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NICHOLAS HORSFALL

VIRGIL, *AENEID* 3



# VIRGIL, *AENEID* 3

A COMMENTARY

BY

NICHOLAS HORSFALL



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For  
Jim Adams  
and  
Aldo Lunelli



## CONTENTS

Preface .....	ix
Introduction.....	xiii
Ad lectorem .....	xlvi
Bibliography .....	xlvi
Text.....	1
Commentary.....	39
Appendix 1. Virgil's sources for the Cumaean Sibyl; the evidence of bk.6 .....	477
Latin Index.....	481
English index .....	497
Index of names .....	511



## PREFACE

Writing commentaries on the *Aeneid* becomes not so much a habit, as a passion; I am most grateful to Messrs. E.J. Brill for their continued encouragement from bk. 7, though bk. 11, to bk. 3. Plans for *Aeneid* 2 are in hand. I am delighted that this preface gives me a chance to thank those who have helped me face the distinctive problems of bk. 3. But first, tribute should be paid to two new tools of research, first, to Prof. Joseph Farrell's splendid initiative in making available on line La Cerda's commentary and secondly to the CD-ROMs of *TLL*, which have transformed the laborious consultation of that work; for common words, and particularly for earlier letters of the alphabet, where material often appeared to be sorted, if at all, by the strangest criteria, the natural choice too often seemed to be to skip it and hope that you did not miss something important thereby. Consultation, now transformed, has become the work of seconds, and I hope to be able to show here that in practice the *TLL* contributes, if anything, even more than has previously been allowed to the commentator's work.

This commentary was written, by choice, two hundred miles north of Edinburgh; that was primarily for personal reasons, rather than as a comment upon the facilities for research on Virgil anywhere else. Some bibliographical enquiries were undertaken in Oxford; unfortunately much postwar ordering of series there occurred at a time when classical studies in the USA and Italy (in particular) were at a rather low ebb. As a result, numerous journals, particularly from Italy, are unavailable. Aldo Lunelli has been extremely generous in sending me photocopies from Padova, as has Jim O'Hara from the USA. The hunt for scholarly books has moved into a new (largely positive, exciting, beneficial) phase in the age of the on-line catalogue, and I discover that mere geographical isolation is little or no handicap to the commentator. The occasional discovery that some long-sought book or pamphlet proves on arrival to be near worthless should not surprise and vex as much as it does.

Many scholars and friends have been remarkably helpful in sending one or two items or in answering specific questions: Cynthia Kahn

(UArizona), at **389–393**, faced with a pig of an interlibrary search, responded swiftly with a truffle of obscure erudition. Gerhard Binder (Bochum), Niklas Holzberg (München, Suerbaum's invaluable bibliographical successor), S. Casali (Roma 2), Anna Chahoud (UCD), S. Kyriakidis (Thessaloniki), Tony Woodman and John Miller (UVa.), Sallie Spence (UGa.), Marco Fernandelli (Trieste), Barbara Boyd (Bowdoin), Stephanie West (Oxford), Christine Walde (Basel), H.-P. Stahl (Pittsburgh), A. Traina (Bologna) and Michèle Lowrie (NYU) have been generous with publications and photocopies, while Jan Bremmer (Groningen) and Paola Ceccarelli (L'Aquila and KCL) have kindly advised me on points of Greek religion. Julia Budenz' kind attention to the translation has been most welcome.

I am most grateful to Woldemar Görler for his undiminished willingness to discuss with me curious points of Virgilian idiom and obscurities of the poet's thought. To Margaret Hubbard and Jim O'Hara I am extremely grateful for their comments on parts of the ms.. Matthew Carter (now Colgate University) had not finished his Oxford thesis on *Aen.* 3 when he discovered that I was writing a large commentary on the same book, but we ended up reading all of each other's work in a spirit of marked cordiality—not incompatible with amused disbelief on both sides at times. He has, though, made noble efforts to update me conceptually, as have Jim O'Hara, Sallie Spence and Michèle Lowrie. Here and there, I think they will see that I have eventually got the message, and there are points where I suspect that modern critics have actually not gone far enough. I have thoroughly enjoyed being the target of this campaign of updating, though I admit I jib at much new terminology.

My commentary on *Aeneid* 7 roused strange passions in a couple of reviewers, but despite the obloquy received, I must decline to abandon 'synaloepha' for the common and misleading 'elision'. Competent reviewers, and readers, will know why. It is unlikely that Eduard Fraenkel was the only teacher who explained to my generation why 'synaloepha' was the proper term to use. This commentary, like its predecessors, is not aimed primarily at the undergraduate reader, so there is no pedagogic reason for avoiding technical language. Reviewers of *Aeneid* 11 could have used stronger language in complaining of the number of wrong references; no excuse but perhaps some explanation to say that it is far harder to correct on a screen; here, I have reverted to paper. In response to criticism, I have also reduced the amount of bold type, and have continued to try to simplify and clarify cross-references and bibliographical short-cuts.

In the period since I began this commentary I have received the sad news of the deaths of Annemarie Wohlleben (geb. König), the first Virgil scholar from overseas to send me published work. And alas, not only Dr. König alone, but Prof. Gabriele Thome (Berlin; she did much for Virgil and was exceptionally generous with her time and materials), Dr. Peter Flury (long the kindly and learned master of the *TLL*) and Prof. Eve Adler (Middlebury; I was fortunately just in time to thank her for her admirable good sense on Polydorus). So too my friends Giorgio Brugnoli (Rome; his cordial encouragement of my work on Virgil's life typical of a most generous man), Gerhard Kuhlmann (*TLL*, a scholar of exceptional charm, wit and humanity, in the face of grave disabilities) and Margot Schmidt, whose help and encouragement I have recorded elsewhere (*Aen.*7), and whose company in Basel or Oxford was a special delight. When this was all written, the news of Josef Delz' death reached me; for twenty years, I benefited very greatly from his scholarship, high standards, good humour and generosity; it was a precious friendship.

Jim Adams (All Souls' College, Oxford) and Aldo Lunelli (Padova) have been good friends to me for a long time. We are, all three of us, bound as much by a love of good wine as by a more obvious devotion to Latin studies, but they should not suppose that I shall try to stint my share of providing good bottles hereafter, just because I thought it was time that I offered them for once a book instead.

Nicholas Horsfall  
Strathconon, Ross and Cromarty





## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Aeneid 3

A.W. Allen claimed (119) to have found *Aen.*3 described in some disreputable and elementary manual as ‘the dullest book of the *Aeneid*’; not much read’ grunted W.H. Semple (225), while Michael Putnam asserts (less correctly, perhaps, now than when he wrote) that ‘critics have devoted minimal attention to the *Aeneid*’s third book’ (50); compare Della Corte’s assertion of the lowly and unloved status of *Aen.*11 (my comm., viii). Of shorter accounts of the book—e.g. A.W. Allen, *CJ* 47 (1951–2), 119–23, Anderson, 38–43, Cartault, 232–297, Hexter, 64–79, di Cesare, 61–75. Klingner, 420–36, Büchner, 336–44, I. Lana in *Lecturae Vergilianae* (ed. M. Gigante) 3 (Napoli 1983), 101–28, Otis, 251–64, Putnam, 50–72, Quinn, 121–35, W.H. Semple, *BJRL* 38.1 (1955), 225–40, and H.W. Stubbs, *Vergilius* 44 (1998), 66–84 (and this list could easily be extended)—the great majority simplify its texture, character, sources, and variety to the point of reducing it to an etiolated (and misconceived) travelogue briefly redeemed by moments of drama and sentiment. Lloyd 1957a, 138f. is right to notice (1) elements often repeated between episodes along with (2) studied variation in the treatment of those elements. But that was to consider variation between episodes on the basis of a limited number of variables. Possibly, consideration of the techniques of variation between sections of the Italian catalogue, 7.641–817 is helpful here (cf. comm., pp. 416f.), in alerting the reader to the complexities of variation between each episode and its neighbour(s). Thus, for example, Thrace (13–68) and Delos (70–120). But first, a brief protest against the effect of oversimplified paragraphing of the text: 69–72, 121–7, 192–208, 268–293, 506–20 and 548–69 arguably do not ‘belong’ with the larger episodes into which they are conventionally subsumed; 687–706 escapes this fate, but all these sections are passages of travel, Apollonian and periegetic in stylistic character and tone, nautical and erudite in content: they lend (regularly and quite deliberately, we might suspect) variety and

relief to the texture of the whole. That said, the ‘cushioned’ antithesis of Thrace and Delos, is important: cushioned by a maritime bridge-passage, bound by numerous similarities of structure (well analysed by W. Jens, *Philol.*97 (1948), 194–7; cf. Lloyd 1957a, 138f.), yet contrasted with equal care: thus for example, an essentially Euripidean episode is followed by a richly Callimachean one; both episodes involve an old tie of *amicitia* between Trojans and other powers; there is an evident contrast between the limitless horror of the bloody bush and the optimism of Apollo’s prophecy; both episodes contain elaborate religious constructs, a portent both Greek and Roman in character and an oracular temple calqued upon Delphic usage. Such sequences and contrasts (cf. W.Hübner, *Dirae im röm. Epos (Spudasmata* 21, Hildesheim 1970), 62) show already careful maturity in the planning and writing by an author not at all the hapless prisoner of geographical sequence and the transmitted detail of the Aeneas-legend. Traces of compositional expertise had already emerged from analysis of the episodes of *Aen.*3 in comparison with the list available from the prose tradition of the stopping-places, leading to consideration of motives for V.’s omissions, and more important, for V.’s inclusion of episodes not previously part of the ‘story’ (Lloyd, 1957c, *bene*); this material will be considered in the introductions to each episode, and the major omission, Dodona, in that to 294–505.

## 2. *Aen.* 3 and its neighbours

The attentive reader needs also to bear in mind, first, the complex relationships of bk. 3 to its neighbours (E. Harrison, *ANRW* 2.31.1, 361–5), and secondly, the thematic and emotional relationships between episodes in bk. 3 that are not contiguous.

The fall of Troy is the essential narrative precondition of all bk. 3: Aen. has saved his father, old but soon once more (9) in command. The survivors of 2.798 (note echo at 3.4; cf. *socii*, 2.795, 3.12, in addition to the more obvious penates, Anchises and Ascanius) turn swiftly to constructive action. Hopes and memories remain in continuous antithesis; devotion to home and past is part of being Trojan (294–505), quite compatibly with a glorious future in the West and with a subtler moral growth (understanding of the Greeks), 588–691. Andromache’s greeting and farewell to Aen. will reenact the most painful moments of the sack.

At the end of bk. 3, ample ring-composition that echoes the beginning of bk. 2, and Aeneas' original address to Dido will be noted. In addition to the balance of Aen.'s sleep and Dido's wakefulness, we should observe the transition, at the end of bk. 3, from Aen.'s narrative to Virgil's and from banquet hall to bedchamber. The relevance to Dido (after the story of Pygmalion) of the story of Lycurgus was remarked by TCD (14) and the theme of Dido and Aen. as alike colonists/ travellers, along with their shared experiences and expectations, is familiar in discussions of bk. 4. Dido is not, apparently, present as an explicit audience to Aen. as narrator (as Aen., on the other hand, is to Helenus, 377), but the *content* of his narrative is specially relevant to the experience of his audience. Dido's degree of awareness of Aen.'s goal as a colonist and of the oracular instructions he has received (cf. 435, 493, 539–43, 717) bears heavily on any old-style moral evaluation of the narrative of bk. 4 (*Companion*, 125) and in Aen.'s reaction to Androm's emotional state Dido might be thought to have present before her a warning of how he may react to her own passions (313f.). Note also the recurrent motif of (betrayed) hospitality linking Sinon, Polydorus, Achaemenides and Dido (588–691). Dido is useful to V. as an audience to whom Aen. may explain many things that V needs also to explain to us (cf. 49–57, 121, 165), but there is still much more to be understood of her role as recipient of the exemplary function of the narrative.

Links between non-contiguous episodes add to the density of the whole: thus the Helenus and Achaemenides scenes both provide comparable dramatic wanderings, add details and complications to the story of Troy's fall and contribute to the changing view of the Greeks. The Apollonian Harpies balance the Homeric Cyclops and Scylla-and-Charybdis, just as the Euripidean Polydorus looks forward in tone and character to the equally tragic Andromache.

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

A thoughtful and generous reviewer (J. Farrell, *Vergilius* 50 (2004), 183) remarks that I approach V.'s 'language almost as if discovering it for the first time'; since the comm. on *Aen.*7, I have now written notes on another 1500 verses, so where possible, in the interests of brevity, I try not to repeat notes on familiar phenomena; careful readers will discern that I now care almost as much for the abl. of extension as for the *genitivus inhaerentiae*, and over five years I hope to have grown

more tolerant of ambiguities of grammar and sense. Less so, perhaps, of earlier commentators' claims that certain metrical and grammatical phenomena are rare in V., or specially interesting because exhibited in bk. 3 (cf. 634f., 691, 695, for example). However, my thanks to Prof. Görler, *passim* in the commentary (10, 73, 114, ...) will reveal a number of places where V.'s Latin still remains, for all the excellent tools now at or disposal, truly difficult and challenging, over and above (e.g.) hypallage (index, s.v.), never specially easy for the reader. This reader of Virgil is a leopard a little too old for radical spot-changing, but the size, shape, number and location of the spots are still negotiable.

In the development of V.'s epic idiom, a splendid range of sources is to be identified, starting with:

Homer, rendered in Latin: **72 terraeque urbesque, 80 rex hominum, 98 nati natorum.**

Ennius: *Ann.* 1 **postquam, res Asiae, 12 penatibus et magnis dis, 39 eloquar, 52 obsidione, 67f. sepulcro/ condimus, 71 litora complent, 128 exoritur, 135 iamque fere, 163 Hesperiam, 175 manabat, 208 torquent spumas et caerulea uerrunt, 227 foedant, 263 passis ... palmis, 296 Aeacidae, 324 eri, 325 diuersa per aequora uecti, 327 enixae, 375 deum rex, 380 Saturnia Iuno, 384 lentandus, 415 longinqua uetustas, 453 dispendia, 474 compellat, 511 curamus, sopor inrigat, 570–87 (Etna, §4), 587 nox intempesta.** This list could be greatly extended (vd., for example, Cordier), on laxer criteria.

Tragedy (including Enn.): **28 atro ... sanguine, 45f. (?; crop of spears), 144 ueniamque precari, 195 inhorruit, 199 abstulit, 221 caprigenum pecus, 223 litore curuo, 241 ferro foedare, 443 insanam, 538 candore, 593 inluuies, 594 (clothes held together unconventionally), 618 sanie, 621 nec uisu facilis, 626 tabo, 627 manderet..**

In 3, there is likely **Lucretian** idiom and thought on a formidable scale, perhaps in consequence of the subj. matter, perhaps on account of vicinity to the composition of *G.*, even: **11 feror ... in altum, 29 frigidus horror, 32 temptare, 43 manat, 49 auri ... pondere, 93 summissi petimus terram, 97 dominabitur, 135–46 the Cretan plague (with 140f. aegra ... corpora, 141 sterilis ... agros, exurre), 151 (physiology of dreams), 151f. se ... fundebat, 173 coram agnoscere, 175 toto manabat corpore, 176 corripio ... corpus, 179 rem ... pando, 193 apparent, 198 umida, 199 abruptis nubibus, 203 caeca caligine, 217 proluuies, 229 cauata, 232 cae-**

**cisque latebris, 284 magnum ... annum, 315 uitam ... duco, 339 uescitur aura, 360 tripodas ... et laurus, 374 ire per altum, 375 manifesta, 379 expediam, 381 principio, 408 morem sacrorum, 411 rarescent, 414, 417 (creation of Strait of Messina), 415 aeu longinqua uetustas, 416 dissiluisse, 419 diductas, 420–8 (Scylla and Charybdis), 421 barathri, 426f. prima ... postrema, 459 quo quemque modo, 485 textilibus, 496 cedentia retro, 509 gremio telluris, 511 sopor inrigat, 518 caelo ... sereno, 530 patescit, 536 turriti, 538 tondentis, 557 exsultant, 565 subducta, 569 ignarique uiae, 570–87 (Etna, with list of instances), 594 tegimen, 625 frangeret ad saxum, aspersa, natarent, 627 tremerent sub dentibus artus, 633 commixta, 634f. circumfundimur, 635 ter- ebramus, 637 lampadis, 646f. (lair of wild beasts), 650 (diet of primitive man), 658 lumen ademptum, 669 sonitum uocis, 682 metus acer.**

Catullus: already, predictably, a rich source of idiom for V. (and I prefer to cite the clearer cases): **29 terram ... maculant, 31 lentum, 111 cultrix, 113 iuncti, domina** (predictably, Cat.63, as 29), **191 caua trabe, 298 incensum pectus, 325 diuersa per aequora uectae, 326 fastus, 330 flammatus, 421 barathri** (with n. on 422 sorbet), **523f. Italiam ter, 658 ademptum, 663 luminis effossi, 671 Ionios fluctus, 680 coniferae.** As we have learned, in particular, Cat.64: **40 uox reddita, 42 scelerare, 115 Cnosia, 122 desertaque litora Cretae, 208 caerulea uerrunt, 268 spumantibus undis, 357 inflatur, 427 pube tenus, 604 pro quo.**

Use of Cic.'s poetic language is also likely: cf. **197 gurgite uasto, 420 implacata, 570–87, §6** (eruption of Etna).

Various specialised lexica have also been identified in *Aen.*3, some more persuasively than others:

'Nautical': It will have been noted that I find very little 'sacral' or religious language in V., but a good deal by way of poetical representation of religious acts in epic (cf. **144 ueniamque precari, 264, 265, 438 cane uota, 528**). Likewise, a lot of 'nautical language' has been claimed, by Cordier and by earlier commentators (cf. **471 supplet, 473 uento ferenti**). I do not insist that Festus labels a word *nauticum* before accepting an expression in V. as 'marine', not least because some of Serv.'s definitions are so very unpersuasive (cf. **532 uela legunt** called *nauticum* by Comm. Luc.; vd. nn. on **275 aperitur 291 abscondimus, 471 remigium**), but a term does have to be attested in other descriptions of nautical manoeuvres (and preferably,

then, not of each and every form of transport or human movement, over and above the sea) before it can fairly be characterised as 'nautical' (cf. **403 steterint**, **441 delatus**). Note too perhaps **413 circuitu**, **451 reuocare** and very markedly **511 corpora curamus** from military narrative.

'Religious': it is a step forward that the singular alliteration and repetition of **383** can be shown to be distinctively 'oracular'; that term has been sprayed about irresponsibly in recent discussion of Helenus' speech. For religious acts, cf. **93** (kneeling in prayer; cf. **607**), **174 uelatas comas**, **456 adeas**, **460 uenerata**, **176f.** (prayers with hands stretched palm upwards; cf. also **263**) and for the language of prayers, note **35 praesidet**, **85 da ... da**, **89 inlabere** (?), **262 siue ... seu**, **359f. qui ... qui ... qui**, **374 nam**, **395 aderit**, **456 poscas**. For the language of prodigies, likewise on occasion poeticised, cf. **26 dictu mirabile**, **27 nam**, **36 uisus**, **43 manat**, **211**, **228**, **235**, **dira**, **214**, **tristius**, **225 subitae**, **horrifico lapsu**.

#### 4. Sources

##### a. *Homer*

Inevitably, the main lines of indebtedness, to *Od.* 9 and 12, both to narrative and to the warnings of Tiresias and Circe (Knauer, 181–209, with diagrams 3, 4, here discussed episode by episode) prove insufficiently complex: cf. in addition **192–208** for the storm of *Od.* 14, **294–505** (b)(i) for Hector and Androm., *ib.*(a) for Helenus as seer in Hom., and **588–691** for the Theoclymenus of *Od.* 15. Not to mention a strong element of Hom. alongside AR in V.'s picture of the Harpies. Learned identifications of Hom. localisations in scholarly writing on *Od.*: cf. **588–691**, **691** and note **209–269** and **209** for a comparable problem with the Harpies.

##### b. *Tragedy*

With *Aen.* 4 and 7 to come, it is fascinating to see V. at work with Eurip. for the first time: *Hec.* in **13–68**; for Helenus and Androm., cf. **294–505**(b)(ii): *Hec.*, *Tro.* and in passing, *Andr.*(*ib.*(c) on **500–5**). Cf. also **578**, **594** (the tragic hero dressed in rags). From the first, Euripidean material and manner prove an inspiration to V.: Polydorus and

Andromache are—at least for high sentiment, drama and high stylistic distinction—the finest moments of the book. For V.'s Etna, Pindar has been claimed as crucial, since antiquity (570–87); not quite correctly, it will be claimed. It may well be that for the Cretan plague V. went back beyond Lucr. to Thuc. and/or Hippocrates (135–46); likewise, for Etna, not so much Pind. as some more technical account, Tim., perhaps, or Posid. (570–87; cf. 414 on the Strait of Messina).

c. *Hellenistic*

After Mehmel, 37 ff., 85 ff., Hügi, 73 ff., R.L. Hunter, *The Argonautica of Apollonius* (Cambridge 1993), 173 ff., and Nelis, *passim*, it would be impertinent to offer here a summary of the importance of AR in *Aen.3*; Nelis may occasionally overstate the depth of V.'s Apollonian *aemulatio*, but for many years his book has been an indispensable tool in Virgilian studies and I hope my text reflects sufficiently my sense of its value, for the whole text, and not just for the Harpies-episode (add notably the storm (192–208), the visit to Helenus and Androm. (294–505(i), *ad fin.*), Scylla and Charybdis (565), Achaemenides (588–691) and the Sicilian periplus (692–707)), and for Homer, as well as for AR. There is more Callimachus, too, than has generally been suspected, particularly in the Delos-episode, 69–120, on the slopes of Etna (570–87, 578) and in the Sicilian ktiseis, 692–707; cf. too 72, 202, 203, 280, 694, 700. Note also 13–68 for the Hellen. metamorphosis-motif latent in the story of Polydorus, and possible use of Boio, 112. V. frequently falls into the manner of the Greek *periploi*, and not only in direct imitation of AR's Baedeker mode (cf. Lloyd, *EV*, 4, 27 f., Lacroix, *passim*, Reeker, 80 ff.); it is not clear exactly what he knew and read; apparent debts are listed *supra*.

In 1989, I argued at some length for the importance of ktistic themes and literature in *Aen.*; cf. too now C.P. Jones, 'Graia *pandetur ab urbe*', *HSCP* 97 (1995), 233–41. From C. Dougherty, *The poetics of colonisation* (New York 1993) I have profited a good deal; on this topic, note also A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (Oxford 2001), *passim*, O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires ...* (Genève 1995), T.S. Scheer, *Mythische Vorfäter ...* (München 1993), C.P. Jones, *Kinship diplomacy*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). Cf. nn. on 5 f., 7, 17, 78, 79, 85, 88, 96, 101, 109, 132, 133, 135–46, 136, 143, 146, 147–91, 171, 190, 209–69(iv), 247–57, 254, 257, 302, 334 f., 349, 365, 387, 389–93, 393, 399, 401 f., 437 f., 471, 498 f., 537–43, 551, 622, 692–707 for an indication of the

hitherto undervalued importance of this motif throughout bk. 3. For periplus-literature, cf. notes on **270 medio fluctu(?)**, **apparet** (*saepius* elsewhere, too), **507 breuissimus**, **692 iacet**.

d. *Cato to Sallust*

There seems at last to be real, specific evidence of V. reading Cato, *Orig.* (147–91). The Rom. tragedians contributed something, it seems to the Harpies (209–69(iv)); we have seen that there are numerous details and expression which have a strong old tragic flavour, but no claims are here made for systematic use of specific texts. Note the fine Lucretian sequence in the Cretan plague, 135–46 and the remarkable concentration of Lucretian language in the description of Etna (570–87). Perhaps unexpected, but clear and demonstrable here is the importance of Varro: very likely for Idomeneus (121–91) and for Narycian Locri, 399 (cf. 401, 552 for probable relevance to other ktisis-stories), very likely for the Sibyl writing on leaves 444, possible for Buthrotum (296–505) and Sicily, (692–707). More surprising, Sallust, 417 (creation of Strait of Messina), Scylla and Charybdis (421, 422, 425). No discussion of what source V. might have used for the Aeneas-legends and in particular for the hero's stopping-places is here offered (cf. 294–505 *ad init.* for Varro and Epirus, sceptically); the (extremely variable) evidence for each episode is rarely sufficient even to permit speculation.

5. *Growth*

The place of *Aen.*3 in the growth of *Aen.*, along with my own position in the whole thorny and tormented history of the topic, requires a fairly full, and annotated, discussion. The whole topic of the 'growth of the *Aeneid*' has for too long been the preserve of would-be code-breakers or puzzle-solvers: nearly 150 years of their concentrated attention<sup>1</sup> has produced surprisingly little in the way of solid results or agreement and that, I begin to suspect, is because the approaches (my own included) and solutions hitherto proposed have tended, however ingenious in their elaboration, to be too simple in their method; the desire for

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<sup>1</sup> I am most grateful to Prof. Matthew Carter for a photocopy of F. Conrads' Trier Programm of 1863. Its anodyne title, *Quaestiones Virgilianae*, conceals an acute and original work



an answer in appearance tidy and logically certain has all too often backfired because the application of remorselessly rigorous argument to an unfinished poetic text was never likely to yield altogether satisfactory results; equally, our own, modern sense of what V. 'would certainly have wanted in his final draft' is consistently overvalued and far too many of the consequent schemata of which passages must necessarily be later than, or are 'better integrated' in their context than, which others are of no permanent interest or value.<sup>2</sup> I cannot offer any provable certainty (though of course I nurture such hopes), but here suggest some ways in which the problem as a whole might more fruitfully be approached. Omission is often here preferred to polemic; it would be only too easy to quadruple the length of this discussion.

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 T. Dorandi, 'Den Autoren über die Schulter geschaut', *ZPE* 87 (1991), 11–33  
 G.E. Duckworth, 'Suspense in ancient epic', *TAPA* 62 (1931), 124–40  
 A. Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (Berlin 1913)  
 H.-C. Günther, *Überlegungen zur Entstehung von Vergils Aeneis* (Göttingen 1996)  
 (with NMH, *Riv. Fil.* 125 (1997), 468–72, 126 (1998), 249)  
 R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (ed.3, repr. Stuttgart 1965), 86–99  
 N. Horsfall, *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991), 91–102  
*id.*, *A companion to the study of Virgil*, ed. NH, *Mnem. Suppl.*151 (1995), 1–24, *passim*, 232–6  
 W. Kroll, 'Studien über die Komposition der Aeneis', *Jhb.class.Phil. Suppl.*27 (1902), 135–69  
 R.B. Lloyd, 'Aeneid III: a new approach', *AJP* 78 (1957), 133–51

<sup>2</sup> Cova, lxxxiii rightly complains against excesses of rationalism. Cf. too Kroll, *passim*, Horsfall *CR* 37 (1987), 16, *Riv. Fil.* 125 (1997), 471, etc.. Hardie, *CI*, 260, 273 etc. shares my unease at modern criteria of 'better' and 'later'. The two appearances of Nisus and Euryalus may stand as a warning: we have no idea whatever of V.'s plan or intent and the ordering of the smaller details of a complex epic, in the pre-computer age, was no simple undetaking.

- E. Paratore, 'Il problema dello stato redazionale dell' *Eneide*', *Atti* 1981, 2, 5–28  
 O. Ribbeck, *Prolegomena critica ad PVM opera maiora* (Leipzig 1866), 56–87  
 R. Sabbadini, *Primitivo disegno dell' Eneide* repr. in his ed., xvi–liii.  
 C. Saunders, 'The relation of *Aeneid* III to the rest of the poem', *CQ* 19 (1925), 85–91, = *ead.*, *Vergil's primitive Italy* (New York 1930), 194–209 (from which I cite)  
 J. Sparrow, *Half-lines and repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford 1931)  
 M. Squillante Saccone, *EV* 2, 95–7 (Discordanze)  
 G.W. Williams, *Technique and ideas in the Aeneid* (New Haven 1983), 245–285

### §1. *External events*

1.294 *claudentur Belli portae* is later than the first closing of Janus in 29 (n. on 7.604–6). **3.280 Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis** is clearly likely to postdate the founding of the Actian games in 30; it is not certain whether V. refers to the commemorative games held in Rome or to the ancient but revived and renamed games at the site (vd.n. on **280**), or indeed to both. It is not quite clear, for that matter, when either of the new series of games was first celebrated; possibly not for three or four years after the battle.<sup>3</sup> Bk. 8 (or at least vv.714–31) is later than August, 28 BC (the Actian triumph, *Companion*, 14), and both 6.792 and 8.678 (references to Augustus under that name) must be later than 16 Jan. 27 (though they could have been altered after the change of name), while 7.604 ff. offers no secure ground for dating.<sup>4</sup> That seems to be all.<sup>5</sup>

### §2. *VSD*

No reasoned objections have been offered to the severe critique I published in *Companion*, 1 ff. of our evidence for what is conventionally called the life of Virgil. If I (after E. Diehl, H. Naumann, G. Brugnoli, etc.) was right,<sup>6</sup> then not one word, not one single detail transmitted in

<sup>3</sup> See Dio, 51.1.2, 53.1.4 (which has been taken as suggesting a first celebration in 28); W.H. Willis, *TAPA* 72 (1941), 404 is sadly confused. Moretti's argument (L. Moretti, *Iscr. agon. greche* (Roma 1953), 205f.) that the first celebration fell in 27 (we have pentaeteric games in *even* years AD) might not have applied to the very first celebration, for a delay of four years between the battle and the first games seems not entirely convincing.

<sup>4</sup> Vd. my comm. *ad loc.* and see too *Companion*, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., with care, Gercke, 71 ff., D'Anna, *EV*, *cit.*, Sabbadini, liv–lviii.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. too 'Problemi della biografia letteraria', *Atti Acc. Peloritana dei Pericolanti* 68 (1992) (pub.1994), 41–53, 'The first person singular in Horace's *carmina*', in *Style and*

the VSD (and in the rest of the biographical tradition about V. as we find it in e.g. Servius) can be used as evidence in the present argument, or at least not without specific defence and justification, for that text is a work of attractive romance, little 'better' than the *Vita Aesopi*, a mere congeries of inventions, fictions and embroideries, sprinkled with stray citations from documents (not necessarily false) and occasional, almost embarrassing facts, each requiring justification and explanation for its almost freakish survival. For example, V.'s unrealised plan for a journey to Greece has been given a motive apparently relevant here, 'to tidy up the details in bks. 2–3 with a bit of autopsy':<sup>7</sup> the last thing a *Stubengelehrter* would want to do, but the plan anyway was the ingenious offspring of an unblushing union between a scattering of conventions and commonplaces.<sup>8</sup> In 1995, my analysis of chs. 22 and 23 (on writing methods) was insufficiently severe, for my critique of those chapters of VSD was written before I saw Dorandi, *cit.*: Günther, following Dorandi (a remarkable paper), suggests<sup>9</sup> that the 'prose sketch' of §23 is a recognisable, transferable element in serious (and therefore in less serious) writing about ancient authors' methods. Chs. 23–4, on V.'s methods in writing *Aen.*, are less open to point-by-point analysis, or demolition, or demotion to fictional status than the rest of the text. But any case for their rehabilitation as trustworthy must overcome a grave obstacle: why should these lines alone be trustworthy in a fanciful text and how could precise, accurate information about the poet's methods (and about them alone, or nearly so) have been preserved, given the state and character of the rest of the transmission? These chapters derive, I have suggested, from a text which laid out lines of defence against the *obtrectatores*<sup>10</sup> and do not relate information preserved miraculously about what really and truly went on in V.'s study.

VSD 31 quotes a letter from Augustus to Virgil, requesting some ἀπογραφή or κῶλον of the forthcoming work. There is no good reason to doubt the authenticity of the quotation;<sup>11</sup> that we seem to have a scrap from the poet's reply (Macr.1.24.11) might reasonably increase

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tradition; *Studies ... Clausen* (Stuttgart 1998), 40–54, and 'Virgil reads; Octavia faints: grounds for doubt', *PVS* 24 (2001), 135–7 for further thoughts in this direction.

<sup>7</sup> Thus e.g. Della Corte, *EV* v\*\*, 91.

<sup>8</sup> *Companion*, 21.

<sup>9</sup> Dorandi, 13, 26, 28, *id.*, *Le stylet et la tablette* (Paris 2000), 77f. and Günther, 65, n. 178: cf. notably the ὑπόμνημα of Lucian, *Quomodo hist.* 48 and see too *ib.* 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Companion*, 16.

<sup>11</sup> Aug. *Epist.* fr. xxxviMalc..

our confidence. We seem even to have a date, for VSD suggests altogether credibly a context of the Cantabrian expedition, some time between Spring 27 and June 24.<sup>12</sup> But VSD's next sentence (the reading at which Octavia fainted, apparently after, perhaps indeed soon after, Aug.'s return) is clearly in some way fanciful (Horsfall 2001, *cit.*), and on *Aen.* 6.681, Serv. (always assuming that here alone he had access to reliable biographical information) in all probability wrote that V. read to Augustus not Bks. 2, 4 and 6, but 1, 4 and 6.<sup>13</sup> And though it could be (e.g.) that some familiar ways of talking about the *Aen.* (licking bear-cubs, and 'props', *tibicines*, a building metaphor), are actually very old, it will prove less perilous not to employ such evidence at all.

### §3. *Literary chronology*

Several students of Virgilian chronology have drawn attention to the potential of echoes to serve as indicators of dating, but the study of such indicators has, it seems, always been limited to presenting the case for one single author or work. It is usually treated as certain that V. wrote the *Aen.* in the eleven years 29–19; the figure 'eleven' itself rests only on the shaky foundation of VSD<sup>14</sup> and does not account for the 'gap years', 30–29; if it became necessary to argue that *Aen.* was begun as early as 31, no solidly based objections to such a date exist.

(a) The 'parallels' with *Paneg. Mess.* (very shortly after 31BC) suggested by Sabbadini, and occasionally trotted out thereafter are unconvincing and unedifying;<sup>15</sup> it would indeed be extraordinarily unexpected already to find echoes in so early a poetic text (31–30). Tibullus' debt to *Aen.* is unclear in detail, and even if a debt were certain, the dating of Tib. is not secure enough to permit useful conclusions for Virgil.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Companion*, 15.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 58, C. Murgia, *HSCP* 72 (1967), 334, G.P. Goold, in *Author and audience in Latin literature* ed. T. Woodman, J. Powell (Cambridge 1992), 242, n. 12. The information is not remotely incredible, for bks. 1 and 4 constitute an unexceptionable sequence, while 2, 4, 6 conveniently reflect a modern preference.

<sup>14</sup> §25; here see above §2, and note *Companion*, 13ff.

<sup>15</sup> Listed, e.g., Berres, 294, 304.

<sup>16</sup> F. Cairns, *Tibullus* Cambridge 1979, 68, R.J. Ball, *EV* 5\*, 170ff. I refer here to Tib. proper.

(b) While V. strongly and unquestionably influenced the Hor. both of *Epd.*<sup>17</sup> and of *CS/C.4*,<sup>18</sup> NH, Hor. *Odes* 1, xxxv bizarrely date V.'s work on *Aen.* from 26 (though the digit now read as 6 may have been inverted) and also claim to see the influence of Hor. in bks. 1 and 6 (pp. 21, 107), but the trivial similarity of *C.1.12.11* and *Aen.6.120* proves nothing<sup>19</sup> and both *Aen.1.197* and *C.1.7.30* could belong (in any sequence) to the period 31–30.<sup>20</sup> The Junos of 12.808ff. and of *C.3.3* converge<sup>21</sup> and it is clearly likely that V. wrote later than H.<sup>22</sup> But there is more work to be done; **294** is promptly echoed by *Serm.2.2.94f.* and clearly there is more evidence to be found.

More significant are (c) Prop. and (d) Livy.

(c) The heavily Virgilian 4.11 is written perhaps three years after V.'s death; more to the point, of course, the much studied tribute of 2.34.61 ff.; this poem is later than the death of Gallus (v. 91), dated by Dio to 26, but by Syme to late 27.<sup>23</sup> The elaborate multiple echo of the proem. to *Aen.1* is clear in 63f. *qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitāt arma/ iactaque Lauinis moenia litoribus*. In 61f. *Actia Vergilio custodīs litora Phoebi/ Caesaris et fortis dicere posse rates*, it has often been claimed that there is a certain reference to *Aen.8* (Actium on the Shield), while in v. 66 *nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade*, there is said to be an unambiguous reference to the 'Iliadic' books, that is, to the second 'half' of the *Aeneid*<sup>24</sup> But to use 'Iliad' for 'Homer as a whole' is a routine use of synecdoche.<sup>25</sup> The easier since *Iliad* was traditionally the 'senior' poem.<sup>26</sup> However, vv. 61–2 are no mosaic of the language of bk. 8 (contrast sharply 63f.), and indeed Prop.'s *custos Phoebus* is some distance from V.'s own *Actius Apollo*, while the flaccid epithet *fortis* is never used by V. of Augustus or his achievements. Actium (or, in general, the victory over

<sup>17</sup> The argument for V.'s priority is solid enough: cf. my remarks, *Riv. Fil.* 119 (1991), 357.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms*, *Gymn.Suppl.*3, 1963, 171, n. 92.

<sup>19</sup> The absence of any visible textual relationship between *C.1.12* and V.'s lament on Marcellus is singular.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Gercke, 80, Lloyd, 136ff.

<sup>21</sup> Buchheit, 170f.

<sup>22</sup> Some circumspection in F. Della Corte, *EV* 3, 874f. On the dating of Hor. *C.*, cf. now, provocatively, G.O. Hutchinson, *CQ* 52 (2002), 517ff..

<sup>23</sup> *Augustan aristocracy* (Oxford 1986), 32.

<sup>24</sup> These positions have been sustained repeatedly and at some length by E. Paratore and G.D'Anna; cf. the critique by Günther, 59.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Buc.10.59 Cydonea* for 'Cretan' and *ib. 62 Hamadryades* for 'Nymphs', with Housman on *Luc.7.871* and Clausen on *Buc.9.13*.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Horsfall on 7.44f..

Cleopatra and her allies) is repeatedly climactic, as also for example at *G.3.26–9*, *Aen.1.289–91*, 6.798–800.<sup>27</sup> It would be much easier to argue that Prop. wrote from knowledge not of the text of bk. 8 (which he rather emphatically declines to show) but from a (correct and eloquent) sense<sup>28</sup> that the *Aen.* would reach forward from myth to Actium. No firm evidence then to demonstrate that bks. 7–12 were written first, or that Prop. wrote with a recent reading of *Aen.8* fresh in his mind.

(d) To conclude with Livy, on whose chronology there seems at last to have been some helpful progress.<sup>29</sup> If our understanding of V.'s chronology has also improved, then it becomes possible to offer a more credible account of the ample and increasing bulk of recognised debts.<sup>30</sup> Livy must have begun after 35 BC,<sup>31</sup> and it is hard to check scholars inclined to slide back into the years before Actium,<sup>32</sup> but the conjunction of anxieties about his own times,<sup>33</sup> with an incipient patriotic buoyancy and odd touches of near-'Augustan' language in the Preface and the early chapters of bk. 1<sup>34</sup> might suggest an *incipit* ca. 30. Luce, 232 *et passim* has identified 1.19.3 and 4.20.5–11 as (not much) later additions in a 'reissue', if not a fullblown 'second edition' and it looks likely that 9.19.16 is pre-23.<sup>35</sup> It does not, however, follow (*pace* Luce), even if bks. 5–15 are a single unit, that the whole unit must be earlier than 23. That Livy began quite slowly seems likely:<sup>36</sup> he could have finished the first decade by 26 or 25. That would make (e.g.) the deep impact of the Caudine Forks (*Liv.9*) upon the projected ambush

<sup>27</sup> 3.280 *Actia ... litora* might be thought to be echoed by Prop., v. 61; if *Aen.3* is indeed early, and Prop. belongs to ca. 26, then the echo is scarcely significant. See also my n. on 7.44f. *maior ... maius*, where an echo in Prop. is not entirely to be excluded.

