struggles between Etruscans, Sabines and Romans for the control of the Tiber valley (*EV* s.v. (Muzzioli), *Enea nel Lazio*, 57f.); Sabine, according to Strab.5.3.1, Argive (Hera-tum!) for Serv. (and cf. Sol.2.10).

manus omnis Cf. **730**, **795**, 10.167 (possibly literal); *m.* from Enn. *trag.*46 and much used by V. (Bulhart, *TLL* 8.366.71).

oliuiferaeque In Latin, probably a Virgilian coinage, like *caelifer*, *sagittifer*, *fumifer*, *soporifer*, cf. *EV* 1, 54, Williams on 5.452, Harrison on 10.216. Actually Aeschylean, ἐλαιόφυτος, *Pers.*883, in a catalogue sequence. (see **641-817**, §i); compare, more generally, references to produce, in Homer's Catalogue (Kühlmann, 216).

Mutuscae In full, and in prose *Trebula Mutuesca* (e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 3.107); cf. Horsfall (**672**, 1992), 173f., 'for these toponymic adjustments, *metri causa*. Identified and excavated, 1 km. SE of Monteleone Sabino (Muzzioli, *EV* s.v.). 'Trebula' is a common toponym and M.'s history is therefore hardly to be disentangled, though V. may have known a source of DH 1.14.2 (Tribola, a settlement of the Aborigines, Poucet 1963, 178, n.4). Sabine oil (today overrated) was a feature of *laudes* of Italian or regional agriculture (DH 1.37.2, Strab.5.3.1), and a favoured topic of Varro's (*Companion*, 84, n.118).

712 qui..qui..qui..qui..quos..quosque Cf. (e.g.) *Il.*2.681ff., οἱ *quater*, Harrison on 10.167: here note at **715** polyptoton created by *variatio*.

Nomentum urbem Cf. 6.773.14 mp from Rome (*Tab.Peut.*); that figure does not quite coincide with the distance to the (excavated) site at Casali di Mentana (or Immaginella), where ancient Nomentum is commonly located, a mile S. of modern Mentana. Cf. C.Pala, *Nomentum* (Roma 1976), 12f., *Enea nel Lazio*, 50f.; vd. the sceptical position of Quilici (**631**, 1980), 3, while *EV* is credulous (Horsfall!). Pliny was undecided whether Nomentum was Latin or Sabine (*Nat.*3.64, 107); for DH 2.53.4, an Alban colony on Sabine soil; for Strabo, the southernmost point of Sabinum (5.3.1). Cf. Poucet 1963, 167f. Of passing historical interest (taken by Tarquinius Priscus, Liv.1.38.4; cf. Pala, 11f.).

Rosea rura So **PR**ω; **rosa M**; some lesser copyists were distracted

by thoughts of *roscida* (Bartelink, 54f., Horsfall, *EV* 4, 581). The place was called Rosea or Rosia in prose (Varr.*RR passim*, fr.403 GRF, Cic.*Att.*4.15.5, Bartelink, Horsfall, *cit.*, Edgeworth, 156); somewhere in the Velinus basin and Serv.'s reference to a *Rosulanus ager* may be an autoschediasma (it is not, *pace* O'Hara, 195, from Varro). A play on sound between *ros* and *rus* (D.O.Ross, *Mnem.*26(1973), 62)? Or a hint (cf. O'Hara, Bartelink, *cit.*) at the rich, dewy soil of the drained lake to which Varro often refers (as cited in Serv. here, *RR* 2.1.17, 3.2.10, and *ap.* Plin. *Nat.* 3.108, Fest.354.23)? The play is clear in Varro (Fest.*loc.cit.*; cf. **641-817**, §vi), but in the transmitted text of V. it is hypothetical at best, though some scribes seem to have suspected it.

Velini Cf. **519**; not to be confused with the mod. Velino (Lat. *Auens*); in Lat., the lake(s) of the Reate basin (cf. Plin.*Nat.*3.108, after Varro; cf. S.Coccia, D.J.Mattingly, *PBSR* 60(1992), 213ff.). V.'s **fontes** at **519** might refer to the *Septem Aquas* of Cic.*Att.*4.15.5 (cf. Shackleton Bailey, 2, 210) or to the **fontes** that fed the lake(s). M'.Curius Dentatus, in 272 B.C.cut an *emissarium* that permitted the partial drainage of the Reate basin, fed by the rivers Velino(*Auens*), Salto (rashly identified as the **Himella** of **714** by some) and Turano (*Tolenus*) into the Nera; variable rainfall and the cumulative effect of limestone deposits (Plin.*Nat.*2.226) meant that the rate of drainage remained a bone of contention until the c.18 (Horsfall, *EV* s.v. *Velino*). **713 Tetricae** The name of a mountain at Varr.*RR* 2.1.5, associated with *mons Fiscellus*, the source of the *Auens*/Velino in the Varronian Plin.*Nat.*3.109: not, therefore, the Gran Sasso (so, still, Scaffai (**706**) 14; cf. 17, n.10, alas), but M.Pozzoni, NW of Amatrice. Significantly, Sil.8.417 pairs T. with Norcia, close to M.Pozzoni. Older editors and topographers run riot (Horsfall, *EV* s.v.); convergent ancient sources, though, are preferable. The toponym (itself quite credible: Schulze, 242, 552) carries clear echoes of bleak landscape and appropriately hard men (SDan.*ad Aen.* 8.638, Liv.1.18.4, Stat.*Theb.* 9.615; cf. Bartelink 57, Scaffai, 17, Horsfall *cit.*, Poucet 1963, 169ff., cf. further **747**).

horrentis rupes *H.* too suggests rigour of character (**746**) and of land (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.16, Sil.4.741). Accusative or genitive? Either would maintain the environment/ character play, but the notion of *horrentis rupes* as a gloss on the name *Tetricae* is attractive (Scaffai, 16, O'Hara, 195f.). There are no objective grounds for choice, though the sequence noun-adj.-adj.-noun is not lightly to be rejected.

montemque Seuerum Or **seuerum**? After *mons*, name (Szantyr,

TLL 8.1433.53ff.), adjective (*ib.*1434.70ff.) or genitive (*ib.*1434.42ff.) are all tolerable. Nonius (390.17; cf. Scaffai, 15, n.6) favours adj., Serv., name. Sil.'s silence proves nothing. Only the climactic **Allia** (717) occupies an entire line; a pair of nouns and adjs. here to describe a remote mountain would hardly do (cf. Scaffai, 15f.). Better, therefore, another mountain, the Severus, itself clearly evocative of the same nexus of ethnographic ideas, but otherwise quite unknown. Rehm, 20f. (accepted by Horsfall, *EV* 4, 816; too ingenious for Scaffai, 15, n.6) suggested a source tersely linking the characters of land and people, and misunderstood by V..

714 Casperiamque Altogether unidentifiable (vd. G.Filippi, *EV* s.v.). According to the post-Virgilian Hyginus, *de urbibus Italicis*, fr. 19GRF, fr.9HRR, a name derived from the Persian Caspiri, since Sabus, eponym of the Sabines came, via Sparta (so too Cato, fr. 51HRR, Cn.Gellius fr.10HRR. Action of Sabine austerity: cf. Poucet 1963, *passim*), from Persia. Cf. Sil.8.414f.; 'Caspian' must come into this: cf. Poucet 1963, 203ff., G.Firpo, *Athen.*83(1995), 514ff.. Just possibly, V. knew (in)directly Alex.Polyhistor *FGH*273F111 = Serv. *ad Aen.*10.388 (where vd. also Harrison), which mentions a mythological figure Casperia.

colunt Cf. **684**.

Forulosque 'A rock suited πρὸς ἀπόστασιν μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' οἰκίαν according to Strabo (5.3.1); certainly (*Tab.Peut.*) mod. Civitatomassa, five miles W. of L'Aquila, on the road to Rieti, though the site (*vidi!*) does not conform to Strabo's epigram. *EV* s.v. (Filippi).

flumen Himellae For the defining gen., cf. **697**. It has long been clear (Ch.Bunsen, *Ann.Inst.*6 (1834), 110; cf. Filippi, *EV* 1, 689) that the scraps of apparent information that we have are but embroideries on V.'s text; unidentifiable and with no surviving associations. There is a kind of sound-echo from *G.*4.278 *flumina Mellae*, to which I should hesitate to attribute any special significance.

715 Tiberim The one occasion on which V. calls the Tiber by its ordinary, everyday name (cf. Serv. on 8.31, *in coenolexia*; V.'s many names for the Tiber I try to disentangle at *EV* 5*, 157), i.e. Etr. *Thebris*, Latinised, as the 'cartographic' context required.

Fabarimque Ov. has *Farfarus* (*Met.*14.330); Sabine Farfar, mod. Farfa: V. uses a Latinised form of the name (cf. A.Ernout, *Philologica* 2(Paris 1957), 209ff. = *Stud.Etr.*24 (1955-6), 311ff.), with marked internal echo of *-er-*, *-ar-*. The stream, securely identified, rises near Monteleone Sabino and, after ca.27 miles, enters the Tiber opposite Soracte. Cf. *EV* s.v..

bibunt Traditional catalogue-language (and ‘Greek’ rhythm): *Il.* 2.825 πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσίοιο; cf. Pind.*Ol.*6.85f., Hor. *C.*2.20.20 (with NH), 3.10.1, 4.15.21, *Buc.*1.62 *aut Ararim Parthus bibet*, E.Norden, *SBerlin* 1917, 673 = *Kl.Schr.*, 184 on Crinagoras *GP* 1924.

frigida.. / Nursia Home of Sertorius (cf. Front.p.207.2 on his *Nursina duritia*), turnips (Plin.*Nat.*18.130 *frigore dulciora*) and St.Benedict, mod. Norcia; now in Umbria, but to Plin.*Nat.*3.107 solidly Sabine, though on the far side of the Terminillo massif (Poucet 67, n.248, etc.). Not merely cool (as *G.*2.469, Hor.*C.* 3.4. 22f.), but in a high plain (2377 feet) and chilly (as Ov.*Tr.*4.4.55; cf. Sil.8.416, *EV* 3, 761): whence Ital. ‘norcino’ (our ‘pork butcher’); hams are still sent there to age.

misit Cf. 727, 762, Aesch.*Pers.*33f. ἄλλους δ’ ὁ μέγας καὶ πολυθρέμμων / Νεῖλος ἔπεμψεν, AR 1.78 πέμπεν (but in Aesch. the subj. is local, in AR personal). See 641-817, §i. Cf. Harrison on 10.351 and, for the personification of Nursia, on 10.172.

716 Ortinae classes An old, unresolved puzzle (Horsfall, *EV* s.v., *Athen.*78(1990), 527): nothing to do with the (Latin) Hortenses of Plin. *Nat.*3.69 (cf. Rehm, 22); the Hortanum of Plin.*Nat.*3.52 may be mod. Orte (mediaeval (H)orta), but O. is on the Etruscan bank of the Tiber, and the inhabitants of Orta would perforce be ‘Ortani’. The noun only deepens our perplexity: Serv. comments *Ortini equites classes dicuntur, unde et eorum tubas classica dicimus, et partes populi classes uocamus*. The etymology is old (Varr.*LL* 5.91) and V. could therefore be offering an indirect allusion to the familiar Etruscan origin of the trumpet (*Athen.*5.184A, etc.), but that would bring us back to the wrong bank of the Tiber. Liv.4.34.6 exceptionally uses *classi* of the whole Roman army (vd. Ogilvie *ad loc.*); cf. though Gell.1.11.3, 10.15.4, Paul. exc. Fest.48.22, 49.10, 251.21; one can see (cf. *TLL* 3.1281.83 Maurenbrecher) how a poet familiar with antiquarian prose but untroubled by the smaller details, might have used *classes* as an occasional synonym for *manus*.

populique Latini Cf. Enn.*Ann.*22 *Quam Prisci, casci populi, tenuere Latini* (where vd. Skutsch and Varr.*LL* 7.28); at Liv.1.38.4, Tarquinius Priscus, after the end of the Sabine war, captures Crustumium, Corniculum, Ficulea (cf. 708) and Nomentum (712), *de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant*. The Latinienses (participants on the sacrifice on the *mons Albanus*, Plin.*Nat.*3.69; cf. Cic.*Har.Resp.*20, with Lenaghan’s note, Rehm, 21f.) just might be a survival of *p.L.* used in this sense. But we really do not know what V. meant, and *EV* is silent.

717 secans..interluit Cf. 8.63 *pinguia culta secantem* (the Tiber), 3.418f. *aruaque et urbes/ litore diductas angusto interluit aestu*; the vb. in Cato *Agr.*, but first thus in V..

infaustum..nomen *N.*, as often, in apposition: cf. **412**, 6.763, E.A.Hahn, *Naming constructions.* (Cleveland 1969), 127. V. alludes to the fact that the anniversary of the battle of the Allia (18 July) was a *dies religiosus*; cf. Luc.7.409, *damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis*, Gell.4.9.5f., A.K.Michels, *Calendar of the Roman republic* (Princeton 1967), 62f., H.H.Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies* (London 1981), 45f.. The information was in Varro (*LL* 6.32, *Macr.*1.16.23; cf. *Paul.exc.Fest.*6.19f.), had V. really needed to look it up! As fitting climax to his Sabine catalogue, ample in proportion to size of their territory and to their historical importance (and to that of the Claudii), one name only occupies an entire line, enhanced by assonance (cf. 8.451, 527) and synaloepha at the caesura, the name, though, of a great Roman defeat!

Allia The old identification with the Fosso della Bettina (which crosses the Via Salaria at km.18.4) holds: Cf. Quilici (**631**; 1980), 43f., 164ff., *EV* s.v.; DS 14.114 by a familiar type of error (cf. *GR* 32 (1985), 204) has the mistaken (i.e.right, or west) bank of the Tiber.

718-21 Careful examination of this matched pair of similes (two lines each) sheds some further light on **699-705**. Here the point of comparison in limited and explicit (**quam multi..uel cum ..densae**) and both seem to derive, under epic influence, from an expanded *adynaton*: the Sabines are not just poetically, but proverbially numerous too. With **quam multi**, cf. the ἔθνεα πολλά of *Il.*2.459, 464, 469 (similes before the Greek Catalogue), *G.*4.473 *quam multa*, *Aen.* 6.309, 311 *quam multa..quam multae* (where vd.Austin). The approximate parallelism of **uel cum...densae**, in striking contrast to **699ff.**, is common enough in V.(e.g.2.304ff., 11.456ff., 12.521ff.); not Homeric (contrast *Il.*2.459ff. and 469ff.; cf. Fränkel (**674**), 108f.), but cf. rather AR 4.214ff.(ὄσσα../..ῆ ὄσα; vd. *infra*). However, V. may also have had in mind *Il.*2.144ff., where Agamemnon stirs the multitude: κινήθη δ' ἀγορὴ φη̅ κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης (the Icarian sea, when Eurus and Notus blow)..(147) ὡς δ' ὅτε κινήσει Ζέφυρος βαθὺ λήϊον ἐλθών. The waves of the sea are proverbially uncountable: cf. *G.*2.108, Otto, n°.673, *Theocr.*16.60, with Gow's note, AR 4.214f. (ὄσσα τε πόντου/ κύματα χειμερίοιο κορύσσεται ἐξ ἀνέμοιο or as leaves) H.V.Canter, *AJP* 51(1930), 37ff., H.Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19(1967), 216, n.18 = *Greek epic, lyric and tragedy* (Oxford

1990), 176, n.18, on Pind.(?)fr. 346.12SnM.. No less uncountable (but less commonly so) are ears of corn: Otto, n^o.163, Cat.48.5, Ov. *Met.*11.614, *Ars* 1.57, etc.. V. may also have in mind passages in which victorious warriors are compared to reapers and their victims to a field of corn (e.g. *Il.*11.67ff., AR 3.1185ff., Cat.64.353ff.).

718 quam multi With, as often (LHS, 591), ellipse of *tam*: cf. 3.641, 6.309, 311, 10.641f., 12.701f..

Libyco..marmore The sea between Crete and North Africa (Strab. 2.5.20, Varr. *Atac.* fr.20 with Courtney's note, Mela 1.21-3: vd. *Aen.* 1.377, 596): an interesting variation on the *Libyci..aequoris* of G.2.105, there the desert, named for its uncountable sand! Before V., *m.* was in particular 'foam' (from Enn. *Ann.*377; also Cat., Lucr., Cic. *Arat.*); in V. it becomes a synonym for 'sea' (Brandt, *TLL* 8.411.46; perhaps under the influence of Hom. ἄλα μαρμαρέην: vd. **28**, *EV* 3, 384).

uoluntur..fluctus Cf. Lucr.2.767 *uertitur.fluctus*, *Aen.*1.86 *uoluunt [sc.uenti] ad litora fluctus* (cf. Gk. κυλίνδει, A.Traina, *EV* 5*, 625), 12.831 *uoluis.fluctus* (metaph.).

719 saeuus..Orion The adj. rare of hostile nature (*EV* 4, 644); cf. AR's ὀλόοιο *infra*. The matutinal setting of Orion (of variable prosody; cf. Bömer on Ov. *F.*5.493) begins in early Nov. and lasts about a month: Gow on Theocr.7.53, *HE* 2347(Leonidas). The period was commonly described as stormy: Hes. *Erga* 614f., AR 1.1202, NH on Hor. *C.*1.28.21, Pease on *Aen.*4.52 *dum pelago desaeuit hiems et aquosus Orion*. Possibly Leonidas (*supra*) suggested to V. the combination of Libyan sea and setting of Orion. For V.'s use of *ubi*, cf. *EV* 3, 994.

hibernis..undis Cf. G.4.235 (setting of Pisces) *hibernas..descendit in undas*, Hor. *Epd.* 15.7f. *nautis infestus Orion/ turbaret hibernum mare*.

conditur Cf. Cic. *Arat.* 81, 416, Q.Cic. *carm.*20, Lucr.4.433, 5.710, G.1.438, *Aen.* 5.126, Hor. *C.* 2.16.3, *TLL* 4.150.46 (Spelthahn).

720 uel cum Not rigorously parallel after **quam multi**, but given the close similarity in sense, the faint irregularity of form is welcome.

sole nouo Cf. *Buc.*6.37, G.1.288 (of the sun's light before rising, Mynors), *Aen.*9.459, VF 2.441, Apul. *Met.*2.1 (dawn); at G.2.332 *nouos soles* are the regular suns of a new spring (*prima aetatis parte* says Serv. here, unblushingly three months out in his count, but offering a good contrast with **hibernis..undis**: *EV* 3,769; cf. Plin. *Nat.*15.73, 18.184); consider too the new sun at the winter solstice at Ov. *F.*1.163 (rejected by Serv. here; cf. though Varr. *LL* 6.28, Stat. *Silv.*4.1.3) or sun after rain (*Sil.*14.344). None of these senses are very satisfactory: as

Fordyce notes, a full, hot summer sun (as *G.1.66*) to ripen the grain is called for. Though Lat. authors do at times employ a simple polar division of the year into winter and summer (vd. e.g. *Lucr.5.615, 639, Varr.RR 2.1.16, G.4.52, Tib.1.4.6, Bannier, TLL 1.1109.61ff.*), that is a quite distinct idiom not to be invoked here. Cf. rather *Pers.5.54 sub sole recenti* (the sun in the East) and *Hor.Serm.1.4.29 surgente a sole*. Given the double geographical indication in **721**, 'Eastern' would be peculiarly appropriate here, though not exactly easy; how the ripening July sun can be called *nouus*, I do not see! Full use of PHI 5.3 does not entirely resolve the problem.

densae..aristae Cf. *Cat.64.353f. namque uelut densas praecerpens messor aristas/ sole sub ardenti flauentia demetit arua, 48.5f non si densior aridis aristas/ sit nostrae seges osculationis*.

torrentur Cf. *G.1.298 tostas..fruges, Hor.C.3.1.31f. torrentia agros/ sidera, Tib.1.4.42 Canis..torreat arua*; distinguish the roasting of husked grains at e.g. *G.1.267* (where vd. Mynors, *EV 5**, 220). For the roasting action of the sun, cf. too *G.4.425*. Serv. thinks of a derivation of *aristae* from *aridus*; both the *Cat.* passages just quoted play on this etymology, as does *Ov.Her.5.111f.* and *torrentur* therefore signals the gloss (O'Hara, 196, after Ross).

721 aut Hermi campo The Hermus (mod.Gediz), one of the main rivers of W.Asia Minor, enters the Aegean just N. of Smyrna; for its alluvial plain, cf. *Strab.15.1.16; D.Magie, Roman rule in Asia Minor 1* (Princeton 1950), 36. Mentioned at *Il.20.392, Hes.Theog. 343*.

Lyciae flauentibus aruis. Hom. calls Lycia ἐριβῶλαξ (*Il. 17.172*), and *Ov.Met.6.317 fertilis*; particularly true of the valley of the Xanthus (cf. *Strab.14.3.6, Magie, 518, 2, 1373*; the river's name (= 'flauus' of the Tiber!) suggests it too was alluvial). The phrasing is still partly Catullan (*supra*); the colour-description of ripening corn is standard: *G.1.73, 96, 316, 4.126, André, 132, Edgeworth, 127f.* (V. prefers *flauens* to *flauus*), Mynors on *G.1.297*, P.d'Hérrouville, *Géorgiques I-II* (Paris 1942), 29f..

722 scuta Two alliterative pairs of words (plus repeated t) and the dull **u** five times in the verse (Norden, 417, n.2); caesura at 3tr. and diaereses at 1½, 3½; clash of metrical beat and word-accent in 2nd. and 4th. feet: the Sabines' thunderous advance is splendidly evoked; like the Faliscans (**698**), they *could* be in step! The rectangular shield of the Roman legionary is anachronistic and rare in *Aen.*, tending overwhelmingly to occur in scenes not of battle, and never as the defence of a single warrior (cf. Sandbach, 456f., Lyne, *WP*, 101-5,

Malavolta, 133f., Wickert, 294f., Saunders, 169f.); cf. **639** for the 'normal' *clipeus*. The *scutum* was introduced at Rome in the early c.4 (Liv.8.8.3, etc.); for Samnite *scuta*, cf. **690**, Salmon, 103, and these Samnites (cf. **665**) might be behind Plut.*Rom.*21.1 who claims idiosyncratically and unpersuasively that Romulus took over the *θυρεοί* of the Sabines. Such pseudo-learned explanations are not required to account for V.'s anachronistic but coherent and comprehensible use of *scutum*.

sonant The theme is Homeric (e.g.*Il.*12.160f.), the phrasing possibly Ennian (*Ann.*355, 411); it is far from clear that here the Sabines beat their shields (so Fordyce, unpersuasively), for the movement of massed men bearing arms and in armour is hardly quiet (cf. **685**, *Il.*1.46, *Aen.*4.149 with Pease's n., 8.474, 10.488 with Harrison's note), hypothetical rhythmic pounding apart.

pulsuque pedum Definitely Ennian: *Musae quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum* (*Ann.*1), *sonitus auris meas pedum pulsu increpat*, *trag.*305 (with Jocelyn's note). **M** imports the unacceptable **cursuque**, possibly from **807**.

conterrita tellus With *sonat* ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; cf. *Il.*2.781 γαῖα δ' ὑπερτενάζιζε (cf. *ib.*95, 784f.), *Lucr.*2.326f., *Aen.*12.334f. *gemit ultima pulsu/ Thraca pedum*, 445 *pulsuque pedum gemit excita tellus*. *TLL* 4.687.34 (Wulff) offers the deplorable paraphrase *concussa*: rather, the very earth is afraid (pathetic fallacy) at the beat of Sabine feet. That is the clear implication of those many passages where the earth is said to quiver with the din of war: *Enn.**Ann.*309, *Lucr.*2.326f., 3.834f., *Cat.*64.205f., *Aen.*12.445 (*supra*); 3.671f. *omnes contremuere undae, penitus exterrita tellus/ Italiae* is yet more explicit. The one-line climax (cf. **340**) after the double simile is atypical (cf. D.Fowler, *MD* 22 (1989), 103 on the theory of the *epiphonema*); V.'s preference for the muted and evasive closure is overwhelming.

723-32 Halaesus A pendant to the problem of Messapus (**689-705**): in the antiquarian tradition, Halaesus was solidly associated with Falerii: F. was Argive in Cato (fr.47 HRR); that presupposes Halaesus, the s. of Agamemnon as founder (cf. *Ov.**Am.*3.13.31f, *F.*4.73f., *Sol.*2.7) and an etymological connexion (**Halaesus-Falerii**, Serv. on 7.695, like **Hormiae-Formiae**, Varr.fr.390GRF). A natural origin for a major cult-centre of Juno (cf. DH 1.21, *Ov.**Am.*3.13, Bérard (**735**), 386, 391) We have already seen that Messapus has taken on the realm (**691-705**) and alternative parentage (**691**) of Halaesus and here Halaesus is just as out of place as Messapus was

there. We can only conclude that for V. these figures were mere pawns freely movable on a poetic chessboard! It may be that V. 'heard' a link between **Falerii** and the Ager **Falernus**; perhaps he recalled the **Φαλήρου τύρσις** of Lyc.717. That does not diminish the resulting confusion! Cf. Kühlmann, 217f., Basson, 144f., Holland, 202, Saunders 1940, 549f..

723 hinc In an ordered sequence, cf. Varr. *LL* 5.109, 164, *TLL* 6.3.2795.83 (Rehm); in a looser context, cf. 3.551, *Hor.Serm.*1.5.50.

Agamemnonius..Halaesus For V.'s few patronymics in *-ius*, cf. *EV* 1, 53, 3, 1029ff., Harrison on 10.123, Leumann, 288f. and index *infra* for comparable uses of adj. for gen.. Ov. knows (*F.*4.73f., *Am.* 3.13.31ff.) of one Halaesus who was Agamemnon's bastard (and not even by the stern rules of Virgilian decorum is there any objection to that: cf. **656**, 9.696ff.), and Fordyce (by whom *EV* is inexplicably impressed) was ill-advised to invent a homonym here, who was no more than an (unexplained and unparalleled) follower.

Troiani nominis Cf. **99**, **272**, **581**, 1.376 *Troiae nomen*, 6.758 *nostrumque in nomen ituras*, 10.851, 11.223: name, fame, standing, importance, even (one senses at times) existence itself all enter into this often fluid (contrast **412**) and still unexplored word.

hostis Cf. **371f.**, **672**, **794** for the continuation of the Trojan War on Italian soil.

724 curru iungit..equos The normal form of the dative in dactylic poetry (*Buc.*5.29, *Aen.*1.156, 3.541, *NW* 1, 542); for the dat. with *simplicia*, perhaps by analogy with dat. + *composita*, cf. Löfstedt, 1₂, 183, n.1, Görler, *EV* 2, 266. For the phrase, cf. *G.*3.113f. *primus Erichthonius currus et quattuor ausus/ iungere equos*, 4.389, *Aen.*1.568, 12.735f. (Hom. ζεῦξεν). Note the marked (?galloping) effect of word-end at 2tr. and 3tr.(with Gk. name); cf. 1.85 *una Eurusque Notusque ruunt* (such an effect is clearly absent at *Buc.*5.52); see Norden, 432.

Turnoque../725..rapit Taken up at 10.178 *mille rapit densos acie*; the verb often of 'the swift deployment of troops'(Harrison on 10.308). The dat. probably refers to Tu. as beneficiary, not as goal of the deployment (Görler, *EV* 2,266).

ferocis/ 725 mille..populos For the number, cf. **653**; V. will use *populus* of the inhabitants of a single town (Harrison on 10.202, Rehm, 6) or valley (with **738**, cf. , of a slightly wider area, **247**, **384**, **716**, 6.891, Horsfall, *Athen.*78(1990), 526). The adj. is thrust forward, and it is a mixed compliment: so Jupiter *bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis/ contundet moresque uiris et moenia ponet* (1.263f.; cf. 5.730f.

(quoted at **647**), 6.852); Lat. rules **populos ferocis** at **384** too. But at 10.610, 711 (vd.Harrison, *bis*, Thome (*M.*), 61), the adj. clearly denotes a positive (and markedly Italian; see Thome) military quality. Cf. also Schenk, 242f., 316, n.61; short change at *EV* 2, 502.

725 uertunt../.qui The hyperbaton **uertunt..rastris** gives due weight to the hard toil of viticulture; the phrasing is hallowed: cf. **539**, *G.1.118f. hominumque boumque labores/ uersando terram experti, 2.399f. glaebaque uersis/ aeternum frangenda bidentibus, Aen.9.608 aut rastris terram domat*(with Horsfall in Harrison, *OR*, 309f.=*Lat.* 30(1971), 1112, M.Dickie, *PLLS* 5(1985), 180 *et passim*), *Hor.C.3.6.38f. Sabellis docta ligonibus/ uersare glaebas*; for rakes, cf. Mynors on *G.1.164, EV* 4,403f.. For anastrophe of the relative, vd.**659**.

felicia Baccho With *felix* in the sense simply of 'fertile' cf. *Dirae* 10 *felicia rura*, *Tib.1.1.19, Ov.F.5.197*. It is not clear (nor is it important) whether **Baccho** is dat. or abl. (see Ammann, *TLL* 6.1.436.16, comparing *Mart.13.125.1 felix uitibus Aulon*).

726 Massica The volcanic Monte Massico (2600 feet; really a range: cf. Frederiksen (**739**), 1-3) is the border between Latium Novum and Campania. Cf. P.Arthur, *Romans in northern Campania* (London 1991), *passim*. For the famed viticulture, now rather successfully revived, cf. (e.g.)*G.2.143, Plin.Nat.3.60*. With the neut.plur. form cf. Taygeta, Maenala, Ismara, Gargara, Fordyce on **91**, Kühner-Holzweissig 1(Hannover 1912), 519, NW 1, 722, 809, Horsfall (*Aion* (Sez.Ling.) 14 (1992)), 176.

727 Aurunci..patres From the c.4, the Aurunci occupied the area between Liris and Volturnus, and it is presumably to this area that V. refers here (but cf. **206, 795**), cf. *EV* s.v. *Ausones* (Margherita Cancellieri).

misere Cf. **715**. Vd. **611, 617** for the vote of the *patres* for war (on the Italic context, Horsfall, *Athen.78*(1990), 524).

Sidicina../ 728 aequora The Sidicini were an Oscan *populus* (Strab.5.4.3), who came to hold Teanum (mod.Teano) as their urban centre (Frederiksen (**739**), 36, 38, 41). **Aequora** to balance **Massica**; those worried that the region of Teano is not flat plain (e.g. *EV* s.v. *Sidicini*) have noted that the Sidicini were thought once to have occupied the coastal plain between Capua and Cumae (Strab. *loc.cit.*). J.Delz, *MH* 32(1975), 161, n.10 argues convincingly for a revival of Ribbeck's reading of the passage, found also in Götte: punctuate at **patres**; then **-que..-que** link **Sidicina aequora** (acc.

not nom.) and **Cales**, the objs. of **linquunt**, and **qui** of course refers to both groups. Another comma, then, after **linquunt**.

iuxta Adverbial, as at 12.168, etc.; common as both advb. and prepos. in republican prose (also Plaut.) and perhaps introduced by V. into high poetry: Cat.66.17, 115.1 are uncertain; Lucr. has *iuxtim*.

728 Cales The site (excavated) is directly S. of the Autostrada del Sole from mod.Calvi Vecchia. Conquered by Rome in 335, and a Latin colony from 334; loyal to Rome in both the second Samnite and second Punic wars. *PGCS* 185f. (Johannowsky), *EV* s.v., Frederiksen (**739**), *passim*.

linquunt Cf. **670**. Here **P(lincunt)**, **M(liquent)**, **M₂(liquunt)** and **R(linquent)** all offer different spellings and I should not wish to introduce *lincunt* (Geymonat) or *linquont*(Götte) into the text.

amnisque uadosi The adj. (cf. **242**, Ital. guado, Eng. wade, Germ. waten) apparently introduced into poetry by V.; hitherto in Caes. (*semel*) and Sall.(*semel*); *bis* in Livy. For adjs. in *-osus*, cf. on **566f**.

729 accola Naev.*trag*.65 has *adcolitis*; cf. *Acc.trag*.509, *G*.4.288. The noun hitherto Plaut., Cic..

Volturni The chief river of S.Italy, emerging from the mountains at Capua, after which it 'follows a slow and meandering course' to the sea at Volturnum (Castel Volturmo): Frederiksen, 17f.; cf. Arthur (**726**), 5, *EV* s.v.(Russi).

pariterque At 6.633, Norden senses that *p.* belongs to old military language (Plaut. and therefore Enn.): Caes. *semel*, Sall.19x, Liv.69x! More to the point, Quadrig.fr.8HRR..

Saticulus Saticula stood E. of mod.S.Agata dei Goti, between Caserta and Benevento, W. of the Caudine Forks, in the Isclaro valley below M.Taburno: A Latin colony of major strategic importance from 315, faithful to Rome in the second Punic war. Frederiksen (**739**), 199, n.39, 213, *PGCS*, 810 (L.Richardson). *Saticulus* is clearly a conveniently shortened name for the inhabitants; the collective sing. makes it even more manageable (so Enn.—*Poenus*, *Oscus*, *Romanus*—and cf. LHS, 13). A clearly Varronian toponym (**641-817**, §vi, Fest.458.26f.).

asper Cf. **647**. Unlike **ferocis**, **724**, apparently not a term used approvingly of warriors (cf. 1.14, 291, Hor.C.1.35.9).

730 Oscorumque In the context, V. is hardly likely to be using 'Oscan' in its most sweeping sense, as one of the *Urvölker* of central/S. Italy (cf. *EV* s.v., *Lingua e cultura degli Oschi* ed.E.Campanile (Pisa 1985), Salmon, *MRI*, 10); Strabo calls the Sidicini (**727**) Oscans

(5.3.9, 4.3); cf. Plin.*Nat.*3.60 for Oscans on Mte.Massico (**726**). In the c.4, this was just the area normally assigned to the Ausones/Aurunci (**727**), and Greek writers thus tended to identify them with the Oscans (Antiochus, *FGH* 555F7 = Strab.5.4.3, Arist.*Pol.*7.9.3; cf. Salmon, 29, and the cautious remarks of J.Beloch, *Campania* (Ital.tr., Napoli 1989), 11); given that the whole passage has a definitely anachronistic (c.4 or later) flavour to its geography (so rightly e.g. Russi, *EV*, *cit.*), we might be well advised to regard them as little more than a right-sounding variation upon *Aurunci*.

manus Cf. **711**.

teretes..aclydes Two might be carried (VF 6.99); *iaculum rotunde* (*sic!*) *quod flagello ammenta<tur>* *CGloss.*5.638.9, *iacula breuia* Non.554.2, *putatur tamen esse teli genus quod flagello in immensum iaci potest* Serv. here (his second explanation). This identification is quite coherent and is confirmed by a very likely etymological link with Gk. ἀγκυλίς, either a throwing-spear, or the strap used to hurl it. Serv. offers first remarks about studded clubs, which might suggest he is thinking of an etymological link with *clauus*, *claua* (certainly Isid.*Orig.*18.7.7 on *claua* looks as if he had consulted Serv. here); he continues with the delicious idea that the *flagellum* was a cord for recovering the *aclys* after use. That must derive from a rationalising comment on **741 cateias**. My note in *CM* 30(1969), 297ff. (but published ca.1973) clarified the problem (I hope), but was omitted from the contents list, and thus from *Ann.Phil.*, *ANRW* and *EV* s.v.! The **aclydes** are **teretes**, smooth and round (cf. **665**); contrast the aerodynamically deplorable *hasta* of 9.743 *rudem nodis et cortice crudo*.

sunt..illis/ 731 tela The possess.dat. as variation on *gerit*, *gestat*, *habent*. V. uses sparingly the generic term (**630**, **673**).

731 sed haec..mos est aptare The implication is that what is interesting about these northern Campanians' use of the *aclys* is that they employ a throwing-strap. For **mos est**, cf. on **601**; *aptare* nineteen times between *Buc.* and *G.*(cf. *EV* 1, 243; hitherto in Atellana, prose and Hor.*Epd.*7.2).

lento..flagello Visual representations of the throwing-strap show that it was wound round the fingers: for *lentus* as 'pliant' in this sense, cf. its application (so *EV* s.v.) to *salix*, *uitis*, *uimen* (vd.too **164**, of **hastilia**). Note also *G.*3.208, of *uerbera*; at Phaedr.3.6.6, the mule is driven *lento..flagello*. *Lorum*, *ansa* and *amentum* are all likewise applied to the thong used in throwing certain types of light spear, to increase leverage and impart rotatory motion (cf. Pers.3.51, a *flagellum* used to

whip a top; **habena** at **380**): cf. Harrison on 10.333, DS s.v. *flagellum*, E.N.Gardiner, *JHS* 27(1907), 251ff., H.A. Harris, *Greek athletes and athletics* (London 1964), 93ff..

732 laeuas Sc. *manus* (i.e., hand, arm, side); Enn.*trag.*30, 240, etc.; naturally, the right hand wields the sword.

caetra A shield of leather (Serv., Isid.*Orig.*18.12.5, *CGloss.*5.639.69), indistinguishable (Liv.28.5.11, 31.36.1) from the *pelta* (cf. **743**). The half-moon shields of the Amazons are called *lunatae..peltae* (1.490, 11.663, *EV* 1, 128); that seems to mean that *peltae* of other shapes are admitted (cf. *Suda* Π 955, R.Astbury, *CM* 34(1983), 147), which leaves the *caetra* without precise form. It is attributed to Africans and Spaniards (Serv., Liv. 21.27.5, Luc.7.232, Sil.3.278, 348, 10.230, 16.30); a useful ethnographic ornament (cf. too Curt.3.2.5, Tac. *Agr.* 36.1), gratefully employed here.

tegit Cf. **690**.

falcati..enses Lycians and Carians (Herod.7.92) fight with *δρέπανα*; cf. LSJ s.v. ἄρπη, κοπίς. Liv. speaks (9.36.6) of *agrestibus telis, falcibus binis gaesisque armati*; that is exactly the right tone here (cf. Sil.3.278, Curt. 8.14.29). Plin.*Nat.*10.47 speaks of the *caudam..falcitam* of the cock (cf. Ov.*Met.*3.681). Oscan scimitars have indeed been excavated (Saunders, 166, Salmon, 110; cf. Rawson, *RCS*, 593ff. on the literary tradition about the Samnite/Oscan panoply).

comminus At Enn.*trag.*149; the pair *eminus-comminus* (Leumann, 204, Cupaiuolo, *EV*, 1, 439, Roby 1, 181, 382) are metrically handy and predictably frequent (in V., 9x;10x). The omission of *sunt* (Marouzeau, *TSL*, 214ff.) provides a terse conclusion (cf. *tegumen omnibus sagum*, Tac.*Germ.*17.1): these scimitars belong, though, to the weapons of **730-1**, not to the armour of **732**. Perhaps we should do better not even to notice such formal disorder!

733-43 Oebalus O. is a Spartan king-name (Hes.fr.199.8MW, Tyn-dareus, son of O.), comprehensibly associated by V.(G.4.125f.) with Tarentum; no discernible link with Capri or southern Campania exists (cf. Holland, 203, Saunders 1940, 548). But then V. shifts Metabus from Metapontum to the Volsci and Turnus' father is Daunus (Horsfall, *Athen.*66(1988), 39f.); his geography is conveniently flexible (*Alambicco* 44, 89f.). Here at least the poet draws on two other names in the neighbourhood with some mythological resonance (**735 Telebous**, **738 Sarrastes**) and adds the elegant ornament of **733** and **735 fertur** to his somewhat pallid invention. Cf. Kühlmann, 219f., Basson, 145ff.

733 nec tu..indictus abibis For litotes alone, cf. **678**; here the addition of both apostrophe and ‘personal’ intervention raises markedly the level of elaboration and intensity (can it be *ad rem* that V., Neapolitan by adoption, could easily, as though that mattered, have known the area personally?). Cf. *G.2.101f. non ego te.. / transierim, Rhodia..*, *Aen.10.185f. non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissime bello, / transierim*. Mynors *ad loc.* attributes falsely to Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 303ff. the hypothesis of an Ennian original; T. notes of course the significance of the epicising manner in *G.(vd.too 2.95)*. More to the point, Hor. *C.1.12.21 neque te silebo* and Hor. *C.4.9.30f. non ego te meis / chartis inornatum silebo* are properly termed (NH 1, 152, with Greek parallels) ‘formula of panegyric’, as 6.841ff. *quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat?..* and 10.793 *nec te, iuuenis memorande, silebo* confirm. Cf. Prop.2.12.12 *sanus abit*, Ov.*Met.12.92 indestrictus abibo*, (Tib.)3.9.17 *inlaesus abibit*.

carminibus nostris For V.’s presence in the epic text, cf. still Heinze, 370ff. (comparing 9.446, 10.791); add Horsfall, *EV* 1,152; cf. **7.1(nunc, nostris)**, **602(nunc)**.

734 Oebale For O., cf. on **733-43**. Heroes introduced by apostrophe only here and at **744**; cf. too 10.185. The rhetorical context is quite different in the *Heldenschau*, so the frequency of apostrophe in that semi-catalogue is hardly significant. Here, then, and in 10, V. uses sparingly this apparently unprecedented source of variation and human interest (cf. **7.1**), though he might possibly have in mind the listing-by-questions of the chorus at Aesch.*Pers.958ff.* .

quem generasse Used of the woman only from Verr.Flacc. on (Paul.exc.Fest.87.2); of the man, as here, from Enn.*Ann.29* (Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1790.54).

Telon Conceivably part of an etymological explanation of ‘Teleboi’ (cf. *Apld.Bibl.* 2.4.5); otherwise unknown before V. and, it is widely suspected, invented; cf. *EV* s.v., Saunders 1940, 554f.

Sebethide nympa The same technique as at **745**, **752** (cf. too Saunders 1940, 546f.) for creating out of very little a world of hazily recognisable mythological figures; **S.** is the (here conveniently female) eponym of the river Sebethus, mod. Sebeto or Fiume della Maddalena, which rises W. of Vesuvius, flows SW for seven miles through exceptionally rich farmland and squalid urban sprawl to enter the sea at S.Giovanni Teduccio, an inner Naples suburb.

735 fertur Cf. *Alambicco*, 127, rather than *PLLS* 6(1990), 56: we have seen (**733 43**) that V. seems to be improvising the outlines of a

background for Oebalus out of skimpy and diverse materials; here, in conferring upon them the appearance of tradition, V. simultaneously (as in nine other passages that I discuss) distances himself from them. Tacitus (*Ann.*4.67.2) then quotes him implicitly: *fama tradit* that the Teleboi occupied Capri.

Teleboum..regna The Teleboans are a people of W.Acarmania and the adjacent islands (Strab.7.7.2, etc.; cf. *EV* s.v.), known from PsHes. *Scut.*19 on. More to the point, V. appears to have in mind the link between NW Greece and Campania (cf. J.Bérard, *La magna Grecia* (Ital.tr., Torino 1963), 334ff. for similar mythological indications) present in Lyc.'s account of the Sirens, daughters of Acarnanian Achelous and located, all three, in Campania. At *G.*2.225, commentators forget that one of them was buried by the Glanis/Clanius (Lyc.719).

Capreas Cf. **733-43** for the legendary prehistory of Capri; more generally, cf. A.Andrén, *Capri. From the Stone Age to the Tourist Age* (Göteborg 1980). At *EV* 1, 665, De Franciscis offers no archaeological comment on the fancy that Capri once held subject an area of Campania.

teneret Cf. **739**.

736 iam senior Like Latinus at **46**; the word is a convenient equivalent for *senex* (Austin on 2.509).

patriis.. aruis/ 737 contentus Meges, πατρὶ χολωθεῖς, left the mainland to live in Dulichium and the Echinae (*Il.*2.625ff.): possibly V. had this sequence in mind here and inverted it. Cf. 3.249 *patrio.. regno*, Hor.*Epd.*16.19 *Lares patrios*, *C.*1.1.11f. *patrios../ agros*. The adj. is, as ever, 'higher' than *patriis* would have been (cf. **652**). **contentus** is Ennian (*Ann.*280).

sed non et filius Cf. 6.86 *sed non et uenisse uolent*. The particle suggests 'like his father'; the noun in pointed contrast to **patriis**.

737 late The distance between advb.(van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.1023.61) and verb is enough to create some effect of hyperbaton.

iam tum Was Oebalus' realm notable for the age (as **643**)? Or rather (cf. 11.578), had he only recently embarked upon territorial expansion?

dicione premebat So **Rω**, against **tenebat MP**adev, which is most likely the result of echo-corruption from 1.236 *dicione tenerent* and 1.622 *dicione tenebant*. Less probably, the eye might run on to **tenet** (**739**). 10.53f. *dicione../ ..premat* is too different to be used in defence of **tenebat** here. Cf. 1.285 *seruitio premet*, 10.78 *arua aliena iugo premere*. V.

clearly suggests that Oebalus was oppressive in his sway. We recall **R**'s distinguished showing at **570f.** Plaut.*Amph.* 259 suggests the noun belonged to old, high language.

738 Sarrastis populos Cf. the *populi* of 6.891 and **7.716**; very possibly plur. for sing. (cf. Horsfall, *RMM*, 91, n.13, Norden on 6.891, Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 149f.), but that does not solve the problem of identifying them precisely. Sil.(8.536; cf. Venini (**695**), 181) has no hesitation in localising them by the Sarnus, whence their name (so Serv., very reasonably). Conon (*FGH* 26F3 = SDan. here), however, says that a band of Pelasgi and other immigrants from the Peloponnese brought the name (it is clear that Serv. wrote *Sarrastres*, but V. did not) from home (cf. Briquel, 569ff.).

quae rigat aequora Cf. **717** for the possibilities that rivers offer in catalogue-poetry. The verb *septies* in Lucr.; cf. too Hor.C.3.3.48 *qua tumidus rigat arua Nilus*.

Sarnus The river Sarno rises between the towns of Sarno and Nocera, and served as Pompeii's (navigable) link with the sea (Frederiksen (**739**), 19; the port of Pompeii 'throve on the export of the produce of the rich agriculture of the valley flats'). In an area V. could easily have known, we cannot (*pace* Ritter, 397) posit a written source.

739 quique Rufras This short u is one of our two explicit pieces of evidence that in classical Latin a vowel, even when not part of a prefix, might remain short before -fr (for an earlier period, cf. Pomp.89, 139 Ribb., *CLE* 94.1); cf. Mart.11.103.1, H.M. Hoenigswald, *CQ* 40(1990), 272-4. The site is problematic (*EV* s.v.(Russi), Rehm, 102f., Venini (**695**), 186f.): here, of R. and Batulum, Serv. comments *castella Campaniae*, but SDan. adds *a Samnitibus condita*, covering his bets. In a context far more suggestive of Halesus' realm, Sil.8.564f. links Rufrae with the Caudine Forks, Boiano, Isernia and Ordona (near Foggia!), whether from ignorance or very possibly writing of a real homonym: Liv.'s Rufrium (8.25.4, where vd. Oakley's slightly optimistic note: it is the sites that are also slightly different, it appears, and not just the names, which O. is right to say would, on their own, matter little) appears in a strategic context which points towards the Volturno valley (M.W. Frederiksen, *Campania* (London 1984), 212) and the *Rufrani vicani* of *ILS* 80, 5759 attest the name near Presenzano, south of Venafro. The *Rufri maceriam* or *macerias* of Cato (*Agr.*22.4, 135.2; cf. the careful discussion in G.Conta Haller, *Ricerche su alcuni centri fortificati.*(Napoli 1978), 37f.) may possibly be linked

with Nola but R. may simply be a dealer's name; Russi, *cit.*, is properly cautious. *Non liquet*.

Batulumque Unidentifiable; paired with Nucrae at Sil.8.564 (if that is what he wrote, not Mucrae), but Nucrae is equally elusive (Venini (695), 185f.) and once again, (vd. the rest of 564-5) much too far north (cf. Russi, *EV* s.v. *Batulo*).

tenent Not particularly catalogue-language; cf. G.4.322, *Aen.*1.12, 308, 8.314, *EV* 5*, 100; like **habent** (696), suggested by Hom. εἶχον.

arua Celemnae Unidentifiable, again; a cult-centre of Juno's according to Serv.; Schulze (569) thought the name of Etruscan character. *EV* s.v.(Russi) patiently surveys vain attempts at localisation.