<sup>28</sup> Which will have been clear to alert readers from the days of the poem. to *G.3. Companion*, 96f.

<sup>29</sup> T.J. Luce, *TAPA* 96 (1965), 209ff., S. Oakley; comm. *Liv.6*, 109f. (exemplary); cf. also C.S. Kraus, ed. *Liv.6*, 1ff., A.J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in classical historiography* (Beckenham 1988), 134f., *id.*, in *Studies ... C.O. Brink (PCPhS Suppl.15, 1989)*, 132ff., with my comments, *CR* 40 (1990), 448, P.J. Burton, *Historia* 49 (2000), 429ff.. Prof. Kraus and Prof. Woodman have coaxed me patiently but firmly to a clearer view of the issues.

<sup>30</sup> See pp. xv and 471f. of my comm. to *Aen.11*, and *SCI* 21 (2002), 79; P.G. Walsh, *EV* 3, 236ff. is a good summary of the more familiar material.

<sup>31</sup> Syme, *Sallust*, 285f., 290.

<sup>32</sup> Oakley, Luce, 210.

<sup>33</sup> Luce, 231; the supposed reference to alleged Augustan moral legislation in the Preface no longer deserves discussion.

<sup>34</sup> Walsh, *Livy*, 14ff..

<sup>35</sup> Luce, 229f..

<sup>36</sup> Oakley, 109.

in *Aen.* 11 easily explicable in a comprehensible time-frame.<sup>37</sup> If V. had begun (let us say in 30) with bks. 7–12, writing at the rate of (ca.) a book a year then it would be very hard indeed to account for the ample, intimate, ubiquitous penetration of Livy 6–10 into the fabric of *Aen.* 11.<sup>38</sup>

#### §4. *Cross-references and internal evidence*

We shall need to return to Sow and Tables (xxxiii–xxxiv) but here attention may be drawn to certain ways the poet employs to refer forwards and back in the text and to some implications that may be drawn for the discussion.<sup>39</sup> The epic poet may use the idiom *hic ille* when wishing to express ‘the aforesaid’.<sup>40</sup> V. does not do so often, but at 7.128 *haec erat illa fames*, in terms of this rare and specific idiom, he must be referring back to an earlier mention of that *fames*, and thus, necessarily, to **3.256**.<sup>41</sup> Naturally, the passage in **3** could have been written later, but that is the less easy explanation of the facts. Not least since we have also to bear in mind both 7.110 *sic Iuppiter ipse monebat*, which refers back to **3.251 f.** and 7.122 f., which refers (back, in some sense) to an interpretation of Celaeno’s prophecy by Anchises, absent from the actual text of bk. **3**.<sup>42</sup> If 7 *were* the earlier book, then one might wonder why V. bothered to insert retrospectively *two* forward references when he came to write bk. **3** (**251 f.**, **256**). It is also worth noting **3.170 f.**, when the Penates tell Aen. of Corythus; that both looks back to **3.96** and forward to 7.205–11. At 7.1 (vd. my n.), Virgil refers back to bks. 5 and 6. Lastly, at 12.440, Aen. quotes to Asc. the words he had heard from Andromache, **3.343**: deliberate and moving, but I have not seen it suggested that **3** was composed later even than 12.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> For many further instances of indebtedness, cf. n. 30; clearly, there is a lot more material to be gathered in bks. 9, 10, 12. Some recent commentaries are sadly underindexed.

<sup>38</sup> We now also require systematic investigation of Livy’s debt to Virgil, which we shall expect to find as from bks. 21–30.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. too xxxi–xxxii for **3.163–6** and V’s repetitions in referring to Hesperia.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. my n. on 7.255, Wagner, *QV* xx.8. Note too n. on 11.96 *idem*.

<sup>41</sup> Note the *quondam* of 11.105, which refers to bk. 7, and of 11.74, which refers to bk. 4. There is no systematic study of *quondam*, *olim* and the like. Note too the *memini* of 11.280, which refers to bk. 2; so too the *ueterum* of 12.27 points—not decisively—to 7.54 f..

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Aen.* 7, p. 112 f..

<sup>43</sup> Cf. comms. on **3.87**, **229**, etc. for ‘formulaic’ repetitions.

The verbal means of *forward* reference at V.'s disposal are neatly surveyed by Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and suspense*, 12f. (*frustra, infelix, moriturus*, etc.), but offer no decisive help here.

### §5. *Virgil's stylistic development*

The development of V.'s style in the "eleven" years of composition is insufficiently investigated, hindered as it is by the variety of manners of writing the poet employs and the lack of detailed stylistic commentaries; my brief introduction to the problems, *Companion*, 232–6, seems not to have attracted fruitful discussion. I refer only, therefore, to two discernible distinctions (and to one possibility thereof) between earlier and later books there discussed:

- (i) Sequence of three disyllables at line-end, often noted as commoner in the later books: Norden, 447f. notes also **3.695 subter mare, qui nunc**, 5.731, but the former is tricky, for R.D. Williams remarks that the preposition (authentically proclitic) mitigates the effect of the sequence while **qui** hardly exercises the same force. Bk. 3 therefore seems to correspond to V.'s earlier usage.
- (ii) Unelided *atque* likewise is much rarer in the early books.<sup>44</sup> In 3, only at v.684. Admittedly there is not a single instance in bk. 8, but bk. 3 does in this respect correspond to V.'s general pattern of usage in bks. 1–6. Cf. further my n. on 7.473.
- (iii) My figures for position of pauses, for synaloepha and for ratios of dactyls and spondees<sup>45</sup> display too much variation of pattern to serve in any direction.

### §6. *Variations, innovations, experiments in style and texture*

Williams (G.W.) complains repeatedly about frequent, even abrupt changes in V.'s tone and manner in bk. 3: thus (271) the opening verses 'grandiose and impersonal', (274) the episode of Polydorus 'convincingly personal', while (262) those of Achaemenides are in the 'mannered style of grandiose rhetoric', and (265) Helenus shows 'ponderous solemnity and a long-winded repetitiousness'. There may well be more. Indeed, there should be. The rich variations of source and tone in bk. 7

<sup>44</sup> Discussed, Axelson, *UW*, 84.

<sup>45</sup> *Companion*, 234–6; corrected in the reprint.



are by comparison almost orderly and the occasional surprises are relatively moderate and small-scale. The sequence of episodes in 3 offers a marked, striking, even (to G.W. Williams) disagreeable variation in sources (Hom., Eur., AR, Varro), with consequent movement between tones epic, tragic, romantic, and learned, as also between 'objective' and 'sympathetic' (in Otis' still-useful terms). Such indiscipline might most usefully be explained as the work of a poet teaching himself or 'working out' the possible techniques and manners of epic writing, only to find himself without time (and even perhaps inclination) to 'clean up' the exuberant outcome; see further, *infra*, (xl–xlii).

We are now free to pass to the perhaps more familiar terrain of the irregularities and inconsistencies in bk. 3. Not all the disorder in V. is of the same character and origin,<sup>46</sup> but an account of the classic inconsistencies in bk. 3<sup>47</sup> that does not try to prove a point or demonstrate a theory, and that does admit more than one possibility of explanation may in the end lead to an account of the problem not incompatible with the conclusions reached so far from the 'external' evidence.

(a) In the face of distinct, alternative versions, V. will often simply refer to both, as a matter of erudition, not inconsistency.<sup>48</sup> There are numerous instances of this procedure (cf. *Alambicco*, 69f.), but I should not have privileged this mode of explanation<sup>49</sup> to the virtual exclusion of several others, here at last, I hope, given due space.

(b) The Trojans' knowledge of their destination.<sup>50</sup> Much has been made of an apparent conflict between the information offered by Creusa, 2.781f. *et terram Hesperiam uenies, ubi Lydius arua/ inter opima uirum*

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<sup>46</sup> My friend H.-C. Günther reproved me gently (80, n. 216, 81f., n. 220) for doubting that V. had a tidy mind, and was thus concerned to minimise the amount of disorder in *Aen.* He did not persuade me (Horsfall 1997, 471) and now that I have read Kroll's discussion I am yet more convinced of the poet's fundamental lack of concern with order. On this complex issue, Cova, lxxxiii seems to prefer irony at my expense to patient contemplation of the difficulties.

<sup>47</sup> R.D. Williams, 19–23 and Cova, *cit.* offer short but fair summaries, while G.W. Williams' ample analysis, for all its ingenuity, has long seemed overly concerned to prove a case.

<sup>48</sup> Horsfall in Harrison, *ORVA*, 467, 471f., *id.*, *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 35, *id.*, *Alambicco*, 99.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Günther, 80ff., Horsfall, *Riv. Fil.* 125 (1997), 471.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. (e.g.) R.D. Williams, p. 20, Saunders, 195–8, G.W. Williams, *TI*, 272, Crump, 17–21, Heinze, 83ff., D'Anna (1957), 53ff., Paratore, 16ff., Gercke, 30ff., Kroll, 157, M. Wifstrand Schiebe, *Erano*s 81 (1983), 113ff..

*leni fluit agmine Thybris*<sup>51</sup> with Virgil's description of the Trojans at **3.7** as **ignoti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur**,<sup>52</sup> whence elaborate hypotheses of changes in V.'s own conception of the Trojans' level of awareness. Nothing is simple in *Aen.*, least of all in bk. 3. We discover, for instance (**3.185**), that some time ago Cassandra (now quoted by Anchises) **et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna uocare**,<sup>53</sup> as Juno will later confirm (10.67f. *Italiam petiit ... / Cassandrae impulsus furis*). Nor is that quite all, for when *Aen.* refers (4.345f.), to the oracles of Asia Minor, of course in a context perfectly suited to rhetorical readjustment of the 'facts' (cf. xxxiii) *sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo / Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes*,<sup>54</sup> it is not at all clear whether *Aen.* consulted Grynium, 30 km. SSW of Pergamum, before the fall of Troy, or while his fleet was under construction.<sup>55</sup> Creusa's words, so near the beginning of *Aen.3*, are perhaps therefore to be viewed, at least with hindsight, as part of a substantial nexus of prophecies made to *Aen.* before he left the Troad.

The Trojans' apparently unnerving passage under the profound ignorance of **3.7** must be seen in terms of V.'s employment of a hallowed motif of the literature of colonisation: that of the future settlers who set forth ignorant of their destination: the people of Thera were ordered by the Pythia to found a colony in Libya, but on their return home, the Therans did nothing οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἶη οὔτε τολμῶντες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην (Hdt.4.150.4); similarly, *passim*.<sup>56</sup>

From the very outset of the book (**4 auguriis agimur diuum**), it is clear that the Trojans are and will be in receipt of fresh guidance. That will occur next on Delos, which will lead them to Crete, where in turn ... (the full and familiar sequence to be discussed shortly); the Trojans' ignorance at **3.7**, like the horrific character of their visit to Thrace, is not only traditional in character, but has, I suggest, a clear

<sup>51</sup> 'Lydian' is of course 'modern' and 'learned', a Virgilian overlay upon *Aen.*'s narrative. But even *Thybris* means as yet nothing to *Aen.*

<sup>52</sup> Cf. 4.311f., Crump, 20; the psychologising subtleties of M. Wifstrand Schiebe, *cit.*, are superfluous to requirements.

<sup>53</sup> See Gercke, 63, D'Anna (1957), 54, (1961), 30, Saunders 196.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Dido's 'confirmation' (4.377), in her reference to Apollo and the Lycian *sortes*; the two Lycians at 12.516 are hardly 'evidence' for a visit there en route to the West.

<sup>55</sup> Or perhaps V. was alluding somehow to the rich nexus of poetic tradition G. had attracted, Clausen on *Buc.*6.72, Lightfoot on Parthenius, fr. 10.

<sup>56</sup> At (1989), 11, I also cited DS 8.17, Paus.8.11.2; so too Cassius Hemina fr. 9 (with *cit.*, 12) of the Trojans (? in Sicily) *et tum quo irent nesciebant*. Cf. further, n. on **3.7**.

human and dramatic function in showing that the scale of their fortunes and consequently of their hopes of bearable survival can sink lower even than at the fall of Troy.<sup>57</sup> In the course of bk. 3, the Trojans are to be swamped by information offered in prophecies and dreams, copious, varied and frequent, but less convenient than a precise address and the latest periphrastic. Dreams and oracles vouchsafed to colonists *en route* are again a widespread, traditional motif<sup>58</sup> and were indeed (both dreams and oracles) variously present in the Aen.-legend before Virgil.<sup>59</sup> The evidence of Lyc. I do not discuss, for the dating of the Roman/Virgilian passages remains impenetrably perplexing.<sup>60</sup> But the texture of the motif of oracular guidance is complex in V., unsurprisingly, for he was peculiarly well-skilled in manipulating oracular obscurity and ambiguity to his own ends<sup>61</sup> and was here working with a rich pre-existing tradition.

It would be easy to list all the occurrences in order and by speaker of Italia, Ausonia, Hesperia, Thybris, Corythus (and adj. forms where pertinent), and to offer some sort of systematic account of (dis)order in the Trojans' developing knowledge of their future homeland and its whereabouts.<sup>62</sup> Here I only draw attention to the sequence of information offered at 3.93ff.: (i) Delian Apollo tells them to seek out their *antiqua mater*,<sup>63</sup> (ii) that Anchises takes (wrongly) to mean Crete; (iii) in Crete, the Penates complement Delian Apollo and tell Aen. in a dream that his goal is in Hesperia/Italia, inhabited by the Oeno-

<sup>57</sup> It may also be that the Trojans are to be read as making little sense at the outset of the topographical data offered them by Cass. and Creusa. Zonaras 2.85=Dio Cass. 1.2.3 has an oracle tell the Trojans to settle by the wonderfully obscure Numicus.

<sup>58</sup> Horsfall (1989), 11 f. and e.g. Hdt. 4.157.

<sup>59</sup> What seemed in 1989 to be a neglected topic (pp. 15, 21) remains oddly neglected. Cf. in passing Richard and D'Anna on *OGR* 9.1. and 12.3; H.W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline prophecy ...* (London 1989), 75 discusses the oracle DH 1.55.4, not satisfactorily, for it is far likelier that DH confused Erythrae with Marpessus than that he wrote of an otherwise unknown oracular site at a 'red place' on Mt. Ida; for some other oracles in DH, cf. my 12, n. 26.

<sup>60</sup> S. West in (ed. M. Depew, D. Obbink), *Matrices of genre* (Cambridge, Mass. 2000), 156 and *ead.*, *Terminus* 1.2 (2001), 128 f. has added nothing further to her suggestion—*JHS* 104 (1984), 127 ff.—of extensive post-Virgilian interpolation in the text of L.

<sup>61</sup> Horsfall (1989), 9 f., *Alambicco*, 81 ff., O'Hara, *DOP*, *passim*.

<sup>62</sup> At 7.149, the Trojans set out to explore *urbem et finis et litora gentis* (cf. 131 Aen.'s order to find out *quae loca quive habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis*): the answer is given at once, Numicus, Tiber, Latins. This was more than the Trojans knew already (assuming that the eaten tables guaranteed that they had at last truly reached their goal), and cavils are untimely. Cf. though, D'Anna (1957), 24.

<sup>63</sup> Itself a motif in colonisation-literature, Horsfall (1989), 10 f.

tri; the only specific detail is that Dardanus' home, Corythus, is located there, in some sense therefore located in the Trojans' *terra mater* (3.163–6—where *vd. n.* for the priority of bk. 3—will then be repeated at 1.530–3); (iv) only now does Anch. remember Cassandra's insistence upon the Trojans making for Hesperia, the Italian land. It takes less than a hundred lines to give Creusa's Hesperia and Lydian Tiber some body; now the Trojans have a goal in the West that somehow their steersman at least understands. They do not require further guidance. The passage from uncertainty to purposeful navigation, an interaction of dramatic effect and colonisation-literature commonplaces, is essentially over.

(c) The chronology of the Trojans' voyage. For DH, 1.63, Aeneas' voyage took a couple of years, while for DS 7.5.2, three years passed from the fall of Troy to the foundation of Lavinium.<sup>64</sup> For Virgil, the *septima ... aestas* is passing at 1.755, as also at 5.626, but given that 4.193 suggests wintering at Carthage, a major inconsistency has been claimed,<sup>65</sup> not least since it is hard to expand the apparent time-scale of Virgil's narrative between Antandros and Tiber to fill seven years. At 1.755 Dido is inviting Aen. to tell the diners the tale of his wanderings, and at 5.626 Beroe is exhorting the Trojan *matres* to burn the ships. Both contexts clamour for hyperbole, while Kroll and Cova correctly point out that *septem* is frequent poetic usage for 'some'; Zorzetti surveys Virgilian instances of *septem* and usefully remarks on the incidence of 'seven' at *Od.* 3.305f., 4.82 and 7.259ff. (*EV* 3, 784), but V.'s choice of numeral is not necessarily Homeric. It is easier to reprove the poet's critics for pedantic literalism than the poet for insufficient attention to detail.<sup>66</sup> There are in the text a number of indications which could be thought to contribute to our sense of the passing of time, but Kroll (153f.) rightly notes that 1.535f. and 3.141<sup>67</sup> are not intended to give a precise sense of the movement of the seasons, towards an orderly chronological whole. Cf. D'Anna (1957), 50f., Williams, 280f., Crump,

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Cass. Hemina fr. 7P (2 years); only in late antique accounts do we reach eight, or ten years, Horsfall, *CQ* 24 (1974), 112, expanding A. Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* 1 (Tübingen 1853), 285, n. 1.

<sup>65</sup> *Vnam de insolubilibus*, indeed, Serv. on 5.626; E. Thomas, 256f.. See e.g. E. de Saint-Denis, *REL* 20 (1942), 79ff., Mandra, *passim* (a book of learning and ingenuity, unless the reader prefers, unconventionally, to think of the *Aen.* not as a puzzle to be solved but as a poem to be read).

<sup>66</sup> Cova, lxxxiv<sup>f</sup>, Kroll, 156, D'Anna (1957), 50f.

<sup>67</sup> 2.255 is another matter; cf. A.T. Grafton and N.M. Swerdlow, *CQ* 36 (1986), 212ff. Add E.L. Harrison, *PLLS* 5 (1985), 135ff. to all the discussions hitherto cited.

26f., 39f., Cova lxxxv, Saunders, 207f., Kroll, 156, Gercke, 22. See **192–208, 290** for bk. **3** as earlier than bk. 5. See too Mandra, 15–38.

(d) Rhetoric and inconsistencies. It has long been noted that Virgilian rhetoric is a fertile source of distortions, exaggerations, errors, and calculated untruths, and (cf. §(c) above) full account has to be taken of the role of such manipulation of the ‘facts’ in assessing the gravity of many Virgilian inconsistencies: at 5.192f. Mnesteus claims he and his men risked the Syrtes and Cape Malea; they (and the other Trojans likewise) went nowhere near the former in bk. 1, nor the latter in bk. **3** (save in the interpolated vv. **204a–c**). At 1.200f. Aen. reminds his men that they had faced Scylla; similarly Juno at 7.302 claims she has tried Syrtes, Scylla, Charybdis against the Trojans, in vain. But the Trojans after all avoid the perils of the straits (**3.554, 684**). The *Lyciae sortes* of 4.346 (see §b) are perhaps to be explained in the same way. See Kroll, 139–42, Hight, 285ff., *Companion*, 188, 196, *Alambicco*, 101f., Schweizer, 22ff., O’Hara, *DOP*, 118 and my n. on 7.302.

(e) The sow and the tables. There has been ample and prolonged discussion of the ‘major inconsistencies’ involving bk. 3 (here, though, cf. the introduction to my comm. on 7.107–147). Note first the impossibility of any sort of simple solution to the issue of V.’s two accounts of the ‘eating of the tables’: there are numerous variants in the story as previously related, and V., in first assigning the oracle to Celaeno (after Apollo, **3.250ff.**) and later to Anch. (7.123ff.), follows Hellenistic allusive practice.<sup>68</sup> Aen. recalls a scene never actually narrated, in which Anch. explained what Celaeno had once predicted. So too (§d) the difference in tone of the two versions, as offered by hostile deity and positive parent, perfectly in keeping with the speakers’ characters. Note already **3.394f.**, where Helenus senses that there must eventually be a positive solution to Celaeno’s riddling threat. The prodigy of the sow is not precisely comparable,<sup>69</sup> in that there is greater formal variation (reflecting again a complex and varied pre-existing tradition) between prediction (**3.389ff.**) and solution (8.42ff.): Helenus prophesies that the sow will indicate the site of the Trojans’ future city, Tiberinus that in thirty years (: the number of piglets) Ascanius will found Alba (the sow’s colour). *Haud incerta cano* remarks Tiberinus, ingenuously. But none of this material is of recent invention (*Alambicco, cit.*) and the Latin deity

<sup>68</sup> *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 35.

<sup>69</sup> *Alambicco*, 99, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 12f.

offers the Latin word-play. Behind Helenus' version, though, clearly the reader will likewise sense Alba in the **alba ... albi** of **3.392** (O'Hara, 143). There was also an alternative account (that behind DH 1.56.1), which associated the sow with the foundation of Lavinium. Helenus offers necessary comfort (a ktisis-prodigy), while Tiberinus shifts the ktisis forwards a generation, in keeping with the bulk of the tradition (vd. Harrison, *cit.*, 135ff.) and indeed with V.'s chronology, but at a point when news of a long-delayed foundation will no longer distress the hero. We may now find the copious repetition between bks. **3** and **8** awkward, but it could very well have been intended to link prophecy and fulfilment in an ample, Homeric manner.<sup>70</sup> Convincing arguments for priority between two Virgilian passages require material better suited to the purpose than that provided by these lines.

(f) Anchises' death Narrated at **3.708ff.**, and commemorated a year later at 5.1ff. (5.30f., 49f.), though many have felt that Anch.'s death called for a more conventional funeral than the scattered elements of burial usage present in bk. 5 as we have it.<sup>71</sup> As Schol. Ver. noted on **3.71**, the division *cineres-anima-umbra* is conventional. No evidence then for but one single visit to Sicily, for burial alone, or for a text suited only to a funeral, not an anniversary; the details mix *parentatio*, funerary usage and hero-cult and the occasion is evidently not a funeral.<sup>72</sup> We are also told at 6.338 that Palinurus had died *Libyco nuper cursu*, when 'in fact' his death took place between Sicily and Cumae. Whence ample speculation.<sup>73</sup> However, note first that the cult-details of bk. 5 are as we have seen, a complex mixture of various ritual usages and not therefore entirely suited to any one occasion, but wholly comprehensible at an heroic anniversary. The action of bk. 5 takes place over some three

<sup>70</sup> Heinze, 93f. believed he could determine which passage was written first with a confidence that does not convince. Cf. rather Moskalew, 113: 8.43–5 genuine and 'the repetition intentional'. Cf. too Sparrow, 79ff. for 'epic repetition' in *Aen.*

<sup>71</sup> First, 4.427 is entirely irrelevant, as Paratore, 20 should have known; cf. e.g. Horsfall, in Harrison, *OR*, 470 for the learned allusion. Secondly (and here Henry's discussion is admirable), *salve, sancte parens, iterum saluate* refers to the repetition of the adieu *salve* (Wills, 95, n. 16, Horsfall on 11.97f.), while *recepti nequiquam* refers to V.'s sense of Aen.'s fruitless rescue of his father from Troy, only to be unable to carry him to the promised land (cf. not so much the typical 'funerary doubt', 7.4, as **3.711 nequiquam erepti**).

<sup>72</sup> Williams on 5.42f., Boyancé, 149f., Bailey, 293ff., *Companion*, 141. On the unmistakable references in Virgil to the familiar rituals of anniversary *parentatio*, cf. now J. Scheid, *Klio* 75 (1993), 193ff. (the comparison with *ILS* 139.16–25 is decisive) and in *La commemorazione di Germanico ...* (ed.A. Fraschetti, Roma 2000), 134.

<sup>73</sup> Crump, 64, Paratore, 20ff., Williams, *TI*, 278f.; see *Companion*, 141.

weeks:<sup>74</sup> the Trojans had left Carthage with the intention of sailing to Italy (5.18); that the weather did not allow and the Trojans had therefore interrupted their journey: cult and wind point in the same direction. At 5.777 the Trojans resume their journey for the Tiber-mouth:<sup>75</sup> their point of departure remains Carthage, for the Sicilian 'stopover' had been brief and unplanned.<sup>76</sup> That Acestes, who welcomes the Trojans on their return (5.40 *reduces*), was not mentioned in the narrative of bk. 3 is, *pace* e.g. Paratore, 20, a trivial detail, not even to be elevated to the dignity of 'an oversight that would have been corrected'.

(g) Inconsistencies and absence of mind Cf. xxix, n. 46 above. The scale of disorder in a book's narrative detail emerges only in the wake of composing a detailed commentary.<sup>77</sup> In bk. 3, the warnings of a Greek presence in SE Italy at vv. 396 ff. and 477 ff. are consistent, but an unnecessary duplication.<sup>78</sup> Much that is claimed by (e.g.) Crump, Saunders, Williams and Gercke as 'inconsistent' between bk. 3 and other parts of the poem is discussed here as the outcome of various quite different modes of explanation.

(h) Inconsistencies and changes of mood and tone; the relationship of bks. 2 and 3

It has often been remarked that bk. 3 diverges from the rest of the *Aen.* in certain familiar features of V.'s narrative manner:

- (1) Deities<sup>79</sup> Apollo is exceptionally prominent in 3, while Venus and Juno have been almost suppressed in *Aen.*'s narration. The primacy of Apollo is perfectly in keeping with his roles as *the* deity of colonisation, and as a principal patron of oracles<sup>80</sup> The Trojans'

<sup>74</sup> Della Corte, *EV* 2, 237.

<sup>75</sup> Cf., for Sardinia as another normal and natural stopping-place on the same route, *Bell.Afr.* 98, Cic. *Leg.Man.* 34, Skutsch, Ennius, p. 1, Rougé (69), 95.

<sup>76</sup> I have wondered whether some confusion may have been caused by Palinurus' role in the Trojans' stormy voyage to Africa, 5.789 *Libycis ... undis*.

<sup>77</sup> For bk. 11, cf. my comm., pp. 473–5: for bk. 7, cf. my comm., pp. 211, 438 and note in particular the importance of the studied, deliberate inconsistency, e.g. on the roles of war and peace in pre-Trojan Italy, 7.46, 423; index s.v. inconsistencies also gathers some tiresome trivia. Here more significant, cf. xxxiii on Syrtes, Scylla and Charybdis and xxxiii–xxxiv on the 'eating of the tables'.

<sup>78</sup> Kroll, 142; note too *ib.*, 149: 3.286 may at last be becoming clearer to us, while 403 ff. arouses suspicions, but these are morsels of erudition perhaps not polished up, signs maybe of lack of finish, or even of haste, rather than actually inconsistent.

<sup>79</sup> Heinze, 96–9, Saunders, 200–3, Crump, 23f.

<sup>80</sup> Burkert, *Gk.Relig.* (tr.), 114 ff., 144. Discussed fully, Horsfall (1989), 10 ff.. Cf. too Nelis, 29.

voyage to a new land, which V. viewed as a typical colonisation voyage (Horsfall, *cit.*) fell necessarily under his principal patronage and that in turn entailed—above all to avoid conflict and confusion—a reduction, for that one book, in the roles of Juno<sup>81</sup> and Venus (vv.19 and 475 are positively trivial), who had been her son's guide in Naevius' version (*Bell. Poen.* fr. 9Strz.). At 1.382 *matre dea monstrante uiam* V. pays tribute to Naev., and Aen. to his mother, in general terms (*pace* Williams, 277, D'Anna (1957), 53f.).

- (2) The only simile in the book is at 679–83 (Crump, 29, Cova xcivf.); that is a clear sign of a stretch of text that has not been worked up in its form, texture and appearance<sup>82</sup>
- (3) In 3, Anchises<sup>83</sup> repeatedly gives orders (9, 472f., 588ff.), over, that is, and above his (Naevian, Virgilian) role as the Trojans' chief in matters ritual and oracular, and in awkward contrast, it is said, with his appearance as a feeble ancient at the end of bk. 2. But *patria potestas* need not be exercised by another tough old Priam; Anch.'s relatively enfeebled physical state adds greatly to the wonderful scene of his accepting to leave Troy as Aen.'s *comes* (2.704); between elderly father and middle-aged son, there is no familiar conflict.<sup>84</sup>
- (4) Bk. 3 is very close to bk. 2 in content; repeatedly, the Fall of Troy is—quite rightly and comprehensibly—present at a short remove behind the Trojans' shoulders, in (e.g.) the episodes of Polydorus, Andromache and Helenus, and Achaemenides (vd. xiv–xv). That closeness could be re-expressed as the question of which of the two books was written first<sup>85</sup> The analogies in structure and details between the episodes of Sinon and Achaemenides have aroused

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<sup>81</sup> But vd. 380, 433ff.; Saunders notes (202) that *Iunonis grauis ira* is almost equally absent from bk. 2.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. too a lack of elaboration in language, imagery and metaphor; note (j) below. Denis Feeney draws attention to (limited) Homeric usage of similes in speech, citing Hainsworth on *Il.*9.323f. and Edwards, comm. *Il.*17–20, p. 29. Virgilian rarity might perhaps reflect that observed in Hom..

<sup>83</sup> Lloyd, 143ff., G.W. Williams, *TI*, 275f..

<sup>84</sup> Cf. S. Dixon, *Roman family* (Baltimore 1992), 146f..

<sup>85</sup> Crump 18, R.D. Williams, p. 20, Saunders 195, 199, 202, and G.W. Williams, *TI*, 271, 272 are concerned chiefly with traditional narrative inconsistencies between the two books.



interest,<sup>86</sup> but will be explained as above all structurally and thematically significant. G.W. Williams, doggedly pursuing an original third-person narrative in bk. 3, complains that Aeneas' 'asides', **594 at cetera Graius** and **595 et quondam patriis ad Troiam missus in armis**, are lacking in tact and that Aen.'s echo (691) of Achaem.'s (613) **infelicis Vlix** is strikingly infelicitous. But Aen. is already showing humanity towards the now-suffering conquerors of Troy, and his introductory comments on Achaem. are an expression of a remarkable shift of sympathies (vd. n. on 613) and prepare us for a tension of past and present, of friend and foe, of Greek and Trojan, of a typical blurring of lines and values between East and West.

Between the two books there are also some striking verbal echoes,<sup>87</sup> on which it seems at last possible to take a clear position (cf. xli on 2.774–5): the priority of bk. 3 over bk. 2 appears secure.

(i) First-person and third-person<sup>88</sup> Though few students of the 'growth' problem would claim that V. simply re-wrote the *Aeneid* as a first-person narrative once *Aen.*3 secured its present position in the poem, the conviction that V. originally narrated Aen.'s travels in the third person is widespread (cf. *infra*, xxxix). Discussion is focused on four passages in particular: (i) **684–6**: could we be sure that V. had written **ni teneant cursus** (686), it would be far harder to dismiss any thought of various stages in the development of bk. 3, but SDan. reads **teneam** here, and is followed by Mynors and Goold (after Ribbeck). It would have been natural for copyists to write the third person here just under the (correct) **monent** of 684. (ii) **71–100**, **124–44** and (yet worse) (iii) **207–10**, in all of which passages Williams (*TI*, 268) criticises the 'bizarre' (*et sim.*) intermingling of third- (plur.) and first-person (sing. and plur.) narrative, yet commentators have found no grounds for anxiety in these very passages.

The suggestion that bk. 3 could ever have begun the *Aen.*<sup>89</sup> is distressing:<sup>90</sup> clearly (and this should have been recognised long ago) *Od.* and

<sup>86</sup> Cova lxi, G.W. Williams, *TI*, 262.

<sup>87</sup> Aside from familiar 'formulaic' language, note e.g. **3.299::2.10**, **3.332::2.663**, **3.495::2.780**, **3.500::2.781 f.**, **3.505::2.194**, **3.630::2.265**.

<sup>88</sup> Crump, 34f., Williams, 266ff., Cova, xcvi, D'Anna (1957), 66ff., Günther, 55ff.

<sup>89</sup> Williams, *TI*, 272, 283.

<sup>90</sup> Günther, *cit.*, is properly eloquent on the topic.

Naev. *BP* will have suggested to Virgil from the very first far<sup>91</sup> better ways of organising the material as narrative in speech.

(j) Half-lines. Not in themselves of any importance as an indication of the order in which the books of *Aen.* were composed. If we decline to use the doubtful external evidence for the books read to Aug. (xxiv; *aliter*, Günther, 60f.) and hesitate to treat 'progressive revelation of the Trojans' goal' as *the* solution to the problem of divine guidance and the Trojans' voyage,<sup>92</sup> then the role of the half-lines in the present argument is far from clear. Dr. Günther and I would agree entirely that the half-lines often lead us to passages never fully worked up, or not yet fully revised (Günther, 58). But *summa manus* or its lack is present in the *Aen.* under many aspects; in terms of content and poetry, bks. 2, 4 and 6 reach unmatched heights, yet bk. 6 has only two half-lines, as against the 10 of bk. 2 (and there are 5 in *Aen.*4). But the half-lines point to lack of finish in the structure, the drama, the characterisation, the marriage of epic and tragedy, rather than to any sense on the poet's part of insufficient care hitherto devoted to the poetry,<sup>93</sup> such as we may suspect, in, say, some of the later scenes of *Aen.*11. 'Finish' may rather tend to suggest 'formal polish' and is perhaps best not used here.

Intense effort devoted to the poetry might indeed be very fairly be associated with simultaneous unease about many details in the poem (so rightly Günther, 59), yet bks. 4 and 6, hardly if at all inferior to 2 simply as poetic texts, had left in the poet—to judge simply by the number of half-lines—far, far fewer grounds for dissatisfaction regarding details.<sup>94</sup> The alleged reading of bk. 2 to Aug. is not here mentioned: it is unlikely that Serv. could have preserved accurate information on the books read, and unlikely too that he mentioned bk. 2 (*ib.*); the 'finished' state arguably required of a book before an approximately datable 'gala performance' is therefore perfectly irrelevant.

<sup>91</sup> Günther of course has seen that Knauer's analysis of V.'s reworking of Hom. is here decisive, *GRBS* 5 (1964), 81=*ANRW* 2.31.2, 888.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. xxx–xxxi above on the issues of revelation; contrast Günther, 55.

<sup>93</sup> A paradox that does not escape Günther, 59, who well cites Williams on 5.294.

<sup>94</sup> In bk. 11 I note repeatedly instances of the poet's remarkable competence in handling complex military narrative, a competence, though, that came of increased experience, and perhaps of reading Caesar (as he can be shown amply to have done) rather than the ongoing bestseller, Livy. The incomplete mastery of order in bk. 2 betrays inexperience and lack of finish (cf. G.P. Goold, *HSCP* 74 (1968), 155 ff.).

(k) Some other difficulties.

- (1) G.W. Williams complains (*TI*, 263) that the dawn of **588–9** is mannered and over-poetic in a first-person narrative, but *Aen.* as narrator is privileged to employ a contrast of light and sun against the wretched spectacle of Achaem.'s appearance.
- (2) He is also troubled (*ib.*, 273) by **278 insperata**; naturally this landfall is unhopèd-for, not after passing through Ulysses' waters, but after Celaeno's words and presence have filled *Aen.* with fear and horror.
- (3) Perhaps more seriously,<sup>95</sup> the Sibyl, we learn (**458–9**), will tell *Aen.* of **Italiae populos uenturaque bella/ et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem**. Of course that role will actually be filled not by the Sibyl (6.83–94), but by Anchises (6.890–2), after *Anch.* has warned *Aen.* of the enemy to come at 5.730–1, and of Sibyl's role as his son's future companion. *V.* habitually duplicates and complicates important motifs (Kroll, 156ff.). *Anch.* and the Sibyl interact repeatedly and, it may be thought, very satisfactorily.

### *Conclusions*

Despite the severe restrictions here placed on the evidence to be admitted in discussion of dating and sequence of composition, enough seems to have remained: §3(d) (on *Livy*) and §4 (on back-references in *V.*'s account of the eating of the tables) would appear to have yielded grounds (unrecognised, even, and objective, too) in favour of books 1–6 having been written before bks. 7–12. The years of composition were (roughly) 30–19, unsurprisingly. Indications have been offered to explain why bk. **3** should be considered an early (even, the earliest) book, while, for the rest, it remains even probable that the *Aen.* was composed in roughly the order in which it now stands. Within bks. 1–**3**, progress is more difficult; certainly **3** is earlier than 1 (see **163–5, 192–200, 229, 476, 516, 533, 580** a cumulative and satisfactory body of evidence). The relationship of 2 to its neighbours is more difficult, for **3.1–12** presuppose the Fall of Troy, rather than *Aen.*2, while the numerous verbal echoes (see n. 87) are, none of them, quite decisive

<sup>95</sup> See Kroll, 158f., Saunders 205f., Crump, 22f., etc.. Prof. O'Hara reminds me of the analogous overlap between Cyrene and Proteus.

for priority. Only comparison of **48** with 2.774–5 seems to suggest (if the content is not simply ‘formulaic’) that bk. **3** is likely to be earlier (vd. too n. 94). Certainly, the relationship of Creusa’s prophecy to *Aen.* to the coherent and developing sequence of prophecies in **3** will not prove singular or significant (vd. xxxii, *supra*). We have also seen that in late 27, Prop. shows knowledge of the proem to *Aen.* 1, so it becomes likelier than *Aen.* was begun as early as 29, even 30 (*supra*, xxiv). The proem to bk. **3**, though, is clearly later than that to bk. 1, is probably later than the composition of 2, and has no place in the wider argument. Half-lines are certainly a clue to what left V. worried and dissatisfied, but that turns out not to be a safe clue to the order in which the books were composed. The *Aen.* contains a good deal of disorder, to be accounted for in various ways; had the *Aen.* been finished some of it would perhaps been eliminated, and the rest perhaps not. The case for the poet having had a tidy mind does not seem to be strong. The hunt for inconsistencies remains entertaining, interesting, even rewarding, so long as those inconsistencies are not used as blocks with which to build some massive argument; such *monumenta aere perenniora* are perhaps in the end less useful than clues towards beginning to understand how V. tried, with mixed success and no definite conclusion for us, to impose some sort of order upon his sources and narrative.<sup>96</sup>

### 6. Innovation and experiment

If the argument offered in section §5 is in some measure correct, then there is room to suggest that in *Aen.* **3** we might expect to find signs of immaturity, trial, experiment, not all of which will have been smoothed out in subsequent revision(s). Potentially a useful explanation of some of the odder features attributed to *Aen.* **3**, notably by G.W. Williams (xxxviii–xxxix). Otis long since established the sequence of develop-

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<sup>96</sup> Odd details in the above, or in the supporting discussion in the comm., may, *passim*, fail to convince the informed reader. For example, the tricky case of **332** and bk. 2. While I would hope that a passable case may have been offered for the priority of bk. **3** over bk. 2, objectors to individual explanations are reminded that, rather than dismantle every argument here offered for the priority of bk. **3** over bk. 2, it may prove easier to assume that in a few cases V. in fact altered passages in bk. **3** in the light of what he later wrote. Not everything, and not systematically, for in that case bk. **3** would be perfect and seamless, which, mercifully, it is not.

ment from *G.*, to *G.4* (Orpheus and Aristaeus), to *Aen.* (408–13) and thereafter Knauer illuminated the striking growth of V.'s skill and scale in the adaptation of Homeric material in the second half of *G.4* (*ANRW* 2.31.2. 890–918, *GRBS* 5 (1964), 61–84), though there remains much to be said on the growth of V.'s mature epic style; some Homerising anticipations in *G.4* noted, *Companion*, 241–4. It is worth noting, in this context, both Goold's discussion of V.'s inability to handle complex simultaneous narrative in bk. 2 (cf. xxxviii, n. 94 *supra*) and Heurgon's classic demonstration of the integral link between *G.4* and *Aen.2*, between Eurydice and Creusa, *REL* 9 (1931), 258–268, *MEFR* 49 (1932), 6–60 (and, for convenience, Austin on 2.795). Note too perhaps the elaborate 'frame' around Helenus' prophecy, reminiscent in some ways of the structure of the end of *G.4* (294–595, (b)) It is therefore a challenging exercise to try to identify in *Aen.3* experiments, sketches, attempts at working out techniques which will later come easily and naturally to the maturer poet. The book's striking variations of tone and manner acquire new interest if viewed as a series of relatively youthful experiments. Much of the mastery in actual writing and in combining material is already amply there (and was indeed, in *G.*), but it might be worth suggesting, for example, that while there is admirable *Steigerung* between *Aen.*'s three attacks on Polydorus' bush, the Harpies' three attacks on the Trojans do not form a successful climax. Polydorus is V.'s first extended handling of a tragic sequence, which he enriches with a dazzling variety of other recognisable literary strands. Indeed all the episodes down to and including the Harpies share a possibly calculated desire to work at an extraordinary complexity of motifs and antecedents, much underplayed in discussions hitherto, with the result that the prodigious richness of texture in these vv. has been systematically undervalued; 332 is perhaps an instance of too many allusions in play for any easy comprehension. Note motifs from Greek colonisation-literature, from Roman portent-descriptions and from the Gk. *periplois* (present also in AR and discussed by e.g. Mehmel and Lloyd); the chance nowadays to apply swift and numerous stylistic searches of the Greek material to our understanding of the Lat. text is a notable advantage.