740 et quos..despectant moenia Elegant variation and a verb from historical prose (Sall.*Hist.*fr.1.130 *Lyciae Pisidiaeque agros despectantem*). Abella is just 500 feet above sea-level and not a famed stronghold; cf. rather Hom. τειχιόεσσιν (*Il.*2.646).

maliferae Abella was famed in antiquity for its hazelnuts (Cat. *Agr.* 8.2, 133.2, Colum. 5.10.14, Cels.3.27.4, Isid.Orig..17.7.22), Lat. *nux Abellana*; *malum*, however, though not strictly limited to apples (Richter, *TLL* 8.210.58ff.), cannot possibly be used of a nut, and they will be excluded from further consideration. The epithet (itself probably a Virgilian coinage, 711) must be understood etymologically (Bartelink, 36f., O'Hara, 197f.): though explicit awareness of the the sense of Celtic *aball* is only found in c.9 glossaries, V. clearly knew that apples lurked in the name Abella (as they must also do in Abellinum, Avellino). It remains unclear (e.g. Poccetti, *infra*, 94) whether Abella was named 'apple-town' some time during or after the c.5/4 Celtic invasion (and the firm association with hazels, not apples perhaps tells against it) or whether the apple is in fact 'the fruit of Abella'. Cf. damask, shallot (from Ashkelon), faience, condom, bayonet, bezant, magnet, balaclava, Germ. 'Erz' (from Arezzo), Russ. 'vokzál' (from Vauxhall), not to mention cashmere, china, morocco, sardine, turkey, guinea, fr. 'dinde', ital. 'persico', 'pesca' (so too perch, peach!), Neapolitan 'portogallo' (= orange). Whether 'apple' was linguistically a Celtic import into Campania or a Campanian export into N.Europe, V. clearly knew of the link in some form, and challenges his readers, some of whom must have shared his knowledge. Cf. G.B.Pellegrini in *Popoli e civiltà* 6(Roma 1978), 99f., P.Poccetti, *AION* (sez.ling.) 13(1991), 92ff.. I thank Prof.G.Bonfante for his enthusiastic discussion of the linguistic issue.

Abellae SDan; *alii ita uolunt accipi, ut sit synalipha et legatur 'moenia*

Abellae' Serv.; **Bellae** Codd., Serv., TCD. For the quite common synaloepha at 5tr., cf. Norden, 455f. (note 1.599, 2.325, 3.109 where synaloepha still—as here—leaves vowels in contact at this *sedes*). For Abella, mod. Avella, 5 miles NE of Nola, see F.Castagnoli, *EV* s.v.(1, 429). A curious biographical explanation of 'Virgil's own' reason for changing the common spelling of the name is found at Gell.6.20, Serv. here and SDan. *ad G.*2.224: unravelled by G.Pasquali *AR* 22 (1919), 215ff. (repr. in D.Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo* 2₂ (Firenze 1946), 282ff.) and L.Holford-Strevens, *CQ* 29(1979), 391ff.. *Maliferae*, we have seen, guarantees *Abellae*: it is strange that Ribbeck advances *Bellae* to the text and stranger that the admirable Rehm (34f.) follows him, though unable to explain the sense of *Bellae*!

741 Teutonico ritu The geographical horizons of the *Aen.* are Augustan, not heroic: cf. 4.367(Caucasian tigers), 8.368 (Libyan bear-skins in Evander's Rome), 9.49f. (Rutuli on Thracian horses): cf. Horsfall, *EV* 1, 153. The adj. is a precise clue offered to a further ethnographic puzzle that V. poses the reader: the historical Teutones (and the adj. here is 'higher' than the (unmetr.!) gen. pl. would have been) had been wiped out by Marius and the name was thereafter largely used as though of a native Gallic tribe (L.Weisgerber, *RhM* 86(1937), 97ff.). The simultaneous mention of exotic weapon and foreign people rather points towards Varro, *de gente* (so fr.36 Fracc. (= Serv. *ad Aen.*7.176) *quid a quaque traxerint [sc.Romani]gente per imitationem*; cf. **641-817**, §viii, **665**, Rawson, *RCS*, 592, who remarks rightly, though, that the Romans did not actually take up the boomerang themselves!); Gell. found the *cateia* in an old historian (10.25.2), almost necessarily—given that it is a Teuton weapon (and arguably a Teuton word)—a Marian annalist, whence also excerpted by Varro and transmitted to V. (cf. Horsfall (**730**), 299). Cf. also *EV* 5*, 155f.. 'The boomerang is not important' (Rawson, *cit.*); not important, perhaps, but strikingly significant.

soliti Cf. 1.730, **7.176 perpetuis soliti..considerare mensis**; the ethnographic tone is maintained; nom. in agreement with the implicit antecedent of **quos**; Courtney (**464**), 17 wants to transpose!

torquere Cf. Clausen on *Buc.*10.59: a word applicable to spears, arrows, and (**731**) throwing-straps and therefore easily extendable to the more exotic *cateia*.

cateias Boomerangs (clearly: cf. Isid.*Orig.*18.7.7; *si ab artifice mittatur, rursum redit ad eum qui misit*); other accounts of the weapon are confused both by attempts at rationalisation and by a deep-seated, but

not, I think, inextricable confusion with (730) **aclys** (cf. Horsfall (730), 298f.; Saunders, 162ff., though thoroughly muddled, usefully lists what later poets made of the *cateia*). Not, though, a weapon of the Aborigines (181).

742 tegmina..capitum Cf. **632 tegmina tuta cauant capitum, 689.**

quis Archaic, but present both in poetry and in colloquial language; eleven times in V., including **444, 570, 799**: cf. Williams on 5.511, Lunelli-Kroll, 19, Lunelli-Leumann, 155, NW 2, 469f., Leumann, 473.

raptus Perhaps, like **510, 638** suggestive of the haste of the Italians' arming; Serv. remarks that fresh-stripped cork is worked more easily.

de subere cortex As a form of helmet, quite without parallel (Blümner 2, 264f., Saunders, 178, Malavolta, 140) and to be taken as a primitive, antiquarian detail; the use of cork to wrap the infant Camilla at 11.554 sheds no light here (compare Liv.5.46.8 and see Horsfall, *Athen.*66(1988), 41, G.Arrigoni, *Camilla* (Milano 1982), 88f.). *Cortex* is often used of cork (Probst, *TLL* 4.1070, 48; for wine, Cato, *Agr.*120, Hor.*C.*3.8.10). **De** as **688 de pelle galeros, Buc.7.31, *G.*3.13, *Aen.*4.457, 6.69, 848 *ducent de marmore uoltus*.**

743 aeratae.. micant..micat aereus Not as striking as the double polyptoton of **707**, but remarkable, all the same: however, while Dido's temple acquires weight and majesty through the repetition *aerea..aere..aënis* (1.448f.), and the repetition of 'golden'/'brazen' (in Lat. not dissimilar in sound!) is an hallowed motif: cf. *Il.*13.21ff. (where vd.Janko), *Od.*7.88ff., *Call.H.*3.110ff. (with Bornmann's notes), J.Vahlen, *SBBerlin* 35(1896), 807 = *Ges.phil.Schr.*2(Leipzig 1923), 441, Wills, 286, **7.278f.** Here the bronze sword is (though Homeric—e.g. *Il.*3.335, already thought ineffective, 11.234ff.) unique in the *Aen.* (Wickert, 443) and the **pelta**, like the **caetra** of **732**, is neither heroic nor an anachronistic and conventional shield of heavy infantry warfare. The gemination of **micant..micat** (Wills, 102ff.) is rendered yet more striking by the carefully constructed ABBA sequence: these Campanians really do strike the eye in their burnished, glittering bronze. Poor equipment, but a splendid spectacle. For **ensis**, cf. **640.**

peltae V. still has **732 caetra** in mind, and draws **pelta** from exactly the same lexical range (?and source); Aristotle defined the *pelta* as a rimless shield covered with goat- or sheepskin and without bronze plating (fr.498R), so V.'s epithet may be unorthodox. We

have seen that the **p.** can be moon-shaped (**732**); also (Pollux 1.134) shaped like an ivy-leaf; DH 2.70.3 involves the *pelta* in his unhappy attempt to describe a Salian *ancile*. He, as (e.g.) Hdt.7.75.1, ascribes them to Thracians; Amazons too (**732**) carried *peltae*. Cf. Saunders, 171, Malavolta, 134, A.M.Snodgrass, *Arms and armour of the Greeks* (London 1967), 78f..

744-9 Ufens Shortly to reappear as a river-name (**801f.**), of southern Latium. Just as we shall find in the case of Umbro (**750-60**), there is no rational motive here for making Ufens leader of the Aequ(icul)i; V. selects a minor river-name (cf. Holland 206, Saunders 1940, 546f.) and that suggests both the absence in his sources of any usable local hero and a certain—dare one say it?—lack of enthusiasm or excitement in his inventivity. Cf. Kühlmann, 220, Basson, 147.

744 et te Oebalus, Ufens and Umbro all merit the apostrophe, the first two in rather similar ways (**nec tu/ et te; Oebale, Ufens** as first words of the following lines); a deliberate avoidance of variation or a trifling lapse of attention?

montosae Used by Cic. and Varro; first here in poetry (Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1460.12). Mountains are a notable element in the landscape of the Catalogue (cf. **674**(simile), **682**, **697**, **713**, **726** (just about! Cf. **798**), **758**; Reeker 64f. underplays), just as they dominate the actual horizon of every spot V. mentions in bks.7-12.

Nersae Not securely the *uicum Neruesiae* of Plin.*Nat.*25.86, but firmly identified by inscriptional evidence with a site between Nesce and Civitella in the rough country between the Montagne della Duchessa and the Lago del Salto (*vidi!*). V. names an appropriately remote and minor *uicus* as a centre of these backward bandits (vd. Z.Mari in *EV* s.v. *Nerse*). On the *uici* of Aequi(culi), Marsi, Hernici, Volsci in general, cf. G.Grossi in *Insedimenti fortificati* ed.R.Papi (Pescara 1995), 59ff..

misere in proelia Cf. **715**, **762**. So *in mortiferum bellum..mittere*, Enn. (?)*trag.*314V (vd.Jocelyn, p.394).

745 insignem fama Hardly, before this line; hereafter, despite his *felicia arma*, he is killed by Gyas at 12.460 and Turnus (12.641f.) laments his passing. Compare 6.403 *pietate insignis et armis*, 11.291 *ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis*.

et felicibus armis Note Sall.*Hist.*2 fr.63 *equo atque armis insignibus* (so *Aen.*10.170). The idea of weapons as themselves *felices* is curiously elusive (and the same may be said for Gk. antecedents): cf. Cass., Cic. *Fam.*12.13.1 *est enim tua toga omnium armis felicior*, Liv.31.7.14 *feliciora*

potentioraque arma, *Aen.*11.196 *et non felicia tela*, *Ov.Am.*1.2.51 *felicia Caesaris arma*, *Luc.*6.190 *lancea felix*, Weinstock, 117, E.Wistrand, *Felicitas imperatoria* (Gothenburg 1987)(on the whole question of fortunate success in Rome's view of war).

746 horrida..gens Cf. the *horridus miles* of *Enn.Ann.*249 (cf. *Liv.* 9.40.4 *doctique a ducibus erant horridum militem esse debere*), *Vell.*2.11.1 (of C.Marius) *hirtus atque horridus* and the same adj. used of Thrace (*Cat.* 4.8) or Germany (*Hor.C.*4.5.26); 'regularly used of a primitive habit of life' (Fordyce, citing e.g. *Ov.Met.*1.513f., *Juv.*10.298f.). More, though, than an aversion to combs and razors (though the whole word-group does have a strong tactile element): positively rough and uncouth (so of the *Spartana disciplina* at *Liv.*38.17.12); more extreme than mere *duritia*, but even so not without a laudable side. Cf. Moorton (**681**), 109f.

praecipue *Octies*, between *G.* and *Aen.*; hitherto comedy and prose. **cui** Cf. 8.65 *hic mihi magna domus*, 10.203 *gens illi triplex*; possessive dative with ellipse of the verb (cf. Ernout-Thomas, 73f.).

adsuetaque multo/ 747 uenatu nemorum The vb. in prose, in *Plaut.*, in *Publil.*; then cf. *G.*2.168, 472 *et patiens operum paruoque adsueta iuuentus*, *Aen.*9.607 *paruoque adsueta iuuentus* (cf. Moskalew, *cit.*, **748-9**), *Liv.*1.19.2, *Hor.Serm.*2.2.109. The noun already in *Naev.*(*trag.*32): here **uenatu** is abl.(LHS 121, with refs., e.g. *Ov.Met.*13. 554), with dependent objective gen. (though *uenor* itself is not used with acc. of the area hunted). Cf. 9.605 *uenatu inuigilant pueri siluasque fatigant* (cf. on **748-9** for the relationship of these passages and *Sen.Ep.*95.18 for an echo) and **651** for the laudable, exemplary, proto-Augustan role of hunting in V.'s image of primitive Italy.

747 duris..glaebris As often, descriptive abl. for compound epithet (cf. Lunelli-Leumann, 169f., and **651** for another technique for avoiding them): cf. 3.13 *uastis..campis*, 5.609 *mille coloribus*, Görler, *EV* 2, 268 and Mackail, 515. *Glaebis* (lit.'clod') in the transferred sense of *solum* (cf. *G.*1.44, *Aen.*1.531, Krohn, *TLL* 6.2.2043.12). The language is familiar: cf. 11.318f. *uomere duros/ exercent collis*, *Varr.RR* 1.20.2, *Col.* 1.8.2. As V. well knew, a hard land made hard men: cf. R.Thomas, *Lands and peoples.*(*PCPS* Suppl.7, 1982), *passim*, Horsfall, *Lat.*30 (1971), 1109 = Harrison *OR*, 306f., with Dickie's expansion, (**726**),178ff., Dingel on 9.468, Schenk, 315, n. 61, Gleis, 186, n.35.

Aequicula The name 'Aequicoli' is retained in mod.'Cicolano', the area S. of the (mod.) Lago del Salto, but the relationship between Aequi and Aequicoli is not clear (a useful summary of theories in

Mari): Nersae (**744**) is indeed in the Cicolano, but that is an area far smaller than that occupied by Rome's great enemies of the c.5 and 4, the Aequi (who even threatened Tibur and Mt. Algidus) and when Diodorus 14.117 refers to 'Aequiculi' as a modern term for 'Aequi', he can hardly be right. *EV* 2, 347f.(Mari), M.A.Tomei in *Enea nel Lazio*, 58f., Colonna (**684**), 518, 527, Cornell(**763**), 304ff., G.Alvini, *Gli Equi nel Lazio* (Roma 1995), Oakley on Liv.6.2.14.

748-9 We have seen (n. on **746 adsuetaque**) that language and ideas used of these Aequiculi recur in Numanus Remulus' speech in 9.598ff. on Trojan vice and virtuous Rutuli; more strikingly, **748-9** recur at 9.612f., with *comportare* for **conuectare**. Neither Moskalew, 107f. nor Sparrow, 106 recognised the scale of the analogies present and in both books they are confined within a very few lines (cf. , though, Berres, 84ff., full but misconceived). The repetition is both clearly deliberate (the Aequiculi as both tough primitives and antisocial bandits, to be admired—and crushed; a theme made clearer in bk.9 (full bibl.at *EV* 3, 779(Horsfall) and add B.Shaw, *PP* 105(1984), 31f.; on Numanus Remulus vd.also Hardie *ad loc.*) and a challenge to those determined to establish priority. A definitive answer is incompatible with VSD's remarkable account of V.'s compositional methods; we must allow for (e.g.) the poet deciding to work up ideologically significant analogies only present fleetingly in an early draft, but failing to execute that intention beyond inserting a crude aide-mémoire, to wit, the repetition. At all events, Serv. on 9.600 detects both Cato (fr.76 HRR) and Varro (*de gente* fr.34 Fracc.) behind Num. Rem..

748 armati So Thuc.1.5.3 *κιδηροφορεῖσθαι*, Tac. *Germ.*13.1(with Anderson's note), 22.1, E.Norden, *Germ. Urgeschichte*, (Stuttgart 1959), 140f., Horsfall and Dickie *cit.(infra)*. A traditional detail of ethnographic writing and eminently credible here.

terram exercent Cf. *G.*1.99, 220, 268, 2.356, *Aen.*10.142, **7.798**; Hor.*Epd.*2.3 *paterna rura bobus exercet suis*; more suggestive of hard work than Eng.'till'.

semperque recentis/749..praedas Cf. 8.195f. *semperque recentis/ caede tepebat humus*; the juxtaposition is significant, for the Aequiculi are long-term bandits and that leads them to the regular, enjoyable search for fresh plunder, just as Cacus enjoys regular, messy repasts on fresh prey. The hill-tribes of central Italy, and notably the Aequi, had long sought booty in the softer, richer plains (Liv.3.16.2, 22.3, 38.5, 66.3, etc., Salmon, 77, A.J.Toynbee, *Hannibal's legacy* 2(Oxford

1965), 159f.). Banditry/ piracy was at once a traditional element in writing about primitive societies (vd. (e.g.) Thuc.1.4-5; Horsfall (747)1113 = 311, Dickie (726), 179) and a threat to the Roman order and to civilised city life, nearly but not quite wiped out by Augustus (RG 25.1, Vell.2.90.4 and (with Woodman's note) 126.3, R.MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman order* (Cambridge, Mass. 1969), 192f., 255f.; for a little sheep-rustling in nearby Sabinum, cf. my n. on Hor.*Ep.*1.7.86). The Riofreddo shoot-out in the later stages of the Soffiantini kidnap (Oct.1997) showed that more recent bandits take the same view of the terrain's potential.

749 conuectare iuuat The infin. is a Virgilian coinage (cf. Pease on 4.405). The placing of **iuuat** between the infin. and **praedas** is a pretty touch: the Aequiculi (like Numanus Remulus' merry men) actually relish (cf. 628) their life of banditry and that augments the gravity of the offence! No shame in it (Thuc.1.5.1).

et uiuere raptō More profitable (and nutritive) than work on their **duris..glaebis**; cf. Tib.1.1.25 *uiuere paruo*, Hor.*C.*2.16.13 *uiuatur paruo* (with NH), *S.*2.2.1 *uiuere paruo*.

750-60 Umbro The leader of the Marsi bears the name of an Etruscan river, mod. Ombrone, which rises E. of Siena and enters the sea just S. of Grosseto (Holland, 206, 213, Saunders 1940, 548). So too Ufens, Oebalus, Halaesus and Messapus: there is no perceptible geographical link between leader and led. The name carries a palpably Italian sound, and that is enough. Furthermore, V. avoids entirely the widespread aetiological account (C.Gellius fr.9HRR, Plin.*Nat.* 7.15, 25.11, etc.) of the derivation of Marsic lore and magic from Medea/Circe; here unblushing invention is fully sufficient. Cf. Kuhlmann, 221-3, Basson, 148f.; on the detail of these lines, C.Letta, *I Marsi e il Fucino nell' antichità* (Milano 1972) is particularly useful.

750 quin et Poetic from Hor.(*C.*1.10.13) and V.(cf. *G.*2.30, *Aen.* 6.735, 777, 11.130); while the sense 'yes and even' is possible (cf. Austin on 6.735), here, for instance, it corresponds roughly to Apollonius' $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta'$ (1.185) and is to be taken as a simple connective (LHS, 677).

Marruua..uenit de gente The Marruuii were one of the 'tribal' subdivisions of the Marsi (cf. Anxates, Lucenses—named after (759) the *lucus* of Angitia). Though all the Marsi lived $\kappa\omega\mu\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu$, those nearest the lake acquired fixed settlements fastest and their one major centre (Strab.5.4.2) was called Marruuium (near mod.S.Benedetto dei Marsi). See Letta (750-60), 58ff., Salmon, *MRI* 23, *EV* s.v.

(Russi). Cf. **803 aduenit Volsca de gente**, 10.719 *uenerat.. Corythi de fmibus* (5.373 is disputed); with **uenit**, cf. ἤλυθε at AR 1.65.

sacerdos Compare the Etruscan seer Asilas (elaborated upon the Apollonian Idmon, *Arg.*1.139f.) at 10.175ff.; for warrior-priests (non-Homeric; as from Amphiaras in the cyclic *Thebais*), cf. Norden on 6.484, Harrison on 10.537.

751 fronde..et felici comptus oliua *Comptus frondibus festae oliuae* comments Serv., rightly; one of the two members could, however, be removed without damaging the sense and ‘hendiadys’ is therefore less appropriate than (e.g.) ‘epexegesis by means of an additional near-synonym’ (vd. LHS 782, Calboli, *EV* 2, 220f., Lunelli-Kroll, 30ff.); cf. the ample elaboration at 8.276f. The olive is *felix*—both fruitful and of good omen (promptly undercut at **756ff.**)—likewise at 6.230 (in contrast to 6.215) *ramo felicis oliuae* (cf. *EV* 3, 838f., J.N.Bremmer, *HSCP* 87(1983), 308f.). The verb in *Lucr.*(4.27). While the wreath (see e.g. Blech (**135**), 303, n.155, 308ff., L.Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12(1960), 451f., 597ff., L.Deubner, *ARW* 30(1933), 77, 90ff., P.Stengel, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer*₃ (München 1920), 108, Appel, 191, Bömer on *Ov. F.*4.656; cf. **135, 154, 418**) is the appropriate insignia for a wide range of religious occasions and correct priestly wear in both Greek and Roman usage, its addition to a helmet is singular, if not droll, and we might reasonably think of a few symbolic twigs (cf. **154**) rather than a full wreath; Maggiulli, *EV* 3,839 ingeniously compares *Paul.exc. Fest.* on the *albogalerus*, but that is a bonnet with a twig in it) and the sacral use of olive-wreaths is apparently rare in Greece (Blech, 259, n.72 cites only *Plut.Sol.*12.12 and *Ant.*34.1), but clearly not at Rome (V.Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen* (Berlin 1894), 112, citing 6.808, *Paul.exc.Fest.*9.30, 211.4; common in V.: e.g. 5.774, 6.230, Stok, 130) .

super galeam Cf. *Apul.Met.*10.30.7 *et oleagina corona tegebatur ipsa galea*. The superimposed emblems (for **galeam**, cf. **638**) throw into marked relief Umbro’s double role (cf. Stok, 129).

752 Archippi A name clearly suggested, whether to V. or to his immediate source (and it is useless to attempt to determine which; cf. *EV* s.v.) by the drowned city (cf. on **697**) of lake Fucinus, Archippe: vd. Cn.Gellius (see on **750-60**) fr.8HRR (cited by *Plin.Nat.*3.108, itself a chapter—vd. **641-817**, §viii—of heavily Varronian origin). Cf. Letta (**750-60**), 61.

regis missu For ‘sending’ cf. **727**; contrast **727** for **patres**, rather than monarch, as responsible for a people’s decision on matters of peace and war (cf. *Athen.*78(1990), 524). The agent noun, **missu**,

itself a variation upon the use of verbs of 'leaving', sending', coming', etc., seems definitely prosy in tone: cf. *TLL* 8.1143.3(Fleischer), citing *Cic.Att.*, *Caes.*, *Nep.*.

fortissimus Used in the nom. only here and of Misenus(6.169); septiens, though, in voc.!

753 uipereo generi Cf. *Enn.Ann.8 genus pennis condecoratum*, *Sat.66 lanigerum genus*, *Pacuv.praetext.5 caprigeno generi*, *Lucr.1.162*, 227, *G.3.243*, *NH* on *Hor.C.1.2.9 piscium genus* for the influence of Gk. ἔθνεα, φῦλα; for V.'s liking for adjs. in *-eus*, cf. **589**; for the high poetic use of adj. for gen., well exemplified here, cf. **678**, **691**. The skill of the Marsi as snake-charmers is attested as early as *Lucil.575-6*; cf. also *Hor.Epd.17.27f.*, Bömer on *Ov.F.6.142*, *Firm.Mat.8.15.1*, Letta (**750-60**), 95ff., *EV* 3, 315); Galen refers to a coterie of Marsic herpetologists at Rome, to whom he turned for information about vipers (cf. **351**): 8.150K, 11.143K, 12.316f.K et alibi, E.Dench, *From barbarians to new men* (Oxford 1995), 159ff., Letta, 139ff., A.-M.Tupet, *La magie dans la poésie latine* 1(Paris 1976), 197f.; cf. *SHA Heliog.23.2*; snake-charmers were also to be seen in the streets (cf. *Dig.47.11.11*, Citroni and Howell on *Mart.1.41.7*, H.Blümner, *SBMünchen* 1918.6, 22; Galen 11.143K is irrelevant). The modern snake-charmers' festivals at Cocullo and Luco (Letta, 145, T.Ashby, *Some Italian scenes and festivals* (London 1929), 115ff., Dench, *cit.*, 160 and most interestingly *viva voce*) are not automatically to be dismissed as folkloristic revivals (cf. J.N.Bremmer, *ZPE* 55(1984), 268).

grauiter spirantibus hydriis Amphibious snakes (cf. Gow-Scholefield on *Nic.Ther.* 359, Gossen-Steier in *PW* s.v. *Schlange* 554.21ff.; see *Plin.Nat.29.72. 447* is ambiguous. *G.4.458f.*: in the high grass on a river-bank; cf. *EV* 4, 799, Mynors on *G.3.425-39 ad fin.*). *Solo nocentibus flatu* remarks Serv.: the common idea of the snake's breath as poisonous (cf. **351**, **755**, *Aesch.Eum.53*, *Ov.Met.4.498*; vd.e.g. Lejay on *Hor. Serm.2.8.95*, Spaltenstein on *Sil.6.158*, Rocca, *EV cit.*). With **spirantibus**, cf. **351 spirans**.

754 spargere..somnos Cf. 4.486 *spargens umida mella soporiferumque papauer* (the Massylian priestess feeding the *draco* who guards the apples of the Hesperides; so too Medea sedated the serpent who guarded the Golden Fleece); the prudent use of sedatives (whose effect is conveyed by the soothing alliteration) is what the verb and **manu** naturally suggest, as does the marked parallelism with **758—cantus** repeated and **manu** here corresponding to **herbae** there. Compare *Cels.5.27.3* (of wandering snake-charmers) *per quaedam medicamenta*, *Isid.Orig.16.14.7 spargunt ibi gramina medicata ad incitandum*

draconum soporem. Not, I think, hypnotic passes, apparently unknown in the testimonia (Plin.*Nat.*7.13 (e.g.) suggests that both Sil.1.411 and 8.499 refer to healing not charming). **Cantu** then refers to charming by incantation (cf. Lucil.*cit.* (753), Ov.*MFF* 39, Plin.*Nat.*28.19). For the plural (sleep as ‘a means of comfort or enjoyment’, cf. Austin on 2.9 (‘serpents put to sleep by magic, their *irae* soothed’), comparing (e.g.) *G.*3.435, 530.

qui..solebat Just as in the notoriously Varronian 176; an obvious verb, though, in such a context and not to be classed as distinctively ‘ethnographic’ in tone (though cf. 741). The relative 8th. word; cf. on 659.

755 mulcebatque iras So of Orpheus, *mulcentem tigris* (*G.*4.510); for the plur. (suggesting frequent, even habitual states of anger), cf. 2.381 *attollentem iras* (with Austin’s note), **7.15 gemitus iraeque leonum.**

morsus..leuabat Charming and healing are often linked gifts: Ael. *NA* 16.28, Plin.*Nat.* 7.13f., Gow and Scholefield on Nic.*Ophiaca* fr.32, W.Morel, *Philol.*83(1928), 345f.; for the Marsi as healers, cf. also Plin. *Nat.*28.30 (and 21.78 on their immunity), Letta, 139ff. (on Galen and the Marsic specialists; cf. 753), Stok, 145. Bites and breath are alike dangerous (cf. A.Sauvage, *RPh.*49(1975), 251f.). For the vb., cf. Hor. *CS* 63f. *qui salutari leuat arte fessos/ corporis artus*, *Aen.*10.834 *corpusque leuabat*, Plin.*Nat.*7.13 *serpentium ictus contactu leuare solitos*, 28.30, 44.

arte Cf. 772, 12.393, 397, Stok 65-181, *passim.*, *EV* 1, 338.

756 Cf. the Homeric augur Eunomus (*Il.*2.859) ἄλλ’ οὐκ οἰωνοῖσιν ἐρύσατο κῆρα μέλαιναν. A common motif: cf. the seer Merops at 2.830ff., who tried in vain to stop his two sons going to their deaths, or the huntsman Scamandrius, whose archery, though learned from Artemis herself, was no use against Menelaus (5.53f.; cf. Griffin, 114, Harrison on 10.319 and AR’s Idmon, who joined the Argo, though aware of his fate, 1.140f.); in *Aen.*, cf. 9.328, the augur Rhamnes *sed non augurio potuit depellere pestem* (vd. also 2.429f., 12.539f.). Umbro’s actual death is not related, though he briefly reappears in the action (10.543f.; vd. S.Timpanaro, *MD* 20-1(1988), 93 = *Nuovi contr.*, 268); no more had Eunomus’ been, which worried Aristarchus (Schol.A *ad loc.*; cf. G.E.Duckworth, *AJP* 52(1931), 325, n.31) but not V.. To a figure of decidedly minor importance, V. devotes remarkable stylistic elaboration (for similar cases, cf. Wills, 153; for analyses, cf. Parry, Williams, Putnam, *cit.*), far beyond that in his epic models, though we clearly do not have his final thoughts in the matter (cf. Glei, 31 and now 760 **fleuere**) and are here necessarily analysing two drafts, not

one. On these lines, cf. Williams, *TORP* 722ff., Desport, 428-40, M.C.J.Putnam, *Vergilius* 38(1992), 12ff. = *Virgil's Aeneid* (Chapel Hill 1995), 121ff., A.Parry, *Arion* 2(1963), 66ff. = *Virgil* ed. S.Commager (Englewood Cliffs 1966), 107ff.; note the dry response of Gleii, 28ff. (and similarly, Moorton (681), 105f.) to exalted readings of these lines as the lament of and for a lost Italy.

sed non../757 eualuit In poignant contrast to his competence (simply Marsic, rather than princely or sacerdotal) with snake-bite. The perf. of *eualesco* (*eualeo* is late): cf. Hor.*Ep.*2.1.201, *TLL* 5.2.995.17 (Rehm), Norden (748), 314, n.1, 319, n.1.

Dardaniae..cuspis ictum Just possibly a double sense here, given that *ictus* can be used of snake-bite (Col.6.17.1), though *cuspis* seems limited to insect-stings (Putnam, *cit.* 1992, 12f.). Cf. 10.484 *vibranti cuspis medium transuerberat ictu*; for *c.*, cf. Cat. 64.256 *tecta quatiebant cuspide thyrsos* (here either the point or the whole spear: cf. 817, Harrison on 10.484), while Enn. has *icta* (*Ann.*85) and *ictus* is Plautine, so once probably Ennian too. *Dardaniae* is not contrasted closely and explicitly with *Marruuia* or *Marsis*; a synonym for 'Trojan' in Accius; perhaps, thanks to Dardanus' role as founder, one suggestive of the city's antiquity.

medicari With dat. at G.2.135; active at G.1.193. This is the only instance of depon.*medicor*+ acc. in class.Latin: J.B.Hofmann, *De verbis deponentibus* (diss. München 1909, printed Greifswald 1910), 41, P.Flobert, *Les verbes déponents* (Paris 1975), 292f.. Act.+acc., dep.+dat. (cf. *adulo(r)*) is normal (LHS, 32).

757 neque eum The oblique cases of *is* are very rare in high poetry (*eum sexies* in *Aen.*) and not used casually by V.; so here almost with the force of *talem*: see Axelson, 70ff., M.Hélin, *REL* 4(1927), 67, Harrison on 10.101, etc..

iuuere in uolnera M₂Pω, TCD; uolnere M; uulnere R; Williams prints the abl., inexplicably (cf. LHS, 274, KS 1, 559f. for *in* + acc.—of goal or purpose, much used by V. thus, as at 335, 445, nor does **ictum** impose the sing. here too). The verb is common in medical contexts: Hor.*Ep.*1.2.51, 2.2.212(?), Ov.*Am.*2.9.8, *Tr.*2.270, Celsus 1.6.2, 1.9.5, etc., *TLL* 7.2.747.30ff. (Tietze/Buchwald).

758 somniferi Taking up 754, where vd. n. for the use of *cantus* in Marsic snake-charming; The adj. (cf. *soporiferum* 4.486) is probably a Virgilian coinage (cf. Bömer on Ov.*M.*1.672).

Marsis..in montibus The Marsi occupied the hills N., E. and S. of lake Fucinus: these Sabellian mountaineers, dependent in peacetime

on their flocks and transhumance, were famed warriors: ferocious enemies of Rome in 308-4 and in the Social War, valiant allies at other times (Enn.*Ann.*229, G.2.167, Hor.*C.*2.20.18, 3.5.9, Strab. 5.4.2, App.*Civ.*1.203). Cf. Letta (750-60), *passim*, *EV* s.v. (Russi), Stok, 129. For *mons* thus with adj., cf. Lucil.247, Cat.60.1, *Buc.*2.21, 6.65, *TLL* 8.1435.79 (Szantyr).

quaesitae..herbae Cf. Plin.*Nat.*25.86 on the recent discovery of a new medicinal plant near Nersae (744); on herbal remedies for snake-bite, cf. *ib.* 20.40, 45, 195, 22.18, Hartmann in *PW* s.v. *Schlange* 500.29ff.. Galen (755) realised the Marsi knew more about snakes than he did (cf. the *dictamnium* of 12.412ff.); the aetiological association of Marsi with Circe and Medea (750-60) belongs to an age that had forgotten the botanical origins of its pharmacopoea (cf. Stok, 136f.).

759 te..te../ te The triple anaphora recalls Theocr.1.71f., the repetition of τῆνον (note **te ne.**), the animal kingdom that laments for Daphnis; it seems likely that its popularity with Gallus (cf. *Buc.*10.13-5, G.4.461ff., Clausen on *Buc.*5.26) further enhanced the literary associations of its transposition into Latin poetry (Wills, 358f., A.Hollis, *HSCP* 94(1992), 276); Parry *cit.* analyses minutely the variations of sound-effect within the three κῶλα. Multiple apostrophe augments the direct emotional appeal to the reader (cf. **7.1f.**); the pathetic fallacy of nature's lament for the dying or the dead introduces a mixing of genres, as a distinctively bucolic element enters—through the medium of V.'s unfinished afterthought (760)—Umbro's tragedy (cf. Klingner, 521, Hügi 122f., Gleis, 30, n.88, Wills, 357ff.; see *Alambicco*, 109f.). The triple anaphora of Nireus (*Il.*2.671ff.), well-known to V.(cf. 649), is (*pace* Putnam (756, 1992), 19 = (756, 1995), 127f.) rhetorically quite distinct and of scant relevance here.

nemus Angitiae Though a Doric temple has been excavated at the shrine of the Marsic deity Angitia (cf. A.Ernout, *RPh.*91(1965), 195ff.), just N. of S.Maria delle Grazie, as you leave Luco dei Marsi on the road for Avezzano, the ample and largely open *temenos*, running down to the lake, altogether justifies (as though the poet needed such warranty!) V.'s attribution of a *nemus* to A. (cf. the **luci** of 697, 763, 778 and the **lucus** of 800, not to mention 8.271, 314, 345!) is altogether in keeping both with the tone of the passage and with what is known of Italic religion (cf. *Les bois sacrés* (761-82), Wissowa, 49, Reeker, 106f.). Cf. Letta (750-60), 56f., 61f., G.Grossi, *La città di Angizia* (*sine loco* 1981), *EV* s.v. (Mari). O'Hara, 197 suggests that V.

may play on the etymology (Serv.) of Angitia/*anguis*/ *angere* (her *carmina* could choke snakes) through the mention of snakes at **753**. That might be to overcomplicate matters, if *anguis* (rather than *angere*, surely) were regularly 'heard' in Angitia's name.

uitrea..unda Cf. Hor.*C.*3.13.1 *splendidior uitro*, 4.2.3f. *uitreo../.ponto*, Ov.*M.*5.48 *uitreis..sub undis*; an unexpectedly rare image (Glei 32, n.94, Boldrer on Col.10.136; cf. too Aus.*Mos.*195), but one that here also takes up the u of **Fucinus**.

Fucinus Like the Velinus (**712**), a water-filled natural basin (Letta (**750-60**), 11f.) E. of Avezzano, which Claudius attempted to drain (Letta, 133ff.); Prince Torlonia re-opened the much-improved Claudian *emissarium* in 1862, and the area's definitive drainage was completed in 1887. Strabo's account (5.3.13; cf. Lyc.1275, Plin. *Nat.* 2.224) is replete with curious information, some of which must surely derive from Varro, *Fundanius de admirandis 2 de statiuis aquis, ut sunt lacus et stagna..* (Non. 217.1, J.Beaujeu, Plin.*Nat.*2, ed. Budé, 257).

760 liquidi..lacus A further pattern of alliteration, taken up by the verb; *Buc.*2.59, *G.*4.18, *Aen.*4.526 *lacus late liquidos* (e.g.) show V.'s awareness of the adjective's evocative potential (cf. Naev. (??) *ap.* Varr. *LL* 7.23, Cat.64.2 *liquidas..undas*). However, from Henry *ad loc.* to Letta, 13, n.12 it has been noted that Fucinus is the only lake in the area; the terrain elsewhere is not suitable. Theme, therefore, and variation (Henry), if the reader should even here pause to press the point. Except perhaps after heavy rain (inflated by Strab.*loc.cit.*), a shallow lake and tending to the swampy (Letta, 11f., *EV* s.v.). Though V. never writes with prosy commentators in mind, we should remain firmly aware that he stands some little way outside mere reality in such matters.

fleuere In this bucolic-elegiac vein, the caesura at 3tr. was to be expected (on the perf. in *-ere*, cf. Lunelli-Janssen, 98, Lunelli-Leumann, 156f., G.Puccioni, *Saggi virgiliani* (Bologna 1985), 94); *fleuere..fleuerunt* in the (?) Gallan antedecedent of these lines (cf. on **759 te..te..te**), *Buc.*10.13ff.(from *Epitaph.Naev.*1f.; cf. Cinna fr.6, in anaphora, with the stars as witness). Günther (20) well notes that the passage could perfectly well have ended at **758**; **759f.** are necessarily a brilliant and uncompleted alternative in a different and distinctive generic vein.

761-82 Virbius The Hellenistic aetiological story of Hippolytus' translation to Italy and identification with the minor local deity Virbius, as explanation for a local taboo on horses (**761**, **778**) was

narrated by Callimachus (Serv. on **778**: *nam Callimachus scripsit Αἴτια in quibus etiam hoc commemorat: Aetia* fr.190, where Pfeiffer lists other Italian themes in C.; the four lines (in Latin) cited by Schol.G on Ov. *Ib.*279 are clearly false (Pfeiffer *ad loc.*, Caviglia, *EV* 5*, 555, O'Hara, 198). Thence the story may have been taken over by Varro, in his *Aetia* (cf. Serv. on *Aen.*1.408); more important, the passage is full of Alexandrian colouring (cf. **765**, **769**, **773**, **777**, **778f.**; cf. *Alambicco*, 109), which V. *either* derives from Call. *cit.* or inserts himself to create a generically credible and suitable tone. An Italian son of Hippolytus/ Virbius, though, is very likely to be Virgilian invention (**761**; cf. Caviglia, 554 and, more generally, *Alambicco* 51, 72). It will emerge, though, that V. has also paid close attention to both the Euripidean Hippolytus (e.g. **782**), and (unrecognised, apparently) to Catullus' Attis ('a lone servant of a barbaric goddess, in forests overseas, and his troubles too stemmed from rejection of sex'; A.H.Griffiths, commenting *per litt.* on my first steps in this direction). Also, the story of Mettus Fufetius (**768**), and possibly that of Tullia too, who drove her mules over the body of her father Servius Tullius, though the crucial name in the localisation of this episode is not quite clear (**762**). Virbius Jr. occupies the longest section of the Catalogue (Kühlmann, 223ff., Basson, 149ff.); the remarkable change of pace and tone fully justifies the space devoted to a figure not mentioned later. Ufens, Umbro, Turnus and Camilla receive no narrative elaboration (as against thirteen lines here (**765-77**), of leisurely pace, with notable fulness of expression at **767-8** and only three end-stopped verses), while Virbius receives no antiquarian or topographical expansion. Bibl.: J.G.Frazer, *Golden Bough* 1₃ (London 1921), 21f., 8₃ (London 1925), 40f. et *passim*, A.E.Gordon, *Cults of Aricia* (*UCPCA* 2.1, 1934), F.-H.Pairault, *MEFR* 81(1969), 425ff., U.W.Scholz, *Studien z. altit. u. altröm. Marskultus* (Heidelberg 1970), 134ff., P.Pensabene in *Enea nel Lazio*, 19ff., 24ff., *Mysteries of Diana* (Nottingham 1983), L.Richardson, *PGCS*, 92f., T.F.C.Blagg, in *Papers in Italian archaeology* 4 ed. C.Malone, S.Stoddart (*BAR* 246, 1985), 33ff., *id.*, in *Pagan gods and shrines in the Roman Empire* ed. M.Henig, A.King (Oxford 1986), 211f., F.Coarelli, *Santuari del Lazio* (Roma 1987), 165ff., M.Menicocci, *Docum.Albana* 2.11(1989), 11ff., G.Ghini, *Arch.Laz.*11(1993), 277ff., C.Montepaone in *Les bois sacrés*, *Coll. centre J.Bérard* 10 (Naples 1993), 69ff. (with T.F.C.Blagg *ib.*, 103ff., C.Ampolo, *ib.*, 161ff.). Nicholas Purcell kindly offered, mercifully not a golden bough, but some more useful Ariadne's thread on a memorable visit.

761 ibat et..bello Cf. **698**, 10.213f. *ibant/subsidio Troiae*. The noun is not essential to the sense, so the hyperbaton is barely felt. Three successive figures have now been linked by *et*; the postponement here is an ‘Hellenistic mannerism’ (Harrison on 10.448), particularly appropriate in the present context.

Hippolyti proles Startling; indeed an oxymoron (cf. Eur.*Hipp.*14 *et passim*). Once Hippolytus/Virbius fathers an Italian family, the new, Nemi version (whether Callimachean or earlier; cf. **761-82**) must offer (*inter alia*) an explanation of how resurrection and translation have altered Hipp.’s tastes; Servius is incredulous: *adeo omnia ista fabulosa sunt. nam cum castus ubique inductus sit et qui semper solus habitauerit, habuisse tamen fingitur filium*.

pulcherrima Cf. **55**, **649**, **656** for the curiously insistent pulchritude of the Virgilian hero.

762 Virbius Son of (**777**) Virbius/Hippolytus, perhaps out of respect for mythological chronology. The etymology offered by Serv. on **761** (*uir-bis*) appears not to be implicit in V.’s text, even at **777** (but cf. O’Hara, 90, 198f. and **777**), and need not be old, let alone Callimachean. *Numen coniunctum Dianae* says Serv. (still on **761**) of Virbius; the same, at greater length, at Ov.*M.*15.545f.. Virbius was clearly enough a minor deity at Nemi; note the *clivus Virbi* near Aricia of Pers.6.56 and schol., perhaps to be compared with the *Vrbium clivum* of Liv.1.48.6, Sol.1.25, in the story of Tullia, on whom vd. **761-82**. The crucial word of Vib.Seq.157 is hopelessly corrupt and only *ILS* 6457 *flamini Virbiali* (Naples) suggests a wider diffusion. Such a figure, identified with Hipp. only by metonomasia (**777**; cf. schol. Pers.6.56), and clearly enough an independent entity (Caviglia, 557 and Coarelli *cit.* (**761-82**), *inter alios*, are rightly opposed to any more fundamental identification with Hipp.) was welcomed, if not by Callimachus, then by his successors, as an obscure but authentic figure, to be worked into their tales at will.

insignem The preceding **pulcherrima** suggests a primarily visual sense for *i*.; cf. *G.*3.7 *umeroque Pelops insignis eburno*, Hor.*C.*3.20.6. (Nearchus), *TLL* 7.1.1903.61f.(Alt), though Umbro has just been called (**745**) **insignem fama**, which might suggest that V. is (also) trying to build up his second-generation Virbius. At 9.583ff. V. writes *insignis facie, genitor quem miserat Arcens/ eductum Martis luco Symaethia circum/ flumina, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici*; the two passages are closely but obscurely related (cf. Sparrow, 63f., Paschalis, 272).

mater Aricia The name is that of the town of Aricia (mod.Ariccia),

home of leeks (*infra*) and Augustus' mother (Suet.*Aug.*4.1), sixteen miles from Rome along the Appian Way and a couple of miles (in a direct line) from the shrine of Diana. **Mater** is an old problem (bibl. in Caviglia, 553): local or personal? A local sense is good Virgilian usage (3.96 *antiquam exquirite matrem*, 10.172 *Populonia mater*, Sil.5.543, *TLL* 8.446.36(Bulhart), and that is how his imitators understood him (Col. 10.139 *mater Aricia porri*, Paul.Nol.*carm.*14.64) but the adjacent **Hippolyti proles** rather suggests a personal sense for *mater* too (so Fordyce, **727**, 9.583 *genitor quem miserat*, 10.351 *quos Idas pater..mittit*; cf. Sil.4.380 *Egeriae pubes* and Theodo(n)tius *ap.*Boccaccio, *Geneal.Deorum* 10.50 on H. as partner of the Attic Aricia, on whom vd. now Caviglia, 554).

misit Cf. **727**.

763 eductum As at 6.765, 779, 9.673 in the sense of 'bear'; at 8.413, though, cf. Ael.Don. on Ter.*Ad.*48, who remarks that *educere* was used by *ueteres*, where *educare* would now be normal (so Plaut., Caecil., Ter.; Leumann, 549).

Egeriae lucis On **lucis** cf. **95**; E. was a deity associated with springs (thus with *egerere*: cf. Strab.5.3.12, Varr.*Curio, de cultu deorum* fr.iv (vd. Cardauns, 1, p.36), Ov.*F.*3.275) and, like Diana-Lucina, childbirth (*egerere* again; Paul.exc.Fest.67.26); whether she was longer established at Nemi (cf. schol. Juv.3.17) or at Rome (as in the story of Numa and Egeria, cf. Ogilvie on Liv.1.21.3, 45.1) is not clear. But the dedication of the *lucum Dianium in nemore Aricino* by the dictator *Latinus*, Egerius (?)Baebius of Tusculum (Cat.fr.58HRR; cf. Fest. 128.15), whether she was his family's deity or he her priest, looks to belong ca.500 B.C. (cf. T.J.Cornell, *The beginnings of Rome* (London 1995), 297f.). Like Virbius, she acquires a narrative context at Aricia on the fringes of the Hippolytus-story: cf. *EV* s.v., Bömer on Ov. *F.*3.261.

umentia circum/ 764 litora Cf. 12.476f. *nunc umida circum stagna sonat*. Pairs such as *umens/umidus*, *pallens/pallidus*, *torrens/torridus* are common in V. (cf. Leumann, 329) and suggest a discreet pursuit of metrical convenience. The shores are moist because lapped by the lake (**516 Triviae lacus**; 'Diana's mirror' already in Serv.'s time (on **515, 516**); cf. *Mysteries* (**761-82**, 1983), 14 *et passim*); heroes are not raised in swamps. The shores of Virbius' upbringing look back to those (**779**) of his father's death. We might wonder if Virbius learned his (inappropriate, as Virg. stresses, **haud setius**, **781**) mastery of the chariot just there, and indeed if **haud setius** is meant to suggest

that the son too will die in or from his chariot (though he does not reappear in the text).