But it would be misleading to hail *Aen.3* as a triumph. The claim here advanced for it as the product of V.'s first steps in epic is if anything reinforced by the recognition of certain defects: not so much those adduced in Williams' frenzied assault, *TI*, 262ff., or (e.g.) by Wellesley, 692–707, but those which might be claimed, after long reflec-

tion, as reflecting immature judgement: the lack of danger, tension, drama, climax in V.'s Harpies (209–69) is hardly open to question. Celaeno's warning of famine is alarming, psychologically; otherwise, guano is no insuperable threat to Aen.'s mission. AR's Phineus, over a longer period, had indeed suffered at their hands, but a necessarily brief encounter between Trojans and Harpies contained little potential for drama or 'adventure'. Neither Scylla and Charybdis nor the Cyclops offered V. many possibilities, after Hom.'s narrative: on grounds of geography, some encounter could not be avoided, but Hom. had preempted all the situations' charge of peril or drama for seafarers thereafter: the Trojans view the Strait at a distance, and V. achieves an elaborate variation on the Cyclops-episode with the invention of Achaemenides, but the Cyclopes' great roar (672) is no actual threat to Aeneas: pathos too is Homeric, but may be felt not to be quite enough. All these scenes are dense, learned, elegant variations upon grand antecedents. V.'s technique is already impeccable; perhaps it is simply unfair or unreasonable of modern readers to hope for some moments of, dare one say, excitement.

### 7. Text

No repetition here of what I wrote in the intro. to *Aen.*7, xxvi–xxxi, on the transmission of the *Aen.*. But *Aen.*3 contains more textual problems than bk. 11 did: clearly 204a-c are not Virgilian; no more are the supplements to the hemistich, 661 or the clearly interpolated 230. More surprisingly, though 340 is very probably Virgilian, I doubt that it belongs after 339 and before 341. The tangle of 684–6 seems soluble (and Mynors' text there unexceptionable); the difficulties raised by editors and commentators are, many of them, *ignes fatui*. Only at 127, 618 and 659 do I seriously doubt that the OCT prints what V. wrote; elsewhere, Mynors' app.crit. does not always, in bk. 3, state the evidence for the readings of the capital mss altogether correctly, and we do differ quite a lot on punctuation (cf. e.g. 319) and orthography (see xlv for my marginal abbrevs.). On the latter, Prof.E.J. Kenney kindly wrote to me at some length, in response to an account of some of the difficulties I thought were present in the evidence (cf. *Aen.* 11, xvii). I remain essentially unpersuaded, *SCI* 24 (2005), 225ff., presumably because I am more interested in the ancient evidence for orthographic fluidity than in the need to produce a readable text in harmony with the ortho-

graphic conventions current among the best textual critics. Finally, I repeat what I wrote two years ago:

I have once more provided a translation, above all because to do so compels the commentator to look, to think, to decide. If you write notes, a word or an implication may give you the slip; if you try conscientiously to translate, that is less likely. The appearance of an admirable Loeb edition ... has been a great help; at times I have needed positively to struggle in order to differ somewhat from Goold's precise, grand and readable version.

### 8. *Commentary and commentaries*

The commentator on *Aen.*3 is faced by a surprising number of recent texts and commentaries:

(1) the popular ed. (BUR *Classici Greci e Latini*, Milano 2002), introduction by A. La Penna, text., tr. and some annotation by R. Scarcia.

(2) the pocket ed., of which five small vols out of six have now appeared, by E. and G. Binder (Reclam, Stuttgart, bks. 3–4 is of 1997); terse notes and scrupulous tr.

(3) the Budé ed. of J. Perret (Paris 1977) occasionally offers long and intelligent notes, not always irreproachably sober in judgement.

(4) the praises of my friend George Goold's Loeb (vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass. 1999) I have sung repeatedly.

The comments on recent commentators that I offered at the beginning of *Aen.*7 so shocked one (Italian) reviewer that after a summary of my pp.xxxiii–iv, the review (in a major journal) came to an end without any word of the commentary itself. Here, the same risk must alas be run:

(5) Paratore (s.l. 1978), in the Lorenzo Valla series. No reason at all to moderate the comments offered in 2000 on his text and notes for *Aen.*7 (at p. xxxiii).

(6) Of P.V. Cova, *Il libro terzo dell' Eneide*, I wrote at *Vergilius* 42 (1996), 143–5, severely. Longer acquaintance reveals a few well-hidden good notes; the unsatisfactory first ed., as I have explained, was almost impossible to acquire and when a revised ed. was advertised ca. 1998, I did not try to procure it too.

(7) Williams' ed. mai. was of 1962 (Oxford), and ed. min. of 1972 (Macmillan, Basingstoke). The geographical, nautical, Callimachean and mythological minutiae in which bk. 3 abounds do not show W.

at his best. His metrical and stylistic observation too prove at times surprisingly imprecise. The general view I offered at *Aen.*vii, p. xxxiii f. remains unaltered.

Since I wrote my comm. on *Aen.*xi, a copy of Sabbadini (*Aen.* 1, 2, 3, Torino 1922) has reached my shelves, in deference to Prof. A. Traina's behests (vd. *Aen.*xi, p. xviii). It remains unclear why he so commends so perverse and underinformed a booklet (clearly *campanilismo* does not come into it); comparison with Page (same era, same public) is telling. L.D. Wainwright's obscure school edition (Bell's illustrated classics, 1900), though hardly intelligent, is scrupulous in noting difficulties. A. Cartault's *L'art de Virgile*, 1 (Paris 1926), despite its cold and hostile tone, is wonderfully precise and observant.

*Aeneid* 3 has been a wonderfully congenial text; I am sorry that it is rather short and therefore relatively soon over. My particular interests as a commentator scarcely require restatement; seamanship too has long been a favourite topic, and my use of (e.g.) 'brails' may be thought 'benutzerunfreundlich', but they are the correct term for what is described. Two extended passages of Euripidean character bring out, as so often, the very best in V.'s writing (Polydorus, Andromache); about the Harpies I shall doubtless be found unenthusiastic, but V.'s engagement with his material for Etna is particularly exciting, while Polyphemus has generated an ample body of recent critical reactions, *utrinque ... paruo discrimine leti* for the systematic commentator, but very stimulatingly so. With Aeneas' alleged impiety in tearing up the myrtle thicket over Polydorus' grave and with the 'reading' of Helenus' settlement at Buthrotum as a dead and morally dangerous backwater (two recent critical orthodoxies) I take issue, though not in any spirit of systematic anti-modernism: the detailed antiquarian evidence for 'commemorative' settlements needed to be considered with care (302) and the case *for* Aeneas' proper and correct behaviour in Thrace perhaps needed to be made, in the light of the peculiarly complex antecedents of the Polydorus-scene and in the wake of Eve Adler's exceptionally acute observations, pub. 2003, just before her death. Even the Trojans' attack on the Harpies (209–69) has been subjected to moral criticism, and some answer is offered. A detailed narratological reading of both books of *Aen.*'s narrative from Prof. Matthew Carter's pen would now be a notable boon to Virgilian studies.



## AD LECTOREM

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

(1) Reviewers have noted, quite correctly, that discussions of (e.g.) pause at 3tr. are not repeated from one commentary to another; that is, indeed, inconvenient, but preferable, I decided, to even bigger, costlier commentaries.

(2) Bold type is used only for refs. within *Aen.*3; **157** 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. **3**; this short-cut is only used when there is no possibility of confusion.

(3) In the text of bk. **3**, **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..

(4) 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. (**588–691**)—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).

(5) The *EV* is a mixed bag: its quality oscillates from the palmary to the pitiful; by that view, which has proved shocking to some, I am compelled to stand. I rarely comment explicitly on the merits of an article, but '*EV* 4, 1234' indicates a piece less good than '*EV* 4, 1234 (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.

(6) 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 recent commentaries, list what edition I use of every author that I quote. Note, though, that I cite Naev. *Bell.Poen.* from Strzelecki (Teubner, 1964), Ennius, *Ann.* from Skutsch, *Enn. trag.* from Jocelyn, the 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), 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.

(7) 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 rather than Roscher and *PW*; many eccentric articles are thereby avoided and the necessary information is almost always more swiftly available.

(8) As explained in the preface, this commentary has been written in a remote area of northern Scotland, with occasional bibliographical forays to Oxford. But modern tools of communication and research do a great deal to mitigate any inconveniences in this arrangement, though it may be that the latest published dissertation is slightly less likely to be cited than an arcane discussion of the 1890s. My debt to helpful friends and booksellers is very great (vd. Preface), but I ask comprehension, as before, 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. 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. The minor periodical is in the end even harder to find than the obscure book; the acute and informed reader will be able to reconstruct where the limits of my patience lie. Maltby's *Lexicon of ... etymologies* is here only neglected because—only for V.—superseded by O'Hara.

(9) Very occasionally I offer a relatively full bibliography of discussions on some important point (those containing fifteen items, or over). Otherwise I am deliberately selective in the interests of time and space and rarely engage in discussion of unilluminating hypotheses; This book could very easily have been substantially longer; to my original decision not to engage in polemic save under compulsion, or when appalled by the inexplicable spread of some unfounded dogma, I remain happily loyal.

(10) For all of *Aen.*3, I wrote the first draft of a commentary, section by section, without consulting my predecessors; that draft was then vastly improved by consultation of (*inter alios*) La Cerda, Heyne (and Wagner), Forbiger and Conington (more than Benoist), Henry, Page (more than Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke). I record with awe and gratitude what I have learned from the best of my predecessors, though by and large there was less to learn for 3 (and 11) than for 7.

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## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Postquam res Asiae Priamique euertere gentem immeritam uisum superis, ceciditque superbum Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia, diuersa exilia et dsertas quaerere terras	1	
auguriis agimur diuum, classemque sub ipsa Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae, incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur, contrahimusque uiros. uix prima inceperat aestas et pater Anchises dare fatis uela iubebat,	5	○
litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo et campos ubi Troia fuit. feror exul in altum cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis.	10	○
Terra procul uastis colitur Mauortia campis (Thraces arant) acri quondam regnata Lycurgo, hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique penates dum Fortuna fuit. feror huc et litore curuo moenia prima loco fatis ingressus iniquis Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo. sacra Dionaeae matri diuisque ferebam auspiciis coeptorum operum, superoque nitentem	15	
caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum. forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo uirgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus. accessi uiridemque ab humo conuellere siluam conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras,	20	
horrendum et dictu uideo mirabile monstrum. nam quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos uellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae et terram tabo maculant. mihi frigidus horror membra quatit gelidusque coit formidine sanguis.	25	○
rursus et alterius lentum conuellere uimen insequor et causas penitus temptare latentis; ater et alterius sequitur de cortice sanguis. multa mouens animo Nymphas uenerabar agrestis Gradiumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet aruis,	30	○
rite secundarent uisus omenque learent. tertia sed postquam maiore hastilia nisu adgredior genibusque aduersae obluctor harenae, (eloquar an sileam?) gemitus lacrimabilis imo auditur tumulo et uox reddita fertur ad auris:	35	
	40	

Once the gods above decided to overturn the state of Asia and Priam's innocent house, and so Ilium fell and Neptune's haughty city of Troy still smoked from the ground up, we were driven by divinely-sent portents to seek out a distant exile and uninhabited lands, and toiled at building a fleet right under Antandros (5) and beneath the peaks of Phrygian Ida, unsure where the fates were taking us, where it was granted us to settle, and we gathered our men. Summer had just begun when father Anchises was giving orders to set sails to destiny; then weeping I left the shores and harbours of my homeland, and the plains where Troy had been (10). I was carried upon the deep, as an exile, with my comrades and my son, with the Penates and the Great Gods. The vast plains of Mars' land are tilled a way off (the Thracians plough it). Fierce Lycurgus was once its ruler and there was an old bond of hospitality with Troy, and a tie between the houses (15), while Troy's good fortune stood. I reached here, and starting under an unfair fate, I laid my first city walls and called it Aeneadae, after my own name. I was offering sacrifice to my mother, Dione's daughter, and to the patron gods of the newly started undertaking, and on the shore I was sacrificing a gleaming bull (20) to the king of the heaven-dwellers. There happened to be a mound close by; on top there was a clump of cornel and a myrtle bristling with close-packed stems; I went up and tried to tear from the ground a bunch of greenery, to deck the altar with leafy branches (25). Horrible and extraordinary to relate was the portent I saw, for off the first branch wrenched from the ground, with its roots torn, there dripped drops of black blood, and they stain the earth with gore. Icy horror shakes my limbs and my blood chills and thickens with fear (30). A second time I proceed to tear up the pliant stem of another bush and to investigate the hidden causes, deep down. From another bush's bark the black blood emerges. Considering many things in my heart, I began to worship the country nymphs, and father Gradivus, who is lord of the Getic lands (35), to look favourably on what I had seen and to alleviate the omen. But when I attack a third stem, with greater effort. and lean against the sand facing me with my knees (do I speak or keep silent?), tears and a groan are heard from the depths of the mound and a voice issues up to my ears (40).

“quid miserum, Aenea, laceras? iam parce sepulto,  
 parce pias scelerare manus. non me tibi Troia  
 externum tulit aut cruor hic de stipite manat.  
 heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus auarum:  
 nam Polydorus ego. hic confixum ferrea textit  
 telorum seges et iaculis increuit acutis.”  
 tum uero ancipiti mentem formidine pressus  
 obstipui steteruntque comae et uox faucibus haesit.

45 **P**

Hunc Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere magno  
 infelix Priamus furtim mandarat alendum  
 Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis  
 Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione uideret.  
 ille, ut opes fractae Teucrum et Fortuna recessit,  
 res Agamemnonias uictriciaque arma secutus  
 fas omne abrumpit: Polydorum obruncat, et auro  
 ui potitur. quid non mortalia pectora cogis,  
 auri sacra fames! postquam pauor ossa reliquit,  
 delectos populi ad proceres primumque parentem  
 monstra deum refero, et quae sit sententia posco.  
 omnibus idem animus, scelerata excedere terra,  
 linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus Austros.  
 ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens  
 aggeritur tumulo tellus; stant Manibus arae  
 caeruleis maestae uittis atraque cupresso,  
 et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae;  
 inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte  
 sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulcro  
 condimus et magna supremum uoce ciemus.

50

55

60

65

Inde ubi prima fides pelago, placataque uenti  
 dant maria et lenis crepitans uocat Auster in altum,  
 deducunt socii nauis et litora complent;  
 prouehimur portu terraeque urbesque recedunt.  
 sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus  
 Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo,  
 quam pius arquitepens oras et litora circum  
 errantem Mycono e celsa Gyaroque reuinxit,  
 immotamque coli dedit et contemnere uentos.  
 huc feror, haec fessos tuto placidissima portu  
 accipit; egressi ueneramur Apollinis urbem.  
 rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos,

70

75

80

“Why, Aeneas, do you torture a poor wretch? Do spare my burial, spare the defiling of your dear good hands. I am born no stranger to you or to Troy nor does this blood ooze from a tree-trunk. Alas, flee this land of cruelty, flee this shore of greed. For I am Polydorus.

Here I was struck down and an iron crop of spears covered me (45) and grew up with sharp shafts”. Then my wits were struck with fear on two scores; I was dumbfounded, my hair stood on end and my voice stuck in my throat. This Polydorus poor Priam once sent discreetly, with a vast weight of gold, to the king of Thrace, to be brought up there (50), when he no longer had faith in Troy’s arms and he saw that the city was encircled by the siege. The king, when the Trojans’ resources were shattered and their Fortune had passed, followed Agamemnon’s cause and the winning side and broke every commandment: he butchered Polydorus and seized the gold by force (55). Accursed hunger for gold, is there nothing to which you do not force mortal hearts! Once the fear left my bones, I referred the portent to the picked leaders of my host and above all to my father. I ask what is their judgement. All are of one mind, to leave the land of crime (60), profaned hospitality to be quitted, to set sail to the south wind. So we institute Polydorus’ funeral: a great mass of earth is heaped in a mound and altars to his spirit stand there, mourning him with dark fillets and black cypress-branches. Round about stood the women of Troy, their hair duly loosed (65). We offer cups foaming with warm milk, and dishes of ritual blood; we lay his spirit in the tomb and with a great cry call on him for the last time. When at last they could first trust the sea, when the winds calmed the waves and the drumming of the southerly breeze called us to the deep (70), my companions haul the ships down and fill the beach. We leave port; towns and lands grow smaller. A sacred land is hallowed in the middle of the sea, very dear to the mother of the Nereids and to Aegean Neptune; as Delos wandered about shores and coasts (75), Apollo the bowman, in gratitude, secured her to Myconos and lofty Gyaros and bade her, now undisturbed and populated, ignore the winds.

Here I am borne, this kindest of islands receives us with her safe harbour; we land and honour Apollo’s city; king Anius, king of men and likewise priest of Phoebus (80),

uittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro occurrit; ueterem Anchisen agnouit amicum. iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus. Templa dei saxo uenerabar structa uetusto:			<b>T</b>
“da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis et genus et mansuram urbem; serua altera Troiae Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli. quem sequimur? quoue ire iubes? ubi ponere sedes? da, pater, augurium atque animis inlabere nostris.”	85		<b>O</b>
uix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia uisa repente, liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moueri mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis. summissi petimus terram et uox fertur ad auris:	90		<b>T</b>
“Dardanidae duri, quae uos a stirpe parentum prima tulit tellus, eadem uos ubere laeto accipiet reduce. antiquam exquirite matrem. hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.”	95		<b>O</b>
haec Phoebus; mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu laetitia, et cuncti quae sint ea moenia quaerunt, quo Phoebus uocet errantis iubeatque reuerti. tum genitor ueterum uoluens monimenta uirorum	100		<b>O</b>
“audite, o proceres,” ait “et spes discite uestras. Creta Iouis magni medio iacet insula ponto, mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae.	105		
centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna, maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor, Teucus Rhoeteas primum est aduectus in oras, optauitque locum regno. nondum Ilium et arces Pergameae steterant; habitabant uallibus imis.	110		
hinc Mater cultrix Cybeli Corybantiaque aera Idaeumque nemus, hinc fida silentia sacris, et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones. ergo agite et diuum ducunt qua iussa sequamur:	115		<b>O</b>
placemus uentos et Cnosia regna petamus. nec longo distant cursu: modo Iuppiter adsit, tertia lux classem Cretaeis sistet in oris.” sic fatus meritos aris mactauit honores, taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo, nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.	120		



comes up, with fillets and a wreath of sacred laurel round his temples; he recognises Anchises, his old friend; we join right hands in guest-friendship and enter his palace.

I was worshipping the god's temple built on the ancient rock: "of your gift, Lord of Thymbra, grant us a home, grant walls to us in our exhaustion (85), descendants, and an abiding city. Preserve a second Trojan Pergama, what the Danaans and pitiless Achilles have left. Whom are we to follow? Where do you bid us go? Where to found our settlement? Grant us, Father, an augury, and pass into our thoughts." I had just spoken, when, suddenly, everything seemed to tremble (90)—the god's threshold and laurel—, the whole hill appeared to shake and the cauldron to boom as the sanctuary opened. Humbly we bowed to the earth and a voice came to our ears: "Tough sons of Dardanus, the land that first bore you from your ancestral stock, that same land will receive you on your return (95) with her rich soil. Seek out your ancient mother. Here the house of Aeneas shall be lord over all lands, and her children's children and those who shall be born from them". Thus Phoebus, and a great joy arose, with mingled confusion. Everyone asks what those walls are (100), where Phoebus summons them in their wanderings and bids them return. Then my father, pondering the records of men of old: "listen, Trojan leaders and learn of your hopes: Crete, island of mighty Jupiter, lies in the midst of the sea; there is Mount Ida, and the cradle of our race (105). The Cretans occupy the hundred great cities of that most fertile realm, and from there our first forefather Teucus, if I recall what I heard correctly, was first brought to the shores of Rhoeteum and chose a place for his sovereignty. Ilium and the citadel of Pergamum had not yet been built, and people lived in the valley bottoms (110). From Crete came the Mother who dwells on Cybelus and the Corybants' brass music and the Idaean grove, from Crete the discreet silence for the mysteries and the yoked lions which bore the Lady's yoke. So let us follow quickly where the gods' orders lead us: let us placate the winds and make for the realm of Cnossos (115). It is not far off and so long as we have fair weather, the third morning will set our fleet on Cretan shores". So he spoke and offered the right sacrifices at the altars, a bull to Neptune, a bull to you, beautiful Apollo, a black sheep to Storm, and a white to the kindly Zephyrs (120).

Fama uolat pulsum regnis cecidisse paternis Idomeneia ducem, desertaque litora Cretae, hoste uacare domum sedesque astare relictas.		<b>TO</b>
linquimus Ortygiae portus pelagoque uolamus bacchatamque iugis Naxos uiridemque Donydam, Olearon niueamque Paron sparsasque per aequor Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta consita terris.	125	<b>OO</b>
nauticus exoritur uario certamine clamor: hortantur socii "Cretam proauosque petamus".		<b>T</b>
prosequitur surgens a puppi uentus euntis, et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris. ergo audis muros optatae molior urbis Pergameamque uoco, et laetam cognomine gentem hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.	130	<b>P</b>
Iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes, conubiis aruisque nouis operata iuuentus, iura domosque dabam, subito cum tabida membris corrupto caeli tractu miserandaque uenit arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus.	135	
linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant corpora; tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros, arebant herbae et uictum seges aegra negabat.	140	<b>T</b>
rursus ad oraclum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso hortatur pater ire mari ueniamque precari, quam fessis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum temptare auxilium iubeat, quo uertere cursus.	145	
Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat: effigies sacrae diuum Phrygiique penates, quos mecum a Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis extuleram, uisi ante oculos astare iacentis	150	<b>TO</b>
in somnis multo manifesti lumine, qua se plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras; tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis: "quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est, hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit.	155	
nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti, nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor, idem uenturos tollemus in astra nepotes imperiumque urbi dabimus. tu moenia magna magna para longumque fugae ne linque laborem.	160	<b>O</b>

A story flies about that prince Idomeneus has been driven to flight from his ancestral realm and that Crete's shores are deserted. The palace is standing empty of the enemy and homes have been abandoned. We leave the harbour of Ortygia and fly over the sea. Past Naxos' hills of Bacchic revel, and green Donusa (125), Olearos, snow-white Paros, and the Cyclades sown across the waves we pass, and over the sea strewn with many islands.

A shout goes up from the sailors in their various races: my comrades cry encouragement "let us make for Crete and our forbears". A wind gets up at our stern and escorts our course (130) and finally we glide towards the Curetes' ancient shores. So, eagerly, I toil at the walls of our longed-for city, call it Pergamum and bid my people, glad of the name, to cherish their hearths and build up the citadel with homes. Just about now, the ships' sterns were drawn up on the dry shore (135) and the young men were busy with marriage and farming and I was giving out laws and homes, when suddenly there fell on our limbs from a poisoned stretch of sky a rotten, pitiable disease, and on our trees and crops, and the sickly season arrived. They gave up their dear lives or dragged their infected bodies about (140) and the Dog-star burned barren our fields; the grass dried out and the diseased crops gave no livelihood. My father urged us to return over the sea to Phoebus' oracle at Ortygia, to ask for pardon, enquire what end he was bringing to our exhausted cause, where he bade us try for help in our toils (145) and where direct our course. It was night and on land man and beast were asleep. The sacred statues of our gods, the penates of Troy, which I had brought with me out of the city, from the midst of the flames, appeared to stand before my eyes as I lay (150): in my sleep, they were clearly revealed in strong light, just where the full moon poured in, passing through the windows. Then they spoke thus and bore away my cares with these words:

"What Apollo is going to tell you, when you reach Ortygia, he reveals here and—look!—he sends us kindly to your threshold (155). We followed you and your cause when Troy was burned, we traversed the swelling sea in the fleet under your command and we too will raise to the stars your descendants to come and will grant empire to the city. Do you prepare great walls for a great people and do not give up the long toil of flight (160).

mutandae sedes. non haec tibi litora suasit Delius aut Cretae iussit considerare Apollo. est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt, terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae; Oenotri coluere uiri; nunc fama minores	165	
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem. hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum. surge age et haec laetus longaeuo dicta parenti haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat Ausonias; Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arua.”	170	
talibus attonitus uisis et uoce deorum (nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere uultus uelatasque comas praesentiaque ora uidebar; tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor)	175	
corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas ad caelum cum uoce manus et munera libo intemerata focis. perfecto laetus honore Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando. agnouit prolem ambiguum geminosque parentis, seque nouo ueterum deceptum errore locorum. tum memorat: “nate, Iliacis exercite fatis, sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat. nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna uocare.	180	
sed quis ad Hesperiae uenturos litora Teucros crederet? aut quem tum uates Cassandra moueret? cedamus Phoebo et moniti meliora sequamur.” sic ait, et cuncti dicto paremus ouantes. hanc quoque deserimus sedem paucisque relictis uela damus uastumque caua trabe currimus aequor.	185	
Postquam altum tenuere rates nec iam amplius ullae apparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus, tum mihi caeruleus supra caput astitit imber noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris. continuo uenti uoluunt mare magnaue surgunt aequora, dispersi iactamur gurgite uasto; inuoluere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum abstulit, ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes, excutimur cursu et caecis erramus in undis.	190	
		<b>T</b>
	195	
		<b>T</b>
	200	

You must change settlement; these were not the shores that Delian Apollo counselled you, nor did he bid you settle in Crete. There is a place—the Greeks call it Hesperia—an ancient land, strong at arms and in the fertility of its soil; the Oenotri dwelt in it but now there is a story that more recent inhabitants (165) have called it Italia from their leader's name. This is our true home; hence Dardanus sprang, and father Iasius, origin of our race. Rise, and rejoicing report these not-to-be-mistaken words to your aged father. Let him make for Corythus and the land of Ausonia (170). Jupiter denies you the plains of Cretan Dicte". Stunned by this vision and by the voice of the gods (and that was no slumber, but I dreamed I saw their faces clearly, and their veiled hair and their helping expressions. Then cold sweat poured all over my body) (175); I leap from the bed; I stretch my open hands and my voice to the sky and I offer unmixed gifts to the hearth. Full of joy at the completed ritual, I inform Anchises and set forth the matter in order. He recognises the confusing descent of the two forbears (180), and that he had been misled by a recent mistake about those ancient sites. Then he speaks: "My son, trained by Troy's destiny, Cassandra alone used to foretell to me such an outcome. Now I recall that she predicted that all this was due to our race and often mentioned Hesperia and the realms of Italy (185). But who would have believed that the Trojans would come to the shores of Hesperia, or whom would Cassandra have convinced in those days? Let us obey Phoebus and follow better counsels now that we are so advised." So he spoke and we all obey jubilantly. This site too we abandon; a few men we leave behind (190); we set sail and speed over the vast sea in our hollowed barks. After our ships held to the deep sea and no land any longer appeared, so that everywhere there was but sea, and sky, then a purplish storm stood right over my head, bringing darkness and foul weather and the waves bristled with darkness. (195). Directly, the winds whirled the sea, the waters rose high and over a bleak ocean we were lost and tossed. Clouds enveloped the daylight; wet darkness removed the heavens; flashes of lightning redoubled as the clouds exploded. We were flung off course and wandered blindly over the waves (200).

ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo nec meminisse uiae media Palinurus in unda. tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes.		<b>T</b>
quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem uisa, aperire procul montis ac uoluere fumum. uela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haud mora, nautae adnxi torquent spumas et caerula uerrunt.	205	
seruatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum excipiunt. Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae insulae Ionio in magno, quas dira Celaeno Harpyliaeque colunt aliae, Phineia postquam clausa domus mensasque metu liquere priores. tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saeuior ulla pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.	210	<b>T</b>
uirginei uolucrum uultus, foedissima uentris proluuies uncaeque manus et pallida semper ora fame.	215	
huc ubi delati portus intrauimus, ecce laeta boum passim campis armenta uidemus caprigenumque pecus nullo custode per herbas.	220	
inruimus ferro et diuos ipsumque uocamus in partem praedamque Iouem; tum litore curuo exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis.		<b>O</b>
at subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt Harpyliae et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas, diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant immundo; tum uox taetrum dira inter odorem.	225	<b>T</b>
rursum in secessu longo sub rupe cauata [arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris]	230	<b>T</b>
instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem; rursum ex diuerso caeli caecisque latebris turba sonans praedam pedibus circumuolat uncis, polluit ore dapes. sociis tunc arma capessant edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum.	235	
haud secus ac iussi faciunt tectosque per herbam disponunt ensis et scuta latentia condunt. ergo ubi delapsae sonitum per curua dedere litora, dat signum specula Misenus ab alta aere cauo. inuadunt socii et noua proelia temptant,	240	

Even Palinurus said he could not tell day and night in the sky, nor recall the course on the high sea. For three full days, and doubtful they were in the blank darkness, we were lost on the sea, and for as many starless nights. On the fourth day land was at last seen to rise up (205), to reveal mountains and to roll curls of smoke. Our sails droop and we rise up to our oars; at once, the sailors strain as they whirl the foam and lash the blue waters. The shores of the Strophades first received me when I had been saved from the waves. The Strophades are called by a Greek name (210) and the islands stand firm in the great Ionian sea; them the awful Celaeno and the other Harpies inhabit, after the house of Phineus was closed to them and from fear they left their former board. There is no monster grimmer than them, nor does any crueller pestilential anger of the gods emerge from the waves of Styx (215). They are winged and have maidens' faces; their stomachs have a most foul discharge; their claws are hooked, and their faces always pale with hunger. Here then we were carried and entered port; behold, we saw sleek herds of cattle (220) and flocks of goats, with no herdsman, here and there over the grass on the plain. We rushed in with our swords and called the gods, and Jupiter himself to share in the booty. Then on the curved shore we built couches and feasted on rich dishes. Suddenly with a fearful stoop the Harpies arrived from the heights (225) and, amid loud cries beat their wings. They plundered the feast, and polluted everything with the filthy touch of their presence; besides, there came an awful cry amid the foul stench. Once more in a deep recess far under a hollowed rock (230) we set our tables and placed fire on the altars; once more, from a different quarter of the sky, from their secret lair, the noisy crowd hovered round the booty with their curved talons and befouled our feast with their mouths. I bade my companions take arms; there was a war to be fought with that awful brood (235). They did just as they were ordered and laid out their swords well covered in the grass, and concealed their shields in hiding. So when the Harpies plummeted and gave their sound across the curved shores, Misenus made the signal from his high look-out with a hollow bronze trumpet. my comrades attacked and tried out a new form of combat (240),

obscenas pelagi ferro foedare uolucris. sed neque uim plumis ullam nec uulnera tergo accipiunt, celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae semesam praedam et uestigia foeda relinquunt		<b>O</b>
una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno,	245	
infelix uates, rumpitque hanc pectore uocem; “bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuuenis, Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno? accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta,	250	
quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo praedixit, uobis Furiarum ego maxima pando. Italiam cursu petitis uentisque uocatis:		<b>P</b>
ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit. sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem	255	
quam uos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.” dixit, et in siluam pennis ablata refugit. at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis deriguit: cecidere animi, nec iam amplius armis,	260	<b>TT</b>
sed uotis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem, siue deae seu sint dirae obscenaeque uolucres. et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis numina magna uocat meritosque indicit honores:		<b>T</b>
“di, prohibete minas; di, talem auertite casum et placidi seruate pios.” tum litore funem deripere excussosque iubet laxare rudentis. tendant uela Noti: fugimus spumantibus undis qua cursum uentusque gubernatorque uocabat.	265	<b>T</b>
iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis. effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna, et terram altricem saeui exsecramur Vlixi. mox et Leucatae nimbose cacumina montis et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.	270	<b>T</b>
hunc petimus fessi et paruae succedimus urbi; ancora de prora iacitur, stant litore puppes. Ergo insperata tandem tellure potiti lustramurque Ioui uotisque incendimus aras, Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.	275	
	280	



to foul with the steel the filthy sea-birds. But on their feathered backs they felt neither force nor wounds; in speedy flight they swooped back up to the stars and left their half-eaten prey and foul traces. In particular, Celaeno (245), the prophetess of tragedy, settled on a lofty rock and let these words burst from her breast: "So is it war too, is it war that you plan to make, brood of Laomedon, in defence of slaughtered oxen and steers laid low? Do you mean to drive the Harpies from their ancient home? Take then into your hearts and secure these words of mine (250), which the all-powerful father foretold to Phoebus, and Phoebus Apollo to me, and I, the senior of the Furies reveal to you. You are making swiftly for Italy, with the winds you have summoned and to Italy you will go; you shall be able to enter harbour, but you will not be able to surround with walls the city granted by fate (255) before dreadful hunger and the injustice of our massacre drives you to devour the tables your jaws have gnawed". She spoke, soared on her wings and withdrew into the forest. But with sudden terror my companions' blood grew chill and stiff: their spirits fell and they bade us seek the gods' peace and goodwill no longer by arms (260) but with prayer and supplication, whether they are goddesses or foul and dreadful birds. Father Anchises spread his hands up from the shore, called on the mighty powers and prescribes proper honours: "gods, stay your threats; gods, avert such an event (265) and kindly preserve us for our piety". Then he gave orders to pluck the stern-ropes from the shore and to shake clear and loose the brails. The South winds stretch the sails: we escape on foaming waves, where the wind and the helmsman summoned our course. Now wooded Zacynthus appeared in the midst of the waves (270), and Dulichium, Same and Neritos lofty with her rocks. We slip by the rocks of Ithaca, Laertes' realm, and curse the land that fed cruel Ulysses. Soon there came into sight the cloudy peaks of Mount Leucata and Apollo dreaded by sailors (275). Here we head wearily and make for the little town; anchors are cast from the bow and ships lie along the shore. So at last we grasp un hoped-for land: we make purifications to Jupiter, cause the altars to blaze with our offerings and throng the Actian shores with Trojan games (280).

exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras nudati socii: iuuat euasisse tot urbes Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostis. interea magnum sol circumuoluitur annum et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas.	285	<b>O</b>
aere cauo clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis, postibus aduersis figo et rem carmine signo: Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma; linquere tum portus iubeo et considerare transtris. certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora uerrunt:	290	<b>T</b> <b>T</b>
protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces litoraque Epiri legimus portuque subimus Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem. Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris, Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per urbis coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum, et patrio Andromachen iterum cecissee marito. obstupui, miroque incensum pectus amore compellare uirum et casus cognoscere tantos. progredior portu classis et litora linquens, sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam libabat cineri Andromache manisque uocabat Hectoreum ad tumulum, uiridi quem caespite inanem et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacrauerat aras. ut me conspexit uenientem et Troia circum arma amens uidit, magnis exterrita monstros deriguit uisu in medio, calor ossa reliquit, labitur, et longo uix tandem tempore fatur: “uerane te facies, uerus mihi nuntius adfers, nate dea? uiuisne? aut, si lux alma recessit, Hector ubi est?” dixit, lacrimasque effudit et omnem impleuit clamore locum. uix pauca furenti subicio et raris turbatus uocibus hisco: “uiuo equidem uitamque extrema per omnia duco; ne dubita, nam uera uides. heu! quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto excipit, aut quae digna satis fortuna reuisit? Hectoris Andromache, Pyrrhin conubia seruas?” deiecit uultum et demissa uoce locuta est:	295  300  305  310  315	<b>P</b> <b>TTP</b>
	320	

My companions strip and slippery with oil practise traditional athletics. All are glad to have got past so many Greek cities and to have carried their escape through the midst of the enemy. Meanwhile the sun circles round its great year and an icy winter's North winds make rough the waves (285). A hollow shield of bronze, once carried by great Abas I attach to the entrance doors and commemorate the occasion with an inscription: 'Aeneas dedicated this shield, taken from the victorious Danaans'. Then I bid them leave harbour and sit on their rowing-benches. In rivalry, my companions strike the sea and sweep the waters (290). Directly, we lose the Phaeacians' heights from sight, pass up the coast of Epirus, enter the Chaones' harbour and reach the lofty city of Buthrotum. Here, an unbelievable version of events catches our ears, that a son of Priam, Helenus, is ruling over Greek cities (295), having taken power over both realm and marriage of Pyrrhus, grandson of Aeacus, and that Andromache has passed a second time to a husband of her own nation. I was astounded and my breast was on fire with a singular passion, to speak to the man and to find out about such mighty events. I set out from the port, leaving fleet and shore (300). By chance, Andromache was offering the annual sacrificial meal and her melancholy gifts before the city in a grove by the waters of a substitute Simois, to Hector's remains and was calling upon his spirit at his mound, empty and made of green turf which she had consecrated, along with twin altars, a cause for tears (305). When she beheld me coming and, distraught, saw Trojan arms all about, terrified by the great apparition she went stiff in mid-view and the heat left her bones. She slipped down and only spoke with difficulty at the end of a long pause: "are you a true appearance, do you bear me news as a true messenger, (310) son of a goddess? Are you alive? Or, if the kindly light has passed, where is Hector?" She spoke, poured out tears and filled the whole place with her clamour. With an effort, I interjected a few words in her raving and, upset, get a few expressions out. 'Yes, I am alive, and lead a life through extreme circumstances (315). Be in no doubt, for you see reality. Alas! What circumstance has taken you up, cast down as you were from such a husband, or what sufficiently fitting fortune gazes on you? Hector's Andromache, is it with Pyrrhus that you keep a union?'. She looked down and spoke with a low voice (320):

“o felix una ante alias Priameia uirgo, hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis iussa mori, quae sortitus non pertulit ullos nec uictoris eri tetigit captiua cubile!			<b>O</b>
nos patria incensa diuersa per aequora uectae stirpis Achilleae fastus iuuenemque superbum seruitio enixae tulimus; qui deinde secutus Ledaeam Hermionen Lacedaemoniosque hymenaeos me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam. ast illum ereptae magno flammatus amore coniugis et scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes excipit incautum patriasque obruncat ad aras. morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit pars Heleno, qui Chaonios cognomine campos Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit, Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem. sed tibi qui cursum uenti, quae fata dedere? aut quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris? quid puer Ascanius? superatne et uescitur aura? [quem tibi iam Troia]	325		<b>T</b>
ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis? ecquid in antiquam uirtutem animosque uirilis et pater Aeneas et auunculus excitat Hector?” taliam fundebat lacrimans longosque ciebat incassum fletus, cum sese a moenibus heros Priamides multis Helenus comitantibus adfert, agnoscitque suos laetusque ad limina ducit, et multum lacrimas uerba inter singula fundit. procedo et paruam Troiam simulataque magnis Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine riuum agnosco, Scaetaeque amplector limina portae; nec non et Teucri socia simul urbe fruuntur. illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis: aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi impositis auro dapibus, paterasque tenebant.	330	335	<b>T</b>
Iamque dies alterque dies processit, et aurae uela uocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus Austro: his uatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso: “Troiugena, interpret diuum, qui numina Phoebi, qui tripodas Clarii et laurus, qui sidera sentis	340		<b>O</b>
	345		<b>T</b>
	350		
	355		
	360		<b>TO</b>

“O Polyxena, daughter of Priam, you were blessed beyond all others when you were condemned to die at your enemy’s tomb below the lofty walls of Troy; you did not endure the casting of the lots, nor as a captive did you come into contact with the bedchamber of a conquering master. We, after our homeland was consumed by fire travelled over various oceans (325), gave birth in slavery and put up with the haughty boy and the arrogance of Achilles’ stock; he then went after Hermione, granddaughter of Leda and a Spartan union. To his slave Helenus he passed me on as a slave to be held, but him Orestes, fired with a great love for his intended bride who had been snatched away (330) and, tossed by the Furies’ vengeance for his crimes, caught unawares and slaughtered at the nation’s high altar. At Neoptolemus’ death, part of his kingdom passed by reversion to Helenus who named the plains Chaonian and called all Chaonia after Trojan Chaon (335). He added Pergama and this citadel of Troy to these crags. But to you what winds, what fates granted you a course, or what god drove you unwitting to our shores? What about the boy Ascanius? Does he survive and enjoy the air of life? [That boy whom Troy already] (340). Though he is small, does he have any love for the parent he has lost? To the courage of his forbears and the spirit of a man do his father Aeneas and his uncle Hector stir him at all?’ Such things she poured out weeping and summoned up lengthy sobs to no avail. Then the hero Helenus, son of Priam, approached from the walls (345) with a large following; he recognised his kin and, delighted, led them to his doors, and long poured tears between each word. I went forward and recognise little Troy and Pergama, modelled on the great citadel, and a dry river-bed by name Xanthus (350) and I embrace the posts of the Scaean Gate; the Trojans too take pleasure in friendly city; them the king welcomed in his great courtyards: in the middle of the hall, they offered cups of wine, when the food-offerings were placed on gold dishes, and they held the sacred plates (355). Now a day or two passed; the breezes summon the sails and the canvas billows with the swelling South wind. I address the seer with these words and ask as follows: “Trojan, voice of the gods, who understand the stars, the tripod and laurels of the gold of Claros (360),

et uolucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae, fare age (namque omnis cursum mihi prospera dixit religio et cuncti suaserunt numine diui			<b>T</b>
Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas; sola nouum dictuque nefas Harpyia Celaeno	365		
prodigium canit et tristis denuntiat iras obscenamque famem), quae prima pericula uito? quidue sequens tantos possim superare labores?"			
hic Helenus caesis primum de more iuuenis exorat pacem diuum uittasque resoluit	370		
sacrati capitis, meque ad tua limina, Phoebe, ipse manu multo suspensum numine ducit,			<b>T</b>
atque haec deinde canit diuino ex ore sacerdos: "Nate dea (nam te maioribus ire per altum auspiciis manifesta fides; sic fata deum rex sortitur uoluitque uices, is uertitur ordo),	375		
pauca tibi e multis, quo tutior hospita lustres aequora et Ausonio possis considerare portu, expediam dictis; prohibent nam cetera Parcae scire Helenum farique uetat Saturnia Iuno.	380		<b>P</b>
principio Italiam, quam tu iam rere propinquam uicinosque, ignare, paras inuadere portus, longa procul longis uia diuidit inuia terris. ante et Trinacria lentandus remus in unda et salis Ausonii lustrandum nauibus aequor	385		
inferniue lacus Aeaetaeque insula Circae, quam tuta possis urbem componere terra. signa tibi dicam, tu condita mente teneto: cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam litoreis ingens inuenta sub ilicibus sus	390		
triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit, alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,			<b>P</b>
is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum. nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros: fata uiam inuenient aderitque uocatus Apollo.	395		
has autem terras Italiue hanc litoris oram, proxima quae nostri perfunditur aequoris aestu, effuge; cuncta malis habitantur moenia Graeis. hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri, et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos	400		

the voices of birds and the omens given by wings in flight, come, speak—for every divine indication told fairly of my voyage and all the gods urged me on with their inspiration to make for Italy and seek out remote lands. Only the Harpy Celaeno sings of a strange prodigy, wrong even to relate (365) and reports grim wrath and ill-omened famine—what are the first dangers I am to avoid? What am I to follow if I am to overcome such great toils?” At this point, Helenus first duly slaughtered bullocks and prayed for the gods’ goodwill; he untied the fillets wound round his sacred head (370) and by the hand himself led me to your threshold, Phoebus, all inspired by the strong presence of the god. Then the seer foretold as follows from his inspired mouth: “Son of a goddess (for it is clear fact that you cross the deep under higher protection; thus the king of the gods (375) shares out his destinies and revolves the changes; so does whole system turn); I shall set forth to you in words a few details out of many, so you may cross the welcoming waters more safely and come to rest in an Ausonian harbour, for the Fates forbid Helenus to know, and Saturnian Juno (380) forbids him to speak, the rest. First, Italy, which you think at the moment is near and you plan, ignorant man, to enter her ports close by, along with her distant lands a distant pathless path keeps from you. First you must bend the oar in Sicilian waters and cross with your ships the salty Ausonian main (385) and the underworld’s lakes, and Aeaeon Circe’s island, before you are able to found to found a city in a secure homeland. I shall tell you the signs; keep them stored up in your memory. When to you in your anxiety, near the waters of a concealed river, under the holm-oaks by the shore a huge sow will be revealed (390) and shall lie there having borne thirty head of offspring, sprawled all white on the ground, her white litter about her udders, that shall be the site for your city, that the certain respite from your toils. And do not dread the devouring of your tables to come: the fates will find a way and Apollo, summoned, will be at hand (395). But *these* lands and *this* Italian shore which, close by, is washed by the tide of our sea, do you flee; all the cities are inhabited by wicked Greeks. Here the Locrians of Naryca laid their walls and Lycian Idomeneus beset the Sallentine plains with his troops (400).