764 pinguis..et placabilis As *pecudumque cruore/ pingue solum* 4.201f. (cf. 4.62); Gk. *πίων* (*Il.*2.549, etc.). The second alliterative adj. represents an old problem: the ritual of Diana's temple at Nemi, memorably described in ch.1 of Frazer's *Golden Bough*, was not (Conington) 'revived' by Caligula, but only accelerated (Suet.*Cal.*35; Paus.2.27.4 confirms its survival); V. thus refers to a ritual still active in all its brutality (so clearly Strab.5.3.12; Serv. *ad Aen.*6.136 summarises the procedure). Thus, more pedantically, VF 2.305 *non mitis Aricia*, Sil. 4.367 *immitis Aricia*, *id.*8.362 *immite nemus Triviae*; Serv. offers *ac si diceret, non qualis ante fuit*. V. likewise describes as *placabilis* the altar of the Palici (9.585), where blindness (DS 11.89.5) or death (Polemo fr.83 FHG, Sil.14.219f. etc.), by fire (ps.Arist.*Mir.ausc.*57) or drowning (Macr.5.19.21) awaited the false swearer. Macr. *l.c.* and Serv. on 9.581 find the second *placabilis* no less difficult. Vd. rather J.P.Postgate, *Hermath.*39(1913), 404ff. (cf. **564**). In both passages, *placabilis* slides towards *placandus* in meaning (cf. Leumann, 348): cf. Hor. C.1.24.9 *multis ille bonis flebilis occidit*, Ov.F.3.289 *piabile fulmen*, Pers. 1.34 *uatum et plorabile si quid*, Juv.16.21f. *curabilis ut sit/ uindicta* (with the nn. of Mayor and Courtney). **Pinguis** may here suggest human blood, but does not exclude more conventional sacrifices (cf. **778**), just as **placabilis** implies a cruel irony but admits a more generic sense of 'to be placated'.

ara Dianae The altar is in some sense synecdochic (cf. Lunelli-Kroll, 39ff.) for the whole precinct, for the cyclic assassination to which V. clearly alludes is not a conventional sacrifice (which Fordyce, however, sees even here!). The prosody of **D.** is that normal (but not exclusive; cf. 1.499) for classical dactylic poetry (cf. NH on Hor.C.1.21.1).

765 namque ferunt fama The convenient trochaic causal particle seems, unlike *atque*, unelided, to have been subject to no prosodic or lexical taboo, and is therefore predictably frequent in V. (Axelson 47, n.4, *EV* 1, 874). The phrasing here is familiar both in verse (*G.*3.47 *fama.ferre*) and prose (Liv.1.42.4, with Ogilvie's note): here V. refers to familiar and recognisable sources (Eur. and Call.: **761-82**), as he sometimes does when using Alexandrian declarations of indebtedness (cf. *Alambicco*, 119, rather than *PLLS* 6(1990), 50f.): the closely corresponding 10.189 (*namque ferunt*) refers specifically to Phanocles.

Hippolytum postquam... Call. seems to have taken the extant Euripidean version as his starting point.

arte nouercae as at **477**, 1.657, 2.106, 152, etc.; cf. Klotz, *TLL* 2.658.54. Machinations altogether typical of the classical literary stepmother (cf. P.A.Watson, *Ancient stepmothers*, *Mnem.* Suppl. 143 (Leiden 1995), 109ff.).

766 occiderit As a term for 'die', from Enn. *Ann.* and tragedy on; the latent metaphor (cf. πίπτω) may even in V.'s time have given it faintly more colour than (e.g.) *obeo*; cf. Axelson, 104f., *EV* 1, 598, Lyne *WP*, 108.

patriasque 'Imposed by his father' (vd. Eur.*Hipp.*1169f., etc.); cf. 5.601 *patrium..honorem*, **653f. patriis../imperiiis**; V. regularly prefers the grander, adjectival form of expression.

explerit sanguine poenas The verb is Ennian (though in a literal sense) and Lucretian (3.1004), but just as V. uses it here, not before Cic. (*Lael.*67, etc.; Klepl/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1720.14). V. is particularly fond of linguistic experimentation on the themes of vengeance and punishment (cf. 2.72 *poenas cum sanguine poscunt*, 9.422f. *mihi sanguine poenas/ persolues amborum*, 10.617 *pio det sanguine poenas* (cf. 11.592), 11.258), as the master parodist of 2.567ff. well understood (and overdid a little: vd. C.E.Murgia, *CSCA* 4(1971), 209ff.). The clausula is itself Ennian (*Ann.*95 *calido dabis sanguine poenas*).

767 turbatis distractus equis ἔλκεται at Eur.*Hipp.*1237: the victim tangled in the reins. That is not quite what V. says here (contrast too the story of Abderus of Opus, *Apld.Bibl.*2.5.8, and, less closely, those of Glaucus son of Sisyphus and Lycurgus the Thracian), and it is likely that he has in mind (cf. Horsfall 1971, 291, *Alambicco*, 51, *EV* 5*, 553) the familiar story of Mettus Fufetius (Enn.*Ann.*124 *tractatus per aequora campi*, Liv.1.28.9f., Varr.*de vita* fr.6Rip. *nam equis ad curriculum ex utraque parte diligatum distraxit*, *Aen.*8.642f. *in diuersa../ distulerant*). It is likely that V. also hints at the etymology ἵπποι-λυτός; if this is not explicitly Euripidean (cf. O'Hara 1, 33), it was obvious enough and long circulated at Rome (Ov.*Ars* 1.338, *M.*15.542f.; cf. Gruppe, 1653). The *turbatis Messapus equis* of 9.124 is less complex.

ad sidera../ 768..aetheria Cf. *Aen.*5.517f. *in astris/ aetheriis*; Lunelli, *EV* 1, 39 charts impeccably the history of *aether* and *aetherius*: though they often do not denote, as strictly they should, the upper atmosphere, they do belong—markedly—to the high language of poetry, from Hostius on (notably common in Lucr.).

rursus The first occasion being, of course, his real birth (cf. 6.449, 751); this time too *Hipp.* returns to mortal existence, not to the skies; after all, he has yet to father Virbius.

superas caeli..auras V. elaborates further (much to James Henry's disgust, though he had himself coined the felicitous expression 'theme and variation' for such expansions), still in traditional, elevated language: cf. Enn.*Ann.*33 *superum lumen*, Lucr.6.1021 *consurgere in auras*, G.4.486 *superas ueniebat ad auras*, Aen.6.128 *superasque euadere ad auras*. Cf. 543, 557, 593. The line-end (cf. *sub axem*, *sub umbras*) is a Virgilian favourite (*septies*); cf. too 6.191 *sub ora..uenere*.

769 Paeoniis..herbis Cf. 12.401 *Paeonium in morem*. Probably with short o in both passages, despite Πάϊων; a long o necessitates treatment of the first i as consonantal (cf. 175 and comms. on 1.1, 4.126, 6.33), which I sense to be hard in a Greek proper name (cf. Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881). The shortening of the o, on the other hand, would be quite in keeping with the poets' comfortable laxity in handling the prosody of proper names (cf. 672) and was possibly influenced by some mild confusion with Πάϊονες, a Macedonian tribe; we might compare the oscillating quantity of the o in *Sidonius* or the alternative adjectival forms for 'Cydonian', 'Ionian' (cf. C.Hosius, (631), 94, E.Bednara, *ALL* 14(1906), 331). Geymonat's printing of **M's Paeonis** (after Sabbadini) is quite unnecessary. TCD here paraphrases *remedio herbae Paeoniae; paeonia officinalis* was important in the ancient pharmacopoea—for the stomach and for feminine complaints (H.Gossen, *PW* s.v.). Far more appropriate 'the herbs of Paeon, i.e. Asclepius' (cf. 12.401, Stok, 178, *EV* 4,20f. with care); Paeon was healer of the gods in Hom.(e.g.*Il.*5.401) and his identification with Asclepius is Hellenistic (Nic.*Ther.* 439, 686); 'Asclepius' is ill-suited to dactylic verse.

reuocatum Asclepius' resurrection of Hippolytus is an old elaboration (*Naupactia* 10 Bernabé, 10c Davies (Ascl. is then killed by Zeus): cf. Pind.*Pyth.*3.55ff.(with Gentili's n.), ps.Eratosthenes, *Catast.*6, *Apld. Bibl.*3.10.3(with Frazer's n.), E.J. and L.Edelstein, *Asclepius* 2(Baltimore 1945), 47), W.S.Barrett, ed. Eur.*Hipp.*,8) and a necessary element in the Arician development (Ov.*M.*15.533f., Paus.2.27.4).

et amore Dianae Cf. Eur.*Hipp.*1389f., Philod. *de piet.*52 [παρά] κληθεὶς ὑπ' Ἄρ[τεμί]δος, Hor.*C.*4.7.25f. *infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum/ liberat Hippolytum*. Diana's love for Hipp. saves her icy votary, at the cost of Asclepius' life, only to condemn him to union with a female in Italy.

770 pater omnipotens Ennian (*Ann.* 447, where vd. Skutsch), Lucretian (as here, 5.399), Catullan (64.171) and Hellenising (παγκρατής); poetic, not ritual. The phrase *decies* in V. (cf. Austin

on 1.60, Harrison on 10.100, Moskalew, 81); vd. further *EV* 3, 1020, A.Wlosok, *Gymn.*90(1983), 197. Another vengeful parent (cf. **766**).

aliquem../ 771 mortalem The noun significantly juxtaposed with **infernus** and both words undergo synaloepha, perhaps suggestive of a more literal elimination. Further, the pronoun (cf. *EV* 4, 315f.) stands first in the phrase, far separated from the noun, and the hyperbaton confers strong emphasis: 'that any mortal at all'. Note **m.**(itself in Naev., Enn., etc.) with *quemquam* (Cat.64.168) and with *nemo* (Cic. *carm.* Eur.fr.vii.1). Jupiter's rage—like Ascl.'s resurrection—emerges in high poetic language.

indignatus Eleven times in V., not always in the sense (as here) of 'outraged' (cf. *Companion*, 215); *quater* in Lucr..

ab umbris/ 771 ..infernus Interwoven with **aliquem..mortalem**. Cf. **325 infernus .. tenebris**, 4.25 *uel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras* (with Pease's note). The adj. is in Pacuv.(*trag.*212), Lucr. (*sexies*) and Cic.*Arat.*(217), but is not common before the Augustans (F.Leo, *ALL* 10(1898), 436f.).

771 ad lumina..uitae Balancing **umbris..infernus** and returning without repetition, thanks to the abundance of synonyms available, to the theme of **767-8**. The phrase is Ciceronian (*carm.*Hom.fr.3.1) and Lucretian (1.227, etc.); cf. **660**.

surgere Cf. 6.761f. *ad auras/ aetherias..surget*.

772 repertorem A Lucretian word (3.1036; cf. *Aen.*12.829); note also 6.663 *inuentas ..artis*; *inuentor* is also Lucretian (3.9) but too weighty in the acc.. Ascl. was pupil of Chiron and, as healer, protégé both of his father Apollo and of Athena; predictably he was claimed as εὐρετής of all medicine, or of some branches (Pythag.*ap.*Plin.*Nat.* 25.13, Pl.*Symp.*186E, Cic.*ND* 3.57(with Pease's note), Edelstein (**769**), 140f.). He began even (**talis!**) to heal the dead, but after his revival of Lycurgus (opponent of Dionysus), Capaneus (victim of Zeus), Hippolytus and a number of mortal patients, Hades complained, and Zeus, alarmed, struck him down (Pind.*Pyth.* 3.55ff., Apld. *Bibl.* 3.10.3f., Ov.*F.*6.746ff.(with Frazer's notes), Edelstein (**769**), 2, 46f., Stok, 178. **medicinae.. et artis** Cf. Varr.*LL* 5.93 *ab arte medicina*, Ov.*M.*15.629 *nihil artes posse medentum*, Tac.*Ann.*12.61 *artem medendi*, Mart.14.78.1 *artis..medicae*; here a paratactic variation on the above Cf. Lunelli-Kroll, 30ff.).

773 poenigenam Μωγ₁; **poeniginam** R; **phenigenam** fs; *poenigenam matris poena genitum*; *alii 'Phoebigenam' legunt ut Probus* Serv.(cf. H.D.Jocelyn, *CQ* 35(1985), 472, Courtney (**464**), 25, 26, J.E.G.Zet-

zel, *Latin textual criticism in antiquity* (repr. Salem 1984), 51, Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 85ff.), Lact.Plac. on Stat.*Theb.*3.506, **Phoebigenam Pa?γ**, TCD. I remain convinced that **poenigenam** is what V. wrote (1971, 295, *CR* 37(1987), 179, *Alambicco*, 61); this obstinacy has provoked two squeaks of protest (M.Geymonat, *RFil.*122(1994), 377, C.Di Giovine, *AR* 38(1993), 124) and one apparent clap of thunder (H.D.Jocelyn, *Sileno* 15(1989), 12f., following closely Delvigo, 46f., as becomes apparent), which makes it necessary to state the question more amply. The story at which **poenigenam** hints is well enough known (though a good deal less so than the banal genealogical fact **Phoebigenam**; Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*3.10.3, etc.): cf. Edelstein (769), 2, 22f., 36f., Bömer on *Ov.M.*2.629ff.. Asclepius was the son of Coronis and Apollo; when C. was with child, she fell in love with (or married) the mortal Ischys; Artemis (or Apollo) killed her and the child was saved from her womb. παῖδ' ἐκ νεκροῦ / ἄρπασε wrote Pindar (*Pyth.*3.43f.), *uteroque parentis eripuit* Ovid (*M.*2.629f.) and *ex utero exsectum* Hyg. (*Fab.*202). To say that he was 'born out of a punishment' (rather than a normal womb) is scarcely fanciful (in a writer of V.'s linguistic inventivity), and consideration of *-gena* suffixes indicates that they definitely do not indicate exclusively 'son of' (cf. *rurigena*, *alienigena*, *unigena* (not = 'clone!'), *urbigena* and further, J.André, *RPh* 47(1973), 7-23). 'Generated as the result of a penalty' paraphrases Jocelyn, obscurely; *gignere* (and hence *-gena*) signifies simply *edere*, *parere*, *procreare* (Geissler/Hey, *TLL* 6.2.1976.40ff.). To say that A. was born out of a punishment (inflicted, as any half-learned reader knew, upon his mother, and necessitating posthumous Caesarian surgery) becomes, at that point, less startling. The palaeographical argument (Jocelyn: **POEBIGENAM** as the intermediate step) is unconvincing: PH in fact gets changed, and that not often, to F, not P (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*441, *CPL* 3.224), so in theory one would have, on J.'s argument, to posit **FOEBIGENAM** as a further intermediate step! And while Fordyce remarked that **Phoebigenam**, emphatically placed, carried the clear implication of 'for all that Apollo was his father', **poenigenam**, juxtaposed with **Stygias**, carries the hardly less striking implication of 'bad beginning, bad end'. No serious reason, therefore, seems to me to have been advanced for rejecting a markedly attractive *difficilior lectio*. *EV* 4, 84f. offers an informed but uncritical survey.

Stygias..ad undas 'Down as far as': cf. 3.565 *subducta ad Manis imos descendimus unda*, 6.404, 12.864. The river (cf. Austin on 6.295) is of marked importance in V.'s infernal topography, but not in Lat.poetry

before V. (cf. NH on Hor.C.1.34.10, Biotti on G.4.480, H.Pelliccia, *ZPE* 84(1990), 187ff.).

detrusit Cf. **469**.

774 at Triuia After procuring his resurrection, Diana prudently translates her votary to the distant West. The title clearly coined after (or calqued on) Τριουδίτις (Varr.*LL* 7.16, and perhaps for that reason not immemorially ancient), ‘Trivia’(already in Enn.*trag.* 363), the Diana of the Latins, is used in the literary texts largely (though clearly not here) of D. in her Hecate-aspect (Arrigoni (**803-17**), 95, Bömer on Ov.*F.*1.141, Harrison on 10.537, Coarelli, *cit.*, **761-82**). The clear analogy between the altar of Diana (**764**) and the temple of Trivia here does seem to suggest that the change of name (cf. **Trivia**, **778**) is not in itself significant and I am not at all sure (*pace* Pairault, 457f.) that V. uses the alternative name as a way of hinting at the (unquestionably) threefold (Hecate—Artemis—Selene) character of the goddess of Nemi.

secretis alma recondit sedibus ‘Hid (sc. from further punishment; not, however, from female company) in her kindly way’. Cf. 1.681 *aut super Idalia secreta sede recondam*, 2.568 (the parodist has done his reading!) *secreta in sede latentem*. With the adverbial use of *alma*, cf. 6.117, 4.578 *adsis o placidusque iuues*, 8.302 *et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo*.

775 et nymphae Egeriae nemorique Sil.(4.380) understood Egeria (**763**) as the instrument of Hipp./Virbius’ deflowering. For the phrase, cf. 8.241f. *at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens/ regia*, whether we call it (Bell, 259) hendiadys, or (cf. **751**) the paratactic addition of a supplementary concept, with zeugma. With **n.**, cf. **763 lucis**, **778 lucis**.

relegat In Cic.*carm.*Soph.fr.i.16; used already at G.3.212f. *atque in sola relegant/ pascua*.

776 solus Both alone and in a lonely place, without his companions of the hunt (e.g.Eur. *Hipp.*54f.), just like (vd.*infra*) Attis.

in siluis Italis Cf. **775**; we think of the *lucus/nemus* of Nemi in particular and of Diana’s association with woodland (Wissowa, 252) in general. V. fairly views legendary Italy as heavily wooded (**29**, Reeker, 66f.). Note also the connexion of both Hipp. (Eur.*Hipp.*17) and Attis (Cat.63.32, 53, 58, 72) with woodland.

ignobilis ‘Obscure’(Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.298.84f.). Cf. Liv.Andr.*com.*3, Cic.*Tusc.*3.57 *inglorius atque ignobilis*, turning (in prose) Eur.*IA* 18 ἀγνώως ἀκλείς, G.4.564 (V. of himself). In origin ‘ohne Merkmal’ (Leumann, 349; cf. Bell, 208). A doubly bitter end for the son of

Theseus: unknown, save to a wife; cf. (of Attis) Cat.63.59, 64ff *ego gymnasi fui flos, ego eram decus olei/..* etc.

aeuum/ 777 exigeret Cf. Lucr.4.1235 *sterili Venere exigat aeuum* with Brown's note, *Aen.*10.53 with Harrison's note, 11.569. The phrasing (so Harrison) belongs to traditional poetic diction (Enn.*Ann.*110f., 307), but regularly indicates eking out an existence.

777 uersoque ubi nomine A distinctively but not exclusively Callimachean (cf. Pfeiffer, p.339) metonomasia (now amply discussed by O'Hara, 88ff.; note other works on the topic (cf. R.Hirzel, *Der Name* (repr.Amsterdam 1962), 7f.) by Archemachus of Euboea and Nicanor of Cyrene, not to mention Philo's surviving (3.156ff. Wendland) treatise Περὶ τῶν μετονομαζομένων); the phrasing here is without precise parallel and O'Hara may also be right to say that the explicit metonomasia supports the attractive (but not obligatory) hypothesis of an implicit play (*vir-bis*) in V.'s text on the origin of Virbius' name (762).

Virbius Note that the son carries the father's name: hardly relevant to remark that this is rare in Greek usage (but cf. e.g. Pericles, *EV* 5*, 554); V. might just as well be thinking here of the durability of particular *praenomina* in certain Roman *gentes*, not to mention *nomen* and *cognomen* themselves!

778 unde Not correlative with **779 quod**, but referring to the entire preceding narrative (cf. LHS 209 for this strictly causal use of *unde*). Cf., in aetiological contexts, Gk. ὄθεν (Call.*H.*3.197), ἔνθεν (*Aet.* fr.75.76) or τοῦνεκεν (*Aet.*fr.63.9); in Latin, *inde* (Ov.*F.*3.391) or *unde* (cf. Ov.*M.*4.620, 5.327, [*Aen.*]6.242, W.T.Avery, *CPh* 50(1955), 257f., LHS, 209). While the aetiological story of Orestes who brought the statue of Artemis from her cruel cult-site in Tauris to *immitis Aricia* may be as old as the c.6 (Frazer, Pairault, Coarelli, *cit.*, C.G.Hardie, *PBSR* 37(1969), 26, n.51), the parallel aetiology here expounded could be no more than Hellenistic. There was an annual sacrifice of a horse (itself a rare sacrificial beast), the embodiment of Virbius, in the *nemus* of Aricia (Ambr.*de virg.*3.2.6, *PL* 16.233C) and such a sacrifice is regularly accompanied by a prohibition against the animal sacrificed at other times (Frazer 8₃, 40f., Th.Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im gr.Kult* (RVV 9.1, Giessen 1910), 91, J De Prott, L.Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* (Leipzig 1896 -), 145.21 = F.Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, *TMEc.Fr.Ath.* 18(1969), 136.22, Scholz (761-82), 135f.; A.Hollis *HSCP* 94(1992), 276 compares Call.fr.664, but the motif is not rare, as Wächter and Sokolowski show, in antiquarian writing.

etiam 'even now' (see **764**); cf. Cic.*Arat.*354, *G.*3.189, *Aen.*2.292(?), 6.485 *Idaeumque etiam currus etiam arma tenentem*; such explicit references to continuity are common in both Greek and Latin, and in both aetiological and etymological writing: O'Hara, 90f., A.H.Griffiths, *BICS* 17(1970), 34.

templo Triuiaae lucisque sacratis The precinct, now once again visible in something of its glory (ca.200 by 150 metres; the plan at *Mysteries of Diana*, 24 has a faulty scale!). The temple itself (Blagg, *ib.*, 26) is c.2/1 BC, but fragments of the decoration of its predecessors survive, at Nottingham (*Mysteries*, 27ff.). We translate *lucus* rather too mechanically as 'grove' or 'sacred grove' (as, correctly enough, at **82**, **800**), when 'clearing' might often, as Coarelli rightly insists, be more appropriate (cf. *Cat.Agr.*139 with *Fest.* 474.29). A technical term, according to Castagnoli, for an extra-urban sanctuary (*Topografia antica* 2(Roma 1993), 616, 626, after *PBSR* 52(1984),3ff.; with Cato, *cit.*, cf. Cic. *Leg.*2.19, *lucus Feroniae, l.Maricae* Liv.27.37.2); vd. too J.P.Bodel, (**82**), 92, n.36. When Cato writes of the *lucus* of Diana in the *nemus* of Aricia (*Cat.fr.*58HRR, cited at **763**; cf. *SDan. ad Aen.* 1.310, C. De Meo, *Lingue tecniche* (Bologna 1983), 153f.), he can hardly mean 'a small wood'; 'a clearing' gives far better sense, and 'a clearing with sacred buildings in it' seems entirely possible. But the poetic usage of *lucus* is primarily arboreal (cf. **82**) and may very well be so here too, in a legendary context (cf. **763**). V. uses the participle of (e.g.) *sedes, arx, uallis, templum*; hardly more than a convenient synonym for *sacer* (cf. Fugier, *EV* 4, 630).

779 cornipedes..equi Like 6.802 *aeripedem*, probably a Virgilian coinage (after *sonipes, plumipes, pinnipes*); at 6.591, Norden comments on the tragic tone of the context; here too V. has Eur. generally in mind, though in *Hipp.*(1223ff.), the horses do not trample their victim.

arcentur Technical: cf. *Hor.C.*3.1.1, Ogilvie on Liv.1.12.4, Hickson, 84.

quod Causal; cf., in aetiological contexts, *Call.H.*3.234, 236, 4.53, *Ov.F.*3.674, 734, etc..

litore currum/ 780 et iuuenem The ἀκτάς of Eur.*Hipp.*1212; the shores of the Lago di Nemi, though, are (**763-4**) another matter. A neat and drastic simplification (with mild zeugma; the horses must tip over the chariot and tip out the driver) of Euripides' detailed veristic account.

780 monstros pauidi..marinis The monsters are Eur.'s ἄγριον τέρας (1214) and here (perhaps) a poetic plural. In *Aen. pauidus* is

much commoner, in *G.* much rarer than *timidus* (*TLL* 10.1.6.815.29 (Sinclair), *EV* 3,1037); *p.* in *Acc.*(*trag.*184) and *Lucret.* (*quinq̄ies*). For the abl. of cause, cf. Forbiger on 3.83 *hospitio*, Harrison on 10.366f.(in defence of Madvig's excellent *aspera aquis*, itself very close to *Hor.C.1.5.6f. aspera/..aequora uentis*). But the grammars (add e.g. Ernout-Thomas, 94) cited by H. shed little light on V.'s usage: with a verb, cf. 11.568 *neque ipse manus feritate dedisset*; with adjs., it is often hard to distinguish from (e.g.) abls. 'of attendant circumstances': e.g. *Aen.*4.526f. *aspera dumis/ rura*, 6.462 *senta situ*. The same applies when the adj. refers to an emotional state: *laeta dolis*, *laetus honore*, *dulcedine laetae*, *spoliisque superbus*, *tauroque superbus*. Secure cases of the abl. of cause are extremely rare in *Aug.* poetry; here, though, it is inescapable and that should perhaps suggest that it has also sometimes been overlooked elsewhere.

effudere Just what did not happen in *Eur.*, where *Hipp.* is tangled in the reins (1236); contrast *Enn.*'s *irarum effunde quadrigas* (*Ann.*534) and V.'s own *carceribus sese effudere quadrigae* (*G.*1.512, cf. 3.104, *Aen.* 5.145) and cf. rather (of steersman or driver) 6.339, 10.574 and 893 and note too *Plin.Nat.*8.160 *opponentis effudentes* (in the circus); cf. Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.218.42.

781 filius Cf. 10.194 for the transition. Nothing suggests (763-4) that *Virbius Jr.* will enjoy a distinguished career as a warrior; his doom has been signalled more discreetly but no less unambiguously than *Umbro's*.

ardentis../ 782 equos Cf. 1.472 *ardentisque auertit equos* (possibly, suggests Austin, to suggest the gleam of *Rhesus'* white horses (so *Hom.*, *Eur.*) in the dark). V. may here simply indicate the horses' excitement, but could also have in mind *Il.*2.838f. (*Asius*) ὄν 'Αρίσβηθεν φέρον ἵπποι/ αἶθωνες μεγάλοι; the adj. αἶθων was much discussed, but the root meaning, 'blazing', was kept clearly in mind (cf. *Eust. ad loc.*, *Et.Mag.*s.v.) and may lie behind the choice of adj. here.

haud setius Cf. 4.447, 5.862, 9.441.; the advb. almost a synonym of *minus* (EM), used by *Lucret.*(6.315) and in the *G.*(2.277, 3.367). Despite the taboo on horses and despite *Hippolytus'* experience, none the less...

aequore campi *Ennian* (*Ann.*124) and *Lucretian* (3.1002).

782 exercebat Cf. 162f. **pueri et..iuuentus/ exercentur equis.** *G.*1.210 *exercete .. tauros*, *Aen.*1.430f. *apes../exercet..labor*, *Front.*p.139.9 *pernicitas equorum exercetur*, *TLL* 5.2.1371.13 (Hey/Meyer). While *ardentis* and *ruebat* suggest violent haste, *e.* implies at the same time

disciplined control; Hippolytus, after all, had been an excellent horseman (Eur.*Hipp.*1219ff.).

curruque Cf. **655**.

in bella ruebat Cf. 9.182, 11.886 *inque arma ruentum*; while *ruere* can of course be transitive (Cavazza, *EV* 4, 604), Pascoli's entirely unexplained *currus* here may be no more than a misprint.

783-802 Turnus

For the hero and how he is presented, cf. **783 Turnus**, **785 Chimaeram**; for the section as a whole, vd. Kühlmann, 226ff., Basson, 151f. and see **794-802** for the structure of the topographical lines.

783 ipse Placed first (contrast **707**) and indicating respect for Tu.'s standing (cf. **187**, 5.132, 8.505, *TLL* 7.2.341.70ff. (Tietze), Wagner, *QV* xviii.2.1).

inter primos 2.479 begins with the same three words: formulaic or unconscious; *inter primos* also of Aeneas at 8.586. Moskalew's conclusions (153, n.49) are profoundly improbable and in the present context we might rather compare Catillus and Coras who **primam ante aciem..feruntur (673)**.

praestanti corpore Used by V. of bulls (*G.*4.538, 550, *Aen.*8.207), and (1.71) of Juno's fourteen nymphs (in Moskalew, no conclusions!); such traditional periphrastic expressions (cf. **650**) draw particular attention to Turnus' physical beauty (cf. **55**, **473**, **649f.**).

Turnus Cf. **56**. Etr. *turan* = 'Aphrodite' (cf. (e.g.) C.Sowder in N. De Grummond, *A guide to Etruscan mirrors* (Tallahassee 1982), 102ff., G. and L.Bonfante, *Lingua e cultura degli Etruschi* (Roma 1985), 101, 149, 152) and it is hard to see what she might have to do with warrior princes (cf. A.Stoltenberg, *Etr.Gottnamen* (Leverkusen 1957), 37). Better (cf. C.Ampolo, *EV* 4, 619), cf. Gk. Τυρρηνός, which is what Tu. is called at DH 1.64.2 App.(*Bas.*1.2) even though the Rutuli Etruscan; cf. **485**, linguistically unsatisfactory though the etymology is (Schulze, 574, n.6). The name might also have been thought to reflect Gk. τύραννος (cf. Ogilvie on Liv.1.56.3, O'Hara, 185f.). But it is easier to speculate on the likely effects of the similarity in sound between 'Turnus' and 'Tyrrhenus' or 'tyrant' than to offer a solid prehistory of the name before its first attested appearance, in *Cat.Orig.* (though possibly Fabius Pictor already offered an account of Aeneas' landing (nearly) as detailed as Cato's). Between the secure presence of Aeneas at Lavinium in the late c.4 and the first annalists there yawns a gap (*RMM*, 20, E.Gruen, *Culture and national identity..* (Ithaca 1992), 22f.), to be bridged, it is claimed (not here, though!), by

the hypothesis that the annalists modelled Aeneas' fight against Turnus on the Latins' fight against the Etruscans (cf. W.-A.Schröder on *Cat.Orig.*1, fr.12 for a lucid summary). 'Turnus Herdonius' of Aricia is an unskilled figment (Ogilvie on Liv.1.50) and there is no real guarantee, for that matter, that Aeneas' foe is in truth a deeply disguised Etruscan (cf. Gruen, *cit.*).

784 uertitur Cf. 11.682f. *ipse cateruis/ uertitur in mediis et toto uertice supra est*; 'formulaic' (Moskalew, 89) but note that the description of Ornytus occurs in a passage rich in self-borrowings (Sparrow, 108). A synonym (so e.g. Fordyce) for *uersatur* (as Lucr.6.929 *cum mare uersamur propter*)? *Versor* used thus is not high poetic idiom, but *uertor* is hardly less tricky: Enn.*Ann.*205, *Aen.*2.250 (e.g.) of the revolving motion of the heavens; of emotional states at 12.914f.. V. may intend to suggest the restless movement of the young (473) Turnus, 'riding herd' round his contingent.

arma tenens Cf. 6.485, 8.299 (of Typhoeus!).

toto uertice supra est Cf. *Il.*3.227 (Ajax) ἔξοχος Ἀργείων κεφαλὴν τε καὶ εὐρέας ὤμους. Characteristic heroic physical superiority (cf. *Aen.*1.501, 6.668, 8.162f.). Note Tu.'s *immania membra* at 9.434; merely *ingens* at 10.446, 12.927 (cf. A.Traina, *EV* 5*, 325, *id.*(343), 84). Between *uertitur* and *uertice* there is paronomasia or sound-play (cf. O'Hara, 60ff.).

785 cui Cf. LHS 94 on this type of 'dat.sympatheticus', comparing Tib.1.6.40 *fluit..cui toga*.

triplici..iuba The helmet has a triple 'mane'(the primary meaning of *iuba*); it may be of feathers (10.187f.; Italic, too) or, as here, of horsehair (cf. Harrison on 10.187; contrast Prop.4.10.20). I was glad to be able to suggest to Dr.G.Foerster ('*Atiquot* 17(1985), 149, without acknowledgement) that triple plumes identified as Italic the warriors on Hadrian's splendid cuirass on the bronze statue found S. of Beth Shean (cf. *Companion*, 254, n.49) and he concludes rightly that the scene is therefore Trojans vs.Rutulii (*ib.*, 155).

crinita In Enn.: *trag.*28, *crinitus Apollo*. Cf. 1.740 *crinitus Iopas*, 9.638 *crinitus Apollo*; the triple plume (usually made of horsehair; Harrison on 10.869) itself resembles the hero's locks! Cf. Malavolta, 141f., Saunders, 177, Wickert, 292. The plumed helmet is Homeric (e.g. *Il.*19.380ff., 22.315f., Seymour, 662), Apollonian (3.1228f.), legionary (Plb.6.23.12f., Varr.*LL* 5.142) and Italic (Liv.10.38.12, Salmon, 104, Rawson, *RCS*, 593f.).

galea alta Cf. 638; we should not ask whether the adj. refers to helmet, or helmet + plume or indeed whether it refers to the effect of

the Chimaera's positioning upon the beholder. A small, typically Virgilian mystery.

Chimaeram *Prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa Chimaera* (Lucr.5.905), breathing fire from the central head (Ov.M.9.648); cf. Preller-Robert, 2, 179ff., Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*2.3.1, West on Hes.*Theog.*321f., A.Jacquemin, *LIMC* 3.1, 249ff.. The sources (Diomedes' fiery helmet at *Il.*5.7 must be where it all starts; cf. Lunelli-Kroll, 65f.) and significance of V.'s choice of emblem have become clear enough, complex though they are: (i) At Aesch.*Sept.*493f., Hippomedon bears on his shield *Τυφῶν' ἰέντα πύρπνοον διὰ στόμα/ λιγνὺν μέλαιναν*; he is opposed by Hyperbius, with *Ζεὺς πάτηρ.. σταδαῖος* on his shield *διὰ χερὸς βέλκος φλέγων* (512f.); Typhon, offspring of Tartarus (Hes.*Theog.* 821f.; cf. **728**) or of Hera (*HHAp.* 305f., Stes. fr. 62 PMG) was the Chimaera's (grand)father (West ed. Hes.*Theog.* p.254f.). A traditional foe of the Olympians (Hes. *Theog.* 820f., Pind. *Pyth.* 1.15ff. with E.Cingano's notes); but, though *arduus arma tenens*, he did not frighten Hercules, heroic pattern of Aeneas (8.298; cf. **784**). Finally defeated, he was imprisoned under Etna, with consequent fiery eruptions (Hardie, *CI*,119; cf. West on Hes. *Theog.*319), like Cacus' (8.198f., 251ff.). (ii) Cf. Eur.*El.*473f.: on Achilles' shield was the *πύρπνοος λέαινα* (i.e. the Chimaera) and Turnus transiently may be represented as *alter Achilles* (6.89, 9.742; cf. *Companion*, 165, 182). (iii) The similarities with Aeetes preparing for combat against Jason (Williams, *cit.*) are less striking (the text of *Arg.*3.1277 is uncertain, and does not furnish a secure antecedent for **784 uertitur**) and those with Homer (cf. **785 crinita**) much less so. V. views the Chimaera as hellish (*primis in faucibus Orci* at 6.288); compare Turnus' sword dipped in the Styx (12.90f.). That seems to align the bearer clearly enough (cf. **674**, Gale, *infra*, 186). It would not be hard to insert Bellerophon in the heroic sequence of monster-slayers, to which Aeneas in part belongs. Homeric heroes are compared both to deities of war (e.g. *Il.*2.651) and to fire (e.g. *Il.*11.155ff., 20.490ff.); Turnus we have already seen repeatedly as fiery and destructive in his nature (**456ff.**, **462ff.**, **577f.**); the device on his helmet is therefore, in a sense, additional characterisation (cf. Traina, *EV* 5*, 326, (**343**), 78, Clausen, *THP*, 161, n.16, Schenk, 210f., 255f., Thome, 148ff., M.Gale, *GR* 44(1997), 185ff.). On Tu. and the Chimaera, cf. Hardie, 118f., Pöschl, 96, Buchheit, 108ff., Gleis, 327f., W.Kühn, *Gymn.*64(1957), 39ff., M.C.J.Putnam, *AJP* 91(1970), 424f.=(**756**, 1995), 113f., S.G.P.Small, *TAPA* 90(1959), 243ff., M.F.Williams, *Vergilius* 39(1993), 34f..

786 sustinet V. does not specify either (i) whether the plumes are arranged laterally (as on copies of Phidias' helmet of Athena Parthenos; vd. Leipen, *infra*) or from front to back (as on the Beth Shean breastplate) or (ii) whether the Chimaera is to be visualised as herself supporting a plume (like Phidias' sphinx and griffins, Paus.1.24.5, Leipen (**450**), 32f.) or occupies in relief the forepart of the helmet (cf. (e.g.) C.M.Kraay, M.Hirmer *Greek coins* (London 1966), n^o 256^o, from Lucanian Heraclea, Saunders, 180). For the vb., cf. **398**.

Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis Markedly Lucretian in phrasing: 6.639f. *Aetnae..ignes*, 669 *ignis..Aetnaeus*, 681 *flamma foras uastis Aetnae fornacibus efflet*, 699, 701f.. Not just any fire: the Chimaera was rationalised as a volcano (Plin.*Nat.* 2.236 (cf. Strab.14.3.5), Serv. *ad Aen.*6.288, Small, *cit.*, 245f., Hardie *cit.*, *EV* 1, 766) and her fires here recall precisely her (grand)father Typhoeus' (*supra*). Though Traina (**787**) writes soberly of the flickering play of light on the bronze, we are not discouraged from thinking of the helmet as in some way spraying supernatural flames, like the monster it bears (on the 'other side', vd. 8.620, 680, 10.270: Aeneas-Augustus-Aeneas. Cf. Binder, 226ff.).

787 tam magis../788 quam magis Noted by Quint. as an archaism (9.3.15): cf. *trag.inc.*160, Lucr.6.459f., LHS, 590.

illa Both the Chimaera, with easy anacoluthon, and the *galea* itself, identified with its emblem. This pleonastic use of *ille* to underscore the subject of an apposition following the main verb is a favoured idiom: cf. *Aen.*1.2 *Launiaeque uenit/ litora multum ille et terris iactatus et alto* (with Austin's note), Austin on 6.593, Williams on 5.186, 457, Page on 11.494, J.Samuels, *Eranos* 8(1908), 68ff., E.Wistrand, *Horace's ninth epode* (Göteborg 1958), 46ff., **805**.

fremens The flames roar (*Il.*14.396, etc.) and the monster likewise roars in battle-rage (Fordyce on **389**, 9.703, 10.572 with Harrison's note, A.Traina, *EV* 2, 590f., who perplexingly thinks also of noisy plumes). Quint.9.3.15 transmits the unattractive (*pace* Traina) **tre-mens**.

tristibus..flammis Taking up the **ignis** of the previous verse: the flames are *tristes* because they mean death for one or more of Turnus' victims. So **325 tristia bella**.

effera Accian (*Didasc.fr.*4GRF/Büchner 9) and Lucretian (2.604); also used by V. of both Cacus (8.205) and Mezentius (8.484, 10.898); cf. Binder, 8, n.4, Schenk, 236, *EV* 2, 502.

788 effuso..sanguine Cf. Cic.*Mil.*101; V. is working **s.** hard (cf.

780, 812), though sedes, forms and senses are widely diverse and there is no disagreeable effect, even to the fussy modern ear.

crudescunt..pugnae Cf. *G.3.504, Aen.11.833 deiecta crudescit pugna Camilla*. Presumably a Virgilian coinage, like *crebrescere, madescere*, etc. (cf. Williams on 5.697, *EV* 4, 1063).

789 at On the shield, a double scene, of contrasting tone, character and significance. V.recalls Moschus 2.44f. (the flower-basket; vd. Bühler *ad loc.*) ἐν μὲν ἔην χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη Ἰναχίς Ἴώ, / εἶς ἐτι πόρτις ἐοῦσα, φύην δ' οὐκ εἶχε γυναίην. Juno was returning from her beloved Inachian Argos when she saw the Trojans landing and decided to intervene (**286**) and the 'foreign', indeed Argive, Turnus is a descendant of Inachus (**371**) and therefore kin to Io (cf. **792**, and **657** for genealogy and shield-devices). And as Hera changed Io to a heifer (*A.Suppl.299, Apld.Bibl.2.1.3*), so (and Moschus' equally exemplary use of the story of Io in the context of Europa may have struck Virgil, as O'Hara, *cit.*, notes) the vengeful Juno ensured Turnus' possession and transformation; twice, intervention against the will of Zeus/Jupiter, and twice the victim's madness a consequence (**460f.**, [Aesch.] *PV* 566f., etc.). "It seems much less clear [sc. than in this passage] that the scene on the sword-belt [sc.Pallas'] is connected to Turnus' heritage" (Spence, *cit.*); I do not pursue links between Io and Danaids. On Io, cf. Preller-Robert 2, 253ff., N.Yalouris, *LIMC* 5.1.661ff.; on the shield as artefact, E.Simon *EV* 1, 344f. = *Maia* 34(1982), 214; on the device's significance, vd.(further to **785 Chimaeram**), O'Hara, *DOP*, 78f., C.C.Breen, *Vergilius* 32(1986), 63ff., S.Spence, *ibid.* 37(1991), 13, Putnam (**785**, 1970), 425f. = (**756**, 1995), 114f., R.Thomas in Stahl, 287f., Gale (**785**), 177ff.

leuem clipeum The adj. might suggest that the Io and Inachus scenes occupy the boss in relief (cf. Hainsworth on *Il.11.3f.*), while the rest of the shield (cf. **626**) is smooth and polished.

sublatis cornibus Io appears initially as altogether bovine; that impression is swiftly modified.

790 auro insignibat Enn.(*Ann.330*) has *insignita..milia militum*; the verb also at 11.385f. *passimque tropaeis/ insignis agros*; gold is heroic and impractical, but creeps into the real world via the parade-ground and gilded dedications (cf. **634**); Aeneas' shield (cf. 10.271, 884) is of divine manufacture and a very special case! The form of the impf. in *-ibam* is common: cf. **485**, NW 3, 317, Kühner-Holzweissig (**726**), 724f., Görler, *EV* 2, 264.

iam..iam Not in the sense of *modo..modo* (E.Wölfflin, *ALL* 2(1884), 244f.), but simply, as often, in anaphora (cf. *G.2.416, 3.189, Aen.*

1.120, 699, 4.157, 6.485, 647, **7.53, 290**, 9.461, 11.184) without quite the excitement of actually juxtaposed *iam iam*; Io has only just now acquired the bristles of full boviniformity (cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2.661 for such moments). Cf. Moschus 2.45, 50ff. (Zeus changing Europa back to human form); Paus.3.18.13 βούν οὐραν ἦδη, on the Amyclae throne.

saetis obsita O. the participle of *obsero* (cf. *Acc.trag.*115); cf. Ter. *Eun.*236 *pannis annisque obsitum*, *Aen.*8.307 *rex obsitus aeuo*, Hor. *C.*1.18.12. Io is thickly overgrown.

iam bos Cf. Norden, 448, *EV* 3,572 (Hellegouarc'h), Clausen, *THP*, 115f. for the double monosyllable at line-end. Both Prop.(3.22.36) and Ov.(*M.*1.612) also use fem. *bos* of Io. After Calvus, it is claimed (Clausen, *ib.*); certainly in Varr.*Atac.* (fr.14.5). The monosyllabic forms are not unduly lowly for an epic context (cf. **17** with further bibl., for *sus*).

791 argumentum ingens Paronomasia with **Argus** and possibly, if we are (?too) alert, with Argos (cf. **789**) also. Serv. well cites Cic. *Verr.*2.4.124 *argumenta erant in ualuis*; cf. Quint.5.10.10 (who suggests that V. in some way takes up the use of the word *inter opifices*), Prop. 3.9.13, Ov.*M.*6.69, 13.684; already in Lucr. in a quite different sense. *In-gens* is as often used etymologically (cf. J.W.Mackail, *CR* 26(1912), 251ff., O'Hara, 234, D.O.Ross, *Virgil's elements* (Princeton 1987), 161); the theme, after all (cf. **789**) is to be understood in some sense genealogically and that also renders more likely the double paronomasia.

custos uirginis Cf. *Acc.trag.*386 *custodem adsiduum Ioni adposuit uirgini*, Hor.*C.*3.16.5f. *si non Acrisium uirginis abditae/ custodem*.

792 caelata..urna Not 'the urn with *caelatura* on it' but 'the urn *caelata* on the shield'; cf. 1.640f. *caelataque in auro/ fortia facta patrum*, 8.700f. *saevit medio in certamine Mauors/ caelatus ferro*, *TLL* 3.76.47ff. (Maurenbrecher); cf. R.Faber, *AJP* 116(1995), 411f.. The urn, as a common attribute of river-gods in ancient art (cf., for example, Plut. *Mor.*365B with J.Gwyn Griffiths' comm., E.R.Knauer, *Urnula faber-rime cavata* (Stuttgart 1995), 14f.; in general, see H.Sichtermann, *EAA* 3, 716), is attributed to Inachus *qua* river (*infra*).

amnem fundens Cf. Cic.*Arat.*274 *riuum fundentis Aquari*, *Buc.*5.71, *Aen.*12.417.

pater Inachus In almost all versions, the father of Io (but cf. Gruppe 2, 1781, Preller-Robert 2, 254), from [Aesch.] *PV* 589. *Pater* is also I.'s proper title as a river-god (cf. **685**); the Inachus, an important river of the Argolid, rising on Mt. Artemision and entering the sea SE. of Argos, is now the Panitsa.

793 insequitur Cf. *Il.*4.274 *νέφος εἶπετο πεζῶν* (with Kirk's note), 23.133. The vb. hitherto prosy, and Volcac. Sedig.*carm.*1.9.

nimbus peditum N. strictly a storm-cloud (and indeed used of storms, rain: 4.120, 12.451, Vinchiesi, *EV* 3, 774) and so often, though not always, in V.(3.198, 5.458, 10.803, etc.), an implication appropriate here.

clipeataque.. / 794 agmina For the *clipeus*, cf. **639**; the vb. *clipeo* at Pacuv.*trag.*186, the adjectival use here possibly an innovation (cf. *togatus*, *chlamydatius*, *paludatus*, *armatus*).

totis / 794 ..campis Cf. 11.450 *Tyrrhenamque manum totis descendere campis*, and (both epic in tone) Tac.*H.*4.18.3 *auxilia foeda fuga dispersa totis campis palantur*, Curt. 3.8.18 *ignes deinde totis campis conlucere coeperunt*. For this 'ablative of extension' ('all over the plain'), cf. **353**.

794 densentur 'Are tight-packed'; cf. 12.264 *densete cateruas*; *sexies* in Lucr.; cf. Sall.*Hist.*2.fr.103 *densere frontem*. Like **totis**, **d.** suggests the particularly substantial contingent that follows Turnus.

794-802 Infelicitously described as V.'s periplus of Latium (B.Tilly, *GR* 6(1959), 194ff., taken up by Reeker, 111ff.; on the heritage of Detlefsen (**641-817**, §vi), vd. Sallmann, *infra*). Labici (**796**) is not coastal (no more are the hills of **798**, while Feronia's grove—**800**—is marginal) and only at **797** does a roughly N.-S. sequence begin, checked by **Feronia** and interrupted by **801 Sturæ**. Reeker (113) hankers after an actual periplus-source, an advance on Miss Tilly's boat-trip (196), but Varro's *de ora maritima*, to judge from the fragments, was a work on navigation and not a miscellany of litoral learning (cf. C.Cichorius, *Röm.Studien* (Leipzig 1922), 212f., H.Dahlmann, *PW Suppl.*6.1231.54ff., 1251.25ff., K.G.Sallmann, *Die Geographie des älteren Plinius* (Berlin 1971), 142ff.). The evident division of tribal names and toponyms is striking (contrast **723 -31**), as is the regular, even stately arrangement of the names in balancing pairs (**saltus** and **litus**, Tiber and Numicus; likewise **arant** and **exercet**, **collis** and **iugum**, Jupiter and Feronia, who contrast acropolis and plain); the first three couples are of no very marked interest (four tribes and two toponyms); one notes their presence in retrospect, once the elaboration increases at **797f.** (two lines on the homeland of the Rutuli, two on the Circeii-Terracina area, two lines and two rivers from the opposite ends of the intervening marshland). Only later one notices that at **799 quis Iuppiter** the formal grammatical structure has fallen apart (the god of Anxur is not, after all, a ploughman and V. uses the two deities of Terracina to evoke their seats).

There is also an increased concern with landscape. In sheer number and area, Turnus' contingent is inferior to Clausus', but V. very clearly sets his last display of geographical learning in familiar territory, close to Rome, and executes it with unprecedented formal care. **Argiuaque pubes** The young men of military age (**614**; cf. 5.599, 8.518; in *trag.inc.33*, Cat.64.4 already; vd. too index s.v. Männerbund) from 'Argive' Ardea (**410**). Once more (cf. **672**, **723**; cf. **711**) Troy's old enemies return to the fight, first among Turnus' followers. Ardea presumably acquired these associations on account of the importance of the cult of Juno Regina (cf. Argive Hera) there (Plin. *Nat.*3.56, 35.115, *Enea nel Lazio*, 10ff., F.Castagnoli in *Itinerari Virgiliani* (Milano 1981), 101ff., Tortorici in *EV* 1, 299ff.).