Lyctius Idomeneus; hic illa ducis Meliboei parua Philoctetae subnixa Petelia muro.		<b>O</b>
quin ubi transmissae steterint trans aequora classes et positis aris iam uota in litore solues, purpureo uelare comas adopertus amictu,	405	
ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.		<b>T</b>
hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto; hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.		
ast ubi digressum Siculae te admouerit orae uentus, et angusti rarescent claustra Pelori,	410	
laeua tibi tellus et longo laeua petantur aequora circuitu; dextrum fuge litus et undas. haec loca ui quondam et uasta conuulsa ruina (tantum aeu longinqua ualet mutare uetustas)	415	
dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus una foret: uenit medio ui pontus et undis Hesperium Siculo latus abscedit, aruaque et urbes litore diductas angusto interluit aestu.		<b>T</b>
dextrum Scylla latus, laeuum implacata Charybdis obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite uastos sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras erigit alternos, et sidera uerberat unda.	420	
at Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris ora exsertantem et nauis in saxa trahentem.	425	<b>O</b>
prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore uirgo pube tenuis, postrema immani corpore pistrix delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum. praestat Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni cessantem, longos et circumflectere cursus,	430	
quam semel informem uasto uidisse sub antro Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa. praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia uati, si qua fides, animum si ueris implet Apollo,	435	<b>P</b>
unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo, Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora, Iunoni cane uota libens dominamque potentem supplicibus supera donis: sic denique uictor Trinacria finis Italos mittere relicta.	440	



Here is that little Petelia which relies on the wall of the Meliboean prince Philoctetes. Now when your ships cross over and stand across the waters and you now set up altars and pay your vows on the shore, you will cover your hair, veiled by a purple garment (405) so that, during the sacred flames in the gods' honour, no enemy's face may appear and upset the omens. This order of ritual follow yourself, let your companions follow it, and let your descendants remain bound piously by this prescription. But when you have weighed and the wind brings you to the coast of Sicily (410) and the narrow barrier of Pelorus begins to open, the land to port is for you; with a long diversion, make for the waters to port; to starboard, shun shore and sea. Long ago, these places, rent by a vast violent upheaval (so much a lengthy period of time can change) (415), they say leaped apart, when the two lands were one right across: in between there came the sea, violently, and with her waves severed the Sicilian side from the Hesperian and with a narrow tide-race washes fields and cities by a shore divided. Scylla besets the right-hand side, insatiable Charybdis (420) the left and in the lowest whirlpool of her depths sucks straight down vast billows and in turn spouts them back up into the skies and lashes the stars with her wave. But Scylla a cave's invisible recesses contain, as she pokes out her heads and draws ships onto her rocks (425), first a human face and a girl, with a lovely breast, as far as her cleft, and last a sawfish's vast body fitting her dolphin tails to her wolves' belly. It is better to make a slow run, to cruise past the turning-point of Sicilian Pachynus and slant a long course (430), than once to gaze on the hideous Scylla in her awful cavern and the rocks echoing to her sea-green hounds. Besides, if Helenus the seer has any foresight, if faith is to be placed in him, if Apollo fills his spirit with truth, one thing will I foretell to you, son of a goddess, just one thing worth all the rest (435); it I shall repeat and warn you again and again: first, revere with supplication the divinity of mighty Juno; readily utter vows to Juno and overcome the powerful mistress with gifts and supplication. So at last you will leave Sicily and be conveyed to the bounds of Italy with success (440).

huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem diuinosque lacus et Auerna sonantia siluis, insanam uatem aspicias, quae rupe sub ima fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat.		
quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina uirgo digerit in numerum atque antro seclusa relinquit: illa manent immota locis neque ab ordine cedunt. uerum eadem, uerso tenuis cum cardine uentus impulit et teneras turbauit ianua frondes,	445	
numquam deinde cauo uolitantia prendere saxo nec reuocare situs aut iungere carmina curat: inconsulti abeunt sedemque odere Sibyllae. hic tibi ne qua morae fuerint dispendia tanti, quamuis increpitent socii et ui cursus in altum uela uocet, possisque sinus implere secundos,	450	
quin adeas uatem precibusque oracula poscas ipsa canat uocemque uolens atque ora resoluat. illa tibi Italiae populos uenturaque bella et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem expediat, cursusque dabit uenerata secundos.	455	<b>P</b>
haec sunt quae nostra liceat te uoce moneri. uade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam.” Quae postquam uates sic ore effatus amico est, dona dehinc auro grauia ac secto elephanto imperat ad nauis ferri, stipatque carinis ingens argentum Dodonaeosque lebetas, loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem, et conum insignis galeae cristasque comantis, arma Neoptolemi. sunt et sua dona parenti.	460	
addit equos, additque duces, remigium supplet, socios simul instruit armis.	465	<b>T</b>
Interea classem uelis aptare iubebat Anchises, fieret uento mora ne qua ferenti. quem Phoebi interpres multo compellat honore: “coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo, cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis, ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus: hanc arripe uelis. et tamen hanc pelago praeterlabare necesse est: Ausoniae pars illa procul quam pandit Apollo. uade,” ait “o felix nati pietate. quid ultra	470	
	475	<b>O</b>
		<b>P</b>
		<b>P</b>
	480	

When you are brought here and reach the city of Cumae, the gods' lakes and Averno's rustling woods, you will behold a crazed seer who, deep in a rock proclaims destiny and to leaves consigns letters and words. Whatever verses the maiden has written out on her leaves (445) she sorts by groups and deposits hidden in her cave. They remain immobile in their places and do not depart from order. But those same verses, once the hinge turns and the wind stirs them and the door disorders the lightweight leaves never again does she bother to seize them as they flutter in her hollow cave (450), nor to reorganise their order nor assemble the verses: they go away without consulting her and deplore the Sibyl's shrine. Here let no expenditure of time be so precious to you, however much your men object, however much the journey urgently summons your sails on to the high seas and you have the chance to fill their favouring bellies (455), as to prevent you approaching the seer and asking with supplication for her to deliver in person her predictions and readily unlock voice and mouth. She will expound to you the peoples of Italy and the wars to come and in what way you are to flee or face each labour. Revere her and she will grant you a favourable journey (460). That is what you may be told by my voice. Be on your way and by your deeds carry to the heavens Troy's greatness". After the seer spoke thus with friendly lips, he next gave orders for gifts heavy with gold and cut ivory to be carried to the ships and packed into the hulls (465) massive silver and cauldrons of Dodona, a breastplate of three-ply hooked golden chainmail, and a fine helmet with plume-holder and flowing crest, the armour of Neoptolemus. My father too had his presents; Helenus added horses, and guides too (470). He reinforced the rowers and at the same time equipped my followers with arms. Meanwhile, Anchises gave orders for the fleet's yards to be swayed up, to avoid delay when the wind blew fair. Phoebus' prophet addressed him with deep respect: "Anchises, found worthy of an exalted union with Venus (475), ward of the gods, twice saved from the destruction of Pergamum, *here* is your land of Ausonia. Sail, and seize it. However, *this* part of Ausonia you must pass by; it is that distant side which Apollo reveals. Go now, blessed in your son's reverence. Why do I (480)

prouehor et fando surgentis demoror Austros?"		
nec minus Andromache digressu maesta supremo		
fert picturatas auri subtemine uestis		<b>O</b>
et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem (nec cedit honore)		<b>TP</b>
textilibusque onerat donis, ac talia fatur:	485	
"accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monimenta mearum		<b>O</b>
sint, puer, et longum Andromachae testentur amorem,		
coniugis Hectoreae. cape dona extrema tuorum,		
o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago.		
sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat;	490	
et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aeuo."		
hos ego digrediens lacrimis adfabar obortis:		
"uiuite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta		<b>P</b>
iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata uocamur.		
uobis parta quies: nullum maris aequor arandum,	495	
arua neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro		
quaerenda. effigiem Xanthi Troiamque uidetis		
quam uestrae fecere manus, melioribus, opto,		
auspiciis, et quae fuerit minus obuia Grais.		<b>T</b>
si quando Thybrim uicinaque Thybridis arua	500	
intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,		
cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,		
Epiro Hesperiam (quibus idem Dardanus auctor		<b>T</b>
atque idem casus), unam faciemus utramque		
Troiam animis: maneat nostros ea cura nepotes."	505	
Prouehimur pelago uicina Ceraunia iuxta,		
unde iter Italiam cursusque breuissimus undis.		
sol ruit interea et montes umbrantur opaci;		
sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam		
sortiti remos passimque in litore sicco	510	
corpora curamus, fessos sopor inrigat artus.		<b>O</b>
necdum orbem medium Nox Horis acta subibat:		
haud segnis strato surgit Palinurus et omnis		
explorat uentos atque auribus aëra captat;		
sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo,	515	
Arcturum pluuiasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,		
armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.		
postquam cuncta uidet caelo constare sereno,		
dat clarum e puppi signum; nos castra mouemus		
temptamusque uiam et uelorum pandimus alas.	520	

carry on further and delay the rising South wind by speech?" So too Andromache, grieved at the final parting, bears garments decorated with thread of gold and a Phrygian cloak for Ascanius and in her gift does not yield to Helenus. She lavishes on him woven gifts and speaks as follows: "receive these presents too, to be records of my handwork for you, dear boy, and to bear witness to the lasting love of Andromache, Hector's wife. Take these last gifts of your kin, you who are the last surviving likeness of my Astyanax: just so were his eyes, so his hands, so his mouth, (490) and even now he would be growing up at just the same age as you". On leaving my tears welled up and I addressed them: "live happily, you whose fortune is now accomplished. We are called from fate to fate. You have secured your quiet; you have no sea's surface to plough (495), no fields of Ausonia always retreating to seek out. You see the model of Xanthus and the Troy which your hands made, under happier auspices, I hope, and less in the Greeks' way. The day when I enter the Tiber and the fields beside the Tiber (500), and see the walls granted to my people, on that distant day, the kindred cities and related peoples, Hesperia I shall make one with Epirus (Dardanus is founder to both and their history is the same), a single Troy in spirit. Let that task await my descendants" (505). We set out at sea by neighbouring Ceraunia, from where the journey to Italy and the sea crossing is shortest. Meanwhile the sun hurries on and the mountains are shaded in darkness; we draw lots for oars and lie down in the bosom of the longed-for land by the sea. Across the dry beach (510) we look after our bodily needs and sleep bathes our tired limbs. Night driven by the Hours was not yet approaching the mid-point of her course when the ever-active Palinurus rose from his bed, checked all the winds and tested the breeze with his ears. He marked all the stars gliding through the silent sky (515), Arcturus and the rainy Hyades, and the twin Bears, and gazed on Orion armed in gold. Once he saw that everything was in order in a calm sky, he gave a loud signal from the stern; we broke quarters, essayed a new course and spread (?) the reefs of our sails (520).

Iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis cum procul obscuros collis humilemque uidemus Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates, Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.		
tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona induit impleuitque mero, diosque uocauit stans celsa in puppi:	525	<b>T</b>
“di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes, ferre uiam uento facilem et spirate secundi.” crebrescunt optatae aurae portusque patescit	530	
iam propior, templumque apparet in arce Mineruae; uela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent. portus ab euroo fluctu curuatus in arcum, obiectae salsa spumant aspargine cautes,		<b>O</b>
ipse latet: gemino demittunt bracchia muro turriti scopuli refugitque ab litore templum. quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine uidi tondentis campum late, candore niuali.	535	<b>TT</b>
et pater Anchises “bellum, o terra hospita, portas: bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur. sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti quadrupedes et frena iugo concordia ferre: spes et pacis” ait. tum numina sancta precamur Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ouantis,	540	<b>O</b>
et capita ante aras Phrygio uelamur amictu, praeceptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima, rite Iunoni Argiuae iussos adolemus honores. Haud mora, continuo perfectis ordine uotis cornua uelatarum obuertimus antemnarum, Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arua.	545	<b>T</b>
hinc sinus Herculei (si uera est fama) Tarenti cernitur, attollit se diua Lacinia contra, Caulonisque arces et nauifragum Scylaceum. tum procul e fluctu Trinacria cernitur Aetna, et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa audimus longe fractasque ad litora uoces, exsultantque uada atque aestu miscentur harenae.	550	<b>O</b>
et pater Anchises “nimirum hic illa Charybdis: hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat. eripite, o socii, pariterque insurgite remis.”	555	<b>T</b>
	560	

Now dawn was beginning to turn red, once the stars had been routed, when we saw at a distance the faint hills of low-lying Italy; Achates was the first to cry 'Italy' and Italy my companions hailed with a glad shout. Then Anchises put a garland round a great mixing-bowl (525) and filled it with wine, and, standing on the lofty poop called on the gods: "gods, lords of sea and land and tempests, grant a journey with a favouring wind, and blow kindly". The wished-for breezes swell and the harbour spreads open nearer at hand (530), and Minerva's temple appears on her crag; my companions brail up the sails and turn the prows towards shore. The harbour was curved bow-shaped away from the south-east swell and the sheltering rocks foamed with salt spray, while the actual port was hidden. The towering rocks sent down arms, in a twin screen (535), and the temple stood back from the shore. Here I saw, as a first omen, four horses grazing widely over a grassy plain, of a snowy whiteness. Father Anchises said: "it is war you bear, welcoming land and for war horses are given armour; it is war that this herd threatens (540). But these same beasts are accustomed to draw the car one day and harmoniously bear the bit under the yoke. So they are also a hope of peace." So he spoke. Then we prayed to the holy godhead of Pallas of the ringing armour, who first received us rejoicing and before the altars veil our heads with Phrygian garments (545). At Helenus' orders, the weightiest he gave, we duly burned the prescribed offerings to Argive Juno. Right away, the moment our vows were duly performed, we turned the arms of our sail-covered yards to catch the wind and left the Greeks' homes in the land of suspicion (550). Next, we saw the bay of Hercules' city of Tarentum (if the story is true); opposite, the temple of Lacinia rose up; then, the town of Caulon and Scylaceum the ship-breaker. Then, from the waves, Sicilian Etna was seen at a distance and from far off we heard the great booming of the sea and the beaten rocks (555) and the roar of waves breaking on the shore. The shallows leap, and the sand is stirred by the surge.

Father Anchises spoke: "clearly here is that Charybdis; *these* rocks, *these* fearful cliffs Helenus foretold. Save the ship, men, and all together rise into the oars" (560).





They did exactly as they were ordered and first towards the waves to port Palinurus swung the groaning prow. The whole crew under sail and oars made for port. On the curving billow we were raised into the skies and likewise, as the wave was drawn from under, we sank down to the lowest Hell (565). Three times the rocks roared amid the hollowed cliffs, three times we saw the spray shot out and the stars dripping. Meanwhile wind and sun left us, tired as we were, and ignorant of our course we slipped towards the Cyclopes' shores. There was a harbour, away from the winds' track, itself large, and motionless, but nearby Etna thundered with appalling explosions. Sometimes she shoots a black cloud up into the heavens, smoking with a pitch-dark whirl and glowing ash; she raises up masses of flame and licks the very stars. Sometimes, she lifts upwards, belching, rocks and the ripped-away vitals of the mountain (575) and groaning masses of molten stones up into the sky, as she seethes in her lowest depths. The story is that Enceladus' body, scorched by a bolt is crushed under this mass and vast Etna, set over him, exhales his flame through her erupting furnaces (580). As often as he shifts a weary side, all Sicily quivers with a rumble and veils the sky with smoke. That night, hidden in the woods, we endured the monstrous eruption and did not see what caused the noise. There were no fiery stars to see, nor was the vault of heaven bright with star-filled brilliance (585), but there were clouds in a dim sky and a night that showed no time stayed the moon in the clouds.

Now the following day began to rise, with the first moments of dawn, and Aurora shifted damp darkness from the heavens, when suddenly, out of the woods, there advanced the strange appearance of a man, unknown, reduced to the last stages of emaciation (590) and pitiable in his dress. In supplication he reached out his hands towards the shore. We gazed at him: he was terribly dirty and his beard was long. His clothing was held together by thorns, but in other respects he was a Greek and one once sent to Troy in his native arms and armour (595). He, when he saw at a distance Trojan uniform and arms, stopped for a moment appalled at the sight and checked his steps; soon he rushed headlong to the shore with tears and prayers: "I beseech you by the stars by the gods above and by this air and light of the sky (600),

tollite me, Teucri. quascumque abducite terras: hoc sat erit. scio me Danais e classibus unum et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse penatis.	602	
pro quo, si sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri, spargite me in fluctus uastoque immergite ponto; si pereo, hominum manibus periisse iuuabit.”	605	
dixerat et genua amplexus genibusque uolutans haerebat. qui sit fari, quo sanguine cretus, hortamur, quae deinde agitet fortuna fateri. ipse pater dextram Anchises haud multa moratus dat iuueni atque animum praesenti pignore firmat.	610	
ille haec deposita tandem formidine fatur: “sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Vlixī, nomine Achaemenides, Troiam genitore Adamasto paupere (mansissetque utinam fortuna!) profectus.	615	
hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina linquunt, immemores socii uasto Cyclopi in antro deseruere. domus sanie dapibusque cruenta, intus opaca, ingens. ipse arduus, altaque pulsat sidera (di talem terris auertite pestem!)	620	T
nec uisu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli; uisceribus miserorum et sanguine uescitur atro.		T T
uidi egomet duo de numero cum corpora nostro presa manu magna medio resupinus in antro frangeret ad saxum, sanieque aspersa natarent limina; uidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo	625	T
manderet et tepidi tremerent sub dentibus artus - haud impune quidem, nec talia passus Vlixes oblitusue sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto.		T
nam simul expletus dapibus uinoque sepultus ceruicem inflexam posuit, iacuitque per antrum immensus saniem eructans et frustra cruento per somnum commixta mero, nos magna precati numina sortitique uices una undique circum	630	
fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto ingens quod torua solum sub fronte latebat, Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar, et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras.	635	T
sed fugite, o miseri, fugite atque ab litore funem rumpite.	640	

carry me off, Trojans and transport me to any land you please. That will suffice. I know I was a member of the Greek force and I admit that I made a warlike assault on the shrines of Troy. In return, if the damage caused by my offence is so great, hurl my pieces into the waves and plunge me into the vasty deep (605). If I die, it will count to have died at the hands of humans". He finished, clasped *our* knees, and, grovelling on *his* knees, clung there. We encourage him to say who he is, born of what blood, to tell us what mischance hounds him. Father Anchises himself, paused a moment, then gave his right hand (610) to the young man and calmed his spirits with a solid pledge

Achaemenides at last laid aside his fear and spoke: "I am a native of Ithaca, a companion of unlucky Ulysses; my name is Achaemenides, and my father Adamastus; he was a poor man (if only his fortune had continued!), and I went to Troy (615).

*Here* my thoughtless companions abandoned me in the Cyclops' vast cave, as they fled from his cruel doors. His home is bloody with gory banquets, and the inside is huge and dark. He is himself lofty and strikes the stars on high (gods, avert such a plague from earth!) (620), hard for any man to look upon or address in speech. He feeds on the entrails of his poor victims and on black blood. I myself saw when he took in his vast hand the bodies of two of our company, and, lolling in the midst of his cavern, broke them against a rock and the doorway was sprayed and swam with gore. (625) I saw when he chewed limbs dripping with black matter and those still-warm members quivered under his teeth: by no means unpunished. Ulysses, the hero of Ithaca, did not stand it nor in such a crisis did he forget who he was. For just as soon as the monster was full of food and laid out by his drinking (630), he bent his neck, relaxed and lay vastly across the cave, spewing in his sleep gore, and bits, mixed with bloody wine, we prayed to the mighty gods, drew lots for our turns, and all together ringed him round on all sides and with our sharp weapon bored that huge eye (635) which lurked all alone under his grim forehead, like an Argive shield or Phoebus' torch and at last joyously avenged the shades of our comrades. But flee, poor men, flee and sever the rope from the shore (640).

nam qualis quantusque cauo Polyphemus in antro lanigeras claudit pecudes atque ubera pressat, centum alii curua haec habitant ad litora uulgo infandi Cyclopes et altis montibus errant.		
tertia iam lunae se cornua lumine complent cum uitam in siluis inter deserta ferarum lustra domosque traho uastosque ab rupe Cyclopas prospicio sonitumque pedum uocemque tremesco. uictum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna, dant rami, et uulsis pascunt radicibus herbae.	645	
omnia conlustrans hanc primum ad litora classem conspexi uenientem. huic me, quaecumque fuisset, addixi: satis est gentem effugisse nefandam. uos animam hanc potius quocumque absumite leto.”		T
Vix ea fatus erat summo cum monte uidemus ipsum inter pecudes uasta se mole mouentem pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem, monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum. trunca manu pinus regit et uestigia firmat; lanigerae comitantur oues; ea sola uoluptas solamenque mali.	655	
postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad aequora uenit, luminis effossi fluidum lauit inde cruorem dentibus infrendens gemitu, graditurque per aequor iam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.	660	T
nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare recepto supplice sic merito tacitique incidere funem, uertimus et proni certantibus aequora remis. sensit, et ad sonitum uocis uestigia torsit.		T
uerum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas nec potis Ionios fluctus aequare sequendo, clamorem immensum tollit, quo pontus et omnes intremuere undae, penitusque exterrita tellus Italiae curuisque immugiit Aetna cauernis.	670	
at genus e siluis Cyclopum et montibus altis excitum ruit ad portus et litora complent. cernimus astantis nequiquam lumine toruo Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentis, concilium horrendum: quales cum uertice celso aëriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi	675	
	680	O

For of the kind and on the scale of Polyphemus that keeps his wool-bearing sheep in the vaulted cavern and squeezes their udders, a hundred other unspeakable Cyclopes live here and there along these curving shores and roam over the lofty mountains. It is now three times that the horns of the moon have filled with light (645) since I draw out my life in the forests amid the lonely lairs and haunts of wild beasts, look out at the huge Cyclopes from the crags and shudder at their noisy steps and speech. The branches grant me a sorry living, berries and stony cornelians, as do grasses torn up by the root (650). On general lookout, this is the first fleet I have seen coming to these shores. To it, whatever it was, I gave myself up. It is enough to have escaped that monstrous race. Do you rather carry off this life of mine by any end you will". He had only just finished when we saw the shepherd Polyphemus himself in motion on the mountain-top (655) amid his flocks, with his vast bulk and making for the shores he knew, a hideous monster, ugly and colossal; his sight had been taken from him. A trimmed pine in his hand guided him and steadied his steps. His wool-bearing sheep accompanied him, his only joy (660) and consolation in his misfortune. When he reached the high waves and came to the open sea, from the eye that had been dug out he washed out the running blood, grinding his teeth and groaning and strode now through the open sea, nor did the waves yet wet his lofty sides (665). At a distance, once we had taken in so deserving a suppliant, we bustled to hasten our departure; silently we cut the hawsers and leaned forward to plough the waters with our striving oars. He noticed, and to the sound of our voices turned his steps, but when no chance was given him to reach out with his right hand (670) nor could he match the Ionian waves in pursuit, he raised a great shout, at which the sea and all its waves shook, as did the land of Italy terrified in her very depths and Etna boomed in her hollow caverns. Now the tribe of Cyclopes was roused and rushed from the woods and lofty mountains (675) down to the harbour and packed the shore. We saw the brotherhood of Etna, carrying their heads high to the very heavens standing there with a grim gaze, to no effect, a terrifying assembly, as when oaks, lofty as the sky or cone-bearing cypresses (680)



stand there, Jupiter's lofty wood or a grove of Diana. Piercing fear drove the crews headlong to whip the brails, in *any* direction and set sail to catch favourable winds. On the other hand, Helenus' orders lay down that I am not to hold a course between Scylla and Charybdis, a route endowed on both sides with a narrow margin of safety from death (685). The decision is taken to reverse our course. But, see, a North wind blows conveniently from the narrows of Pelorus. I sail past the mouth of the Pantagia with its living rock, and the bay of Megara and low-lying Thapsus. These were the shores that Achaemenides, companion of the luckless Ulysses, pointed out, as he sailed back over his old wanderings (690). Facing the Sicilian bay, over against wave-beaten Plemyrion lies an island, which men used to call Ortygia. The story is that the Alpheus, a river of Elis, passed his hidden course under the sea and is now (695) mingled with the Sicilian waves, emerging from your mouth, Arethusa. As ordered, we honour the great deities of the place, and then I passed the richly fertile soil of Helorus' swamps. Then we sailed close past the high rocks and jutting cliffs of Pachynus, and Camarina, permitted by the oracle never to be moved (700) appears at a distance, as do the plains of Gela and Gela named for its monstrous river. Then lofty Acragas displays afar its mighty walls, one day to be the nursery of high-bred horses, and with a favourable wind, I bid farewell to you too, Selinus victoriously garlanded (705). I coast past the savage shallows of Lilybaeum with their unseen rocks. From here the harbour of Drepanum and its cheerless shore receive me. Here, driven by so many storms, I lose, alas, my father Anchises, solace of all my cares and mischances. Here, most excellent father, you desert me alas in my weariness (710), you whom I snatched in vain from so many dangers. The seer Helenus, when he warned me of so many horrors, did not warn me of *this* grief; neither did ill-omened Celaeno. This was my last toil, this the turn in my long travels. From here I sailed and the god brought me to your shores (715). So father Aeneas, alone, told all his rapt audience of the gods' oracles and explained his travels. Finally he fell silent, and having made an end here, took his rest.





## COMMENTARY

**1–12 Proemium** The proemium to bk.3 is admirably dense and compressed: a pause in the narrative; lines, though formally part of Aen.'s two-book speech, naturally distinct in tone from their surroundings and grand, slow and studied, perfectly in keeping with the occasion (and one-word descriptions of style and manner are unhelpful, Putnam, Stubbs, G.W. Williams, *cit.*); also, however, an elaborate system of links and bridges, clearly (re-)written, repeatedly even, in the light of 1.1–33 and of bk.2. **4–9** (a 3-6-3 structure, therefore) are swift preliminary narrative (how tedious—and retardatory—the shipbuilding detail might have been, only readers of *Swiss Family Robinson* will quite comprehend), rich in thematic links, while **1–3** bow to the past, as do **10–2** to the future. Vv. **1–3** recall the majesty and fall of Troy, in the language of bk.2, but (2.801 ff.) a new day (metaphorical even more than literal) has dawned for the Trojans. The city still smokes, but is herself no more; the gods brought her low, and the gods, permeating these vv., send the survivors to their new destinies. This proem looks back, recalling in language and detail the fall of Troy, and forward, anticipating the Trojans' wanderings, tears and divine guidance; it recalls, moreover, the function, themes (vd. Hershkowitz), and language of that greater proem, 1.1–33 (so with **2 immeritam**, cf. 1.9–11; with **4**, cf. 1.29–32; with **12**, cf. 1.6 (Trojans as carriers of Rome's gods); with **3 Neptunia**, cf. 1.23–8, Troy's historical impieties; 1.32 *acti fatis* conveys not only 'fates' but, as at **7**, 'expressions', *fata*, of the divine plan. See Hershkowitz, 70, S. Kyriakidis, *Narrative structure and poetics ...* (Bari 1998), 29f., Lloyd (1957a), 140, Nelis, 25f., Putnam, 51, Stubbs, 67, Williams *TI*, 271, Worstbrock, 45 ff. (admirable).

**1 postquam** The initial self-contained spondee a slow, ponderous start (Norden, 435f., Winbolt, 106ff., Horsfall on 7.80); the effect not rare at the opening of a section of narrative, n. on 7.406. NH on Hor.C.2.4.9: 'suggests the austerity of annalistic epic' (perhaps: cf. Enn.*Ann.*225); see n. on 7.406

**res Asiae** So 1.268 *res ... Ilia*, 10.88 *fluxas Phrygiae res*, where vd.

Harrison, 8.626, Hor.*Ep.*2.1.2; *EV* 4.447 (Laurenti) is helpful. Harrison suggests that **r.** thus is Greek (πράγματα) and historiographical in flavour; Cato *Orig.*fr.20P *res eorum auxit*, Sall.*Jug.*18.11, *res Persarum* (and notably *Hist.*1.fr.1 *res populi Romani*, Liv.*praef.*1., A. Albinus, ap.Gell. 11.8.2, A.J. Woodman, *Studies ... Brink* (PCPS Suppl.15, 1989), 134), Liv.6.41.8, *OLD* s.v., §16a might all have been cited in confirmation, but the usage is equally Ennian (*Ann.*156 *res ... Romana*, 495) and belongs also to general poetic language, 1.268 *dum res stetit Ilia regno*, Ov.*F.*1.244. Theme and words present also at 2.556f. (of Priam) *tot quondam populis terrisque superbum/ regnatorem Asiae*; *Asia* in both passages hyperbolic, but not grossly so, given the common use of *A.* in the (Homeric, after all, Il.2.461) sense of ‘Asia Minor’ or ‘the province of A.’, Cat.46.6, Ov.*Trist.*1.2.78. Contrast 7.224 (with my n.) for *A.* as ‘continent of A.’. *EV* confused.

**Priami ... gentem** Cf. 2.22 *Priami ... regna*, 56, 191, 760: Troy firmly focused in the person and house of her last ruler (cf. 1.273, 5.373, 7.220 for definition by ancestor’s name in gen.). Note the theme and variation: the affairs of ‘Asia’, from Aen.’s viewpoint *are* those of Priam’s kin; note the Homeric λαός ἑμμελίω Πριάμοιο, Il.4.47. Note the studied order, accs. first and last, gens. around the highlighted verb.

**euertere** Cf. *G.*1.500 *euerso ... saeclo*, 2.603 *has euertit opes*, 746 *euersa ... urbe* (also of felling trees in *G.*) and particularly (given *immeritam*) Enn.*Ann.* 232 *non semper uostra euortit: nunc Iuppiter hac stat.* *EV* confused and cf. rather Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1031.55, 69f.

**2 immeritam** The run-over adj. thrown into relief; in an act. sense, roughly equivalent to *innoxius*; cf. Hor.*C.*3.6.1 *delicta maiorum immeritus lues*, 2.21, 1.28.30, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.456.41f.. Compare the tone of 1.11 *tantaene animis caelestibus irae?*

**uisum** At 2.428 *dis aliter uisum* (copula again omitted; cf. too (with *est*) *G.*4.394), the criticism is less explicit. Serv. here compares Hor.*C.*1.33.10 *sic uisum Veneri*, with the atypically trenchant remark *quotiescumque autem ratio ... non apparet, ‘sic uisum’ interponitur*. With *V.*’s terse majesty, cf. the *sic placitum* of 1.283.

**superis** Old poetic language: cf. n. on 7.312, *EV* 4, 1081.

**ceciditque** Cf. Cic.*car.*Hom.1.28 (*sc. Troia*) *quae decumo cadet*; πίπτω of a city, indeed, of Troy at Eur.*Hec.*5. Thus of cities *c.* in Cic., Liv., Prop.(2.14.2 *magnae Laomedontis opes*) and cf. *Aen.*8.375. Vd. Hoppe, *TLL* 3.27.55ff.

**superbum/ 3 Ilium** Again a run-over adj. (cf. Worstbrock, 47), here in a pathetic contrast between Troy's proud greatness and her fall (note 2.290 *ruit alto a culmine Troia*) that is about to be expanded (theme and variation) in the rest of v.3. Not so much an echo of Hom.'s ὑπερφίαλοι (indeed used of the Trojans but by their enemies) as suggestive of the city's former dominion and majesty; so 2.504, 556f. (cited *supra* on **res Asiae**); note the excellent discussion by A. Traina, *EV* 4, 1072. D. Fowler suggested rather, and not quite convincingly, given the delicate rhetorical balance of these lines, and V.'s repeated concentration upon Troy's traditional crimes (3), deviant focalisation, a sign of the gods' hostile view of haughty Troy, *PCPS* 36 (1990), 48f.; I. *nouies* in *Aen.*, always perforce with synaloepha of a cretic word (cf.n. on 11.503). Hom. strongly prefers fem. \*Ἰλιος (vd. Janko on *Il.*15.56–77, 16.89–96) but does occasionally employ neut. (for Latin, vd. NW, 1, 946f., Holzweissig, 466f.); used by V. in highly dramatic contexts and repeatedly as here with variation on the names of Troy 6.64 (vd. Norden on 56), 2.625, **3.109**, 5.756. Vd. (*bene*) Garuti, *EV* 5\*, 215. Knauer notes (185, n.1) that the variation here may well derive from *Od.*9.38f. Τροίηθεν .../ Ἰλιόθεν.

**omnis ... Neptunia Troia** 'TLL well identifies a use of *omnis* that intensifies loss or absence' (n. on 7.635; Carter acutely notes *Il.*22.410f. ἅπασα/ Ἰλιος...κύχχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης), *G.*1.87, *Aen.*3.709, 12.421, etc.. Neptune had built the walls of Troy (cf. 2.610, 625, *EV* 3, 711, Frazer on *Apld.*2.5.9, Robert 2.2, 547ff.), but Laomedon bilked him of the price (*G.*1.502) and thereafter (nn. on 7.23, 105, with bibl.) his goodwill was neither constant nor consistent, though Aeneas' virtues began to recover his favour. Not 'ironic' therefore (di Cesare, 62), but complex: Neptune's favour, essential for the voyage to Hesperia, will depend on the comportment of the Dardanidae.