795 Auruncaeque manus Cf. **206** (and 11.318) and contrast **727** (and—?—12.94); not, that is, the historical inhabitants of N.Campagna (also 'Ausones'; Aurunci by rhotacism) but rather one of the legendary *Urvölker* of central Italy (for *Ausones* so employed, cf. **623**), whose historical sense is not clearly understood (cf. Ps.Scymn.228, Strab. 5.3.6, Plin.*Nat.* 3.56; absent, of course, from our early republican documents). Cf. M.Cancellieri, *EV* 1, 420ff.. On **m.**, cf. **711**.

Rutuli In general, as against the Rutuli of Ardea just specified; the old name *populus Ardeatis Rutulus*, preserved by Cato fr.58HRR (cf. **763**) shows, like Laurentes at Lavinium, and Quirites at Rome (*EV* 3, 142f.) the coexistence of tribal name and early urban settlement. V. attributes to them not so much a wide tribal spread (Ampolo, *EV* 4, 619, cites **411-3** and Liv.1.57.1 in support; hardly) as the exercise of a broad sway, which the imposing remains may have helped justify (and that is rather the sense of **411-3** and Liv.*cit.*).

ueteresque Sicani Nothing (*pace* Carcopino, 404ff.) to do with Ficana. There are Sicani in the ancient (cf. **630**) list at Plin.*Nat.*3.68 (participants in the federal sacrifice on the *mons Albanus*), who must be the inhabitants of an otherwise forgotten town (E.Norden, *Alt-Germanien* (Leipzig 1934), 110, n.2, with Fraenkel's blessing in the margin of his copy). More to the point, **S.** could so easily be a synonym for those *Siculi* who, from Antiochus (*FGH* 555F6) on, are listed among the early inhabitants of central Italy (cf. Serv. on 11.317, *Aen.*8.328, Bérard (**735**), 431, 447ff., Malavolta, *EV* 4, 831f., D.Briquel, *REL* 70(1992), 84ff.).

796 et Sacrae acies An unresolved problem: Serv.tries here (i) a Cretan emigrant named Corybas (whence Corybantes, *sacrati* to the mother of the gods), and (ii) a *ver sacrum* vowed by the Ardeates

during a plague; (iii) (on 11.317) a sequence of inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Rome: Siculi/Sicani-Ligures-Sacrani-Aborigines (Poucet 1963, 165, n.1, Briquel, 339f.). Festus (424.31ff., after Varro, probably, **641-817**, §vi) thinks they were Sabines, who drove the Ligures and Siculi from the Septimontium. Serv.(ii) is unpersuasive; we really do not want another reference to the Ardeates, though Sil.8.357 (cf. Venini (**695**), 134f.), understood V. thus, not to his credit. The form of the name (Sacrani, after all, not Sacrati; cf. Albani, Romani, Nomentani) suggests the latent presence of some quite forgotten toponym (cf. **795 Sicani**); not the Isola Sacra (E.Manni, *Athen.* 17(1939), 250), though (in Latinus' territory, surely, if not beyond it).

et picti scuta Labici The surface of the wooden *scutum* (**722**) was covered with linen or leather (Sandbach, 456, Wickert, 296), and on this was painted (cf. Harrison, *Aen.*10, 290f. and Fordyce's n. here for the 'middle' use of the participle) a device, like the club of the Thebans (Xen.*Hell.*7.5.20, Chase (**657**), 77). Etymological fancies about Labici and λαβή, a shield-handle, in Serv. and O'Hara, 199. The uninterrupted sequence of names from **794** to these words suggests that **L.** be understood not as a place but as a people (just what the name actually was in origin: Schulze, 552); that in itself does not add to our difficulties, for V.(cf. **695**, **729**) treats the two categories as interchangeable at need and cheerfully mixes them when and as convenient: Hahn (**671**), 55ff.. Thus the simple solution here is to say that he uses the toponym **Labici** to avoid the unmanageable *Labicani* (not least were the prosody of Mart.1.88.2, with first a long followed, which it is not; cf. **672**) and the identification of Labici (so Liv.2.39.4; also Labicum, Sil.12.534) with Montecompatri, between Frascati and Zagarolo, is quite compatible with our abundant indications, if not actually definitive (cf. T.Ashby, *PBSR* 1(1902), 256f., Ogilvie on Liv.2.39.4, Andreussi, *EV* 3, 82) while the historical associations of L. (for a while, an ally of the (**747**) Aequi) render it a mildly evocative name (Ogilvie, Andreussi). The difficulty is (cf. Rehm, 29) that the independent Aricia stands between Labici and Turnus' other followers, while Gabii, five miles N., belongs to Caeculus (**682**). But V. does not write with a good map to hand (cf. **685** for another irregularity) and the 'simple solution', though not perfect, is probably good enough for now.

797 qui.. / 798 arant Cf. *G.*2.224 *talem diues arat Capua*, *Aen.*3.14 *Thracēs arant*; not, despite appearances, Homeric. Possibly there is a

hint at the unrewarding toil implicit in the proverb *litus arare* (Ov. *Her.*5.116, Otto, 159).

saltus, Tiberine, tuos The river personified and apostrophised (cf. **685**); **T.** is the name of the river in cult (Serv. *ad Aen.*8.31; cf. Cic. *ND* 3.52, with Pease's n.), used by V. *ex sua persona* (cf. 8.31, 6.873, Horsfall, *EV* 5*, 157). Two problems remain: first, this is territory elsewhere assigned to Latinus (5.797, 11.449 for the Tiber, Castagnoli, *EV* 3, 161, Horsfall, *EV* 3, 142; the frontier between Latinus and Daunus is unclear), and secondly, while *saltus* need not be mountainous and can indicate woodland (cf. **36**, 8.82, 92, Castagnoli, *cit.*, for forests along the Tiber), which may contain pasture (*G.*3.143), they are not ploughland (though for *arua* along the Tiber cf. 2.781f., 3.500f.). Tiber and Numicus are the Simois and Xanthus (6.88-9) of the *ager Laurens* (paired also at **150f.**, **242**), but on detail V. is clearly not to be pressed.

sacrumque Numici/ 798 litus Sacred proleptically because of Aeneas' disappearance in battle there (Sisenna fr.3(?)HRR, DH 1.64.4, Serv. *ad Aen.*4.620, Castagnoli, 65f., 92, Horsfall, *RMM*, 17) against Mezentius, and consequent deification. Longer and less dramatic, the battle to identify the stream (F.Castagnoli, *Arch.Class.* 19 (1967), 1ff. = *Top.Ant.*(**778**) 2, 863ff., Castagnoli, 91ff., *id.*, *EV* 3, 794f. with full references to earlier discussions); not all my friend Castagnoli's arguments were equally conclusive, and our disagreements were never quite resolved (Horsfall, *cit.*, *id.*, *Vergilius* 34(1988), 195; cf. J.Poucet, *Hommages...Schilling* (Paris 1983), 192f.). *CIL* 14.2065 *Numice Lavinias* establishes its vicinity to Lavinium and consequent identity with the Fosso di Pratica. Moreover, ancient texts (DH 1.64.4, *OGR* 14.2, Serv. *ad Aen.*4.620) located Aeneas' last battle not only by the Numicus (*supra*) but near Lavinium. The Rio Torto is near Ardea, not Lavinium. Further 'evidence' is hardly necessary, and the (problematic) identification of the 'Heron of Aeneas' (found in 1972) is immaterial.

798 Rutulos..collis Any part of the gentle hills between Ciampino and Anzio could be meant.

exercent uomere Balancing **arant** but more suggestive of steady hard work: cf. *G.*2.356 *aut presso exercere solum sub uomere*, *Aen.*11.318f. *Aurunci Rutulique serunt et uomere duros/ exercent collis* and n. on **748 terram exercent**. V. suggests neither that Tu.'s men forsake their ploughs for the sword (**635-6**), nor that their ploughs fill the unwelcome intervals when the sword is laid aside (**748-9**); the verbs are

charged variants on *habent* and suggest men toughened by hard work on the land (cf. **746-7**).

799 Circaeumque iugum Cf. **5-23** (where it was wild and romantic; here rather a recruiting-ground for armies). Cf. M.Cancellieri, *EV* 1, 793ff., G.M.De Rossi, *Enea nel Lazio*, 70ff., Oakley on Liv. 6.12.6. Cf. *Acc.trag.*506, Cat.4.11 *Cytorio in iugo*, *Aen.*1.498 for *iugum*; the mountain of Circeo, a limestone outcrop of the Monti Lepini, still dominates the Pomptine plain and all the coast from Anzio to Gaeta.

quis..aruis/ 800 praesidet Attracted from *arua quibus praesidet I.A.* (and it is strictly these *arua* that send troops); contrast 3.35 *Gradiumque patrem Geticis qui praesidet aruis*, 6.9f. *arces quibus../ praesidet*. Standard language for the presiding function of deities over places (Kooreman, *TLL* 10.2.6.879.53).

Jupiter Anxurus The adj. (*Anxurnas* (?) at Liv.27.38.4, *Axur* at *RRC* 449.1a, *Axoranus* epigraphic (Vollmer, *TLL* 2.204.14ff.), *Anxyrus* Serv. here and *Anxuris* Porph. on Hor.*Serm.*1.5.25) derives from the old Volscian name (Anxur; Plin.*Nat.*3.59, Fest.20.22) for the metrically unmanageable Terracina. It was long thought that the temple was perforce that on Mte.Sant'Angelo NE of the town (cf. M.Cancellieri, *EV* 3, 64f.), but the doubts expressed by De la Blanchère in 1884 have been forcefully restated by F.Coarelli: (**761-82**), 113ff., and in *Les bourgeois municipales* (Paris/Napoli 1983), 232ff.. Plin.*Nat.*2.146 refers to *turres* between Terracina and the *aedem Feroniae* (cf. *templum*, SDan. *ad Aen.*8.564; contrast the *lucus* about to be mentioned); that looks quite like the sequence city-Sullan walls-temple on Monte Sant'Angelo, where some of the archaeological finds are far better suited to the cult of a female deity. Might this majestic site therefore be Feronia's and might Jupiter preside rather from a temple on the more modest Collina di S.Francesco within the town? A possibility healthily unsettling to those raised on the conventional works of Virgilian tourism, though topographers of an older school have expressed (*viva voce*) complete dissent.

800 uiridi..luco Conventional language: cf. Cat.64.293, *Aen.*8.96, Lucr.1.252, André, 185f., 329f., Edgeworth, 166f.. On **luco**, cf. **82, 778**.

gaudens The traditional notion of the god(dess) rejoicing in a seat: cf. 3.73f. *gratissima tellus Nereidum matri*, and NH on Hor.C.1.35.1.

Feronia The *lucus* (Hor.*Serm.*1.5.24 refers to a spring, Porph. on Hor.*Sat.*1.5.24 to *fons*, Serv. on **799, 800** to *fons* and *lucus*, Ps.Acro on Hor.*ibid.* to *fanum*) of Feronia (on whom cf. **697**) is securely located by

Hor. three Roman miles short of Terracina on the Appian Way. For her (very possibly distinct) temple at Terracina, cf. **799**. For the *lucus*, see G.M.De Rossi, *Enea nel Lazio*, 82, M.Cancellieri, *EV* 2,498ff., G.Capdeville in *Les bois* (**761-82**), 133f.. While V. will often have passed the spot, travelling between Rome and Campania, we should also recall that Varro had transcribed an inscription there (SDan.*ad Aen.*8.564), and that DH's account of the ἐπιχώριοι ἱστορία of the Sabines (the Spartans establish the cult of F. on their arrival in Italy: 2.49.4f.; cf. Poucet 1963, 161, 171) might well derive from Varro (cf. DH 2.48.4; Varro's interest in his native race is amply attested: Poucet 1963, 175).

801 Sturae..atra palus Scripsi. **Saturae** codd. There is more variation in the orthography of Italian toponyms than is generally realised, above all between the literary and epigraphic versions (Horsfall, *Boll.Stud.Lat.* 19(1989), 177, *AION* (Sez.Ling.) 14(1992), 176f.). Here, the situation is more complex than has hitherto been realised: between Anzio and Circeii, there is the river Storas (Cτόρας; so Strab. 5.3.6); thus (as 'Stura') also Fest.418.20ff.(itself likely to be Varronian, **641-817**, §vi), Vib.Seq.216. More commonly called Astura: (Cic.*Att.*, *passim*, Liv.8.13.12; his mss. give an impossible *Saturae* at 8.13.5, where Oakley oversimplifies the morphological issue), Plin. *Nat.*3.57 and (?)3.81; also given as an alternative spelling in Fest., *cit.*, and Serv. here). Strabo's omicron is no guarantee that the u of Astura was normally short. The little river flows past anc. Satricum and enters the sea just E. of the point still called Astura (cf. M.Cancellieri, *EV* 1, 385f., *ead.*(**685**), 149). Serv. views the problem as textual. **Saturae** (which is in the entire tradition and at Sil.8.380 and Vib.Seq.*cit.*) he calls a *lectio* (but cannot identify 'on the map'; for him different names mean not orthographical variants but different places); *sed alii 'Asturae' legunt*: a different reading, but clearly the place mentioned by Cic. and Livy (while Vib.Seq. realises that Satura and Stura are identical). Virg. cannot have written *Asturae*; intolerable synaloepha (Soubiran, 405). The anaptyxis (Leumann, 102ff.) we find in the Virgil mss. just might serve an etymological point (so Horsfall *cit.*, 1989, but perhaps long since seen elsewhere): **atra palus** (cf. Sil.3.484; dark water, but also perhaps sinister, because unhealthy, as Sil.8.380 spells out) because *satur* of water, but that is probably to overstrain *satur*; certainly the form *Satura* leads to no firm conclusions as to the prosody of its analogues. If V. did not like the sound of *qua Sturae*, then an unobtrusive anaptyxis may have seemed an obvious solution (so Rehm, 30). The alternative is to suppose that he actually did write **Stura**, which

was modified from some very early point in the tradition (before Sil., at least), possibly by a copyist who meant to write the more familiar yet almost unmetrical **Astura**, but gave us our present text by anagrammatism. **Saturae**, in short, does not really convince me and **Sturae** belongs, I sense, in the text.

iacet The **palus** is both low-lying and wide-spreading: cf. *G.*3.343, *Aen.*1.224, 3.689 *Thapsumque iacentem*, 11.527.

gelidusque../802.. Vfens The adj. is strictly conventional (**683**). The river (called Aufentum by *Plin.Nat.*3.59 and Aufidus(!) by *Strab.* 5.3.6) rises outside Bassiano, just NW of Sezze; its winding course through the Pomptine marshes, visible on aerial photographs and old maps (Cancellieri) has been radically simplified during the draining of the marshes. For Strabo, a marshland river, for Claud.(*carm.*1.257) *tardatusque suis erorribus*. Uniquely (cf. Venini (**695**), 144, Rehm, 30, 97, Reeker, 113) Sil. offers a rather unvirgilian version (8.380ff.): *atro/liuentes caeno per squalida turbidus arua/ cogit aquas Vfens atque inficit aequora limo*. Sil.'s *cogit aquas* and V.'s **quaerit iter** make the same point (Spaltenstein on Sil.*loc.cit.*); Serv. well contrasts the Tiber at **32, in mare prorumpit**. But the 'deep valleys', well enough suited to the volcanic soil of the Roman Campagna (so the Fosso di Pratica, **797**), are decidedly less appropriate to oxbows in the unreclaimed marshland through which the Ufens once wound, and point rather to the armchair poet, unconcerned with topographical exactitude (cf. *EV* 5*, 449; *GR* 32(1985), 199ff. (Horsfall) rather overstates the matter). The extended hyperbaton **gelidus..Vfens** encloses another, **imas..ualles**; both adjectives are given prominence and Turnus' own catalogue concludes with its longest member. Cf. M.Cancellieri, (**685**), 148, and *EV* s.v.; I am also most grateful to her for prolonged and energetic discussion of the point, in *Volscis*.

per imas../802..ualles Cf. *G.*1.374, *Aen.*3.110.

802 quaerit iter Cf. *Manil.*4.423f. *et nunc per scopulos, nunc campis labitur amnis,/ et faciens iter aut quaerens, curritue reditue*. The Ufens is thus actively personified, like the Xanthus at 5.807f. *nec reperire uiam atque euoluere posset/ in mare*.

in mare conditur Cf. 9.32 (the Nile) *se condidit alueo*. Contrast **303. 803-17 Camilla**

V. closes the Catalogue (cf. Kühlmann, 233ff., Basson, 152ff., *id. AC* 29(1986), 57ff., W.Suerbaum, *Wü.Jhb.*6a(1980), 141f., Worstbrock, 54ff., E.Auerbach, *Literary language and its public* (London 1965), 183ff.), with a formidable invention, the Volscian princess, Camilla: that she is indeed invented has never, I think, been seriously challenged, and

my detailed presentation of the case (*Athen.* 66(1988), 31ff.) has not been called in question (cf. *Alambicco*, 51; for Serv.'s position, see C.Lazzarini, *MD* 12(1984), 119ff.. H.D.Jocelyn, *LCM* 17.7(1992), 108f. quite misunderstands the crucial fragment of Cato(fr.62HRR), while M.Cancellieri, *Enea nel Lazio*, 78f. does not). On the literary antecedents of the story of Camilla, not directly relevant here, cf. A.La Penna, *Maia* 40(1988), 221ff. and for mythographic/ religious aspects, cf. n. on Camilla's name (**803**), G.Arrigoni, *Camilla* (Milano 1982), with some doubts expressed at *CR* 34(1984), 61f., *ead.*, *EV* s.v., T.Köves-Zulauf, *Gymn.*85(1978), 182ff., 408ff.=*Kl.Schr.* (Heidelberg 1988), 253ff., with some doubts expressed at *CR* 41(1991), 121f., G.Capdeville, *MEFR(A)* 104(1992), 303ff.. More directly helpful towards our understanding of why V. may have closed as he does are E.Courtney, *Vergilius* 34(1988), 3ff. and B.W.Boyd, *AJP* 113(1992), 213ff.. At **816**, V. refers to C.'s Lycian quiver and Hom.'s Trojan Catalogue closes with the Lycians (*Il.*2.876f.); penultimate stand the Carians; their leader Nastes (2.872, unless his brother Amphimachus is meant, Kirk *ad loc.*, Boyd *cit.*, 220, n.23) ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμονδ' ἔεν ἡύτε κούρη. Camilla too wears gold in her hair (**815-6**) but **805ff.** inverts exactly Nastes' implied sexual paradox (Boyd *cit.*, 219ff.). Last in Hdt.'s Catalogue of Xerxes' allies (again, that is, an enemy) stands Artemisia (widow and mother, actually) τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός (7.99.1); there is (**813f.**) wonder likewise at the singular and equally doomed Volscian warrior queen (Courtney, Boyd *cit.*, 213ff.). Last in V.'s own ecphrasis of the pictures in the temple of Juno is Penthesilea, queen of the Trojans' last-arrived allies, the Amazons, again doomed (1.490-3), and likewise *bellatrix*. V. here writes markedly in the ecphrastic manner (**808ff.**) and the Amazonian character of Camilla is regularly remarked; more precisely, Hdt.'s own description of the Amazons (4.110-7) offers parallels with V.'s of Camilla here and Boyd well adduces the even closer account of the Sarmatian women at *Airs, Waters, Places* 17 (*cit.*, 217f.). Lastly, V., as often, quotes himself: Venus, about to encounter her son, is compared to the markedly Amazonian Harpalyce (Boyd *cit.*, 230f.), herself in all probability a Virgilian invention (Horsfall *cit.*(1988), 47, after G.Knaack, *RhM* 49(1894), 526ff.) and similarities of detail will be quoted below, while, almost more significant, Dido emerges from her palace for the hunt with quiver, gold hairpin and purple cloak (4.136-9, Boyd *cit.*, 228). Though we may by now have uncovered

more analogies than ever crossed the poet's conscious mind, their degree of similarity with C. is remarkable, as is the uniformly gloomy implication they carry.

803 hos super A metrically handy anastrophe rarer than might be expected (cf. *G.*2. 260, *Aen.*6.239, 602, 8.297, 11.526). Camilla's explicit insertion as a 'pendant' to the main body of the Catalogue has provoked much rather unconstructive anxiety (tersely summarised, Boyd *cit.*, 213f.): the Catalogue's structure is—in part—no mystery and her place as 'pendant' is secure (cf. **641-817**); that place is no less a consequence of the literary tradition in which C. stands (**803-17**) and it is also helpful (cf. Boyd *cit.*, 229ff. on the Catalogue as ecphrastic) to compare the closures of V.'s more explicit ecphraseis (Penthesilea, Icarus, Marcellus, even).

aduenit Good military language (*Caes.Civ.*2.32.12, *Liv.*6.23.5, etc.; Hey, *TLL* 1.831.30).

Volsca de gente 750, 5.373, and *Buc.*10.20 (*ueniunt de gente* with variations) suggest that the adverbial phrase should be associated with verb, not noun (very slight though the distinction is); at 11.432, V. writes *est et Volscorum egregia de gente Camilla* (and 11.433 = **804**). Cf. Sparrow, 108, Moskalew, 89: weak and hasty expansion or Homerising repetition to signal the reappearance of C.? There is (cf. **730**) a markedly anachronistic element in V.'s view of the Volsci (on whom, cf. bibl. at *EV* 5*, 619, *I Volsci*, *Arch.Laz.* 11.1, 1992); bounded as they are by the sea, and by the territories of Halaesus, Caeculus and Turnus, they have already descended into the coastal plain (cf. M.Cristofani, in *Arch.Laz. cit.*, 13ff.) and are (11.581) in contact with the Etruscans (Cancellieri, *cit.*, Horsfall, *cit.*1988, 42). These are the circumstances of the c.6, the earliest epoch reflected in the annalistic record (cf. D.Musti, in 1992 *cit.*, 25ff.).

Camilla Named metonomastically for her mother Casmilla, *mutata parte* (11.543; cf. O'Hara, 231). Nothing to do with the Furii Camilli. Varro remarks (*LL* 7.34) that *Casmilus nominatur Samothreces mysteriis dius quidam administer diis magnis*; more to the point, *camilla* is good Latin for a female assistant at religious functions (*Macr.*3.8.7, Wissowa, 496, n.2, etc.), of which 11.558 *ipse pater famulam uoueo* may be an echo; moreover, Callimachus (fr.723 *ap.* *Macr.*3.8.6, citing Statius Tullianus, on whom vd. Kaster, 436) related that Camillus was the Etruscan name for Mercury (hence C.'s speed in V.? S.Spence, *Rhetorics of Reason and Desire* (Cornell 1988), 44f., Boyd *cit.*, 230). A name, therefore, rich in arcane echoes, of disputed relevance (Horsfall *cit.*(1988), 38f., La Penna, *cit.*, 231f.).

804 agmen agens Cf. 707.

equitum For all her speed on foot (**807ff.**), C. is after all an Amazon: in bk.11 she fights on horseback (cf. Wickert, 462, Malavolta, 156ff. and *EV* 2, 345ff.); so too Amazons in Quintus (1.166, with Vian's note) and regularly in Greek art from the c.6.

florentis aere Against Serv. here (*Ennius et Lucretius florere dicunt omne quod nitidum est*), Henry argues at length for a sense of 'blooming, flourishing, looking charming with *aes*'. But just how strong is the literal sense of the metaphor (cf. *Companion*, 115)? Cf. Pind. *Ol.*2.73 ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει, Eur.*IA* 73 ἄνθηρὸς μὲν εἰμάτων στολῆ, Xen.*Cyrop.*6.4.1 ἦνθει δὲ φοινικίσι πᾶσα ἡ στρατία, Cato fr.29ORF *mare uelis florere* (cf. Aesch.*Ag.*659), Skutsch, p.155 on (??)Enn. *semper florentis Homeri*, Acc.*trag.*631f. *aere atque ferro feruere, / insignibus florere*, Lucr.4.450 *bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis*, *Ciris* 110 *florebat in armis* (good prose language, as Lyne shows), 387 *coma Sidonio florens..ostro* (where vd.Lyne again; it is, here too, literally, the *aes* that *floret*, so there is mild enallage). Pallas' *cateruae* are *fulgentis aere* at 8.593 and Henry (in whose interpretation there is an unwanted and unwonted prettiness) does not convince me that the sense here should be significantly different; the texts cited suggest a common significance close to 'gleaming'. For the shining, massed bronze, cf. **743**.

cateruas Just possibly not Roman and disciplined enough for Enn.; cf. Caecil.*com.*38, Lucr.5.1304, *Aen.*8.593, 11.433, *EV* s.v.

805 bellatrix Not found before 1.493 (Penthesilea), but *trag.inc.*6 (Fest.206.3) is from an authorless *Penthesilea*, which suggests that it could easily enough not be a Virgilian coinage; the plot legitimates the word.

non illa Cf. **787** (the idiom frequently found as here with a preceding negative). The paradox itself has a fine literary history: cf. Theogn.1289ff. (Atalanta), Pind.*Pyth.* 9.18ff. ἅ μὲν οὔθ' ἰ/στῶν παλιμβά-/μους ἐφίλησεν ὁδοῦς...ἀλλ' ἀκόντεσσιν τε χαλκείοις/ φασγάνῳ τε μαρναμένα κεράϊζεν ἀγρίους θῆρας (Cyrene), Eur. *IT* 222ff. (Iphigenia), AR 1.627ff. (maidens of Lemnos), Ov. *M.*2.412ff. (Callisto), O.Schönberger, *AuA* 12(1966), 180ff., G.Arrigoni, *RSI* 96(1984), 871ff., Glej, 352f..

colo calathisque In the dat. and abl. sing., *colus* is much more commonly 2nd. decl. than 4th. (*TLL* 3.1743.73ff. (Hey), NW, 1, 771). Distaff and basket were traditional symbols of feminine domestic activity, in marriage ceremonial, literature, epitaphs and funerary art

(cf. R.P.Hoogma, *Der Einfluss Vergils auf die CLE* (Amsterdam 1959), 304, on echoes of this verse), Ogilvie on Liv.1.57.9, N.B.Kampen, *Image and status* (Berlin 1981), 121ff. *et passim*, M.Massarò, comm. (52), on *CLE* 52.8, Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage* (Oxford 1991), 166, 243f.). The raw wool fibres were taken from a basket (τάλαρος, *calathus*, *quasillus*); a lump was placed on top of the distaff (ήλακάτη, *colus*), which was held in the left hand, and from there was spun on to the spindle (ἄτρακτον, *fusus*). The worked wool was then replaced in a basket. For a detailed account, cf. Blümner 1, 107 and Cat.64.311ff. with Wild (14), 35ff..

Mineruae Her connexion with spinning and weaving is of great antiquity, and distaff and basket are regular attributes of hers in art: *Il.*5.735, 9.390, 14.178f., *Od.*7.110f., 20.72, etc., *G.*4.246f. (with Frentz (154), 102f.), *Aen.*5.284, E.Henry, 91, Gruppe, 1215ff., A. di Vita, *ASAA* 30-2(1952-4), 141ff., *LIMC* 2.1, 1019 (P.Demargne).

806 femineas adsueta manus Cf. , in the active, 6.832 *ne tanta animis adsuescite bella*, Hor.*Serm.*2.2.109; vd.R.Thomas, *Vergilius* 38(1992), 137, Fordyce on 503. Note Cic.*carm.*Soph.1.18 *feminea interimor manu*, Prop.4.6.22 *pilaque feminea turpiter acta manu*.

sed proelia uirgo/807 dura pati The nom. is in effect concessive, as at 1.493 *audetque uiris concurrere uirgo*. There might appear to be a formal inconsistency with the c.v. offered by Diana at 11.581ff., but only because the goddess deploys the passage from arms of the chase to arms of war rhetorically, as though her votary's campaign against the Trojans were a new departure, while (cf. 651) V.'s readers were used rather to view hunting as a propaedeutic for warfare (cf. Hardie on 9.590f.: here C. is **bellatrix**; at 11.780, revealed inadequate in war, she is once more *uenatrix*). While it might seem natural to take **dura** with **proelia**, the combination is flat and hackneyed (cf. Prop. 3.5.2, Hor.*C.*3.20.3f.) and the double construction after **adsueta** arguably awkward. The alternative is to take **dura** as nom., of Camilla herself: the adj. *par excellence* of the Italic warrior (cf. 747) and found occasionally + infin.(originally a grecism): cf. Hor.*Serm.*1.4.8 *durus componere uersus*, VF 3.647f., LHS 350f., Tränkle, 73, Ernout-Thomas, 269f., Görler, *EV* 2, 271 (no more certain than I can be, but the slightly harder construction is very much more attractive).

807 cursuque pedum Cf. 5.67 *pedum cursu*.

praeuertere uentos Cf. 12.345 *uel equo praeuertere uentos*. The phrasing owes something to Cat.64.341 *flammea praeuertet celeris uestigia ceruae*, but the theme itself has a long and complex history: cf. *Il.*10.437 (the

Thracian horses of Rhesus) *θείειν δ' άνέμοισιν όμοιοι*, Theogn. 715f. not even if you were *ώκύτερος..πόδας* than the sons of Boreas, Tyrt.12.4 West *νικώη δέ θέων Θρηίκιον Βορέην* (cf. Soph. *OT* 466, *Ant.*985, H.Lloyd-Jones, *CQ* 7(1957), 24f.= (717), 384f.), Theocr.8.54 *πρόσθε θέειν άνέμων*, *Aen.*1.317 *praeuertitur Eurum* (of Harpalyce, were Rutgers' conjecture what V. wrote; vd., however, NH on Hor.*C.*1.25.20), 8.223 (Cacus) *fugit ilicet ocior Euro*. Note too horses as the offspring of winds (*Il.* 16.149, 19.415, 20.223ff., Hes.*Theog.*268f., *Aen.*12.84, QS 1.166ff. with Vian's note) or fast as winds (e.g. Ion Chius, TGF 1, 19F17a.2 Snell, *G.*3.193f., *Aen.* 12.334, Labate, *EV* 5*, 496). A talent most unhomeric in a hero (Griffin, 177f.), but Apollonius' Catalogue reveals already the supernatural endowments of his personages.

808 illa uel. Cf. *Il.*20.226f. (the offspring of Boreas and the mares of Erichthonius) *αί δ' ότε μέν σκιρτώεν επί ζείδωρον άρουραν/ άκρόν επ' άνθερίκων καρπόν θέον ούδέ κατέκλων*, Hes.*Eoae* fr.62MW (of Iphiclus) repeats 227 (with *κατέκλα*) and continues *άλλ' επί πυραμίνων άθέρων δρομάσσκε πόδεσσιν/ και ού σινέσκετο καρπόν*, Call.*Aet.*fr.75.46 *σφυρόν 'Ιφίκλειον επίτρεχον άσταχύεσσιν*, Nonn.28. 286f. (Iphiclus) *και σταχύων έφύπερθε μετάρσιον είχε πορείην/ άνθερίκων πάτον άκρον άκαμπέα ποσσίν όδεύων*, Ov.*M.*10.655 (Atalanta) *et segetis canae stantis percurrere aristas* (cf. 14.49), CS 6.55f. (a colt) *ungula quae uiridi sic exsultauit in aruo,/ tangeret ut fragiles sed non curuaret aristas*. Boyd well remarks (*cit.*, 232) that V.'s multiple reference to **segetis**, **gramina** and **aristas**, along with **intactae** (*ού σινέσκετο*) points to an attentive reading of the Hesiodic elaboration of Hom., and a reference to the latter through the former; the potential subjunctives likewise describe her (hitherto unrealised) capacity, as she arrives in baldly soldierly language (**aduenit**) at the muster. For this use, cf. Roby 2, 224ff., LHS, 333f., Ernout-Thomas, 236f., Woodcock, 89ff., *credas* (8.691; vd.Boyd) and the common *uideres* (eg. 12.810), 3.368 *possim*, 12.880 *possem*.

intactae segetis *TLL* 7.1.2067.83 (Furnée) firmly takes **i.** as *sc. falce* (comparing Ov.*M.*1.101 *rastroque intacta*, *Pont.*3.4.61 *intacta rosaria*, Col. 2.1.5; while it is true that uncut corn is higher and the delicate beards would reveal any altitude error, this reading is peculiarly unpersuasive (and suggests an unnecessary and atypical multiplication of visual details) : the topos (whether with reference to cornfield or—*infra*—sea) uniformly suggests a skimming flight, without shaken ears (so

Hom., Hes.) or wet feet (cf., explicitly enough, **809**, **811**), at a height just, but only just above that of corn or waves (as Nonn. spells out, while Calp.'s mortal colt touches the ears, but only very lightly, as at *G.3.195 uix summa uestigia ponat harena*).

per summa uolaret/ 809 gramina Enjambement and pause at 1D (**387**; contrast **681**), like separation of adj. and noun by **uolaret**, contribute to the impression of miraculous swiftness. Enslavement to an invariable translation of *per* by 'through' or 'durch' may have contributed to the misunderstanding of **intactae**; *OLD* helpfully offers as well (e.g.) 'across' and 'all over' and cf. in V. (e.g.) **810** and *per aequora, per altum, per terras* (and note Calp.'s *percurrere*).

nec.laesisset The one plpf. subjunctive in the two sequences: in the corn over which C. had passed, she would not have damaged... Cf. *Cat.Agr.161.2 ne.radices laedas, G.2.301f. neu ferro laede retunso/ semina*.

teneras..aristas *A.* is strictly the beard (*Varr. RR 1.48.1*), but this sense is uncommon and the beard is hardly *tenera*; the wider sense of 'ear', though, is far more frequent (e.g. *Cat.48.5, Ov.M.1.110*); the adj. is common in *G.* in just this sense (2.272, 363, 372, etc., *EV 5**, 102ff.; cf. *Aen.3.449*)

cursu As in **807**; V. underscores that it is her swiftness on foot that is remarkable.

810 uel.. Cf. again *Il.20.228f. ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ κίριτῶεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης, ἄκρον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνος ἄλός πολίοιο θέεσκον*; cf. also *AR 1.182f. (Euphemus, in the Catalogue) κείνος ἀνὴρ καὶ πόντου ἐπὶ γλαυκοῖο θέεσκειν/ οἴδματος οὐδὲ θοοὺς βάπτειν πόδας, ἄλλ' ὅσον ἄκροισι / ἴχνεσι τεγγόμενος διερῆ πεφόρητο κελεύθῳ, Demaretos FGH 42F1 (of Iphiclus) ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης (sc. τρέχειν φησί), Nonn.28.285 ταρσὰ ποδῶν ἀβάτοιο κατέγραφεν ἄκρα γαλήνης, trag.inc.196 infra (**suspensa**), *Ov.M.10.654 posse putes illos sicco freta radere passu* (cf. 14.50). Hes. here is lacking, but one can see what use V. has made of εὐρέα, οἴδμα, ἄκροισι ἴχνεσι (**suspensa**; we know too little of the context of *trag.inc.196* to understand the possible interaction of (??)Accius and *AR*) and (negatively) τεγγόμενος; we may fairly suspect another 'window reference', but without Hes. and more of the tragic fragment, that remains mere guesswork.*

mare per medium 'Over', of course, not 'through'; C. would have hovered, not ploughed! V. is notably partial to this old (*Plaut. Truc.527*) intensifying use of *m.*: cf. Clausen on *Buc.8.58, Aen.3.104*,

270 *iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos*, 6.339 *mediis effusus in undis*, 342, **7.372**, **577**, 10.764, J.Vahlen, (**586**), 2, 540f..

fluctu..tumentis C. would skim not just over a flat calm, but from crest to crest of a swelling sea: cf. Gk. οἶδμα, G.1.357 *tumescere*, *Aen.* 3.157, 5.125f., 8.671, *EV* 5*, 312f., (Tib.)3.7.194, *Ov.Pont.*2.3.27.

suspensa Cf. *trag.inc.* 196 *rapiunt per undas currus suspensos equi* (of Neptune's chariot), *Lucr.*6.1128 (of disease) *suspensa manet uis aëre in ipso*.

811 ferret iter Cf. *Pacuv.trag.*121 *itiner contuli*; *TLL* 7.2.544.34 (Tessmer) remarks that *iter* with *simplex ferre* does not occur again after V. until Silver epic.

celeris..plantas Not synecdochic: C. would not even have wetted the soles of her feet as she ran.

tingeret aequore The vb. Lucretian (e.g.6.173). **Aequore** is a little tricky: the word, etymologically and in normal usage, refers primarily to the sea as a flat expanse of water (*Varr. LL* 7.23, *Cic.Acad.*2 fr.3, Aricò, *EV* 1, 37f.), but that *aequor* can be stirred by the winds (cf. G.1.206, *Aen.* 4.313, 6.335, *Enn.praetext.*4, *Lucr.*2.1 *turbantibus aequora uentis*, 766, 5.266, *Hor.C.*1.5.7 etc.). At that point, with **fluctu..tumentis**, **a.** does not refer particularly to the troughs of the waves, but may be thought to convey an implicit paradox or tension, as an expanse of water by no means flat; even then, though, C. keeps her soles dry. Note the *aperta.. / aequora* of V.'s first experiments with this theme (*G.*3.194f.).

812 illam.. To see C. arrive, Latinus' people pour out of their town: the scene is an heroic recasting of the *aduentus* of a great republican magnate: cf. T.E.V.Pearce, *CQ* 20(1970), 313, S.G.MacCormack, *Art and ceremony in late antiquity* (Berkeley 1981), 17ff. and *Hist.*21(1972), 721ff., Horsfall on *Nep.Att.*4.5, C.Nicolet, *Le métier du citoyen* (Paris 1976), 473, Weinstock, 290, 296 etc.. This identification will be confirmed by closer study of V.'s language in the next two lines; this is not anachronism, but the casting of events in a familiar mould. Cf. R.G.M.Nisbet, *PVS* 18(1978-80), 50-61 = Harrison, *OR*, 378ff. = Robertson, 224ff. = R.G.M.Nisbet, *Coll.pap.* (Oxford 1995), 132ff., Horsfall, *EV* 1, 153, *Alambicco*, 135ff. for some analogous instances.

omnis..iuuentus Cf. **672**, balancing the **matres** of the next line. Possibly including both sexes; only the modern chair-bound reader will worry about a theoretical category of young men who watch but do not take part. Or is there an implied lapse of time? Is there even a tiny literary jest? Penthesilea, Artemisia and C. arrive last (and the

latter late too, **hos super**), precisely because they are female and here the poet does after all lay stress on the splendour of C.'s appearance! V. has been suspected of misogyny on more serious grounds (cf. S.F.Wiltshire, *Public and private in Vergil's Aeneid* (Amherst 1989), 119ff.). **tectis agrisque** *Villa* and *ager* are conventionally contrasted (e.g. Varr.*RR* 3.5.10); likewise *agri* and *urbes/oppida* (e.g. Ter.*Eun.*972, Acc. *carm.*fr.3.3, Cic. *infra*); the phrasing here, though, does not appear traditionally polar.

effusa Cf. 12.131 *effusae matres*, Liv.1.14.8, *CLE* 271.13 and notably Cic.*Pis.*51 *quid dicam aduentus meos, quid effusiones hominum ex oppidis, quid concursus ex agris patrum familias cum coniugibus ac liberis?* Choice of words repeatedly confirms that for V., this is a familiar scene from Roman public life.

813 turbaque..matrum Does that mean that their thiasos is—tacitly—at an end (**580**, etc.), or does V. have some other group in mind? *Turba* is not of itself suggestive of confused collective irrationality (cf. 11.13, 34, Strati, *EV* 5*, 317).

miratur Cf. *Il.*15.682ff.(reaction to Ajax), *Od.*2.13, 17.64 (to Telemachus), *QS* 1.53ff.(joy at the arrival of Penthesilea). Servius rejects the notion of a chiasmic arrangement (the **iuuentus** is mentioned first, the **matres** next; the latter admire her dress, the former her arms) and comments intelligently *ea..sexus uterque miratur quae sunt posita contra opinionem, ut mirentur feminae arma in muliere, uiri ornatum in bellatrice. In femineo sexu Martis habitare uirtutem*: a surprise to all (TCD). The choice of verb (Boyd *cit.*, 227f., after Thomas) is expressive both of C.'s character as a $\theta\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ in the ethnographic (cf. **803-17**) sense and of the beholder/reader's reaction to the spectacle/ecphrasis.

prospectat euntem Hardly at the sprint: despite **807-11**, we recall the sober **aduenit** of **803**. That the crowd watches from a distance is perhaps a measure of their awe and respect: cf. 9.168, Liv.24.21.8 *pars ex tectis fenestrisque prospectant et quid rei sit rogitant*, Plin.*Pan.*63.4 *cumque ex proximis hortis campum et comitia prospectes*. Cf. **676** for the partic..

814 attonitis inhians animis Cf. *G.*2.463 *nec uarios inhiant pulchra testudine postis*, *Aen.*5.529 *attonitis haesere animis*. *Inhiare* attested at Porc. Lic.fr.3.2; *ore patefacto* remarks Serv. and—with unusual perception of V.'s lighter side—well picks up a hint of amusement in this description of a crowd of goggling rustics.

ut../815..ut../816..ut../ Cf. 8.288-91 (hymnic) for just such a triple anaphora; the book ends with us gazing through the crowd's eyes at

detail upon detail of Camilla's wonderful appearance, revealed in formal splendour.

regius ostro/ 815 ..honos For this concrete sense of *h.*, cf. *Buc.* 10.24 *agresti capitis Silvanus honore*, *G.*2.404, *Aen.* 3.484 (with Mehmel, 50, n.7), *Fo.*, *EV* 2,855, *TLL* 6.3.2929.60 (Mehmel). For the sense and history of purple and gold, combined, cf. **277**. But we have already seen that the scene is profoundly Roman (**812**) and in that context we might expect some further antiquarian detail, not in vain (vd.**815**).

815 uelet Cf. 8.33f. *eum tenuis glauco uelabat amictu/ carbasus*, *Ov.Ars* 3.202. The Hom. warrior did not wear a cloak in battle (Seymour, 156f.), but the purple cloak carried marked antiquarian resonances at Rome (vd. *Plin.Nat.*9.136 *purpurae usum Romae semper fuisse*, notably in the context of Romulus and the Etruscan monarchy: cf. **612 trabea**, Larissa Bonfante Warren, *JRS* 60(1970), 58ff., Weinstock, 67, Reinhold (**251**), 37ff.) and cloaks are widely worn in the *Aen.*(cf. 11.775, *EV* 5*, 518). More precisely, V. may perhaps have had in mind the *trossula*, a short cloak of purple and scarlet, traditionally, it was said, worn by the Roman cavalry (Schol.Turon. on **612**, J.J.H.Savage, *HSCP* 36(1925), 150, A.Alföldi, *Die frührom. Reiteradel* (Baden-Baden 1952), 41f.), but several details in the scholium (not obscured by Alföldi) inspire distrust. More generally, cf. ecphrasis of a cloak at *AR* 1.721ff., *Aen.*4.136ff., 5.250ff.; vd. Boyd *cit.*, 228 (Cat.64.50ff. is hardly relevant, though!).

leuis umeros Cf. **349 leuia pectora** (of Amata), 11.40 (of Pallas). So already Cat.64.332 (*brachia*). The epithet offers no clear indication of Camilla's (?Amazonian) (un)dress beneath her cloak.

fibula Not normally used of hairpins (but cf. *Il.*17.52, Boyd *cit.*, 220, n.23 for hairpins in epic; in an ethnographic context, cf. the comms. on Thuc.1.6.3; note too the *fibula* of *Ciris* 127, with Lyne's note). TCD senses a difficulty: *non acus feminea sed uirilis fibula militarisque nectebat*, though he appears to have in mind the massive late-imperial brooches-of-honour (cf. *SHA Gall.*16.4., *Car.*17.1, J.Heurgon, *RAC* 7, 790ff.). It would, though, hardly be unlike V. to use **fibula** when a lesser and exacter poet might have written *acus* (*Alambicco*, 43, Kroll-Lunelli, 38ff.); perhaps he still had the cloak in mind (cf. Dido's *fibula*, 'correctly' used at 4.139) and he may have been attracted by the more striking ornament (cf. Barini (**351**), 31ff.). That Amazons were sometimes depicted (D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek art* (Oxford 1957), pls.84.1, 89) with their hair up (and thus pinned) he could

have known, though such a detail is not likely to have weighed heavily with him. Hom. describes Od.'s *περόνη* at *Od.*19.225-7 (Boyd *cit.*, 228) and V. maintains the markedly ecphrastic manner.

crinem/ 816 auro internectat The vb. is probably a Virgilian coinage cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.168 of binding the edges of a wound), here suggesting a long pin passing in and out of C.'s hair.

816 Lyciam..pharetram The only reference to archery in the Catalogue, specially appropriate to an Amazon (cf. 11.652ff., 874, *Airs, waters, places* 17, Strab.11.5.1, Paus.10.31.8, Wickert, 462, Malavolta, 129f.). Lycian as at 8.166 (*sagittas*), 11.773 (*Lycio..cornu*); historical Lycia was noted for its archers (Herod.7.77, 92) and the archer Apollo's appellation 'Lycian', though it may in origin have nothing to do with the historical Lycia, can only have reinforced the association (Kirk on *Il.*4.101); the Bowman Pandarus came from another Lycia, near Troy, but that again can only have further confirmed the 'Lycian archery' nexus (cf. Kirk on *Il.*2.826f.). Cf. Saunders 155, Wickert, 447f., Malavolta, 129 for the use and terminology of quivers in *Aen.*.

gerat ipsa The leader of central Italy's Amazons appropriately carries a quiver; economically, no word of a bow.

817 pastoralem..myrtum Words that have created a good deal of evitable confusion (to the instances collected by N.Tarleton, *CQ* 39(1989), 267ff., add Wimmel (551), 124). Myrtle-wood is standard for spear-shafts (*G.*2.447 with Mynors' note, *Aen.*3.22f., Gratt.129), and Tarleton *cit.*, 267ff. collects a splendid body of evidence to show that the ancient shepherd, from Hom.(e.g.*Il.*12.303) on (e.g. Varr.*RR* 2.10.1, 3, Col.7.3.26, DS 34/5.2.29) went armed. This realism (wild beasts and thieves after all did (cf. even CS 1.41) and do exist) went too near the bone for pastoral poetry (but cf. Leonidas, *HE* 2266, Lycophronides *ap.* Athen.15.670E and notably *G.*2.529f. *pecorisque magistris/ uelocis iaculi certamina ponit* and *Aen.*9.609f. *uersaque iuuenum terga fatigamus hasta*), though hunting was mentionable (*Buc.*7.29f., 10.57, *G.*2.471, 3.43, Hor.*Epd.*2.31f.) and CS 3.21 refers to the use of an *hastile* to chastise an errant cow. *Pastoralis* has gained a porcelain fragility it lacked for V.(cf. 513!). We have already seen (475-539) how very well rural Latium was able to defend its security and expressions of shock at this brutal invasion of an Arcadian idyll (e.g. M.C.J. Putnam, (785, 1970), 419 = (756, 1995), 108, (756, 1992), 17 = (756, 1995), 125, W.Wimmel, *Collectanea* (Stuttgart 1987), 233) are, given all V.'s studied and continuous ambivalence about primitive

Latium (cf. **681 legio..agrestis**), themselves in part a brutal (if historically comprehensible) modern invasion of an unresolved Virgilian ambiguity. Note the curious position of Moorton (**681**), 114f., and (uncomfortable with the 'invasionist' approach) J.O'Hara, *Colby Quarterly* 30(1994), 217. For the synecdoche (so *cornus*, *fraxinus*, *abies*), cf. Dingel on 9.698.

praefixa cuspidē Cf. 5.557, 10.479, 12.489; as at *Caes.Civ.*2.2.2, *Liv.*30.10.16, *Curt.*4.9.5, *Ov.M.*7.112 *praefixa .. cornua ferro*, *Sil.*6.539, there is an inversion of the 'logical' sense of 'fit at the end' (cf. Scotti, *TLL* 10.2.4.633.84f.). Hypallage is preferred to *cuspidem myrto praefigere vel sim.* (but cf. 10.80 *praefigere puppibus arma*). The noun (**756**) both Catullan (64.256) and Caesarian.

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