**fumat humo** For the abl. of separation, cf. Serv.Dan.: *ab humo, id est funditus*, *G.*3.8f. *qua me quoque possim/ tollere humo*, LHS 103, Tietze, *TLL* 6.3.3124.71f. Not abl. for loc., in the case of *humo* (LHS 145). For the smoke, cf. 10.45f. *per euersae ... fumantia Troiae/ excidia*; V. might be seen as visualising smoke issuing from remains themselves levelled almost to the ground (perhaps exercising the abl. in a slightly novel way). The vb. suprisingly only once in Caes. (*Gall.*7.24.2), and then Liv.(3.68.2, etc.; *sexies*); not in the Caesarian corpus, nor Sall.. But for the tragic smoke of burning Troy, cf. Aesch.*Ag.*818, with Fraenkel's n., Eur.*Tro.*8, 586, *Hec.* 477, 823, 1215, Cartault, 234, n.1. An underestimated element (cf. Arr.*Anab.*4.2.6, DH 6.93.1, 9.56.1, etc.) in

the stock 'captured city' portrayal, on which cf. G.M. Paul, *Phoenix* 36 (1982), 144ff. The present indicates 'was and still is smoking' (Serv. *fumus uero longo permanet tempore*; Cova well notes the smoking presents of Eur.*Hec.*8, 145). Cf. Austin ('continuing consequence of a previous happening') on 2.663, Harrison on 10.518, my n. on 7.363, Görler, *EV* 2,272. But Probus ap.Serv. and many later grammarians (quoted, NW 3, 493; cf. LHS 1, 601) claimed that V. intends *fumauit* contracted; that altogether *abhorret a Virgilii venustate et elegantia* as Forbiger well puts it. Williams' n. (that Probus might have been right in the case of Lucr.) overlooks Lucr.'s scansion of such contracted forms as long, Bailey, 1, p.83; W.'s further comparison of *Aen.* 7.363 is not helpful (vd. my n. there). Natural, though, for c.2 grammarians forgetful of this supple use of the present and desirous of wishing on V. arcane oddities.

**4 diuersa exilia** Balanced and alliterative pair of nouns and adjs., whose sense here exercised earlier commentators to little profit (vd. still *EV* 2, 447; weary but welcome sanity in Williams' nn.). Though the post-Trojan War exiles ended in the strangest places (particularly the Greeks: cf. nn. on 11.255ff.; note too Antenor), here *Aen.* speaks of himself and his followers: they have so far received only one divine indication of their goal (vd. **5 auguriis**) and it is easy to settle for (i) **d.** as 'distant' (sc. from Troy) and (ii) plur. **e.** as indicating their (one) place of exile: (i) cf. Serv.Dan. *hoc est in diuersa regione positas* and vd. Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1577.37f., *Ov.AA* 1.685 *iam nurus ad Priamum diuerso uenerat orbe*, 2.499, *G.3.32*, *Aen.*9.1, 12.621, *OLD* s.v., §4; (ii) for the Trojans as exiles, and for the orthography **ex**—, not **exs**—cf. nn. on 7.359, 11.263, Horsfall (1989), 25f.; for the plur. for sing., cf. 2.780 *longa tibi exilia et uastum maris aequor arandum*, LHS, 750, though were a hint at the Trojans' many halts claimed, it should perhaps not be excluded. If **exil** is spelled in keeping with the capital mss., the etym. hint that has been claimed (**terras, ex-solum**) loses credibility.

**desertas ... terras** Italy, and Carthage, Sicily even, were already inhabited, it is claimed. But far, uninhabited lands (cf. Worstbrock 47, n.55) belong naturally to the lexicon of exile (*desertus* surprisingly rare in *Ov.*'s exile poems, though): cf. 4.468 (vd. *infra* s.v. **quaerere**), not least when (once more) it is majestic Troy that is left behind. Deserted, then, by contrast with Troy and all past experience.

**quaerere** Cf. 1.380 *Italiam quaero patriam*, 4.350, 5.83, etc.; at 4.468 V. returns to this phrasing in his account of Dido's dream: she will

think herself alone, will seem *Tyrios deserta quaerere terra* (where cf. too *Enn. Ann. 41 quaerere te*). *EV* inadequate and grandiose but delightful confusion in Henry. The use of infin. after *agere* is a typical Virgilian extension of the infin. of purpose, J.H.W. Penney, *ALLP*, 254, Görler, *EV* 2, 271, Hey, *TLL* 1.1371.22 ff., n. on 7.393.

**5 auguriis ... diuum Diuum FM; diuom P.** Cf. NW 1, 175 f., Holzweissig, 459, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 438 f., 449: two mss. against one and no clear rule or pattern of usage. With hindsight, and after many divine manifestations, Aen. offers Dido immediately after the city's fall an impression of greater confidence in the gods' signs of benevolent and informative communication than the actual narrative hitherto would strictly justify: to date, only 2.679 ff. (flame round Asc.'s head) leading to the *augurium maximum* of 692 f. (with Serv. Dan. on 693; not to forget the shooting-star, 693 f.); vd. Catalano, *EV* 1, 402, Grassmann-Fischer, 117 ff. *Auguriumque suum* at 7.260, *uestrum hoc augurium* at 2.703. Cf., though, xxx, *supra*, for other indications known to the patient reader. Williams, *TI*, 271 sees cynicism, so soon after **immeritam**; it would all, he claims, sit so much better in a direct narrative by the poet. But Aen. has not shared in Trojan impiety, and is the last hero to understand how merited the city's fall was; he has, however, earned a recent prophecy of a changed future and the implication of deep perplexity is neatly conveyed.

**agimur** Cf. 1.32 *acti fatis*, 240 *casibus actos*, nn. on 7.223, 240, *EV* 1, 55 f..

**classemque .../6 ... molimur** Hard work (4.309 *moliri ... classem*), despite uncertain goal (**incerti**); long hyperbaton. The verb suggests toil and sweat (and perhaps too some tears and blood): cf. 7.127, 158, 290, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1359.16 f. and see **132** below. Initially, twenty ships, on Aen.'s own count: 1.381; indispensable in colonisation-narratives, Horsfall (1989), 15.

**sub ipsa/ 6 Antandro** The pron. adj. thus limiting 'in accuratiore locorum temporumque definitione' (Wagner *QV*, xviii, q.): cf. 8.561 *Praeneste sub ipsa*, though 12.701–3 *ipse.../...pater Appenninus* is hardly comparable; without names, rather commoner (*ipsa ad praetoria, uestibulum ante ipsum*). Tietze, *TLL* 7.2.333.39. *Sub*: usage in V. tends in such case to govern nouns (often+adjs.) suggestive of height, *G. 4.125, Aen. 3.322*, 5.261, 7.563, 12.546; '[on the shore] below', then, rather than (Forbiger) more loosely 'near'. Heyne is here rightly exasperated with La Cerda, and decisively cites Strab. 13.1.51: A. (a port on

the N. shore of the gulf of Adramyttium, under Mt. Ida, some fifty miles SSE of Troy over the mountains and less than two miles W. of Aspaneus): here (Aspaneus) people brought timber down from Mt. Ida and sold it to those who wanted it. Much the same at Antandrus, Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.25: see Bonamente, *EV* 1, 190f., 2.891f. (citing Thuc. 4.52.5, *Aen.* 2.696), J.M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973), 267ff., O. Hirschfeld, *PW* 1.2346.25ff.. This after all was where the Persians encouraged the Spartans to rebuild their fleet after the battle of Cyzicus, R. Meiggs, *Trees and timber* (Oxford 1982), 357. V. is also well aware (*G.* 3.450, 4.41) of the importance of Mt. Ida as a source for the shipwright's essential pitch (Meiggs, 467ff., Casson, 211f.). The surviving Trojans set sail into exile not from Troy, but from the Troad; Aen. himself had withdrawn to Mt. Ida as early as the death of Laocoon, according to the *Little Iliad*: see *RMM*, 12f., Erskine, 103, Robert, 2.3.1248f., 1516, M.J. Anderson, *The fall of Troy ...* (Oxford 1997), 73f.

**Phrygiae ... montibus Idae** V. will return to the building of Aen.'s ships, *Phrygia ... in Ida*, at 9.80–1; Cybele will look back and declare (89) *laeta dedi*; here, though, no word of Cybele's explicit generosity nor any invitation to dwell on the currently fashionable, even enticing, thought that Aen. might be violating a sacred wood. This is no moment for suspicions of impiety (*pace* E. Fantham, *Phoen.* 85 (1990), 109, Dyson, 199). Cf. n. on 7.38f.. The phrasing is near-formulaic: cf. 9.80 *supra*, 10.230, 7.207 *infra*; on *G.* 4.41, Mynors notes that adj. and noun are in the same position as here and suggests a Hellenistic original; rather, natural and convenient placing of frequent noun-adj. pair. For Phrygia and Mt. Ida, cf. further n. on 7.207 *Idaeas Phrygiae ... urbes*. Given that Ida is a range rather than a single peak, **montibus** should perhaps be taken as a 'genuine' plural.

**7 incerti quo** Cf. 4.110 *fatis incerta feror, si*; already in prose and comedy (Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.884.48). Aen. includes himself among the collective 'we' of the toilers in the shipyard, and of the underinformed. Contrast (Nelis, 26) the confident Odysseus of *Od.* 9.37–40. Though Aen. has already been instructed by Creusa (and others; cf. xxix–xxx), those words have as yet little practical value, given his ignorance of Tiber and Hesperia (vd. xxxi–xxxii). Such incomprehension is itself a recurrent motif in colonisation-literature, inherent in oracular use of obscure or riddling language; before Virgil's Aeneas many colonists in Gk. literature turned in perplexity to further sources of information: Aeneas' reaction to Creusa's prophecy was, by such standards, per-

fectly normal: cf. Horsfall (1989), 11f., Pease (79), 6ff., Dougherty (79), 20f.; Hdt.4.150.4, and 157.1 are instances enough; cf. further **96 anti-quam ... matrem**.

**fata ferant** Cf. *CLE* 59.16 *fatum se ita tolit* (late repub./early Aug.), *Aen.*2.34 *sic fata ferebant*, 2.94 *fors si qua tulisset*, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.362.11, 549.69f.. *Buc.*5.34 is distinct in sense. **fata**, as at 1.32 (*supra*) suggestive of *fari*, of expressions of the divine will, Bailey, 205f., O'Hara, *TN*, 121.

**ubi sistere detur** Cf. 11.873 *sistere contra*, *G.*1.479 (but not *Aen.* 10.309); an intrans. use (cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 272, my indices s.v. 'intransitivisations') already *passim* in Lucr. (e.g. 1.1057, 2.603), perhaps under the influence of the common, intrans. compound *consistere*. For this pass. use of *dare* ('is granted'; sc. 'from on high'), cf. *EV* 2,115, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1689.52, *Aen.*7.313.

**8 contrahimusque uiros** Serv. *colligimus*; *Ov.F.* 4.811 (Gudeman, *TLL* 4.760. 12ff., and already common in narrative prose in other senses). Serv. bizarrely thinks V. refers (only now) to the Trojans' allies; rather, *Aen.* collects other (leaderless) parties of refugees.

**uix ... inceperat** cf. *Ov.F.*5.601, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.914.37. For **u.** thus with plpf., cf. *Buc.*8.14, *Aen.*5.857, 10.659, 11.903, etc.. For the structure of the sentence, cf. n. on **10 cum**.

**prima ... aestas**. So Cic.*Att.*5.21.2 and cf. *Cat.Agr.*48.1 *uere primo*, *Hor.C.*3.7.2, and vd. Breimeier, *TLL* 10.2.1347.38. **P.** often, as Breimeier points out (1345.15), often (cf. *G.*4.314) in mutual reinforcement with *incipere*. A.T. Grafton and N.M. Swerdlow (*CQ* 36 (1986), 212ff.; ample progress since Robert, 24.3, 1289) draw attention to *DH* 1.63.1: Troy was taken seventeen days before the summer solstice and that detail squares admirably with both this passage and with the astronomical precision of 2.255, 340: V. was visibly familiar with some extremely arcane scholarship and suggests to the careful reader a date (which the seriously learned will have remembered was the 7th or 8th. before the end of Thargelion) when the moon, in her third quarter, did in fact rise only about midnight (ultimately, after *Little Iliad*, fr.11a Davies, 14West). Here too then, Virgil writes in the context of a (traditional and recognisable) pause (and, to lend a little more superfluous detail, *DH* adds a further twenty days after the solstice before the exiles actually set sail) between sack and departure. Cf. *Mandra*, 17.

**9 et pater Anchises** Cf. **263**, **539**, **558**; for variations with *at*, *tum*, *sic*, *hoc*, cf. Moskalew, 82. Formulaic and thematic, Anch. as father of both

Aen. and the Trojans (cf. n. on 7.245, *EV* 1.159, and, much better, 3, 1022; cf. Lloyd (1957b), 46, Horsfall (1989), 15, Wlosok *RHRD*, 69, Pomathios, 236); in **3**, in Anch.'s lifetime, only Andromache refers to Aen. as **pater** (**343**), with specific reference to Iulus and for the rest Anch. remains father of the Trojans, though the task of command is discreetly shared.

**dare fatis uela** Cf. **191**, *G.*2.41, *Aen.*1.35, 2.136, 4.546 *uentis dare uela*, 8.707f. *uentis ... / uela dare* (so *Nep.Hann.* 8.2, *Ov. passim*), 12.264 and note *Liv.*5.40.3 *cui se fato darent*, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.365.21; contrast **61 dare classibus Austros**, a classic inversion of dir. and indir. objects (Görler, *EV* 2, 269, *ALLP*, 282ff.). Here V. plays with the conventional *uentis* in an isolated and memorable improvisation (Worstbrock, 48, n.56, Wigodsky, 14), lent greater force (vd. Williams) by the sequence of verb and ind.obj., here granting **fatis** the weighty prominence of a self-contained spondaic fourth foot (n. on 7.291; already noted by Heyne). A 'quite ominous' rhythm for *Di Cesare* (62).

**iubebat** 'Was urging', Jackson, 'drängte', Ladewig, Götte; some significance perhaps to be attached to Aen.'s admission that his father had to give the order to leave more than once, in the face of collective bewilderment, **7**. It is still (thematically crucial) father not son that gives the vital order.

**10 litora ... patriae ... portusque / 11 et campos** Cf. *Buc.*1.3, *G.*1.16, *Aen.*1.620, 5.624; this does seem V.'s most extensive farewell to a homeland—be it Ilium, Mantua, or Sidon—physically conceived (quite naturally so, as TCD well explains, given the majesty of old Ilium); cf. J.-M. Claassen, *Displaced persons* (London 1999), 37ff.. Alliteration of p and l interlaced. **C.** naturally Hom.'s πεδίων.

**cum** The grammatical structure of these lines is an old problem (doxography in Henry); we are invited to choose between (i) **uix inceperat ... et iubebat ...**, **cum** (simple *cum inuersum*) and (ii) **uix inceperat ... et pater iubebat..cum** (**et** in effect introducing a first temporal clause). A certain hereditary indecision clogs the commentaries (dissatisfaction with the poet polemically overstated, Williams, *TI*, 271), but the relevant usage was analysed a long time ago (1832, indeed: so both Wagner, *QV* xxxv.6 and Hand 2, 482f., who actually cites our passage; see too KS 2, 167, LHS, 624, Görler, *EV* 2, 275 (and to Prof.Görler I am much indebted for further discussion), Hofmann *TLL* 5.2.895.31f.: preceding **uix** is decisive, for the idiom (**uix ... et**) in swift narrative (Serv. here quite rightly of **et haec con-**



*unctio uelocitatem uidetur ostendere*; cf. Hand 1, 480) is common enough Virgilian usage (Hofmann compares 5.858, 6.499), to the point that no reader would naturally have taken **et** as simply coordinating the two verbs, while waiting obstinately for **cum** to take up **uix**: cf. 5.857f. **uix** *primos inopina quies laxauerat artus, / et super incumbens cum puppis parte reuulsa ...* (vd. Williams, a useful n. he apparently soon forgot), 6.498f. **uix** *adeo agnouit pauitantem ... / ... et notis compellat uocibus ultro*, 2.692 (with *-que*, not *et*; vd. Austin), 8.520 (vd. Fordyce), 11.296 (with my n.). **Cum** is indeed *inuersum* (LHS, 623; cf. n. on 7.166), but follows singularly enough a temporal, paratactic **et**; the decisive moment, variously cast into due prominence, is clearly that of departure. It might be possible to nudge the reader towards a better understanding of the structure by over-helpful punctuation, but I prefer to leave the line uncluttered.

**lacrimans** Cf. 11.29, 41, 454: as epic, heroic behaviour, quite normal; for a stern Stoic open to censure as an expression of pity. Here, though, we recall (strongly) AR 1.534f. (Argonauts' departure from Colchis): αὐτὰρ Ἰήρων / δακρυόεις γαίης ἀπὸ πατρίδος ὄμματ' ἔνεικεν. Serv.Dan. also draws attention to Naev.*BP* fr.5.3 (departure from Troy of *uxores Aeneae et Anchisae*) *lacrimis cum multis*.

**relinquo** Cf. *Buc.*1.3, *Aen.*3.61, 124, 289, 550, etc., with *EV* 3, 229; altogether in the Apollonian manner (1.559, 931, etc., Mehmel, 34, Nelis, 30f., Reeker, 88ff.); inevitable repetition, given the theme, but the repetition acquires a certain thematic and even emotive weight.

**11 ubi Troia fuit** Cf. 2.325f. **fuius** *Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens / gloria Teucrorum*, with Austin's n. and my n. on 7.413 *sed fortuna fuit* for V's liking for this emotive use of the true perfect. Macr. (5.1.8) records a reader's wonder *uis audire illum tanta breuitate dicentem, ut artari magis et contrahi breuitas ipsa non possit?* Cf. TCD on 163ff., M. Squillante Saccone, *Le interp. Verg ...* (Napoli 1985), 109f.

**feror ... in altum** Cf. Pacuv.*trag.*393, *G.*3.109, *Aen.*2.725, 3.78, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.561.79, *EV* 2, 495. Lucr. had written *fertur in altum / ... soporem* (3.465f.). The choice of vb. may be taken as suggesting that Aenus (and Delos, 78) were not willed, selected destinations (cf. n. on 7.594, Lloyd (1957a), 140f.). **In a.**: cf. 1.34, 3.70 (*ire per altum* likewise in both Lucr. and V; cf. *EV* 1, 121, von Mess, *TLL* 1.1781.72ff.).

**exul** Not **exsul**; vd. 4, n. on 7.359 and to my discussion there of Trojans as exiles, add Claassen, *supra* (10).

12 Caesura at 3tr. (n. on 7.760), final monosyll. (n. on 7.592) and spondaic 5th foot (n. on 7.631) constitute a fine (and typical) concentration of majestic metrical effects (to close a section; contrast, in mid-ecphrasis, 8.679 *cum patribus populoque penatibus et magnis dis*; vd. *infra* on the repet.); all present in Enn.*Ann.* 190 *dono—ducite—doque—uolentibus cum magnis dis* (where the sense has no relevance here). Lloyd, 39 suggests that the words are not after all Ennian (possible but unlikely) and are, rather, epigraphic in origin (ingenious but altogether unverifiable), from the temple of the Penates in the Velia (vd. Radke, *EV* 4, 13f.). Concentration of metrical effects focuses attention on the virtual epiphonema (Worstbrock, 48).

**cum sociis natoque** ἑταίροις; as at 7.35, *et saepe*; the unspecified *uir* collected at v.8 have already become followers of (Anch. and) Aen.; by the end of bk.3 Aen. will be father also of his people, by the end of 12, of the Roman race. Cf. Pomathios, 110.

**penatibus** Aen., in the manner of an historical oecist (Horsfall (1989), 17) carries with him from Troy the penates (θεοὺς τοὺς πατρῶν, DH) as from Hellanicus (*FGH* 4F31 = DH1.46.4), in extant texts (Stesichorus must remain excluded; vd. *JHS*, *cit.*), though the scene's presence on the (Etruscan) de Luynes scarab, ca.490 suggests it may have been known earlier too: cf. *RMM*, 13f., 16, Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979), 383f., *JHS* 99 (1979), 40 (nothing added in recent discussions of the Aen.-legend and how, given Aen.'s traditional *pietas*, they can be called 'a Latin addition to the myth' quite escapes me: thus, however, Erskine, 144). In the early c.3 Timaeus was 'told by the inhabitants' that in the sanctuary at Lavinium was the κέραμος Τρωϊκός; this DH relates (1.67.4, *FGH* 566F59; cf. Lyc., or [Lyc.], 1270, Weinstock, 432.63ff.) in the context of the penates; 'pottery objects' collectively (so e.g. Hdt.3.6) rather than an 'earthenware vessel' (Erskine). Varro (cf. Wissowa, *infra*, 101=34f., 107ff.=40ff.) records the penates brought by Aen. to Italy as being *lignea uel lapidea/ marmorea* (*res hum.* 2, fr.11, 12Mirsch; cf. *res div.* 1, fr.2aCardauns). Distinguish these 'Trojan' penates at Lavinium from the Roman state cult, Radke, *EV* 4, 12ff., Weinstock, 440.9ff. SDan on 2.296 complains of V.'s inconsistencies (the result of following various sources) in referring to the penates (cf. Wissowa, 114, n.1 = 45, n.1). No neat summary here, therefore. Cf. further next n..

**et magnis dis** Cf. 8.678f. *hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar/ cum patribus populoque penatibus et magnis dis*. Here I consider only (1) the character and origin of the expression, (2) what it *might* have signified to

the Informed Augustan Reader and (3) the importance of the internal echo. With *penatibus* preceding, the words point not to the 'general' sense present at e.g. Enn.*Ann.*190 *uolentibus cum magnis dis* (with Skutsch *ad loc.*; cf. Plaut.*Cist.*522, Radke, 74f. and Bulhart, *TLL* 8.134.73ff.), but rather to familiar Gk. μεγάλοι θεοί: for the term, cf. (e.g.) Paus. 10. 38.1, DH 1.50.4, Polyae. 7.5, (fem.) Paus.8.31.1, Gruppe, 1170, n.1, B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* (Uppsala 1950), 26ff., N. Lewis, *Samothrace* 1 (London 1959), 112, S.G. Cole, *Theoi Megaloi* (Leiden 1984), 101 *et passim*, Radke, *cit.*, Erskine, 110. Above all, μεγάλοι θεοί is standard usage for the gods of Samothrace, in inscriptions and elsewhere, both in Greek and in Latin (*infra*, Hemberg, *cit.*). The arrival of the μεγάλοι θεοί at Rome is not clearly datable (though vd. Radke), but Cass.Hemina (*infra*; cf. Wissowa, 105f., Weinstock, 452.41ff.) already identified *Magni di* with penates. The inscription in the penates' temple in the Velia (*infra*) does not confirm this identification (Wissowa; cf. Weinstock, 449.12ff.); no more does that in the Circus Maximus. For DH, "the Penates were the great gods of Samothrace, identified with the Dioscuri" (E. Gabba, *Dionysius ...* (Berkeley 1991), 134; cf. Wissowa, 106, Weinstock, 454.23ff., but note *RMM* 17, with n.63), and that represents a correction of Varro's elusive position (Wissowa, 110ff.; cf. Radke, 73f.): nowhere in the text of *LL* and in the fragments of lost works does Varro actually identify penates and *Magni di* and that Serv. (here) attributes such an identification to him might be simple error, or else a further instance of Varro's familiar (so already Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*3.148) reporting of conflicting views. At *LL* 5.58 (cf. Weinstock, 453.63ff.) Varro tells us that Terra and Caelum are *magni di*, and (cf. Wissowa, 110; Radke misunderstands) that the *Magni di* are actually Castor and Pollux, and *not, ut uolgens putat*, the *Samothraces dii* (probably here the penates, taken from S. to Troy). This 'superstition' and the fragments of Hemina and Atticus are the only sure early testimony for the identification of penates and *Magni di*. Quite what V. means here is at least as obscure as what he meant by *penatibus*. But V. (perhaps following Varro) held that the penates reached Troy (and Rome) from Samothrace (7.208 with my n.) and may here hint at a known association of penates with *Magni di*, just as the parallel association of *Magni di* with Dioscuri, hallowed helpers in time of crisis (Lake Regillus, etc.), may (also) be relevant to the complex of V.'s ideas. It is far easier to perceive (cf.—e.g.—Binder, 223f.) that exactly those gods which stood by Aen. at his departure into the unknown will stand by Augustus in his greatest military trial (and triumph); from *pater Anchises* we advance to

the *patres*, from Aen.'s *socii* to the *populus Romanus*. Lower case *penates* no more than an admission of uncertainty.

It may be useful to have the relevant texts to hand, with a little further explication:

Inscr. *ap* Varr. *ap*.Serv. *ad Aen*.3.12 *magnis diis* (here, the Dioscuri., as the Velia cult-statue makes clear; vd. Lloyd). D.H.1.68.1 writes of this same dedicatory inscription in the temple of the penates in the Velia as (also) δηλοῦσαν the penates. Cf. Wissowa, 99 = 32, Lloyd (incautious), Weinstock, 449.37 ff.

Inscr. (in Circus Maximus) *ap*.Varro, *Curio de cultu fr.ii*Riese (=Probus) *ad Buc*.6.31, p.344.2Hagen): *tres arae sunt in Circo medio ... in una inscriptum DIIS MAGNIS* (cf. Wissowa (1904), 116 = 47, Weinstock, 454.3 ff.). Cf. Varr. *ap*.Tert.*Spect*.8.4 (with the nn. of Castorina and Turcan) *ante eas tres arae trinis diis parent: Magnis, Potentibus, Valentibus. eosdem Samothracas existimant.*

Serv. *ad Aen*.1.378 *alii autem ut Cassius Hemina* (fr.6P; cf. Macr.3.4.9), *dicunt deos Penates ex Samothraca appellatos θεοῦς μεγάλους, θεοῦς δυνατούς, θεοῦς χρηστούς*; cf. Atticus fr.1P (*ap*.Schol.Ver. *ad Aen*.2.717) the penates *ex Samothracia in Italiam deuectos* (on the Trojans' westwards journey). Serv. *ad Aen*.3.12 *Varro quidem unum esse dicit penates et magnos deos*. Cf. further *res div*.fr.205Cardauns, *res hum*. 2.frr.9–12 Mirsch, Wissowa 99 = 32. Serv.Dan. *ad Aen*.3.12 *nam et dii magni sunt Iuppiter Iuno Minerva Mercurius*. See Wissowa, *RKR*, 165, *Ges.Abh.* (München 1904), 95 ff. (= *Herm*.22 (1886), 29 ff.),

S. Weinstock, PW 19.417.15 ff., R.B. Lloyd, *AJP* 77 (1956), 38 ff., F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium I* (Roma 1972), 109, *id.*, *Topografia antica* 1 (Roma 1993), 341 ff. (= *Stud.Rom*.31 (1983), 3 ff.), G. Radke, *EV* 2, 73 ff. (with much further bibl.). The complexity of the issue has discouraged, even misled commentators. Annie Dubourdieu's *L'origine...du culte des Pénates* (Roma 1989) is omitted above by a sport of electronic cataloguing.

**13–68 Polydorus** It is helpful to consider the topography of Polydorus, and Hecuba, on a good map (Barrington, n<sup>os</sup>50, 51): some indecision in the more recent bibliography (after Schwegler 1, 301, n.7, Heinze, 106, n.34, see (e.g.) Scherling, PW 21.1608.8 ff., Perret, 13 ff., *EV* 4, 162 ff., Lacroix, 134 ff., Fernandelli (1996), 272, n.53, Lloyd (1957c), 393, Della Corte, 52 ff.) may thereby be remedied. In Eur.*Hec.* (1273), Polydorus' death takes place near his mother's, who was thought of as buried at Kynossema, Kilid Bahr in the Dardanelles (cf. F. Della Corte, *Dioniso* 36 (1962), 10 f.), indeed a crucial landmark in the operations

of 1915. But according to Plin.*Nat.* 4.43, P's *tumulus* was at Thracian Aenus (mod. Enoz, mentioned in Hom. and of uncertain foundation; eight months of cold and four of winter, Athen.8.p.351C) at the mouth of the Hebrus; that information Plin. might himself have extrapolated from *Aen.* (with the Trojan foundation of Aenus also in mind) but it does not obviously reek of such trivial confusion. According to Serv. on **17**, both Euphorion (fr.62Powell, with *Suppl. Hell.* 416.3, whence ultimately SByz.52.3) and Callimachus (fr.697) derived the name from a companion of Odysseus; O'Hara even suggests (*TN*, 31) that V. might be offering a polemic reply to his predecessors. Only if V. were offering answers simultaneously to *two* learned problems (possible, if rather phrenetic), for Aeneas' own halt in Thrace itself oscillates (with mere confusion at DH 1.47.6) between Aenus and remote Aeneia, just SE of Rhaecelus at the far W. end of Chalcidice (cf. *RMM*, 12f.; from Hellan.*FGH* 4F31=DH 1.47.6), near Thessalonica/ Pydna (not an area naturally called Getic or even Thracian): for Aeneas and Aenus, cf. Lutatius Catulus *ap. OGR* 9.4(a fr. probably republican, but perhaps of Lutatius Daphnis; cf. now A. Cameron, *Greek mythography in the Roman world* (Oxford 2004), 333), Mela 2.28, Amm. Marc.22.8.3, 27.4.13 (the evidence of Schol.Lyc. 1236 is misleadingly misstated by Della Corte, *Mappa*, 53; cf. further n. on **183 talis casus**). **Procul (13)**, 'at a distance (any distance)' helps us not at all, but V. envisages the Trojans visiting a site of Polydorus' burial, even wishing (**17**) to settle there, and Aenus alone is associated independently of V. with both P. and the Trojans. This identification refocuses V.'s 'omission' of a visit to Samothrace (cf. Lloyd (1957c), 390f., Horsfall in *ORVA*, 470, *Alambicco*, 63ff., (1989), 15 for V.'s passing awareness of stories he has not used): had the Trojans sailed from Antandros to Aeneia, island-hopping, they would have passed far south of Samothrace; as it is, sailing N. to Aenus, they pass within sight of that island, so long and so closely involved (**12**) with the *Aen.*-legend. But *Aen.* has the Trojan penates safely on board, and this is not the moment for an untimely, retardatory antiquarian digression. Abas (**286**) may allude to *Aen.*'s stop at S. (Lloyd, *cit.*); surely the **Magnis Dis** of **12** do so far more closely, and at just that moment in the narrative when the bulk of S., 12 miles long and rising to over 5200 feet, is visible to port.

Serv. comments on **3.46** (cf. *Athen.*66 (1988), 49f., *Alambicco*, 51, Heinze, 105f., C. Lazzarini, *MD* 12 (1984), 134, E. Fantham, *Phoen.*85 (1990), 102, and Macr.5.19.1 ff.) that as for *telorum seges, uituperabile ... est poetam aliquid fingere quod penitus a ueritate discedat*; it will emerge that one

defence to such a charge is the discovery that the 'invention' is actually inherited, and careful study of the episode's sources indeed shows that much (perhaps forgotten in the schoolrooms of Serv.'s sources) proves in the end to be, if not inherited, then at least invented in scholarly, respectful adherence to inherited models: first, naturally, Eur.*Hec.* (for there is very little Homer; see 17, though readers will of course recall that Od.'s first halt was in Thrace, too), perhaps the very first time V. inserts an extended reworking of tragedy in an epic scene: though much detail is indeed (*u.infra*) Euripidean (König, 44ff., Fernandelli (1996), 252ff., Della Corte (1962), 11), note that Aen., not *Hec.* (as in Eur.*Hec.* 1287f.) eventually buries Polydorus, who in Eur. was stabbed and left between shore and waves (*Hec.* 28f.) but in V. is abandoned where he was speared. But Eur. alone is already insufficient for V. and we note with awe that he introduces two further bold and separate elements into the 'flavour' or manner of the narrative: first, Hellenistic mythological narrative. The thicket growing out of P.'s body may originate in the (originally Hom.) simile of *Hec.* 20 (P. himself speaks) ὡς τις πτόρθος ηὔξομην τέλας, but the development, rich in horror, suffering nature, metamorphosis and pathos, belongs distinctively to a later age: cf. Heinze, 105f., nn.31,32, A. Hollis, *HSCP* 94 (1992), 282f., R. Thomas, *TAPA* 118 (1988), 265f., Fernandelli (1996), 264ff., (1999), 166ff., R. Hunter, *The Argonautica and the Aeneid* (Cambridge 1993), 173. Whence compare variously AR 2.475ff., 3.864ff., Call.*H.* 6.37f., Ov.*Met.* 2.359f., 8.758, 762, 9.344 and add Ant.Lib.2.6 (with Papatomopoulos, n.24), 34.5, Smyrna's tears of myrrh, presumably familiar from Euphorion and Helvius Cinna. We shall see (45–6 *ferrea .../... seges*) that V. further enriches the conceit of the live and weeping tree with a favourite image, that of the 'crop of spears'. Fernandelli also draws attention to the funerary, epigrammatic motifs of the speaking monument (cf. 40), the plant that is an integral part of the tomb, and to the growing identity of plant and corpse (cf. also GP, *HE* 246, 2755ff., H. Häusle, *Das Denkmal als Garant des Nachruhms* (München 1980), 48ff.). The third element was noted by Heinze and thereafter neglected (106, not developed, Grassmann-Fischer, 93 or Della Corte (1962), 11, 13, but cf. R. Bloch, *REL* 45 (1967), 337f.): compare not just bloody drops from ears of corn in Roman portent-lists, Liv.28.11.2, Val.Max.1.6.5) but (34) the whole ample complex of portents entailing drops of blood of various kinds (neatly collected, Luterbacher, 25, 50f.; vd. 43 *manat*); cf. too V.'s use elsewhere of the common motif of the mysterious voice (*G.* 1.476, *Aen.* 3.93, 7.95 (where vd. n.), 9.112), which

in Roman lore may indeed come from tomb or shrine (cf. Liv.6.33.5, Pease on Cic.*Div.* 1.101); for the weeping of statues, with **39 lacrimabilis**, cf. G.1.480, Luterbacher, 51, Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.98, Smith on Tib.2.5.77 and note lastly the use of suggestive **nam** (27) and distinctive **manat** (43; Luterbacher, 50). V.'s location of portents in ritual scenes is familiar (cf. on 7.71–80). Serv. (on 46) adds—unnecessarily—the story about Romulus' spear, which took root where it fell (cf. Plut.*Rom.*20.8, P. Bruggisser, *Romulus Servianus* (Bonn 1987), 114). On the episode as a whole, cf. also W. Jens, *Phil.*97 (1948), 194ff., Bömer, intro. to *Ov.Met.* 13.429–38, Cova, xxxii–xxxiv, Adler, 282ff., Stahl, 43f., Unte, 211f., Williams, *TI*, 274. Of course the old version in which Aen. *dies* in Thrace would not have been helpful to V., Hegesianax (a.k.a Cephalon), *FGH*45F7=DH 1.49.1, Hegesippus, *FGH* 391F3 =DH, *ib.*

**13 terra ... colitur** Variants upon the conventional form of the topographical ecphrasis seem rather to have been neglected: cf. 7.59, 483 and more closely, **73**, 8.478. Note already the *ναίεται* of AR 1.794 and cf. both various uses of Hom. *ναίω*, *περιναίετάω* and the **habitantur moenia** of **106**. But *colere*, with **arant** to follow, suggests as much 'is tilled' as 'is inhabited' (Sigwart, *TLL* 3.1671.17f.) and V. also has in mind the ancient fertility of Thrace: cf. *Il.*9.71f., 11.222, 20.485 *ἐπιβόλακος*, Seymour, 56, and see, agreeably, J. Robson in Smith, *Dict.geogr.*, 2, 1178f. **T.**: cf. thus **164**, 4.37, G.2.136, *EV* 5\*, 135.

**procul** Cf. 11.677 'at an (unspecified) distance' (actually some 130 miles from Antandros, as against nearly 240 to Aeneia). Bearzot (*EV* 5\*, 224) forgets that we must read **p.** through Aen.'s eyes and not just 'as Romans'. Serv. rightly thought it necessary to explain that **p.** could mean 'near' or 'far'. See Kvičala, 47 ff.

**uastis ... campis** Cf. 11.208f. (with n.) *uasti/...agri*, both 'vast' and 'waste', both there and here. Note G.1.492 **latos** *Haemi pinguescere campos*, but also the hint of a distant, barbarian, bleak, Balkan land, famed for cold and cruelty (cf. Robson, cit., 1178, 1184, with ample detail, *ferocissimas gentium*, Liv.42.52.11), as V. is about to specify further (**acri ... Lycurgo**) and as will come strongly to predominate. The disposition of noun and adj. might suggest an original compound epithet (cf. fully n. on 7.747 *duris ... glaebis*), after the manner of *εὐρύχορος*.

**Mauortia** The form *Mau-* poetic rather than archaic (11.389); the Greek Ares was god of war (Burkert, *Greek religion*, 169f.), of clearly Thracian origin (Janko on *Il.*13.301, Hainsworth on *Od.*8.361, A. Schachter, *NP* 1, 1047f., Bearzot, *EV* 5\*, 225; cf. *Aen.*3.35, 12.331f.),

and particularly suited to the notoriously warlike Thracians. A further link between an originally agricultural Roman Mars and the Getic fields might have appealed, had not Mars' agricultural role fallen definitively from grace (with Bailey, 109 contrast Latte, 66; see too Wissowa, 143, Montanari, *EV* 3, 392f.).

**14 Thraces arant** A Greek might have written νέμονται (Nelis compares also, for content, AR 1.602 Θρηκική). But it looks as though V. had in mind particularly Eur.*Hec.*8f. ἀρίστην ... πλάκα/ σπείρει (Fernandelli (1996), 253 and cf. further on **13 colitur**; TCD might be right to suggest that the *ubertas laeta camporum* round Aenus appealed to the exiles). The periphrasis **terra ... Mauortia** had held no secrets for a passably well-read reader, but Aen. glosses helpfully (and naturally enough) both for the less erudite and for Dido (*quae sic euidenter Didoni exponitur ignoranti* TCD); contrast the more integrated information at e.g. AR 2.382ff., 1211f.. On the parenthesis in V., cf. *EV* 3, 972ff., R. Tarrant in *Studies ... Clausen* (Stuttgart 1998), 151ff.; note 5.420, *EV, cit.*, 972 for similar form and *sedes*.

**acri ... Lycurgo** The adj. (dat., clearly, not abl., Antoine, 147) towards the furthest end of *acer's* spectrum ('fierce', 'savage'; cf. 10.897f., of Mez., parallel to *effera uis animi*, *EV* 1, 16). To Hom., L. was κρατερός (*Il.*6.130), and fought with the gods of heaven, for he attacked the Dionysiac thiasos on Nysa, was blinded in consequence, and hated by all the gods (vv.130–40); vd. Kirk *ad loc.* and see Marbach, PW 13. 2433.13ff. *EV* 3, 217 (Scarsi), A. Farnoux, *LIMC* 6.1.309 for alternative versions. Fernandelli (1996), 256f. finds in *acri* a reference not only to L.'s brutish savagery but to the ferocity he displays in maddened self-punishment (*Apld.Bibl.*3.5.1, *Hyg.Fab.* 132); perhaps (F., 258; C. Gibson, *CW* 92 (1998–9), 360ff.) Lyc.'s denial of hospitality to Dionysus (from Eumelus, *Europa* fr.11Bernabé, 27West, etc.) anticipates (with perceptible Homeric colour) Polymestor's behaviour towards Polydorus. Similarities between Polymestor's greed and Pygmalion's (1.346ff.; part at least of the χρήματα-motif so stong in V.'s narrative already present at Timaeus *FGH*566F82) have also been noted (Gibson, 361, after R.D. Williams, Paratore, etc.). Narrator (no longer in grand authorial mode) and audience have now exchanged chairs and Serv. well remarks on how Aen. tailors his narrative to Dido's own experience; **56f.** is not a parenthesis, but a judgement she will share.

**quondam** Not pathetic as at 2.556, 5.389, 7.217, nor erudite, as at 7.411, 8.479, but perhaps rather 'distancing', as at **414, 595**, 5.865;



at least Aen. had not had to face Lycurgus; the point of **acri**, wasted between Aen. and Dido, V. shares with us.

**regnata** Cf. 6.770, 793, Hor.C.2.6.11 (with NH), 3.29.27f.; cf. KS 1, 102, LHS 32 for **700 concessa**, 6.836 *triumphata*, 7.486 *credita*; here cf. Pind.*Pyth.*4.106 βασιλευμέναν; this ‘transitivising’ of the pass. of intrans. verbs is high poetic, Augustan and Hellenising. Fernandelli (255f.) finds (?rather forced) analogies between this line and Eur.*Hec.*9 φίλιππον λαὸν εὐθύνων δορί. Cf. 125.

**15 hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique penates** The apposition of **hospitium** and **penates** terse and energetic, facilitated by the range of **h.**, commonly used for both the relationship and the place where it is exercised (a last descendant, mod.Gk. σπίτι, house, but Aen. encounters not a living soul at Aenus). **A:** cf. 7.178; on 2.363, TCD well noted *antiquum nobile et maximi meriti ueteres posuerunt* (cf. Serv. here *aut carum aut re uera antiquum*; vd. Évrard, *EV* 1, 196, *bene*, Bannier, *TLL* 2.180.81); cf. the Homeric ξεῖνος πατρώϊος (*Il.*6.215, 231, *Od.*1.187, 417, 17.522, M.I. Finley, *World of Od.*, 99ff.). The adj. points the attentive reader back to the story of Ilione, daughter to Priam and Hecuba, wife to Polymestor and mother of Polydorus (*EV* 2, 913), a development or complication apparently not known in Greek texts, but used by Pacuv. (see I. Mariotti, *Introd. a Pacuvio* (Urbino 1960), 35f., S. Stabryla, *Lat. trag. in V's poetry* (Warsaw 1970), 47) and (?Acc. (Robert, 2.4.3, 1283, Eitrem, PW 9.1066.5ff.); Serv.Dan. (on 15) refers to Dardanus’ brother Iasius who ‘settled in Thrace’ (while Dardanus went to Troy); he should have written ‘Samothrace’ (cf. Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*3.167). The motif of sending away a son to safety is Homeric, though: for Iphidamas, son of Antenor, cf. *Il.*11.221ff. (Robert, 2.4.3, 1281, n.2). The verse is a substantial theme and variation (‘two aspects of a single thought’); cf. 7.264 *si iungi hospitio prosperat sociusque uocari*, with full n. on the use of Rom. public language. **Socii** adjectival as at 11.521, 533. The Thracians natural allies of the Trojans, *Il.* 2.844f. (vd. Kirk); bound by marriage, by (inherited) ξενία, as well as by geography. Cf. R. Hope Simpson and J.F. Lazenby, *Catalogue of ships* (Oxford 1970), 177.

**16 dum fortuna fuit** Cf. closely Eur.*Hec.*16f. ἔως μὲν οὖν γῆς ὄρθ’ ἔκειθ’ ὀρίματα. Note **f.** at 10.43 and cf. n. on 7.413 *sed fortuna fuit* (here, perhaps Fortuna (Page after Con.); for the Hellenistic, historical idea of the fortune of individual cities, cf. n. on 11.345). Well called a *gnome*

*pulcherrima* by La Cerda (alliterative, too); for the expression, Con. helpfully compared 1.268 *dum res stetit Ilia regno*, but the thought belongs to the idea *amicus certus in re incerta cernitur* (Enn.*trag.*351), amply discussed by Tosi, 587f., n°1307. V.'s thought here surely follows Eur.*Hec.*1226f. (Hecuba to Polymestor) ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ σαφέστατοι/ φίλοι. For the motif of 'breach of ξενία', central to Homer and no less significant in tragedy (for Eur.*Hec.*, see e.g. Gibson (14), 362, and vd. the excellent discussion by G. Herman, *Ritualised friendship* (Cambridge 1987), 123ff., while *EV* 2, 861 is not satisfactory). Its importance here loudly noted by TCD (on 3.61); the deeper significance of traditional *hospitium* (as here) central in bk.8 (Binder, 72, C. Renger, *Aeneas und Turnus* (Frankfurt 1985), 75ff.). *Dum* thus with pf. common enough in prose, but only *quinquies*, it appears, in V.: cf. 1.268 (with Conway's n.), 10.43, 321, 424 (*perperam*, Harrison); cf. LHS, 612.

**feror huc** The advb. closes the 'ecphrasis' opened at **13 terra ... colitur**. After **73 colitur**, note **78 huc feror** (**93 uox fertur** is clearly irrelevant, *pace* Moskalew, 128; cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.561.79). See xiv for the ampler analogies between Aenus and Delos. Thereafter, further underlining the analogies, V. varies (in the Apollonian manner) this recurrent (nay, inevitable) element in Aen.'s journey (Lloyd (1957a), 140, Nelis, 30). perhaps the passive (so TCD) hints that Aen. as yet trusts simply to wind and waves.

**litore curuo** Formulaic (cf. 223, 10.683f. and reversed, 238, 643, 5.765, 11.184, where vd. my n.): a *perpetuum epitheton*, according to Serv.Dan. here; attested for Acc. (*trag.*569).

**17 moenia prima loco** Expanded in v. 18; cf. 132–3: not considered as one of the recurrent narrative elements in Lloyd's analysis (1957b), but to be recognised as a prime theme in *Aen.*3 as a 'ktistic epic' (Horsfall (1989), 17f., 25f.; cf. Pomathios, 118ff.); the antithesis to Od.'s account of his destruction of Ismarus, a city of the **Thracian** Cicones is noted by Knauer, 184. **L:** cf. 7.127 (with n.), *EV* 3, 239. Con. sees that **m.p.** might signify the first walls of the voyage or the foundations (**prima**; cf. even 7.157) of Aenus' future **moenia**. Or of course a bit of both.

**fatis ... iniquis** Serv.Dan. comments well *bene quid sit futurum praecupat*; surprisingly, **i.** absent from Duckworth's good list (12f.) of lexical anticipations of doom (*infelix, fatis debitus, et sim.*) and Amm. writes intelligently (27.4.13) *Aenum, qua condita et relicta, Aeneas Italiam auspicioꝝ prosperitate perpetua, post diuturnos occupavit errores*. The educated reader is

already bowed down by learned, mythological anticipations of Polydorus' end and of some ill effect or other (for there is no canonical version that V. must follow) that P.'s story will have upon Aen.'s (and the resolution follows only too soon, Duckworth, 105, n.218); now Aen. himself advises Dido that this landfall will end badly. **Fatis ... iniquis**: cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.368.55, *Aen.*2.257, 10.380, 8.292 *fatis Iunonis iniquae*, Bailey, 217, Boyancé, 55, Duckworth, 9 (and cf. of *sortem*, 6.332, 12.243): Aen. does not *deserve* of destiny such a start (nor Polydorus such an end).

**ingressus** Ehlers (*TLL* 7.1.1569.56) well compares 7.194 *ingressis* (the Trojans who have entered Latinus' palace), suggesting that **i.** here should be taken in a purely local sense, for indeed 'made a start (sc. on building Aenus)' is hardly in keeping with V.'s usage (Ehlers, 1572.71 ff.).

**18 Aeneadasque** V. might seem to leave open a choice between Aenus and Aeneia (cf. **13–68**) and indeed etymologically he does, but that only (*ib.*) sharpens the interest of his geographical solution (intersection with the story of Polydorus; Aenus perhaps not named to augment the element of riddle/challenge). Cf. *EV* 1, 72f. (Parise).

**meo ... de nomine** Cf. 1.277 *suo de nomine* and **166 ducis de nomine**.

**nomen ... fingo** Standard prose use, in Cic. and Varro (Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.774.14ff.); here cf. *Hor.AP* 50, 52 (where vd. Brink). Cf. O'Hara *TN* 75, n.330 (and note Wills, 471 on the polyptoton), 'when Virgil calls attention to the fact that a name is a name': cf. **693f.**, *G.*4.271 f. (with *nomine*, though, far commoner). For the apposition of the actual name, cf. n. on 7.63. V. hints only that between **Aeneas** and **Aenus** there must be a link causal, and not just casual.

**19 sacra ... ferebam** Cf. *G.*2.394, 3.22, *Aen.*4.218, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.542.7f.; standard Lat. usage. A sacrifice early on in Aen.'s successive landfalls is a recurrent element (*septies*) in bk.3 (Lloyd (1957a), 141 ff., I. Shatzman, *SCI* 1 (1974), 56, 58f.). Note **21 mactabam**; the prodigy occurs while Aen. is engaged in offering *sacra*, above all, the sacrifice of a bull.

**Dionaeae matri** Aphrodite the daughter of Dione (by Zeus): cf. *Il.*5.370, *Eur.Hel.*1098, E. Simon, *LIMC* 3.1.411, R. Bloch, *NP* 3, 624, Robert, 1, 352ff.. Cf. *G.*1.163 *Eleusinae matris*, *Aen.*1.720 *matris Acidaliae*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.443.58; for this lofty periphrastic, genealogising variant

upon *Veneri*, cf. 4.372, Lunelli-Kroll, 44ff. and M. Squillante Saccone's very useful list, *EV* 1, 54. The association of Venus with myrtle (23) is clearly relevant (Paus.2.32.3, 5.13.7, 6.24.7, *Buc.*7.62, Mantero (*infra*, 1977), 434, Gruppe, 1356, n.2 and *Sachregister* s.v., GP on *HE* 3560, Bömer on *Ov.F.*4.15 and notably Headlam-Knox on Herondas 1.89). Venus' branches for a sacrifice to Venus, Serv. on 24.

**diuisque** Not 'theologically' comparable to 8.102f. *honorem/ Amphitrioniadae magno diuisque ferebat*, for Hercules did not allow the mention of other gods during his rites (Plut.*QR* 90=285E, after Varro, *RD* 13fr.1Merkel=both *RD* 5, appx.(c) and *RD* 13, appx.(c) Cardauns; cf. Wissowa, 274f.), while Jupiter and Venus made no objection (cf. (e.g.) Varr.*RR* 1.1.6, Liv.22.10.9, Wissowa, 61); though 8.102f. is hardly to be considered the source of this line (xxxix, etc.), Clausen's subtle and erudite discussion is indispensable (*THP*, 117f.). **Diuis** here not quite—*pace* Clausen—'gods in general' (as in Hom.'s Δί τ' ἄλλοιciv τε θεοiciv and variations, or as in bk.8) but limited by V. to the gods relevant upon this occasion (mercifully not specified; Serv. had views).

**20 auspibus** Cf. 4.45 *dis ... auspibus*, Hor.*C.*1.7.27 *Teucro duce et auspice Teucro* (with NH), *Ep.*1.3.13 *auspice Musa*, *Ov.F.*1.615 *auspibusque deis*, 4.830; the construction here a natural use of obj.gen. (cf. 145), given the clear sense 'patron, supporter' (*OLD* s.v., §3; cf. Banner, *TLL* 2.1541.58f.); thus a neat, common extension of the word's field, not an intrusion of Rom. augural usage (*pace* Serv.), though we may sense that the portent which follows is intended as an heroic equivalent to 'unfavourable auspices' before a Livian battle (cf. D. Levene, *Religion in Livy* (Leiden 1993), 38ff. on the spectacular instances in bk.22). Proleptically conveying the desired effect of the sacrifice; not only Aen.'s mother but the goddess, above all, who (2.801; vd. Austin) had watched over their last parting from Troy (cf. Wlosok, 80). Hardly (Henry) because of Venus' links with the sea (21 *litore*).

**coeptorum operum** Indeed the work had already begun, 17f. (note 4.88 Dido's *opera interrupta*, *EV* 3, 863); we might wonder very pedantically why Aen. had not started with the 'correct' ritual, before any building began (7.159). Possibly we are meant to notice the Trojans' haste to build anew the first moment they are safely out of the Troad; possibly (and fortunately) V. is less concerned with the precise details of the sequence than his more tediously pedantic critics might wish. Henry well notes *Ar.Av.*809f. (naming of city, then sacrifice).

**superoque .../ 21 caelicolum regi** Double hyperbaton, interlocking word-order, and lofty periphrasis in honour of the first sacrifice of the voyage and in view of its appalling consequences. **S.** as noun, an old poetic synonym for 'dei' (1.4, 7.312 *flectere si nequeo superos*), as adj. Ennian. Cf. *EV* 4, 1081 f.. Jupiter conventionally king of heaven (2.648, etc., *EV* 4, 466, West on Hes.*Theog.* 883, 886 (not Homeric), Cairns, 1, 21). **V.** then adds the gen. pl. (for the archaic contraction, cf. 7.305), after the manner of (e.g.) 7.306 *ipse deum genitor* (which is Accian); **c.** Ennian again, and of course solemn-archaic in 'feel'; cf. *EV* 1.601 f., Bannier, *TLL* 3.73.65.

**nitentem/ 21 ... taurum** Cf. 5.236 *candentem ... taurum*, of which Edgeworth observes 'the bull is not necessarily white' (112); very true, for the adj. suggests primarily 'sleek', 'gleaming' (cf. 6.654 f. *nitentis .../... equos*, Marconi, *EV* 3, 739, comparing use of *nitidus*). But TCD impatiently lays down *nitentem taurum hoc est candidum* and, when used of a bull offered to Jup., **n.** inevitably conveyed a colour not far from white (cf. amply Wissowa, 413, n.5, PW Suppl.5.245.35 ff (Krause); *niveus*, preferably, *Ov.Pont.*4.4.31; if not, cf. *Juv.*10. 65 f. for the use of white chalk).

This dramatically delayed bull raises an unexpected problem, long pondered. On 12.120 Serv. explains that Aen. here *contra morem Ioui de tauro sacrificavit* (on the simple principle, wrong beginning, bad end); this he had already explained (*ad* 3.21) and indeed defined as a *piaculum* on 279; the issue is discussed at Macr.3.10 between **V.**'s constant and caustic critic Evangelus, who cites the specialists in pontifical law Ateius Capito (bulls, *tauri*, boars and rams might not be offered to Jup.), and Antistius Labeo (bulls, *tauri*, properly offered only to Neptune, Apollo and Mars) and the sage and learned moderate Praetextatus (if there was an error, it was expiable and had been introduced to account for the portent of the bush). Or was Aen. guilty of a vast and awful (though unwitting) mistake in his first ritual act (Dyson, 29 ff., after Thomas (13-68), 261 ff.)?

The issue, however, has been resolved with notable learning and elegance by G. Capdeville (*Mél. Heurgon* 1 (Rome 1976), 115 ff.; the discussion between C. and Dumézil surveyed, ineffectually, E. Montanari, *EV* 5\*, 532 f.). That there are several registers of technicality in Rom. religious language has been suspected, independently (*Alambicco*, 115, 148 f.), and it is clear that **V.** does systematically avoid arcane technical details of cult, and their lexicon (*Aen.*7, index, s.v. religious language). But in the passionately heated religious climate under which the

details of pagan cult in Virgil were discussed in late antiquity (*Alambicco*, 148ff., Geymonat, in *Companion*, 303f., with my n.45), due attention was unlikely to be paid to the fine print of distinctions between lexical registers. Whence inevitable misunderstandings (cf. Capdeville, 122) and the birth of grave accusations (in themselves unlikely) of impiety against hero and poet alike:

There are (mercifully) no grounds for challenging the use of *taurus* in the sense of “bull” in standard Latin prose and verse; it is also beyond doubt that, in normal, standard usage, *tauri* were sacrificed to Jupiter, generally and quite correctly; so to Jupiter Latiaris, on the Alban Mount: *nullos alios licebat quam niuei tauros immolare candoris* (Arnob.2.68; cf. DH 4.49.3, Weinstock, 323), or after a triumph, (G.2.146f. *maxima taurus/ uictima*, comparing Plut.*Aem.Paull.* 33.2, Amm. Marc. 25.4.17, Ehlers, PW A13.503.30ff., H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies* (London 1981), 216, I.S. Ryberg, *Rites of the state religion in Roman art* (Rome 1955), 155 (the visual evidence), etc.), or in the ritual for a *saeculum*, πάνλευκοι ταῦροι Phleg.Trall. *Macrob.*6.v.12, not to mention the numerous *tauri* offered in the Arval *acta*, e.g. at lxix.11 Henzen = *ILS* 229.12 (extremely frequent; vd. Henzen, 141 ff.).

The problem lies in a quite different code of lexical usage employed of victims by (and exclusively by) specialists in pontifical law. While the poet uses impartially *boues*, *iuuenci* and *tauri* in strictly parallel contexts (vd. Serv.Dan. on 5.481), the specialist distinguishes: it looks as though (so Capdeville) *taurus* (and similarly *uerres* and *hircus*), was the male as used for the reproductive act (and therefore arguably flawed and *not* suited to sacrificial offering), whereas *bos mas* (compare *aries*, *caper*) was the ‘merely’ biological male (as against female; no reproductive function necessarily entailed). This (so Capdeville) may be what Isid.*Etym.*12.1.28 and Serv. on 3.21 are trying to explain. Little wonder they failed. The distinction might seem at first bizarre but it has the great merit of explaining not only Lat. usage but also the criticisms offered of V.

The issue of ‘tree-violation’ has also of late greatly troubled readers of these lines (Thomas, *cit.*, Dyson, again). In Italy, the deliberate cutting or trimming of sacred trees was not always and everywhere prohibited, nor was such cutting grossly and automatically sacrilegious and, frequently, it was rather the use of iron within sacred groves and the removal of wood from them that provoked concern: Thomas, 263, n.8 rather overstates; cf. M. Beard, *PBSR* 53 (1985), 138f., J. Bodel, *AJAH* 11 (‘1986’ = 1994), 24ff., Henzen, 128ff., 136ff. and the lucid discus-

sion of the use of wood from sacred *luci* by Wissowa, 469 (with 407, n.3); cf. too (for both prohibitions and sanctioned use) R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Rom. emp.* (New Haven 1981), 35, R. Meiggs, *Trees and timber*, 378. For Greece, start from J. Bremmer, *Greek religion*, 32 with n.34. The image suggested of Aen. (worse yet, in his father's presence) as incompetent *in sacris* from the very first (though not yet anywhere near Italy, nor yet obliged to follow 'correct' Roman usage) may lose some of its appeal upon reflection. The use of extreme language (Thomas (13–68), 268, 270; Putnam, 52) in the cause of showing Aen. up as (not merely incompetent but) profoundly (and consistently) violent, destructive, harmful has the unlikely merit of egging the startled reader on to suggest some less apocalyptic approaches. Cf. H.J. Rose, *Aeneas pontifex* (London 1948), Shatzman, *cit.*, 47 ff., S. MacCormack, *Shadows of poetry* (Berkeley 1998), 73 ff. for some history of the difficulties found in understanding religious acts in *Aen.*

**21 mactabam in litore** Cf. 7.93: the vb. Ennian (also Pacuv., Cic. *arm.*); old, not distinctively poetic (Cic., Liv.), nor specifically technical, *pace* Serv.Dan. on 4.57 (Bulhart, *TLL* 8.22.20). Again in 7 *cit. mactabat* a slightly tricky impf.. Note, for the *ubicazione* of myrtle on the tomb by the shore (23), *G.*2.112, 4.124 *amantis litora myrtos* with Mynors' n. and Mantero (*infra*, 1977), 443.

**22 forte** Cf. 7.494 (and *EV* 1, 438, Pomathios, 344); it seemed initially coincidence (a bush handy for decking the altar), but turned out not to be at all, as ritual led into portent. Polyd. had been cast into the sea and was thrown up on the shore, Eur.*Hec.*28, 700.

**fuit iuxta tumulus** Cf. 2.513 *ingens ara fuit iuxtaque ueterrima laurus*. Heyne remarks acutely *porro h.l. simpl. collis; nam insepultus fuit proiectus* [cf. 45f., 62f.] ... *arena autem, uentorum fluctuumque impulsa aggesta, in colliculi speciem, corpus erat tectum*. And with the rites of 62ff., the **t.** becomes a funeral mound (Migliorati, *EV* 5\*, 314). The first element in an ecphrasis (cf. 13); Thomas (13–68), 265 compares in particular the ἦ δέ τις αἰγείροσ of Call.*H.*6.37 (Erysichthon).

**quo ... summo** Cf. 546 **quae maxima**, 7.217 *quae maxima* (with n.), 5.728. *quae ... pulcherrima*.

**cornea .../ 23 uirgulta** A clump of cornel stems; there might seem too many species to permit definitive identification, but S. European habitat, colour of fruit (and, in autumn, leaves) and shrubby growth point strongly to cornus mas(cornelian cherry). For ample detail, cf.

*Hillier's Manual of Trees and Shrubs* (repr. Newton Abbot 1984), 79ff., R. Phillips and M. Rix, *The Botanical Garden* 1 (London 2002), 326ff., *RHS New Encyclopaedia of plants and flowers* (ed. C. Brickell, London 1989), 533, *Oxford encyclopedia of trees of the world* (ed. B. Hora, Oxford 1981), 220ff.; vd. also J Sargeant, *Trees, shrubs and plants of Virgil* (Oxford 1920), 33f., Maggiulli, *EV* 1, 897, *ead. Incipient silvae ...* (Roma 1995), 271f., Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, 392. For **u.** here (as against *ramus*, *uirga*) cf. *Isid. Etym.* 17.6.18 *quod de radice pullulat*, with *EV* 5\*, 562.

**densis hastilibus horrida** Cf. 7.526 *horrescit strictis seges ensibus* with **n.** (bristling of crops/weapons, Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2991.57); both the *cornus* and the *myrtus* are widely attested as suitable wood for spear-shafts, *G.* 2.447f. at **myrtus ualidis hastilibus et bona bello / cornus**: for **c.**, cf. 9.698, 12.267, *Ov. Met.* 8.408, 12.451, etc., for **m.**, cf. **n.** on 7.817, Baer, *TLL* 8.1750.52f., 1751.71. TCD well notes that nothing peaceful can come of such a pairing. **Hastilia** are strictly the shafts, but often applied to the weapon as a whole (cf. **n.** on 11.561, Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2257.41f.) and the dense clump evokes the familiar density of weapons falling (Hom.  $\pi\alpha\kappa\upsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ; cf. **n.** on 7.673, O'Hara, *TN*, 136, Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.547.11), upon Polydorus' body, as we will learn (45–6; ring-composition). No time for verbs here.

**myrtus** At *G.* 1.306 **V.** refers to *cruentaque myrta* and on the familiar dark juice of the *myrtus nigra*, clearly suggestive here, and explanatory of the pairing cornel-myrtle, cf. *Colum.* 12.38.7, *Plin. Nat.* 15.109 (the passages cited by Mantero after Della Corte (1962), 13 are irrelevant). Further details of the association of the myrtle with war, blood, death, colonisation, even (nn. 51, 83, 92) are explored by Mantero (1977). Cf. T. Mantero, *Atti conv. bimill. Georgiche 1975* (Napoli 1977), 431ff., *ead.*, *EV* 3, 540. For species, habitat, etc. of the myrtle, cf. Hillier, 198, Phillips and Rix, 314, Brickell, 130, 626, Sargeant, 82f., Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, 231ff.. For the myrtle and Venus, cf. **19 Dionaeae**.

**24 accessi** Cf. 8.165, with the same stately initial molossus.

**uiridemque ... siluam** Cf. *uiridis ... siluas* at 8.96, Edgeworth, 166f., André, 186f.. **S.** of a clump of reeds, *G.* 1.76, *Aen.* 10.709; at *G.* 2.17f., the stems of cherry or elm; the 'undergrowth' of vetch and lupine at *G.* 1.76 (vd. Mynors). Used also of a 'forest' of spears in *Aen.*'s shield, 10.887. *Deest* in *EV*. It may be that the long heave is suggested by the synaloepha over 2½ caesura.

**ab humo conuellere** The vb. again of the second effort at **31** (and cf. **28 uellitur**); of excellent pedigree, *Enn. Ann.* 489, *bis* in *Cat.*, and a



great favourite with V.(13x, and vd. *EV* 5\*, 474, Wulff, *TLL* 4.817.84f.). Cf. 5.452 *ab humo miserans attollit amicum*.

**25 conatus** Regularly in V., as here, of vain effort (2.792, 6.700, 10.685, etc.).

**ramis ... frondentibus** Cf. 4.399 *frondentis ... ramos*, and 7.67, 135 (of wreaths, where vd.n., Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1345.5). Very slightly repetitious after **24**, but perhaps with an intent of contrast between the green, healthy, normal vegetation and the drops of black gore to come.

**tegerem ut ... aras** Vd. n. on 7.135 for the use of wreaths on most ritual occasions (and here cf. **64**, 2.249, 4.202, 459, Tib.1.1.12). *Vt* in anastrophe and preceded by the verb it governs; Williams on 5.22 notes the greater rarity and mannered (*sic*) effect of the preceding verb, but usage is not so uniform as really to justify 'mannered': cf. *Buc.*4.52 *aspice uenturo laetentur ut omnia saeclo*, 7.26 *rumpantur ut ilia*, *G.*4.263 *aestuat ut ... ignis*, *Aen.*11.161 *restarem ut genitor*, 796 *sterneret ut ... Camillam*, 856 *capias ut ... praemia*, 12.555 *iret ut ad muros*. For *tegere* thus (perhaps 'deck'), cf. 4.637 *pia tege tempora uitta*, 8.34, 12.885. *Aen.*'s intention is scrupulously correct and in keeping with good religious usage. *Excusatio a uoluntate* Serv.Dan..

**26 horrendum et dictu ... mirabile** Interlaced order (or perhaps better, interlocking hyperbata); cf. Conway on 1.13, Williams on **3.1–2**, Lunelli-Kroll, 33ff., n. on 7.692. **H.** 'firmly in the realm of poetical *Prodigienstil*' (n. on 7.78; cf. Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2982.49). **D.m.** belongs likewise to V.'s version of *Prodigienstil*, but the adj. is found also in Livy, 1–10, and occasionally thereafter (cf. n. on 7.64).

**uideo** The present thus extremely rare in Virgilian narrative (9.20, 10.674, 12.149), but we should also take into account *uidemus* (**220**, **522**, **584**, **655**, 11.349, where vd. n. and further bibl.), not to mention **uidi** (**537**, **623**, **626**, 4.358, 655, 6.582, 585, 12.638), and *uidimus* (1.584, 2.643, **3.567**, 9.244, 11.367); cf. nn. on 11.43, 53, 56, 243 for the link between sight and emotion in Virgilian narrative. Perhaps a trace of mannered effect between juxtaposed sight and speech. *horrendum dictu et uisu* misremembers Macrobius (3.10.6), while **M**, followed by Ribbeck, drops the **n** of **monstrum**.

**monstrum** Cf. *Cic.carm.Hom.*1.20 *mirabile monstrum*, *Aen.*2.680 *dic-tuque ... mirabile monstrum*, 8.81. Cf. n. on 7.81: there seems to be general agreement that **m**. is poetic, not technical.

**27 nam** Perhaps more significant than might at first appear, for in Liv. twin prodigies are normally introduced *nam(que)et ... et*: thus e.g. 7.28.7 *prodigium extemplo dedicationem secutum, simile uetusto montis Albani prodigio; namque et lapidibus pluit et nox interdiu uisa intendi*; see Luterbacher, 58 and Oakley *ad loc.*.

**quae prima ... arbos** Cf. **22 quo ... summo**, with n. on 7.217; the adj. here again attracted into the rel. clause. V. is a prisoner of the number of synonyms available, of the need for variation, of the necessity to avoid technical language: note **23 uirgulta, hastilibus, 24 siluam, 25 ramis, 31 uimen, 37 hastilia** (cf. **46 iaculis**); not to mention **27, arbos**. Aen. is trying to decorate an altar, and does not need therefore to uproot a tree; **a.** (V.'s consistent orthography) reflects a usage recognised in antiquity, [Cic.] *Rhet. Her.*4.44, Cic. *de orat.*3.168, Lausberg 1, 296, and clearly to be called by its ancient name *totum pro parte* (some discussion, Maurach (1983), 76, and (1995), 131, who notes (e.g.) Cat.4.11 *silua* for *arbor*, where vd. Kroll).

**solo .../ 28 uellitur** The third pull will be the hardest (**37**); for now, the stem comes away with normal, natural resistance (reinforced by the enjambement); some would want (rightly, even) to compare the Golden Bough (*Alambicco*, 26f.). For the verb, see **24**.

**ruptis radicibus** Cf. **580 ruptis ... caminis**, G.4.556 *stridere apes utero et ruptis efferuere costis* are closer to the middle sense identified at 7.569; here, then, cf. rather (e.g.) 8.651 *uinclis ... ruptis* (though there obj. is man-made, not 'natural'). An admirable rending, ripping alliteration.

**28 huic** Dat. of the person or thing interested; cf. **29, mihi**, Antoine, 107, etc..

**atro ... sanguine** Cf. **33, 622, 626**, G.3.221, 507f., *Aen.*4.687, 9.333, 472, 11.646 where vd. n.: 'Homeric μέλαν αίμα enriched with the grim tinge that clings to *ater*'; note too Enn. *trag.*297 *saxa spargens tabo sanie et sanguine atro* (vd. Jocelyn's n. for the gory details); Liv.38.21.9 probably a Virgilian echo. See too Edgeworth, 76, André, 327f.. There have been intimations of tragedy to come, but nothing quite to suggest this degree of horror (**13–68, 13, 14, 17**); the scene's Roman, portentous character (**13–68, 27**) now begins to unfold more explicitly and within a line, the mere blackness of the **sanguis** will acquire a more macabre dimension (**tabo**).

**liquuntur ... guttae** G. of tears, Acc. *trag.*578, and cf. Enn. *trag.*175 *lacrumae guttatim cadunt* (from the *Hec.*). It will help to recall that *lacrimae* is used often of drops of sap or resin (G.4.160, Colum.10.172, etc.,

Flury, *TLL* 7.2.838.83 ff.; also e.g. *Plin.Nat.*). The vb. in *Acc.(praet.28)*, then *Lucr.*(2.1132, 3.553(?), 4.141, 1243); cf. Stirnimann, *TLL* 7.2.1491.73 f., and Nosarti, *EV* 3, 231 for an introduction to the philological problems. Rare in *V.*: *G.*1.44, 2.187, *Aen.* 9.813 (instances of *liquens* with long *i* would extend the list); synonym of *labor*, *fluo*; cf. Flobert, 46. Rare, and not well transmitted: **linquuntur F** and *Porph. ad Hor.Epd.* 5.65, **linguntur P**, while *Serv.* virtuously comments (on **linquuntur**) *in uerbo producitur*. Prosily, we might prefer to say ‘the blood flows in black drops’, but *V.*’s miraculous ablatives dissolve conventional syntax: Mackail, 513–5 now disappoints; cf. rather Görler, *EV* 2, 268, Antoine, 188 f. and *vd. n.* on 7.30.

**29 et terram ... maculant A** recent and terrible echo, *Cat.*63.7 (*Attis*, of course) *etiam recente terrae sola sanguine* [*vd.28*]**maculans**; note also *Lucr.*3.661 *terram conspargere tabo* (and *vd. 28* for *Enn. trag.*); Dietzfelbinger, *TLL* 8.28.44.

**tabo** ‘A viscous fluid consisting of putrid matter, etc.’ (*OLD*, s.v. characterised by *putridus*, *putrefactus* in the *Differentiae* and glossaries; an ample account by F. Stok, *EV* 5\*, 1 f.); after mere *sanguis*, this is clearly a *Steigerung* of horror. Used, as we have just seen, in *Enn.trag.*, and at *Lucr.*3.661. *V.* returns to the word at **626** (and cf. **137**).

**mihi Vd. 28 huic.**

**frigidus horror** So exactly *Lucr.*6.1011 (but in the sense of ‘rigidity’); cold is a standard physiological correlative of fear (cf. *Varr.LL* 6.45 *frigidus timor* and *vd. n.* on 11.21, in detail), while **h.** is to be understood physically, not in the literal sense of ‘fear [that makes the hair bristle]’ (4.280, 12.868) but rather of trembling or shuddering: cf. 2.559, 755, Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2999.82 f., *EV* 2, 856, very close indeed to the *tremor* of 7.446 (with full n.). Unlike any plant sap that *Aen.* had ever seen (yet not obviously or rationally real blood); fear is a natural response, but he has no suspicion (nor any grounds for such) yet, unlike us, that a terrible explanation lies underground. Did the urban Romans decorate altars and temples with shop-bought vegetation (cf. J. Frayn, *Markets and fairs* (Oxford 1993), 62, 76)? How was *Aen.* to know that cornel/myrtle stems were *not* to be picked on *this* Thracian beach?

**30 membra quatit Q.** comparably of illness or effort, *G.*3.496, *Aen.*5.200, 432, 9.814 (note too *Hor.C.*1.16.5 f. *non adytis quatit/ mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius*), perhaps a Virgilian extension of usage, and one not admitted to medical Latin.

**gelidusque ... sanguis G.** reinforces the physiological detail of **frigidus** in the previous line; for the congealing of fear-chilled blood, cf. again n. on 11.21, Onians, 46f. (but McKay, *EV* 2, 560f. is inadequate). V. had no hesitation in re-using the theme almost at once, **259f. at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis/ deriguit.**

**coit formidine** Cf. 10.452 *frigidus Arcadibus coit in praecordia sanguis* (Banner, *TLL* 3.1418.74f.); at *ib.* 6.1.1097.65f., I. Kapp well draws attention to Isid.*Etym.* 10.102 *timor sanguinem gelat, qui coactus gignit formidinem, unde est illud ...*, citing v.23. For the strength of this reaction, cf. **47.**

**31 rursus et .../ 32 ... et** For **r.**, cf. 7.767, 11.427. V. suggests with the repeated **et** that Aen.'s intentions have become more complicated: not only to [overcome his terror and] pick another stem, but to find out what actually caused the hideous **guttae**; condemn him for morbid curiosity, charge him with sacrilege or wonder whether perhaps he realised already that some expiation, some *piaculum* was called for? Just what, he would not know until he found out exactly what had happened (Adler, 283f. offers a notably thoughtful and scrupulous account of Aeneas' actions; contrast Thomas, 266).

**alterius** Cf. **33:** V. spares no means to make plain the precise repetition the second attempt represents.

**lentum ... uimen** Cf. nn. on 7.164, 731; **l.** long used of vegetation; in high poetry at least from Cat.(61.102) and Varr.*Atac.fr.* 21.2; in V., cf. *Buc.* 1.25, 3.83, 5.31, 7.48, *G.* 2.12, 4.34 (*uimen*, as at *Aen.* 6.137, for which vd. **27**); cf. Clausen on *Buc.* 1.4, Collassero, *TLL* 7.2.1162.58, Pinotti, *EV* 3, 175f.. 'Pliant' or 'whippy' perfectly appropriate to stems, which are far more easily cut than broken or torn. **V.** used of any flexible, usable part of a plant, oak (11.65), willow (*G.* 2.446), acanthus (*G.* 4.123), reeds (*Buc.* 2.72); *G.* 2.413f. is problematic (vd. Mynors).

**conuellere** The dogged sequence of three attempts made appallingly plain by **rursus**, by **alterius** (*bis*), by the black blood of **28, 33**, by the repetition **insequor ... sequitur**, and by the echo from **24 ab humo conuellere.**

**32 insequor** The vb. *quinquies* in Lucr., then 16x in V., here with a typically Virgilian extension of constr., with the infin. (for verbs of desiring and hesitation thus in V., cf. Görler, 2, 271, *bene*, Lunelli-Janssen, 108f.). Cf. Kröner, *TLL* 7.1.1866.75f..

**causis penitus ... latentis** Cf. 5.4f. *quae tantum accenderit ignem/ causa latet* (Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.997.23f.). For **p.**, cf. n. on 7.374; for **c.** in

V., the sense ‘motive, explanation’ is common (cf. 2.105 *ardemus scitari et quaerere causas*, 3.305, 584 **nec quae sonitum det causa uidemus**, 6.710f. *causasque requirit/ inscius Aeneas*, *EV* 1, 714ff.). Adler, *cit.* ascribes to Aen. a deeper spirit of enquiry, in the spirit of G.2.490 *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*; cf. nn. on 31, 34 for a degree of assent. He cannot well depart without understanding the first portent of the drops of blood.

**temptare** *EV* 5\*, 94 renders weakly “‘cercare’ le radici’ (s.v. the verb’s more concrete senses), which is indeed not at all what Aen. is doing by pulling up another stem, rather than uncovering the roots with his trowel. ‘Seek to discover the state of’ paraphrases *OLD*, §2 quoting the doubly comparable 2.38 *temptare latebras* (of the Troj. horse) and G.2.246f. *ora/ tristia temptantum* [sc. *aquam*], an unsurprisingly Lucretian application: cf. 4.234 *si quadratum temptamus* (feeling a square object) and (in much the same spirit of experiment) 5.1267f. *inde aliam atque aliam culturam dulcis agelli/ temptabant*.

**33 ater ... sanguis** The exact wording of 28 repeated, with change of case, further to augment the effect.

**et alterius** In just the same position as in 31; alternating repetition, as Wills would say (405f.); note *alii* before the caesura in 12.584, 586 (at 577, 578 in successive lines; cf. 6.740, 741, and 2.330, 332, G.2.26, 28 with varied position).

**sequitur** After 32 **insequor**; possibly V.’s notorious tolerance of alleged ‘awkward repetition’ (cf. n. on 7.554), but in a passage so full of stylistic elaboration of the theme of the second effort, more likely that V. plays on **insequor ... sequitur**; repetition with ‘category shift’ (i.e. simplex-compound; vd. Wills, 438ff., *bene*). Cf. 10.487 *sanguis animusque sequuntur* (Hom. ἔποντο), 12.51 *et nostro sequitur de uulnere sanguis*.

**de cortice** Cf. G.2.74, 4.160 (naturally of sap, resin).

**34 multa mouens animo A.** the spirit, in the sense of the ability to think and feel, situated in the breast (n. on 7.356, Isnardi Parente *EV* 1, 176, Negri, 145). **M.m.**: so too at 5.608, 10.890, with *animo* (where Harrison compares Hom. πολλὰ φρεσὶ μεμνηρίζων). Apparently a neat Virgilian coinage, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1544.72.

**Nymphas ... agrestis** Compare Aeneas’ situation at 7.137f.; he has just learned he is in the right country, but has as yet no more precise knowledge and *Nymphas ... et adhuc ignota precatur/ flumina*. Note

in particular *G.4.535 facilis uenerare Napaeas* (wood-nymphs) and for the epithet, *G.1.10 agrestum praesentia numina, 2.493 deos ... agrestis*, Bannier, *TLL* 1.1419.20. The (tree-)nymphs of the countryside are peculiarly well-suited to help in placating (36) a crisis clearly rooted in a clump of cornel and myrtle (cf. Bailey, 46, 201).

**uenerabar** Ennian (*Ann.*100); already *quinquies* in *G.*; Montanari, *EV* 5\*, 484f.. Occasionally found in literary versions of relig. petitions (Plautus, prose, 'carm.evocationis' ap.Macr.3.9.7), as might be expected (Hickson, 50, Oakley on Liv. 8.9.7).

**35 Gradiumque patrem** Cf. 10.542 *tibi, rex Gradiue, tropaeum*. The name of unclear origin, and not, *pace* Harrison on 10.cit., discussed in Varr.*LL.* *Mars enim cum saeuit 'Gradius' dicitur* write Serv. on 1.292; here he offers *exsilientem in proelia* and at 10.542 is silent. *A gradiendo in bella* proposes Paul.exc.Fest.p.86.15L, before giving his imagination free rein (worse yet from Norden, *Priesterbücher*, 137, n.1). The moderns equally perplexed (vd. Bömer on Ov.*F.*2.861; Ogilvie on Liv.1.20.4 and, worse, Harrison on 10 cit., at sea); clearly Diomedes, *Gramm.Lat.*1.475.25 should never have entered the discussion: vd. app.crit. there. The prosody of the *a* oscillates (cf. Platnauer, *Lat.eleg.* verse, 53–5 and for toponyms, Horsfall, *Aion* (sez.ling.) 14 (1992), 173ff.). At least the associations of **G.** are clearly bellicose and therefore admirably suited to Thrace (13 **terra ... Mauortia**). **G.** is mentioned *ter* in Livy's first pentad and *quater* in Ov.*F.*; not therefore archaic, or arcane, but perhaps a little bookish in flavour (cf. Preller, *Röm.Myth.*2, 308, Weiss, PW 7.1688.22ff.). The title **p.** altogether conventional (cf. 7.141).

**Geticis ... aruis** Cf. 171, 4.236, 5.702, 8.38, etc.. The Getae of some contemporary interest at Rome (7.604), after Crassus' triumph in 28. They are associated with *Mauortia tellus* already at *G.4.463* (mourning for Eurydice, spouse of the *Thracian* Orpheus); cf. *EV* 2, 719 and F. Graf in *Interpretations of Greek mythology* ed. J.N. Bremmer (Beckenham 1987), 86–92.

**qui praesidet** Cf. n. on 7.800, Kooreman, *TLL* 10.2.879.53, Appel, 110ff. (add now Hickson, 38f.); found in prayers in both (*quinquies*) Cic. and (*semel*) Livy (so Hickson, citing e.g. *Leg.Man.*70, Liv.38.51.8), perhaps elevated by V. into the poetic lexicon. Aen. knows that Mars (*uel sim.*) is the chief deity of the land he is visiting, and thus appropriate recipient of a plea for illumination in this moment of anxious perplexity.

**36 rite** Cf. **107, 546**; vd. 7.93. Used in the sense of ‘with due response to prayer’ (*OLD* s.v., §1b, Lanternari, *EV* 4, 510), as at 10.254, *Hor.CS* 13.

**secundarent uisus** ‘Cause to be favourable’; perhaps a coinage (n. on 7.259); in the passive sense of *uisa* (so already Serv., Henry; the theme and variation is decisive), **u.** as at 2.212 *diffugimus uisu exsanges*, 5.90 *obstipuit uisu Aeneas*, 11.271 *horribili uisu portenta sequuntur* (where vd.n.: ‘typical Virgilian flirtation with *Prodigienstil*’); cf. *EV* 5\*, 537. Surprisingly absent from Ferraro’s valuable survey of Virgilian abstracts, *ib.* 1, 378ff.. Subj. dependent on the notion of prayer implicit in **uenerabar**.

**omenque** As often, *in malam partem* (cf. Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.576.41); recall **26 horrendum et dictu ... mirabile monstrum** and cf. (e.g.) 2.182, 4.662, 12.854.

**leuarent** Cf. Sen. *NQ* 2.37.1 *qui procuranda existimant fulmina, et expiationes non dubitant prodesse aliquando ad summouenda pericula, aliquando ad leuanda, aliquando ad differenda*. This is not (Luterbacher, 55) technical language (cf. Koster, *TLL* 7.2.1228.8); it seems as though the gods are invited to ‘lighten’ the portent by sending another more favourable (Lanternari, *cit*; 10.254f. *tu rite propinques/ augurium* is closely comparable). Austin on 2.691 offers possible instances of *auspicia oblatiua* and (as invited comment thereon by the gods) *impetratiua* in *Aen.* (cf. Moskalew, 142), though I suggest at 7.141, and indeed *passim*, that V. is often at some pains to avoid systematic and accurate application of recognisable religious language. The hints which convey that the discovery of Polydorus’ grave is in some sense genuinely portentous and Roman are, we have seen (**13–68**), typically subtle and evanescent. Cf. Austin on 4.260 for the “leonine” rhyme in this line.

**37 tertia ... hastilia** Cf. **23**; here plur. for sing., for *Aen.* hardly now tries to root up a clump having twice failed with single stems, not to mention the ordinal adj., difficult with a ‘real’ plur..

What classical scholars have familiarly called *Dreihheit* (since Usener, *RhM* 58, 1903) proves on examination a tricky concept: Virgil’s threes may indeed sometimes evoke ancient ritual and superstition (or the impression thereof); they may be ‘mere’ literary echoes, they may represent a convenient (and powerful) pattern of narrative organisation (cf. nn. on 7.141, 11.631, Harrison on 10.685f., Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 783f.). While ‘three’ is indeed an occasional element in portent-narratives (G.4.384f., Grassmann-Fischer, 92, n.2; add e.g. Val.Max.1.6.8), here

the sequence does seem to have a far more studied, rhetorical, climactic appearance (note the sequence **27 prima... 31 alterius ... 33 alterius ... 37 tertia**).

Thomas (*cit.*, 266) calls Aeneas' *second* attack on the thicket 'totally uncomprehending ... and again without precaution', and continues '... but he nevertheless does not hesitate to make a third, more violent, assault'. But once we realise that Aen.'s first 'assault' is not necessarily foolish or sacrilegious (*supra*), then it becomes necessary to differentiate between the three stages. So Adler, 283: a path already trodden by TCD. I cite both:

- (1) *cum hoc nondum sciretur* [the Thracians' breach of *hospitium*], *tamen, quoniam necesse fuerat propter fundamenta noua, uiridibus frondibus aras contegere praeparabat Aeneas*. 'Aeneas' pious intention to wreath the altars' (Adler).
- (2) *cum quid illud esset confusus sentire non possem, repetitione facta uolui experiri*.  
'Slow and deliberate'; Aen. knows stems torn do not normally bleed, so this time it is 'intentional exploration of hidden causes' (Adler).
- (3) *in prima auulsione potuit uideri casus, cum autem in secunda eadem repperissem, uehementer commotus ... uolui manifestius comprehendere*. (Here I summarise Adler) had Aen.'s effort to reach the deeply hidden causes been displeasing to the gods? He prays to ensure that those causes may not turn out menacing for the Trojans.

We do throughout also need to remember that Aeneas' profound ignorance regarding the portent is inherent in his human condition: for V., the gods/fate/his destiny actively begrudge him the knowledge he needs (1.299, **3.379f.**, **461**, 5.703, 8.730, 10.501, Duckworth, 101f., Bailey 217, Feeney, 181, Nelis, 40, O'Hara, *DOP*, 26f.; cf. already *Il.*19.418, *AR* 2.311f., 389, 425), and for which he must fight, at the heavy cost of discovering his kinsman Polydorus' fate, to blight the Trojans' first landfall.

**sed postquam** Postponed *sed* throws *tertia* into relief (vd. e.g. Williams on 5.5). 11.631 begins with the same three words; pure chance (vd. n. there).

**maiore ... nisu** With a neat and powerful use of an abstr. noun (vd. **36**; *quater* in Lucr.) again; the compar. adj. carries the necessary intensification inherent in the third effort. Vd. *EV* 3, 741. *Acrius nitentem* Serv..



**38 adgredior** The language of warlike assault (cf. 2.463, the tower, Zimmermann, *TLL* 1.1319.42f.); Aen. 'needs to know', but here surely human frustration speaks too. The prefix not assimilated, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 399.

**genibusque** Contrast 12.303, VF 7.595 (the knee to press down, not to heave against).

**aduersae ... harenae** Cf. 5.477 *et aduersi contra stetit ora iuueni.* Aen. strains with his knees against the sand opposite him, Kempf, *TLL* 1.867.15.

**obluctor** Very possibly a coinage (Lossau, *TLL* 9.2.116.73; Gk. ἀντερειδω, suggests Heyne), ignored, *EV* 3, 273; V. uses the *simplex* in the two parallel scenes of Aen. tugging at the arrow in his leg, 12.387f., and 12.781, struggling to tear his spear from the tree-stump (cf. Thomas, *cit.*, 269f.). The language and the scene also suggest wrestling in the sand of the palaestra, 6.643 *fulua luctantur harena.*

**39 eloquar an sileam?** Serv.Dan. comments excellently *parenthesis ad miraculum posita, qua magnitudinem monstri ostendit. et bene auditorem attentum uult facere* (cf. Tarrant (14), 152). Was the parenthetic hesitation Aeneas' before Dido or did it belong to the original scene? The question (Laird, 182f.) perplexes me, for Aen. is on his knee(s) and heaving; in that context, neither alternative seems, realistically, present. The remark (so G.W. Williams, *TI*, 274, well) is Aen.'s one clear sign that he is aware of his audience's existence, though there do appear to be many more neglected hints, 14. The antithesis is distinctively tragic (cf. Aesch.*Sept.*619, Dion.*trag.*fr.6, *TGF* 1, p.244) and particularly Euripidean (cf. *Ion* 758 εἶπωμεν ἢ κινῶμεν; *Andr.*679, *IT* 938, *Orest.* 1539f.) as Laird, 183, n.61 nearly remarks. On *e.* 'forma alternativa metri causa del verbo base' comments Zaffagno (*EV* 3, 248) patronisingly, but it is an Ennian favourite (*quinquies*, between *trag.* and *Ann.*). *Eloquio* (11.383) is quite another matter (vd.n.).

**gemitus lacrimabilis** The adj. clearly a coinage; Serv.Dan. hesitates between 'cum lacrimis' and 'dignus lacrimis', when he could easily have said 'both ... and'. At 7.604, (vd. my n.) clearly the latter (the passive sense commoner for adjs. in *-ilis*), but here more obviously perhaps the former (see Flury, *TLL* 7.2.843.24). Not a faint ghostly twitter but, as it might be, δακρυσέν στενάχει (Thomas, 266 compares Call.*H.*6.39 κακὸν μέλος ἴαχεν); Polyd. has things to say and his voice will have to carry. No time for summoning ghosts, or for dreaming.

**imo/ 40 ... tumulo** Cf. 22; the adj economically suggests that the voice comes from somewhere deep inside the mound.

**40 auditor** The passive here well suggests that Polyd.'s voice[*somehow*] reaches Aeneas, audibly. Cf. G.1.476, Aen.6.426 *auditae uoces*, 7.117 *uox audita*.

**vox reddita** Cf. 7.95 *uox reddita luco*, 1.409, 6.689, after Cat.64.166 *nec missas audire queunt nec reddere uoces*.

**fertur ad auris** Cf. 93 **uox fertur ad auris**, 2.119 *uulgi quae uox ut uenit ad auris* and n. on 7.166; conventional and traditional (at least the Lucretian *ad auris*) near-formulaic language; for the old dead metaphor, cf. Catrein, 143f.

**41–6** This brief speech of pathos (vd. use of own name, 45; note, with TCD, the technique of Aen. quoting the story of his own unwitting brutality from his—generous and understanding—victim's lips) and revelation, quoted in OR by Aen. (instances listed, Highet, 341), has attracted minimal attention (cf. Adler, 283f., Fernandelli (1996), 261; alas not considered by the painstaking Highet), but its exceptional quality deserves notice. The only detailed discussion I know is that by TCD, and it still merits careful reading. The disembodied voice employs apostrophe and deixis (both 43 and 45), gemination and intensification (41–2), appeals to Aen.'s old virtues and Roman patterns of conduct, sets forth the claims on Aen. of religious duties and family ties, resolves the tension that has been gathering since v.19 and determines Aen.'s next action. Polyd. speaks in reproach of his unwitting assailant; the bitterest accusations might very shortly have followed, but in the event were unnecessary.

**41 quid ... miserum ... laceras** The vb. (*saepius uulnerare* Serv.) remarkably *quinquies* in the fr. of Cic.*carm.* outside the *Aratea*; also Enn.*trag.*, Lucr., *Buc.*6.77. The adj. standard of the dead (Wieland, *TLL* 8.1104.4; cf. notably 6.370, Enn.*Ann.*125, Cic.*Cat.*4.11 *miseros atque insepultos aceruos ciuium*). But Polyd. is not merely never properly buried but previously betrayed and butchered.

**Aenea** A dozen addresses to Aen. in voc. in *Aen.* (nom. *Aeneas* not so used); for V.'s (frequent) use of titles, when Aen. is addressed, cf. E. Dickey, *Latin forms of address* (Oxford 2002), 42.

**iam** Cf. *Buc.*8.61 *desine ... iam desine*, 109 *parcite ... iam parcite*, *Daphnis*, *Aen.*12.693 *parcite iam ... inhibete*, [Ov.]*Epic.Drusi* 73; common with single imperatives, Wagner, *QV* xxiv, §3, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.104.67. For gem-

ination of imperatives in general, cf. Wills, 89ff. **Iam** with the force of 'stop, do stop'.

**parce .../ 42 parce** Unsurprisingly used elsewhere of the violation of tombs (Korteweg, *TLL* 10.1.333.83 cites VM 9.2.1, *Tert.Apol.*37.2 and doubtfully *CLE* 837; cf. in general Fernandelli (1996), 266f. (267, n.44 for epigraphic instances of *parcere* used of 'sparing the tomb'), Latimore, 118ff. and my n. on *CLE* 1988.51 *laedere qui hoc poterit ausus quoque laedere diuos*, *ZPE* 61 (1985), 272). The second **parce** is (cf. *TLL cit.*, 332.40) almost equivalent to *noli*; cf. *Buc.*3.94 *parcite, oues, nimum procedere*, *Hor.C.*1.28.23 and common in elegy. Note the variation of construction after the geminated verb. The use with infin. in *Cat.*(64.146), *Lucr.*(2.680) and *Hor.C.* (3.28.7).

**sepulto** Cf. **67 sepulchro**: ring-composition. The problem has been clear since Serv. (*tacent*, however, Page, R.D. Williams, etc.): Polyd. is about to be buried 'regularly', **62–68**, and there we shall see just why that rite is essential; so far, his body is indeed covered (by the *tumulus*), but unburied, for the due rites have not been offered and his *anima* is therefore not at rest. **S.** therefore '*modo 'mortuo' uel 'tacenti' significat* (Serv.Dan.). Polyd.'s unburied soul protests at the pain Aen. has caused to his casually covered body; the irregular *tumulus* has acquired for the purposes of this speech all the sacrality of a regularly protected Roman tomb.

**42 pius ... manus** So too at 7.5 Aen. is called *pius* because of Caieta's burial (compare 6.176, 232, 11.170, and, a little less closely, 5.286). Here, Polyd. also recalls Aen.'s former, famed *pietas* (vd. n. on 7.5) and anticipates the full burial he will shortly receive, from the hands of his kinsman (cf. Traina, *EV* 4, 96). For the application of **p.** to parts of the body, cf. Bailey, 86.

**scelerare** After *Cat.*64.404 (the incestuous mother) *impia non uerita est diuos scelerare penates*; juxtaposed with **pius**, as **me tibi** directly after.

**non me tibi Troia/ 43 externum tulit** Cf. 7.221, 427 for discussion of the mutual attraction of pronouns; **me** here also thrust forward into prominence. Cf. Winbolt, 137ff. for consideration of the fairly common sequence monosyll.+ two disylls. at line-end. **Tulit** in the sense, simply (Hey, *TLL* 6.1.554.8f.), of *educavit* (Serv.); cf. **95**, *G.*1.185, 4.285, *Aen.*6.729, 11.285, while **Troia** defines the elusive (**non-...)****externum** as referring not so much to shared ancestry (not a regular, identifiable part of the word's range) as (so, often; cf. *RFil.*119 (1991), 188ff.) shared nationality. Cf. Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.2023.30f..

**aut cruor hic de stipite manat** For the sequence **non ... aut**, cf. 161–2, 4.86f., 9.208f., 10.528f., 581f., 11.736, *Ov.Met.*1.322, and common in prose, Hand, 1, 544, LHS, 499. 11.790 is slightly different. **C.** normally of blood no longer contained in the body, 11.646; **m.**, with compounds and derivatives, very dear to Lucr., but also, as does not emerge from Bömer, *TLL* 8.320.24 or from *EV* s.v., a common, identifiable term (vd. Luterbacher, 50) of Latin portent-descriptions, essential to the lexical colouring of this passage (cf. *G.*1.485 *puteis manare cruor*, Liv.45.16.5, Iul.Obs.11, 12, 53, etc.). J.C. Jahn suggested (and was followed by Conington, etc.) that **externus** was to be understood again with **cruor**; not impossible, but unnecessary once the point of **de stipite** is grasped. **Hic** is a macabre deixis, as the disembodied voice draws attention to the dripping, oozing blood; indeed it does not derive from any normal, natural trunk (*OLD* s.v., §1: ‘trunk or bole (of a tree)’); this is not the moment for precise botanical analysis of what Aen. saw). We are about to learn (and the point is widely understood) that the blood drips from a spear that has taken root and life (from Polyd.’s own) and that what appears blood is indeed blood, Polyd.’s own.

**44 heu** Cf. 7.594.

**fuge ... fuge** Cf. 41–2; here again geminated imperatives (though less studiously interesting this time); ignored by *TLL*. At 639 (Cyclopes), Achaemenides will exclaim **sed fugite, o miseri, fugite** (cf. 588–691 for these internal echoes in bk.3).

**crudelis terras** Crueller than Aen. yet quite realises, of course. *Ex moribus enim cultorum terrae laudantur uel uituperantur, ut* [6.639] ‘*deuenero locos laetos*’ SDan. (the helpful remark applicable to both adjs., of course (cf. Bell, 329). For the adj., cf. 11.53.

**litus auarum** The educated reader has long since realised that Aen. is to encounter Polyd.(13–68, 14, etc.); now Polyd. moves nearer the actual text of Eur.*Hec.*(11f., etc., König, 44f.), the greed of Polymestor for Priam’s treasure. Not of course the shore itself, but metonymically its occupants, Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2. 1539.43. Theme and variation.

**45 nam Polydorus ego** Final revelation in the simplest of language, given relief by the omitted verb and the pathos of the speaker’s use of his own name (cf. nn. on 7.361, 401, 11.441). Serv. contemplates the bizarre punctuation of a comma only after **hic**. Note synaloepha at 2½, and caesura slightly blurred by **hic** looking forward (vd. n. on 7.555). **46** too has word-break at 2½ and caes. blurred by **et**.

**hic confixum** The vb. Ennian (*Ann.*392, 517), *quinquies* in V.(n. on 11.883). V. writes in a rare vein of extremely concise pathos: *here* I was pierced (cf. nn. on 7.117, 124, 11.268 for the oblique cases of partics.). Cf. Burger, *TLL* 4.211.42. Deixis by the invisible spirit of Polyd., adding to the appalling implications of the voice.

**ferrea .../ 46 telorum seges** Cf. 7.525 f. *atraque late/ horrescit strictis seges ensibus* (with full n.; *EV tacet* on such usage), 11.601 f. *cum late ferreus hastis/ horret ager*, 12.663 f.; Enn. has fields bristling—with spears (*Var.*14; note *trag.inc.*174 *non quod domui uim taurorum et segetis armatae manus*, printed as *Enn.trag.* 275 by Vahlen, but see Jocelyn, p.350), while in *G.*(2.142), V. writes of Italy, in contrast to the land of the Spartoi *ne galeis densisque uirum seges horruit hastis*; the conceit of the crop of spears is solidly Greek and mythological in origin (cf. n. on 7.525 f., Hunter on *AR* 3.1354 ff.; Serv. draws attention to *Plaut.Aul.*45), but the application to Polyd.'s death seems (cf. **13–68**) new and peculiarly Virgilian in its learned complexity. Also, a significant departure from Eur.'s account (Polyd. cast into the sea, *Hec.*26 f.). Fernandelli (1996, 261 f., 266) suggests that V.'s apparent innovation in fact reflects another version of Polyd.'s death, collective, like the spearing, the murder by stoning narrated by Dictys 2.27 and Serv. on v.6. Such death by stoning is solidly classical (cf. E. Cantarella, *Les peines de mort ...* (French tr., Paris, 2000), 67 ff.) but that is not enough to show that the version was one known to V., however welcome a further degree of complication might be.

**textit** Cf. *G.*3.558, *Aen.*6.228, 10.904 for the vb. in more conventionally funerary senses and note too the common application to the cover afforded by a plant or tree (*Buc.*1.1, 7.46, etc.).

**46 et iaculis ... acutis** Cf. 10.868, 11.574 (vd. n.): conventional lang. The crop of iron takes root and grows with **i.a.**: *de ramis myrti* remarks Wiese, *TLL* 7.1.76.11 ff.; on **seges** Serv.Dan. remarks *misisse radices iacula mirum est*. The idea that **i.a.** might be dat. ('grew into ...') was bad; usage at e.g. *Buc.*5.39, *G.*2.362 (so Williams) shows that the abl. is unchallengeable. Cf. further (e.g.) 7.465. Antoine, 180.

**increuit** Under 'rariora et singularia', Bulhart remarks (*TLL* 7.1.1058.44 ff.) *i.iacula uirescendo* [Serv. *reuiruit*] *radices in terram fixerunt et haec uirgulta facta sunt*. The vb. used already by Furius Antias (fr.3 *increscunt animi*).

**47 tum uero** Cf. 7.376, 519; barely adversative; cf. Austin on 2.228.

**ancipiti ... formidine** Cf. *Lucr.*6.596 *ancipiti trepidant ... terrore*;

also Liv.3.70.4, 28.19.9 (attacks on two sides). *Ancipiti: duplici, et quod uocem audierat et quod sanguinem fluere uidit*, Serv.Dan. and Hey(bene), *TLL* 2.24.13f. comments ‘sanguinis et vocis’; Henry and Williams (e.g.) prefer a sense of ‘doubtful’(i.e. ‘fear-and-doubt’), but that lacks vigour in the present context and flies in the face of conventional ‘two-edged fear’.

**mentem ... pressus** The vb. common in Cic., Sall. of oppressing emotions (Pade, *TLL* 10.2.1177.47ff.; Williams’ case (after Heyne) for *simplex pro composito* (i.e. *oppressus*) seems therefore unconvincing). For retained accusatives (cf. 7.74, 571; add Coleman, *ALLP*, 82f., E. Courtney, *CJ* 99 (2004), 427) which refer thus to the mind, cf. *G.4.357 huic percussa noua mentem formidine mater*, *Aen.*12. 468 *hoc concussa metu mentem Iuturna uirago*. Fernandelli (1996), 250f., 261 does well to draw attention to V.’s double declaration (cf. 29f.) of the intensity of Aen.’s reactions, well-suited to the occasion (cf. O’Hara, *DOP*, index s.v. prophecy, mood of recipient after, H. Kleinknecht in *Wege zu Vergil*, 431ff.(=*Herm.*79 (1944), 69ff.); further bibl. at Fernandelli (1996), 250f., n.9): suited not only to a Roman audience’s taste for pity and terror, but to the conventional element of fearful reaction expected in a portent-description (so e.g.Liv.7.3.2, 26.5 (with Oakley’s n.), 22.3.14).

**48 obstipui O.** in high poetry at least from Cic.*carm.Hom.*1.23 (Heine, *TLL* 9.2.261.63; Gk. e.g. θάμβησεν). The whole line at 2.774 (cf. Sparrow, 96), and cf. too 12.868; 2.775 was not universally accepted in antiquity (vd. Serv., Austin *ad loc.*) and it seems rather likely that the (later) passage had been filled out in haste. Perhaps more important (cf. Cristante, *EV* 4, 1047), V. is writing within a frame of words and ideas that can be reshuffled *ad libitum*: cf. further 4.280 *arrectaeque horrore comae et uox faucibus haesit*, and vd. below for the conventional details. This apparent instance of priority (of bk.3 over bk.2) is important for specialists (cf. xxxvii, xxxix); perhaps more important, V. is already showing his informed passion for the physiological symptoms of emotion. The repeated **-st-...st-** clearly conveys shuddering recoil.

**steteruntque comae** Cf. Pease and Buscaroli on 4.280, Austin on 2.774 for hair standing on end from [chill] fear (tragic; *Il.*24.359 (vd. Richardson *ad loc.*) refers to goose-flesh): Bömer on *Ov.F.*3.332, Leissner, *TLL* 3.1750.30ff.. Note *Ov.Her.*16.67 *obstipui gelidusque comas exererat horror*, *Met.*3.100 *gelidoque comae terrore rigeabant*. The blood too (259f.) turns chill and stiff with fear (cf. Onians, 46, n.6, n. on **30 coit formidine**), and that may be the ‘explanation’ of the hair on

end. Stiffening eyes (*Aen.*7.447) are different; for tongues, vd. *infra*. For the short -e- in **steterunt** not now in Enn., but clearly enough slightly archaic in character), cf. **681**, and Austin's excellent n. on 2.774. See too Skutsch, *Enn. Ann.*, p.62, Munro on *Lucr.*1.406, Bailey, *Lucr.*, 1, p.83, Platnauer, *Lat. eleg. verse*, 53, Leumann, 607f., Ernout, *Morphologie*, 338f., Sommer, *Formenlehre*, 579, Holzweissig, 672f., NW 3, 198f.. Only in reaction to Watson's silence at *Hor. Epd.*9.17 *uerterunt*, not to mention Grassi's at *EV* 4, 22, do I offer such ample detail.

**uox faucibus haesit** Vd. previous n.; as symptom, cf. variously *Il.*17.695f.(with three other instances in Hom.), [*Sapph.*31.9LP is *non-dum sanatum*], Theocr.2.108 οὐδέ τι φωνῆσαι δυνάμην, *Ter. Eun.*977 *lingua haeret metu*, *Cat.*51.8 *lingua sed torpet*, *Lucr.*3.154 (from *metus*)*infringi linguam uocemque aboriri*, *Ov. Her.*11.82 *torpuerat gelido lingua retenta metu*. Cf. Pease on 4.280, Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2497.57 (and for fear as an impediment to fluent speech, *Aen.*4.390), Catrein, 133. **F.** could be either dat. or abl.; it matters little which.

**49–57** Lines identified by Williams (*TI*, 274, with 247ff.) as a fine example of 'telling' by Aeneas. *Aen.* tells Dido (and V. thereby the reader), thus solving a problem of the organisation of information; understanding the episode turns on knowledge of a story peripheral to that of Troy's fall, narrated by V. with variation (mass spearing) upon its classic (Euripidean) form. It is completely irrelevant (but vd. Paratore and too many others) that *Aen.* could not have been present at the events described; the narrator (*vd. infra*) steps discreetly back from his narrative, and the poet, with Eur. in hand, fills the gap. The episode had begun with *Aen.*'s reflections with hindsight upon the instability of Thrace's regard for Troy (**15–6**); now *Aen.* gives Dido the orthodox Euripidean background, with moralising ring-composition (**15–6::53–5**). **47–8** are then taken up by **57**: the detail might seem trivial, but it is precisely this gap caused by *Aen.*'s former inability to speak from fear that as narrator he later on fills in (in swift, plain narrative) with the Euripidean background and appropriate reflections thereon.

**49 hunc Polydorum** Taking up **45 nam Polydorus ego**; the cross-references in these lines are exceptionally dense.

**auri ... cum pondere magno** Cf. *G.*1.164 *iniquo pondere rastro*, 2.351 *ingentis pondere testae*; the periphrastic use Lucretian, 5.495 *terrae ... pondus*, 1242 *argenti pondus*, with Bailey 1, p.143. The πολὺν ... χρυσὸν of *Eur. Hec.*10, to avoid ε πάντι βίου for the surviving children.

**quondam** ‘Finely pathetic’(Williams, *cit.*); cf. **14**, **414**, **595** (close in tone), 2.272, 556, etc. for this common pathetic use; peculiarly Virgilian, as Munzi points out (*EV* 4, 385) since *Buc.*1.74.

**50 infelix Priamus I.** unsurprisingly common of Troy and her leaders: cf. 1.475 (*Troilus*), 2.455 (*Andr.*), 772 (*Creusa’s ghost*), Bellincioni, *EV* 2, 488. Note *Hec.*22f. on Priam’s fall.

**furtim mandarar** Eur.’s neat ὑπεξέπεμφεν (*Hec.*14); here **f.** atypically used in a sense expecting the reader’s approval, even commendation of the king’s ingenuity(contrast e.g. 2.18, 258, 11.563, where *vd.n.*; cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1. 1642.8f.). Taking up the old *hospitium* of 15–6.

**alendum** Cf. *Hec.*20 τροφαΐειν ὡς τις πτόρθος ηὔξομην τάλας and 1134 (*Polymestor* speaks) πατήρ δίδωσι Πρίαμος ἐν δόμοις τρέφειν, del Chicca, *EV* 1, 117. Cf. *n.* on 11.33 for *alumno* as ‘protégé’. So *Sall.Jug.*63.3 (*C. Marius*) *omnem pueritiam Arpini altus*.

**51 Threicio regi** *Polymestor* was not mentioned earlier, even allusively, and not even now is he named; perhaps not because *V.* has in some sense ‘replaced’ him with *Lycurgus* (*Fernandelli* (1996), 255, 258) but rather because non-naming is a splendid old way of expressing loathing: cf. *n.* on 11.348, and note *ib.*399f. ‘The king’ is enough for *Dido*, otherwise perhaps liable, at least in *Aen.*’s view, to confusion between *Poly-* and *Poly-*, while *Aen.*’s strategy of silence is perspicuous to the acute reader. A king’s people can be expressed in the *gen.*(1.38) or more loftily, and indeed more often, as here, by the use of an *adj.*(6.810, 8.555, 573, 9.728, 10.267; the form of the *adj.* itself Homeric; prose *Thracio* clearly anti-dactylic). *Servius* reminds us that over and above *Lycurgus* and *Polymestor*, we should remember *Diomedes* (the cannibal horse-owner) and *Tereus*: a truly brutal, ill-omened place.

**cum iam** Cf. *Eur.Hec.*11 εἴ ποτ’ Ἰλίου τείχη πέσοι, 1135 ὑποπτος ὦν δὴ Τρωϊκῆς ἀλώσεως; see *Hofmann*, *TLL* 7.1.110.70ff..

**diffideret armis** Cf. **15** for the old story of *Iphidamas*; *Polydorus* had been the youngest of *Priam*’s sons (*Hec.*13ff.), but *V.* has no need of further grounds for *pathos* (cf. *n.* on 7.532). The *vb.* only twice in *V.*; *quinquies* in *Lucr.* and *vd.* specially 5.1349 *qui numero diffidebant armisque uacabant*; of *armis*, also *Sall.Jug.*50.1, *Tafel*, *TLL* 5.1.1102.3f.



**52 Dardaniae** An occasional ample synonym (adjectival, sc. *urbis*) for *Troiae* (Garuti, *EV* 5\*, 215); this usage is neither Homeric nor cyclic (Edwards on *Il.*20.216), but Euripidean (*ter*; Willink on *Orest.*1391).

**cingique urbem obsidione** The vb. used of not only of walls (7.159) but also of siege-works; here cf. 4.121 *saltusque indagine cingunt*, 9.160 *moenia cingere flammis*. Prose too (Caes.*Gall.* 7.72.2, Liv.24.2.10); not otherwise of sieges until Justin (Banner, *TLL* 3.1065.23). The noun high tragic, droll to Plautus' ears (Jocelyn on Enn. *trag.*272), but also Caes., Liv.(unhelpfully just called 'military' by Cordier, 140; see Lossau, *TLL* 9.2.225.6). A vision of the fall of Troy legionary(close siege), not legendary(loose investment), Caesar, not Homer.

**uideret** Cf. **26** for the primacy of ocular testimony in V.

**53 ille**, Reverting to Polymestor, Wagner, *QV* §xxi.5, *EV* 4, 314. **ut**: common temporally, *EV* 3, 994.

**opes fractae Teucrum** The *Troianas* ... *opes* of 2.4 (Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.812.21; the use of *f.* is old: *trag.inc.*149 *summas frangit infirmatque opes* (Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.1247.23ff.), and Cic.; note (fractionally earlier than V., xxvi–xxvii) Liv.2.21.5 *post fractas opes Latinorum* (cf.33.11.9, 39.51.2, 42.29.10). **T.** a non-significant synonym, indeed much V.'s commonest word for 'Trojans'(Garuti, *EV* 5\*, 215). Note 2.170 *fractae uires*, 10.88 *fluxas Phrygiae res*. For the contracted gen.plur., cf. n. on 7.305.

**Fortuna recessit** The vb. of *cura*, *lux*, *uita*, *forma*; Lucretian (vd. n. on 11.70). **F.**: cf. **16** and n. on 11.345 *fortuna ... populi* for the fortune of cities both epic and historiographical.

**54 res Agamemnonias** A small technical feat to fit **A.** into the hexameter: vd. n. on 7.723. Laurenti (*EV* 4, 447), also citing 1.526 *res aspice nostras* and 6.857 *rem Romanam* (cf. too **1 res Asiae**) notes well that **A.** is used as a (grand, melodious) synonym for *Argivas*. Cf. Eur.*Hec.* 1175ff. τοιάδε σπεύδων χάριν/ πέπονθα τὴν σὴν. πολέμιόν γε σὸν κτάνων, with König, 48.

**uictriciaque arma** Cf. Cic.*carm.Soph.*1.44 *uictrix ... manus*. The expression here is neat and solid; some poetic *fortuna* (*OLD* s.v., §2) and by Tac. absorbed into regular idiom.

**secutus** Cf. 11.161 *Troum socia arma secutum* with n..

**55 fas omne et cognationis et iuris hospitii** Serv.. The use of **o.** perhaps to be considered under the heading *in locutionibus vacationem, solutionem, remotionem sim. indicantibus* (Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.613.45); vd. n. on 7.635.

**abrumpit** Cf. 11.492, after Enn.*Ann.*536(13x in V, Klotz, *TLL* 1.141.51 f.); very strongly put, with word-choice reinforced by spondaic rhythm, enjambed monosyll., **omne** in synaloepha.

**Polydorum obruncat** The verb(*septies* in V, from *G.*3.374) in a basic sense of *capite caedere* (Serv.Dan.), *ad truncum redigere* (Claassen, *TLL* 9.2.295.38 ff.); popular with Plaut., *trag.inc.*167, Sisenna, Sall.(*sexies, Iug., semel, Hist.*), 21x. Livy (vd. Oakley on Liv.7.26.5), but *semel*, Cic.. Not in the 'specialised' sense, but used as as a rare and markedly violent synonym for 'kill' (so Serv. and vd. Oakley, *cit.*). Eur.*Hec.* 716, 782 offers no more than generalised stabbing.

**auro/ 56 ui potitur** For **p.** thus, cf. Hor.*C.*2.3.20, Ov.*Met.*7.156; the prosody of the -i- is unstable (vd. Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*71) and cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 264 for other such heteroclisms in *Aen.* This intensifying use of *ui*—here lent added force as run-on first syll. of the line—is dear to V. (cf. Squillante Saccone, *EV* 5\*, 568) and derives from Enn. (e.g. the elaborately adverbial *summa nituntur opum ui*). Cf. Eur.*Hec.*25 κτείνει με χρυσοῦ τὸν ταλαίπωρον χάριον. TCD well remarks: *non qua uiuere puer sed qua posset occidi.*

**quid non .../ 57 ...?** Cf. KS 1, 279f., Bennett 2, 201 ff., LHS, 43, Kraus on Liv.6.15.13 (*bene*, after Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Lat.Gramm.*, §332f.) for this (common) use of the internal object.

**mortalia pectora cogis** Cf. 4.412 *quid ... cogis?* 'Passion, like greed, can erupt into violence' reflects Moskalew, 133, on the possible significance of the repetition. Cf. Liv.3.7.8, Hey, *TLL* 3.1528.49 ff.. For **m.p.**, cf. *Ciris* 232; note also *G.*1.123 *mortalia corda* (*mortalia membra* is Lucretian; so too often *oculos, mentem*, etc., which gives a faint flavour of L. here too; cf. Negri, 209, Reichmann/Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1511.67 f.).

**57 auri sacra fames** Cf. Hor.*C.*3.16.17 f. *crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam/ maiorumque fames*, *Epist.*1.18.23, Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.233.8 ff.. For **s.**, Fugier (*EV* 4, 629) compares *G.*3.566 *sacer ignis* (cf. Cat.14.12., 71.1; previously comic, so an upwardly mobile usage, for an active colloquialism would not be welcome here). But the formulation with *fames* not attested before V..The *sententia* is equally Greek in content(e.g. Soph.*Ant.*295 ff., Diogenes *ap.*DL 6.50, Bion fr.35a Kinstrand, *Anacreontea* 29a.6 ff., Ps.-Phocyl.*Sentent.*44, Paul, *Ep. Tim.*6.10), though never quite so memorably expressed, at least until St.Paul('root of all evil'); the *fortuna* of **a.s.f.**, in terms of references to, and discussions of, the Virgilian formulation (Plin.*Nat.* 33.6 (attack on luxury), Quint.9.2.10, 9.3.25, etc.), of direct citations of V., and of variations on V.'s wording,

is covered with typical (and admirable) *copia* by the invaluable Tosi, 809, n° 1810 (after Otto, 49f.), whom I forbear to pillage further.

**postquam pauor ossa reliquit** Cf. 49–57. For **pauor**, cf. 7.458 (Lucr., Liv.; an old word, familiar in high poetry from the first, Hickson, *TLL* 10.1.838.50). Cf. 308, 9.475 for ‘leaving the bones’ (vd. Baer, *TLL* 9.2.1099.83) and for the physiological role of bone-marrow, cf. n. on 7.355, after Onians, 149ff., and Negri, 227.

**58 delectos populi ad proceres** Cf. *Buc.* 4.35 *delectos heroas*, *Aen.* 2.18 *delecta uirum ... corpora*, 9.226 *delecta iuuentus*, and 7.152f. *delectos ordine ab omni* with my note, *EV* 3, 172, Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.452.43ff.. *Lecti proceres* at 10.213. The word lofty (Vestergaard, *TLL* 10.2. 1515.33ff.): Plaut.*Bacch.* 1053 (tragic parody), *Acc. trag.* 325, *Cic. Fam.* 13.15.1 (epicising), *sexies* in Liv. 1–2, *semel*, bk. 10. Cf. Pomathios, 114ff. (esp. 123, 154), for rank among the Trojans, but see Horsfall (1989), 16f.: ‘The narrative of the *Aeneid* helps the patient reader to identify a number of “senior” Trojans [Horsfall, *GR* 34 (1987), 51f.], the *primi duces* of 7.107, but Aeneas does not here assemble a Greek *gerousia* [cf. Pomathios, 122ff.] ... [he] is rather a Roman magistrate who refers a portent to the senate for discussion [R.G.M. Nisbet in *ORVA*, 380, citing Liv. 5.32.6]’. Cf. Wissowa, 538, Latte, 204, Luterbacher, 57 (senate orders decemviri to consult Sibylline books), Mommsen, *StR* 3.2, 1059ff.. Vd. *infra* for the technical and linguistic detail.

**primumque parentem** Cf. 9, with Lloyd (1957b), 47f., Mackie, 65 (male), *EV* 1, 159; Anch. continues consistently to act as the exiles’ leader. **Parentem** as often handy synonym for *pater*, *EV* 3, 971 (Fasce). **Primum** suggests both ‘first of all’ and ‘leader’ (inasmuch as there is any distinction), as often (2.40, 146, 370 ...).

Fourfold allit. of p (not to mention 57, *bis*), not as rare in V. as might have been thought (thus cf. only the better *exx.* in 7–12, 7.361f., 430f., 624f., 806f., 9.238f., 252f., 540f., 789f., 10.79f., 103, 254f., 12. 263, 304f.); cf. (e.g.) Naevius *si foret fas flere / flerent*; for archaic texts, cf. G. Pasquali *Preistoria della poesia romana* (repr. Firenze 1981), 154ff. (with S. Timpanaro’s comments, *ib.*, 74, 77, Marouzeau, *TSL*, 45ff., Cordier, *Allit. lat.*, 54ff., and for V’s usage, de Rosalia’s useful summary, *EV* 1, 114. For the **-que**, cf. 222.

**59 monstra deum** Cf. 2.171 *nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris*. See Bailey, 17, Stok, *EV* 3, 574, Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1447.26f.; a warning sent by the gods (cf. 26).

**refero** The technical language of Roman public life (vd.58); cf. (e.g.) Cic. *Sest.*25, *de orat.*3.9, *ND* 2.10, Liv.8.13.10, 26.32.1, 31.5.3, etc., Nisbet on Cic.*Dom.*50, *OLD* s.v., §5b.

**quae sit sententia** Cf. 7.611 *ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae*, with n., 11.222. *Sententia patrum/ senatus* belongs again to the standard usage of public business: cf. (e.g.) Cic.*Sest.*129, *Mil.*39, Liv.4.57.5, 25.7.2, 43.5.8, *OLD* s.v., §5.

**posco** Perfectly normal usage (cf. Cic. *de orat.*3.129, Scheible, *TLL* 10.2.72.81 ff.), but this time a simple variation upon the technical *rogo* (Cic.*Cat.*1.9 *et saepe*). Aen.'s behaviour and language are scrupulously Roman, but complete adherence to the familiar 'public' lexicon risked tedium..

**60 omnibus idem animus** A familiar juxtaposition of opposites: cf. note on 11.132 *unoque omnes eadem ore fremebant*. For a., vd. 34, Negri, 141. For *est animus*+ infin., cf. 4.639, etc., and n. on 11.325. Görler, *EV* 2, 271 compares V.'s way with *amor, cura, cupido*.

**scelerata ... terra** Aen. had been (42) on the brink of a *scelus* of his own to add to Polymestor's. A first reaction of panic and horror is about to give way to pious reparation (within the limits of the possible). At 2.576 the forger is not slow to employ an adj. so dear to his model (cf. n. on 7.461).

**excedere** Cf. Liv.30.20.7(a splendid passage) *Hannibalem hostium terra excedentem* (Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.1206.4f.). Note (in the literature of the sea, such coincidences will happen) *Peripl.Hann.*14 φόβος οὖν ἔλαβεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ οἱ μάντεις ἐκέλευον ἐκλείπειν τὴν νῆσον.

**61 linqui** Inevitably an often-repeated motif in any such tale of periplus and nostos (Lloyd 1957a, 139, Hübner, 104f.). But why did V. not write *linquere*, to avoid the initial self-contained spondee and in harmony with act. **excedere, dare**? Some *recentiores* even write **linquere**. It is not perhaps quite enough to say (Wainwright) that V. does it to achieve *variatio*. Avoidance of homoeoteleuton and metr. convenience do not apply (LHS, 353). Mixing of act. and pass. dependent infins. after a verb expressing command is not all that rare (*G.*1.130 (depon.+pass.), *Aen.*5.773 (vd. Williams), 7.468f. (vd. Fordyce), 10.220(?), 11.84 and notably Gerhard Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.579.26 ff.) and though determination and command are not strictly comparable, a few further instances, such as Liv.3.42.7 (after *decerno*), 5.39.11 (after *placuit*, as at Sall.*Cat.*51.43), or *Aen.*4.158f. (after *opto*),

might suggest that the mixed usage with *iubeo* may indeed be significant here. We should also remember (Ernout-Thomas, 330; cf. Cic.*Leg.*1.56 *requiri placere*, Liv.3.51.2) the tendency of the pass. infin.to express an impersonal action (7.276: palace menials not specified): senior Trojans do not have to haul anchors and when the word is given Thrace is (somehow or other) behind them. It might also be(Bell, 130, Wainwright) that the infins. are employed as verbal substantives, ‘that the land be left is a general decision’. We may thus be a little nearer to an answer to the problem posed at *Companion*, 226f.

**pollutum hospitium** Cf. 15, 16, Renger, 76f. for *hospitium* and the motif of its breach. Pollution (cf., for this non-technical sense, n. on 7.467) unworthy of the *EV*’s attention(but cf. Thome, 269, n.686), but TCD did quite well: *incolarum scelere pollutum fuit hospitium hoc est soluta per scelus amicitia quae religione foederum fuerat iniuncta*.

**dare classibus Austros** Is it more obvious, more ‘natural’ to give wind to your ships (cf. 4.417 *uocat iam carbasus auras*), or your ships to the wind? Görler (1982), 62f. rightly sees the second expression as the norm and therefore classifies V.’s expression here as hypallage(so, confidently, Serv.Dan.), alongside 140, 4.385, 683f., 10.906, etc. (cf. *id*, *EV* 2, 277, *WJA* 8 (1982), 77, *ALLP*, 282ff.). Why Wigodsky, 14 takes the idiom as ‘probably colloquial’ escapes me. Many interpreters (e.g. TCD *dare enim uentum nauī est flatibus obicere*) have preferred to try to chivvy sense out of V.’s phrase exclusively in its present context without proper consideration of its many analogues (*supra*), which lead firmly enough to the identification of hypallage (Serv. is terse and sane here). A fair south wind (vd. Labate, *EV* 5\*, 497) to carry the Trojans far up into the Thracian hinterland(Della Corte, 55 passes over the ‘problem’), but the antonomasia, repeated at 70 is an old favourite: cf. Serv. on 70 *Auster autem quiuis uentus* and Labate’s agreeable discussion, *l.c.*. No answer to suggest with Jal(966) that the Trojans could always have rowed; they could have indeed, into the wind, but in that case, V. would clearly enough have expressed himself differently. No answer, either, to conclude with Jal(968) that the Trojans could have tacked, all the way. For use of plur. **classibus** of the Troj. ships, cf. 7.436.

**62 ergo** Cf. 7.467; at home in high poetry.

**instauramus Polydoro funus** Alt, *TLL* 7.1.1976.5f., takes *i. liberius de qualibet repetitione sacrorum*; so too Petrone, *EV* 2, 991. But both err and 5.94 is not comparable: there (vd. Williams) Aen. resumes rites

interrupted by the serpent, while here Aen. cannot renew or resume funeral rites, for previously there had been none, in fact or in intention, whether at his hands or at Polymestor's. Either, then, V. takes the very different rituals begun at **20f.** as, very loosely, leading into the **funus** proper (and so justifying a sense of 'renew, restart' here), or he anticipates the later use of *i. c. notione instituendi* (Alt, 1978.18ff.), of rituals at e.g. Sil.3.218, Tac.*Hist.*2.70.4. Henry's glorious note argues for a sense of 'start anew' as often present in V., but I do not see that there has hitherto been any real *funus* at all. **F.** 'funeral': vd. 11.3. 'The ancient world had deep-rooted anxieties about the unburied corpse'(NH on C.1.28.23. Cf. 6.149ff., 327ff., 365f., 510, 9.213ff., 11.22f., with my n., Pease on 4.620, Jocelyn, intr. to *Enn.trag.*296–9, Lattimore, 220ff., J.N. Bremmer, *The early Greek concept of the soul* (Princeton 1983), 89ff. and J.H. Waszink's magisterial intr. to Tert. *de anima* 56), that were not limited to (cf. **67f.**) the need to ensure lasting rest for the deceased's spirit. The concentration upon the unburied in bk.6(*supra*) is singular, and the origins of V.'s view of them is deeply unclear (Norden, p.10f., F. Cumont, *After-life*, 64ff., J. Ter Vrugt-Lentz, *Mors immatura* (Groningen 1960), 74ff., Austin on 6.329, A. Setaioli, *EV* 2, 956f., 960 (judicious). We might think of Od.'s rites for his comrades killed by the Cicones, *Od.*9.62ff., Knauer, 184 (vd. **17**).

**ingens/ 63 ... tellus** At 9.709 *dat tellus gemitum et clipeum super intonat ingens, clipeum* is probably nom. and qualified by *ingens*, but were it governed by *super*, then, *pace* Hardie, the adj., in hyperbaton, would necessarily qualify *tellus*, rather splendidly.

**aggeritur tumulo** For *t.*(dat., probably, but it matters little, as Henry explains), cf. **22**; the chance hillock, raised by waves and winds, is now laboriously promoted into a conventional burial mound(7.6, 11.103); *uerum tumulum* writes Serv.. The vb. (cf. Caes.*Civ.*3.49.3 *terram aggererat*; perhaps promoted by V; cf. Zimmermann, *TLL* 1.1310.57f.) shows some 'contamination' (so *OLD*), through similarity of sense and form, with the likely Virgilian coinage *aggerare* (as at 11.79).

**stant ... arae** Cf. 6.22 *stat ... urna*; see too Buc.7.31f.. With these altars (the plur. is a real plur.; cf. **305**), cf. those to Anch.(5.48, 54, etc., *EV* 1, 120), and **305** (at Hector's cenotaph; note the Manes at **303**), but hardly that once assigned to Misenus (6.177; vd. Austin), still less Buc.5.65f.(Daphnis; vd. Clausen). Note too(Pisa) *ILS* 139.16,27, with J. Scheid, *Klio* 75 (1993), 197f., and *id.*, in *La commemorazione di Germanico ...* (ed.A. Fraschetti, Roma 2000), 135f.: the dead share in the

gods' honours and privileges (so Scheid, Weinstock, 290ff.) and *Aen.* is, like the Pisan decrees, a key Augustan document.

**Manibus** Clearly here (contrast e.g. 11.689) of the divine spirit of the deceased Polyd. (a sense current at Rome for perhaps half a century before V. wrote); cf. (the plur. applies regularly to one person's spirit) 303 (Hector), 4.34 (Sychaeus), 427 (Anchises), 6.119 (Eurydice), 506 (Deiphobus), 743 (each and every human; vd. Austin here), *ILS* 139.16ff., with Scheid, 193, Boyancé, 143ff., Durry on "*Laudatio Turiae*" 2.69 (who very oddly takes **M.** *here*—a sense elsewhere possible, even likely—as referring to Polyd.'s [ashes or] mortal remains), Wissowa, 239, Bailey, 236ff., Latte, 99f., 287, Weinstock, 291, Negri, 26–8, 88, Bömer, *TLL* 8.295.27ff. *EV* 3, 339 is not helpful.

**64 caeruleis ... uittis** For fillets in general, cf. n. on 7.154, and for beribboned altars, note (a different context) *Buc.* 8.64; so too on representations of altars, e.g. Ryberg, *Rites of the state religion*, plates 34a. 38b, Galinsky, *Augustan culture*, illustrations to ch.6. The colour is dark (and therefore funerary; not common thus): cf. Cato, *Orig.* fr.115, cited by Serv. here, Edgeworth, 107, André, 169 (of Charon's bark, 6.410), Goetz, *TLL* 3.106.74ff.

**maestae** Cf. n. on 11.26; standard, thematic, even overworked, of funereal gloom.

**atraque cupresso** Cf. 6.216 *feralis ... cupressos* (round the pyre for Misenus); cf., amply, NH on *Hor.C.2.14.23* for the funerary associations of the cypress and now add Watson on *Hor.Epd.5.18 funebris*; here, see in particular, *Ov.Trist.3.13.21* (placed round the funerary altar), and Serv.'s ample note on 6.216 (quoting Varro); the branches were also placed about the door of the deceased's house. See further Maggiulli, *EV* 1, 789f., *ead.* (22f.), 279ff.. Sargeaunt ('in travelling by railway in Italy you may often descry on the hillside ...', *Trees, shrubs and plants ...*, 38) very properly draws attention to continuity of function; no different eighty years after Sargeaunt. For the adj., cf. 11.28, 186 (add Edgeworth, 74–86), traditional/conventional with reference to death/funerals; not precisely the colour of *cupressus sempervirens*, but that is quite irrelevant.

**65 et circum** Vd. 11.35, *et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae*, with comm., and cf. too 1.479ff., all, in some sense, after *Il.6.286ff.* All these women are Homeric and formulaic (cf. too n. on 11.477), but belong also to Roman funerary usage (H.I. Flower, *Ancestor masks ...*

(Oxford 1996), 28, W. Kierdorf, *Laudatio funebris* (Meisenheim 1980), 94ff.). Here, the line is self-contained, and had it dropped out, we should have no grounds for suspecting its loss. Even **et circum** (altered, 11.35) rather suggests brisk background-filling, between altars and ritual; while the *at circum* of 11.655 refers properly to the cortège due to a queen even in battle. Possibly no more than an indication here that some plumping-out would eventually be called for.

**66 inferimus** Cf. Plaut. *Curc.* 72, *Aen.* 5.652, Liv. 4.20.5, 32.5, etc., Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.1376.14ff.. Used here of *inferiae*.

**tepido spumantia ... lacte** With (the strongly Theocritean and correctly Roman) *Buc.* 5.67 in mind, *pocula ... nouo spumantia lacte*. Cf. Heine, *TLL* 7.2.817.23f., P.E. Legrand, DS 4.2.963f., S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer* (Christiania 1915), 416ff., Latte(!), 378, Bömer on *Ov.F.* 4.745f. (with older bibl.), but notably, Scheid, *cit.*, 193, comparing *ILS* 139.22, *Aen.* 5.78 (but so already Lersch, 188). Note too *Buc.* 5.67 (Daphnis is dead, even if he is not Caesar), Arnobius 7.20 (why are not all offerings to the *numinibus inferis* dark in colour? Should not the milk and wine then be *dyled?*). This use of milk is also Homeric, and Greek, if *μελίκρητον* is indeed milk-and-honey (*Od.* 11.27, Aesch. *Pers.* 611, (where vd. Broadhead), etc. P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig 1910), 180ff., G. Herzog-Hauser, PW 15.1577.38ff.. **Sp.** is enallage familiar to the point that only pedants notice: cf. *Buc.* 5.67 (*supra*), *G.* 3.309, *Aen.* 1.739, G. Franco, *EV* 4, 1004. 10.300 (ships) is more 'interesting'. Cf. Varr. *Men.* 2.1, Valgius Rufus, fr. 5.1 for milk so fresh it is still warm. If we seriously asked just how *Aen.* could procure fresh milk on a deserted shore, we really should be reading (*supra*) *Swiss Family Robinson* and not milking *Aen.* for trivia.

**cymbia** 'Boat-shaped' (cf. κύμβος); small enough to throw with abandon (*Prop.* 3.8.4), and equipped with handles (*Apul. Met.* 11.4); but not a Grecism of the life of luxury (vd. 5.267). W. Hilgers, *Röm. Gefässnamen* (Düsseldorf 1969), 167f., Mertel, *TLL* 4. 1589.42ff..

**67 sanguinis et sacri** For *sacer* used thus simply to denote a 'sacred' offering, cf. *G.* 2.395, 3.160, 4.542, *Aen.* 5.333. For blood offered thus, cf. 5.78, 6.248 (vd. Norden), Arnob., *cit.*; in Hom., the sheep offered are bled and the blood actually drunk by the ghosts, Eitrem, 416ff.. See too J.H. Waszink, *RAC* 2, 462f., Spengel (1910), 18ff., Latte, 391, n.3, Burkert, *Greek religion*, 60 (blood at burials and in cult of the dead). For the gen. thus, Gatti, *TLL* 10.1.694.32f. compares Hor. *C.* 1.19.15.



**pateras** A broad, shallow dish (cf. further, Gatti, 692.65 ff. and n. on 7.133); found in in the closely similar context of 5.91, and very common in descriptions of ritual (Gatti, 693.27 ff.).

**animamque** Cf. n. on 62 **funus**.

**sepulcro/ 68 condimus** Cf. Enn.*Ann.*126 *heu quam crudeli condebat membra sepulcro*, *Aen.*6.152 *conde sepulcro*, 5.48. Also prose and inscriptional usage, Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.150.83 ff..

**et magna ... uoce** *Octies* in *Aen.*, *bis*, *Hor.Serm.*, common in prose. For *Lucr.*, vd. next note. Given *Liv.*1.48.1, 4.38.2, 8.9.4 as well, the case for an Ennian origin is quite strong (he has *m. sonitu*, *strepitu*).

**supremum ... ciemus** Note *Lucr.*4.576 *magna dispersos uoce ciemus*, Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.1056.31 f.. Probably V. refers to the *nouissima uerba* of 6. 231 (where vd. Austin), that is (*pace* Serv.; cf. Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 18), 5.80 *salue ... saluete*, (vd. my n. on 11.97 f. *salue aeternum ... / aeternumque uale*, Wills, 95). Cf. 6.213, 735, 11.61 for *supremus* thus in a funerary sense. A tension or paradox between the two verbs may be felt. Certainly, given the sequence, he has in mind (the Cicones' victims again) *Od.*9.65 τρις ἕκαστον ἄυραι.

**69–120 Delos** The literary history of the Trojans' landfall at Delos is unexpectedly problematic: when I recently (*Hermath* 171 (2001), 99) corrected the haphazard dating and identification of Palaephatus offered by Erskine, 187, it was not yet clear that a good deal turned on *Serv.Dan. ad Aen.*3.80: according to Palaefatus (*sic*; the correct form of P's name is not in fact certain, Susemihl, 2, 54, n.110; on P, cf. Buffière(419), 231 ff.) Anius was kin of Anchises; this fr. is not registered by Jacoby, *FGH* 44 (cf. D'Alessio on *Call.fr.*188, n.37), and had not been by Müller, *FHG* 2, 338 f.(but cf. Feeney, 31 and Susemihl 2, 54–7 for a helpful account of P). P's date is as uncertain as his name: A. Henrichs (*Interpretations of Greek mythology* ed. J.N. Bremmer (Beckenhams 1987), 245) offers 'may have written in the early Hellenistic period'; traditionally '?c.4', but Susemihl(54 f.) remarks that he could even be c.1BC (Lyne rejects the old conjectural ref. to him at *Ciris* 88). P. did, though, write *Troica* and there is no reason why *Serv.* should not have cited *this* Hellenistic mythographer, as he did, indirectly, others (Thomas, 184 ff.). In the early c.2BC, the Delians claimed οἰκειότης with Rome (Erskine, 185 f.), but 'Palaephatus' might still predate this diplomatic initiative. *DH* refers (1.50.1) refers to the πολλά σημεῖα of the Trojans' presence (παρουσία) at Delos and registers twice Aeneas' passage; at 1.59.3 he cites 'some of the Greek μυθογρά-

φοί', who recounted that Λαῦνα was the daughter of Anios, given to Aen., and died at the founding of the Trojans' city in Italy, named after her. Lavinia is the eponym of Lavinium (n. on 7.52); she has no independent *raison d'être* outside the Campagna Romana, and though DH's Λαῦνα need hardly be emended away, as a mythological figure she is perforce a Delian embroidery (initiated, though, either by Gk. natives or by Rom. settlers) upon a Latin princess. *OGR* 9.5 records a similar story, while Serv.Dan.(*l.c.*) registers an *alii dicunt* version of L. as the victim of Aen.'s lusts and mother of his child; a secondary trivialisation, given an unlikely political reading by Erskine, 186f.. In all the above, what might have appealed to V. was the presence of Delos on Aen.'s route (solidly attested but perhaps in a usefully uncluttered and unencumbered form) and the chance to lend full Apolline authority, in passably learned, literary garb, to his journey west and to Rome's future (cf. Duckworth, 35, O'Hara, *DOP*, 128, Knauer, 352, etc., Kühn, 51, Unte, 212ff.). Like the sailor in Callim.(*H.4.316f.*), V. could hardly pass Delos by. Nelis(*infra*) sheds much new light on AR's importance for V.'s elaboration of the scene; indeed, as a whole, that elaboration is almost entirely Apollonian and Callimachean in detail, giving the episode a tone, or flavour, in manner and content, altogether different to what precedes. Here then note AR 1: the Argonauts passed *Thrace* to port (923), intersected the Trojans' future route somewhere E. of Samothrace, passed via the Hellespont into the Sea of Marmara, skirted Arctonnesus and were *warmly welcomed* at Cyzicus; many further Apollonian details and elaborations will be noted *infra*. The cultic detail, we shall see, is typically high-handed Virgilian *bricolage*. Most studies of *Aen.3* scurry from Aenus to Crete with little more than a bored glance at Delos; naturally, there is a great deal to be uncovered by those less disinclined to look. See Perret, 31 ff., Chirassi Colombo, *EV* 1, 177f., Beschi, *ib.2*, 19ff., Jens(13–68), Lloyd (1957a), 140, Erskine, 185ff., Della Corte, 55ff., Lacroix, 136ff., Stahl, 46f., R. den Adel, *CW* 76.5 (1983), 288ff., M. Paschalis, *Philol.* 130 (1986), 54, 57ff., S.J. Heyworth, *CQ* 43 (1993), 255ff., A. Barchiesi, *CQ* 44 (1994), 438ff., D'Anna and Richard on *OGR* 9.5, Pomathios, 51 f., Robert, 24.3.1522, and Nelis, 27–31(*bene*). From my friend Giovan Battista D'Alessio's brief comm. on Call.*H.4* (BUR ed. Call., 1 (Milano 1996), 130ff.) I have learned much. *OGR* 12.3 is not relevant, for Callu's *Deliaci* (printed by Richard) for mss. *Delphici* is quite unconvincing.

**69 inde ubi** G.2.367, 3.327, and *quinquies* later in *Aen.*; Plaut., then Lucr.(3.449, 502, B. Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.1111.75)

**prima fides pelago** Fraenkel classifies **f.** as the earliest instance under the heading of *firma securitas rei non animatae* (*TLL* 6.1.682.21 f.); cf. 2.23, 5.800, Ov.F.6.715 *si qua fides uentis*. This first moment of safe sailing has a long literary history: cf. NH on C.1.4.2, GP, *HE* 2490 ff., West on Hes.*Erga* 678 ff.(late April). See fully, Casson, 270 ff., Mandra, 19 ff., J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime* (Paris 1966), 32 f.. This rough dating creates a problem for the niggling, pedantic and insistent reader: We have seen (10) that Troy fell traditionally some time in midsummer (as V. knew); allow time for building a small fleet, and for sailing to Thrace. Then, however, note (i) a strong sense of the swift passage of time in the Aeneas episode (sacrifice on landing leads to portent which leads to departure) but (ii) actual departure clearly and explicitly in the spring of the [following] year. We would do well to conclude that the poet does not care a scrap for such tedious cavils(on which, cf. further, xxxii). Did the Trojans winter in Thrace? If so, how? If they did, it mattered so very little that V. does not bother (and this is clearly significant) to supply details. Cf. Mandra, 18 ff.

**placataque uenti/ 70 dant maria** The old comms. compare Soph.*Aj.*674 f. δεινῶν τ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε/ στένοντα πόντον, *Trach.*95. For **d.**, Cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1687.1, citing Ov.*Ibis* 185 *altera* [sc. *Furiarum*] *Tartareis sectos dabit anguibus artus*. Here comparable to the common use with (predicative) gerundive, LHS, 371 f., and Oakley's full n. on Liv.8.6.6; apparently V. was the first to introduce the predicative use of the perf. part. pass. into poetry, LHS, 391 (cf. 2.463 f.). For V.'s usage, cf. *EV* 2, 116 (de Rosalia), *ib.*, 270 (Görler) and see also (e.g.) 1.69, 4.22 f., 1.29 ff.. At 1.142 Neptune *tumida aequora placat*; at Lucr. 1.9 note *placatum ... caelum*.

**lenis crepitans** Note Cat.*orat.*fr.29 *inde omnem classem uentus auster lenis fert*; the adj. is common of winds (Lucr.6.140, Cat.64.84, G.3.199, *Aen.*6.209). The translator reaches mechanically for 'whispering'; Jackson tried 'rustling'(enough to fill a sail?), but West tries boldly 'was rattling the rigging to call us out to sea?'; that at last does justice to the force of *crepitans* (so of hail, G.1.449, flames, G.1.85, teeth, Lucr.5.747). 'Drumming', 'humming' perhaps. Or perhaps the waves beginning to slap on the sand. No joy from Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1169.66. Less palpable is the pairing (itself almost an oxymoron) with a pres. partic. of an adj. in a nearly-adverbial role: cf. G.1.163, 2.377, 4.370, *Aen.*5.278, 764 (*infra*), 8.299, *arduus arma tenens*, 559, 11.755, 12.902; vd. Page's excel-

lent n. here, Görler, *EV* 2, 270. Serv. condemns the asyndetic adjs. here (and is noted by Lunelli-Kroll, 58, n.62) *duo epitheta posuit uitiose* (cf. his nn. on *Buc.*3.38, *G.*4.19, 369, 424, *Aen.* 2.392, 6.283, 8.406, 10.44, 11.7, 12.888). This 'school rule', clearly sacred to Serv., broken by V. *ten times* (Serv., *cit.*), and cited with respect even by Kroll, *cit.* (who is then given credit by LHS, 161), does not quite correspond to poet. usage, whether in Enn. or in V. (cf. the full discussion at 7.625); cf. further 73. Heyne well remarks of 69–72 'ornati versus'.

**uocat ... in altum** Note 5.764 *creber et aspirans rursus uocat Auster in altum*; near-formulaic repetition (cf. Moskalew, 93f.); cf. 357f. **aurae/ uela uocant** (at 269 **gubernator** and **uentus** mixed), 2.668 *uocat lux ultima uictos*, 9.619f., *Caes.Gall.* 7.32.2 *cum ipso anni tempore ad gerendum bellum uocaretur*. So e.g. ἀκμή, καιρός, εἰμαρμένη can summon (καλεῖν is used thus) in Greek.

**Auster** V. wallows in the antonomasia of 61.

**71 deducunt ... nauis** Cf. *Pacuv.trag.*332, Stöger, *TLL*5.1.278.46ff., Lersch, 128, Jal, 929, 939 and 135 for dragging them up. It was already regular procedure in Hom. to draw ships up on the shore (always with bow to sea), when the stay was likely to exceed a day or two: Gray, 102f., Seymour, 315f. and this remained normal procedure, Casson, 89f., *et passim*, NH on *Hor.C.*1.4.2; καθέλκουσιν, a Greek would write.

**socii** ἑταῖροι; cf. 7.35.

**litora complent** So 676 of the Cyclopes; neatly formulaic (cf. 70), but also Ennian, *trag.*45f. *ueliuolantibus/ nauibus compleuit manus litora*, and, as it happens, Caesarian too, *Civ.* 2.43.4, Wulff, *TLL* 3.2092.19f.. V. does not lavish the refinements of inventive writing upon the banal articulations of a long voyage, as often strikes the attentive reader; just the same might be said of the ebb and flow of a Virgilian battle (cf. my *Aen.*11, p.474).

**72 prouehimur portu** Cf. 506 (481 is quite different), 2.24. The vb. *semel* in Acc., *bis* in Lucr. Cf. 10, 124, etc. and note Lloyd(1957b), 139, etc. for the recurrent departure scene. As at 506, energetic alliteration to no easily definable end.

**terraeque urbesque** No more than e.g. *urbes terraequae* a conventional pairing (but surely V. had somewhere in mind the Homeric δῆμόν τε πόλις τε); cf. 7.470 for the Homerising *-que ...-que*.

**recedunt** AR's ἔδυνε (1.582; vd. Hügi, 77) has still the air of a metaphor ('set'; the ἄκρη going down into the sea like the sun); the repeated

φεῦγε of Call.H.4.70ff. is less obviously relevant (but see Barchiesi, 438f.). It is of course the ship that moves, not the lands, or cities (vd. Lucr.4.389, Pease on Cic.Div.2.120): this ‘exchange of subjects’, close in its effect to that of hypallage, is subtly analysed by W. Görler, *Vergilian bimillenary lectures* (Vergilius Suppl.2, 1982), 72f.; Buc.9.59f. *sepulchrum/incipit apparere* he allows to be comparable; to his elegant discussion of why 411 and 552 are not strictly analogous I shall return *ad locc.* Note that Aen..’s passage from Aenus to Delos is instant; contrast that from Delos to Crete. V.’s admiration for AR was selective and the Trojans progress at variable pace.

**73 sacra ... tellus** Cf. Cic.Verr.2.1.48 *illa insula eorum deorum* [Apollo and Diana] *sacra putatur*, Bailey, 74. In t., Barchiesi ‘hears’ Delos (‘is latent ... by assonance’, 439, n.4) here; not wholly or altogether inconceivable.

**mari ... medio** 7.810 is rather different (‘through the midst of the sea’), as is **270 iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthus** (again, ‘in the midst of the sea’, where vd. Serv.Dan.; cf. 12.452, Wagner, *QV* xiv, §5b.); here V. does write rather literally *de parte maris a continenti terra remotiore* (Bulhart, *TLL* 8.584.58) Not, that is, ‘in the midst of the sea’, but ‘right in the middle of the Aegean’ (cf. 7.563 *Italiae medio*), much as of Crete, which is indeed far from other islands, at **104 medio iacet insula ponto**. Heyne well compared *Od.4.844* ἔτι δέ τις νῆκος μέσση ἀλλὶ πετρήεσσα but Stephanie West’s detailed n. discourages precise identification and consequently any invocation of Hom. in detailed support of V.’s idiom here. It is not enough to recall (*pace* A.G. Blonk, *Vergilius en het Landschap* (Groningen 1947), 56) the Homeric νῆκος ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ. However, the centrality of Delos is a strong recurrent motif in Call.H.4 (vd. D’Alessio on vv. 301, 326, Strab.10.5.1, Plin.Nat.4.66, after Varro) and the *circling Cyclades* are made explicit at Dion.Perieg.526 (cf. Paschalis, 116f., P. Bing, *The well-read muse* (Göttingen 1988), 125–8, Mineur on Call.H.4. 300f.). Centrality, and sacrality, Call.H.4.1f. τῆν ἱερῆν .../ Δῆλον (Barchiesi, 439). The island not actually named until **124** (and even then only as Ortygia; cf. Barchiesi, 439); there is a pleasant paradox in V.’s elaborately Hellenistic treatment of the episode, given that *Latonia Delos* (G.3.6) was for him a commonplace of all poetry (cf. Horsfall in *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft*, *Coll.Raur.3* (Stuttgart 1993), 137). A precise sense for **mari ... medio** is therefore welcome. Here the epithets are not juxtaposed (and therefore are not correctly called ‘asyndetic’, though they are indeed not coupled). As

at 7.625, the the singularity of the separated epithets is pointed up by a remarkable word order: **sacra ... gratissima tellus/ Nereidum matri**. The **tellus** is both **sacra** and **gratissima** to the mother of the Nereids and to Aegean Neptune; the second member interrupts completion of the first. Cf. n. on 7.692, Leo, *Ausgew. kl. Schr.*2, 76, n.1(=Hermes 42 (1907), 40), Lunelli-Kroll, 34 and above all Skutsch on *Ann.*517 for such (Ennian, again; markedly) dislocations. Here again I am most grateful to Prof. Görler for discussion.

**colitur** Cf. **13** (but here, as at **77**, given the marked sacrality of Delos, the sense of ‘worship’ should clearly be in part present, Barchiesi, 439, n.1); here too an ‘ecphrastic’ structure (note **78 huc**); cf. Austin’s excellent n. on 2.21.

**gratissima**, Unremarkable language amid singular stylistic extravagances: cf. *Buc.*7.61 f. *populus Alcidae gratissima, uitis Iaccho, / formosae myrtus Veneri*, Bulhart, *TLL* 6.2.2262.26ff.. In the context of intense Callimachean imitation in these lines, here V. surely answers *Call.H.4.16ff.* (Delos indeed counted ἐνὶ πρῶτῃσι but by Oceanus and Tethys).

**74 Nereidum matri** Nereus, s. of Pontus, m. Doris (d. of Oceanus and Thetis); fifty (or even a hundred) daughters. The prophetic Nereus associated particularly with the N. Aegean (*Il.*24.77ff., *AR* 4.771 f.), but emblematic of the sea at large (cf. NH on *C.*1.15.5, *EV* 3, 706ff.). Doris is poetically old and respectable, *Hes.Theog.*241, 350 and her children now conveniently unite the sea-nymphs’ variant blood-lines (vd. West on *Hes.Theog.*240–64, M. Pipili, *LIMC* 6.1.824). Slightly harder than **terra ... Mauortia** for Thrace (**13**) but **N.m.** is still a very easy test of mythological learning; thus a (not very) dense and difficult way of referring to the nymphs of the Aegean in general.

**Neptuno Aegaeo** The ampler complex of Posidon’s associations with the Aegean is substantially irrelevant here (but cf. Gruppe, 1148, Robert 1, 568f., E. Wentzel, *PW* 1.948.31ff., E. Wüst, *PW* 22.1.522.64ff.). Note *Il.*13.21ff., Plato, *Anth.Pal.*7. 256.1, *Strab.*9.2.13: Aegean Poseidon = P. ‘of Aegae’; cf. *Strab.*8.7.4, *Schol.AR* 1.831, as against e.g. *Hor.C.*3.29.63, ‘Aegean’; *tacet* Diehl, *TLL* s.v. *Aegae*, but such references in a Lat. text have increased in charm since 1902. Serv. has no explanation of any special or significant reason for Neptune’s inclusion here; Con. cites *Strab.*8.6.14 (Pos. gave Delos to Leto, in exchange for Calauria). One might also adduce *Call.H.4.30ff.*(Delos—like *all* the Aegean islands—originally of Pos.’s creation). But more to the point might be *Hyg.Fab.*140 (Neptune’s help, in some detail, during Leto’s

extraordinary confinement; cf. Gruppe, 241, n.3, Robert 1, 236, n.1; Hera persecutes both Leto and the Trojans). This is no strange invention by Hyg.'s source; cf. Ael.Arist.*orat.*3, 1, p.34Dind.; the island's sudden emergence from the waves in Hyg. also coincides with Aristotle's (fr.488Rose ap.Plin.*Nat.*4.66; cf. Serv. here) etymology of Delos, which *repente apparuit enata*. For Posidon on Delos, cf. Robert, 1, 579, n.1, Gruppe, 242, n.3; he is therefore present here too, with **A.** in the simple sense of 'Aegean'. At *EV* 2, 180 Lloyd strangely suggests the rendering *mari Aegaeo*, but metonymy is quite excluded here by the relationship of **74** with **73** (*supra*), and I suspect that the Italian represents a misleading editorial mistranslation. The metrical effects are suitably Greek: cf. 7.634 (with Norden, p.446) for a comparable, but non-Greek, spondeiazon (both 4th and 5th. feet spondaic), but here there is also hiatus at both 2½ (7.178, n.) and 5½ (7.631, n.); cf. Winbolt, 196f., who quotes the formally similar *Buc.*7.53 *stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae*.

**75 quam .../ 76 ... ruinixit** Hyperbaton conveys admirably the extent of the god's bonds and their tight, enclosing effect. The story of the tying-down of Delos (and 'floating islands' of various kinds are a regular theme in paradoxography and related areas of writing; cf. Beaujeu on Plin.*Nat.*2.209, **210** *infra* (**Strophades**) and compare E. Gabba, *JRS* 71 (1981), 55f., Vian, p.269, n. on *Arg.*2.297) is first attested in Pind. (*hymn.* fr.33.3f., cf. thereafter Call.*H.*4.51ff., with the nn. of Mineur and D'Alessio, Prop.4.6.27ff. with Fedeli's n., *Ov.Met.*6.333f., with Bömer on *ib.* 187). Beschi, *EV* 2, 20f. surveys a number of explanations, but it should be clear that the link with Delos' immunity from earthquakes, present in Hdt., Thuc., and indeed Varro (Plin.*Nat.*4.66) is, at least for an Augustan poet, much to be preferred: cf. Sen.*NQ* 6.26.2, caustically and n. on **77 immotam**.

**pius** Used only here in *Aen.* of a god (Bailey, 84, Traina, *EV* 4, 96. Cf. also, though, 4.382), though V. attributes *pietas* to deities more frequently (e.g. 5.688; vd. Bailey, 85, Traina, 95). The explanation is clearly that A. acts in grateful recognition of the succour that Delos gave his mother in her travails. *Prius*, Bentley, after a *legitur*-variant in Serv.Dan.

**arquitenens** Cf. *armipotens*, *bellipotens*; ennobling (Cordier, 301), and palpably archaic in flavour (cf. Colonna's useful discussion, *EV* 1, 861, Wigodsky, 34f. Note *a.* at Naev. *BP* 20.1, 58, Acc.*trag.* 167, Host.fr.4.2, Cic.*Arat.*182, all after Hom. τοξοφόρος; cf. Kempf, *TLL* 2.468.37ff.), clearly in keeping with the strongly Ennian flavour of **73–4**.

**oras et litora** Cf. the *genitiuus inhaerentiae litoris oram*, 396. Note Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2.1538.16ff. for the tendency of *l.* to associate with synonyms. Perhaps the accumulation of synonyms to give depth and weight to Leto's/Delos' wanderings

**circum** Cf. 7.763f. *umentia circum / litora* (again with anastrophe of *c.*).

**76 errantem** Cf. *Buc.*6.58 (Io), Hey, *TLL* 5.2.809.53; the wanderings of Leto, Delos and the Trojans (of whom *e.* is so frequently used) here intersect. Call.'s *πλαζομένη πελάγεσσι* (*H.*4.192, Barchiesi, 439).

**Mycono e celsa** 392m. at most; cf. *Ov.Met.*7.463 *humilis*. Whence numerous explanations, and even emendations: cf. Bömer on *Ov.cit.*, *EV* 1, 727f.. Della Corte, 55 claims that 392m. is quite sufficiently *celsus* (but in that case, why did *Ov.* correct?). As though one word of this mattered. Study of Virgilian place-epithets (cf. 7.630f., 682f.) suggests very strongly that what actually matters is appropriateness to the context; here, that is, sufficient bulk to sustain Apollo's tying-down of Delos.

**Gyaroque** A good 30 miles from Delos to the NW, the far side of both Rheneia and Paros. The casual assurance with which commentators refer to G. as 'neighbouring', or 'vicina', or the like—as though Gyarus was distant as Myconus—is not creditable. A notably unimpressive little island, rich only in testimonies to its proverbial lack of importance (cf. Mayor's exceptional n. on *Juv.*1.73, *Plin.Nat.*8.104, Smith, *Dict.Geogr.* s.v). Hard to see why V. should have selected G.. However, *Serv.Dan.* does acutely point out that the historian Pherecydes was a native of adjoining Syrus and it is interesting to remark that his fr.3(*FHG*, 1, 70f.) refers to Artemis' killing of Orion on Delos (cf. too 80, **rex Anius**, *Pherec.*fr.4, and also 5b for Artemis, Apollo and the end of Tityos). If V. is not improvising impressively (*ut solet*), then he just might be following some link (now lost) between the Delos-story and Gyarus first recorded by a very distinguished local writer. *Serv.Dan.* seems rightly to suspect that if V. has a source here at all, it is likely to be Pherecydes. There was a time when Virgilians emended away the 'oddities' of this line (vd. Geymonat's apparatus).

**77 immotamque** In contrast to **errantem**, 76. *Hdt.*(6.98.3) refers to Delos as ἀκίνητον (sc., by earthquake) and Call. writes (*H.*4.11) ἡμερόεσσα καὶ ἄτροπος... (13) πόντω ἐνεστήρικται (cf. 194, Barchiesi, 439, 441, n.15). On the difficult ἄτροπος *Schol.* begins by sug-



gesting ἀκίνητος καὶ ἄσειτος; this may well not be *right*, but it is, precisely, **immotam** in sense and does reinforce strongly the preference expressed above (75f.) for a close connexion between the end to Delos' wanderings and her immunity from *terrae motus*. Cf. Pfeiffer, p.339 and fr.580 for Callimachus' interest in the peculiarities of islands. The island is now emphatically fixed and immobile, Call.H.4.13, 53f., Pind.fr.33.3f., Barchiesi, 440f.

**coli** Cf. 73; 'revered', 'worshipped'.

**dedit** The infin. that commonly found with *sino*, *patior*, etc.(note acc. and pass. infins. easily coupled, perhaps because **dedit** is here so close in sense to *iussit*; cf. 61); the infins. also alliterative); cf. *Aen.*6.66, 697f., KS 1, 692, LHS, 356 and notably Görler, *EV* 2, 271, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1690.1ff.

**et contemnere uentos** So already *G.* 2.360f.: the vines *contemnere uentos/ adsuescant*.

**78 huc feror** Taking up 73. The vb. at 11, 16 (**feror huc**).

**haec ... placidissima P.** often of the sea *et sim.*(e.g. *Buc.*2.26, *Aen.*5.848, Piacente, *EV* 4, 129). Delos a safe anchorage in many senses (*infra*).

**fessos** Cf. 85, 145, 276, 511, 568, 710 and n. on 7.298; as passive as **feror**, remarks Lloyd(1957a), 140f. 'I Troiani non amano il mare; navigare è faticoso' remarks Della Corte, 55: the first statement is evidently questionable, if not simply false and the second does not, in isolation, illuminate (cf. Clausen, *VA*, 4, di Cesare, 75, A.W. Allen, *CJ* 47(1951–2), 120, while *EV* 2, 504 (Rocca) already paraphrases Della Corte with profound respect). The motif is traditional: Od. was often tired(5.457, 472, 6.2, etc.; cf. Heracles, DS 4.22.5), and the Argonauts likewise (1.1161, 2.47, 87), so too the Trojans, in other versions of Aeneas' wanderings (DH 1.52.4, burning of the ships; vd. Horsfall (1989), 16) and unsurprisingly actual Greek colonists (βαρύς, Hdt.4. 150.3). Here, it is the concentration of a traditional theme that is significant: the natural consequence of the Trojans' *labores*, the inevitable companion of hunger and depression on the Trojans' voyage, and one of the principal trials to be overcome in the Trojans' progress, both inner and visible, from home to Rome. Cf. J.R. Dunkle, *CW* 62 (1969), 165f., Hübner, 104.

**tuto ... portu** More perhaps than a safe anchorage (1.164 *aequora tuta silent* and cf. *EV* 5\*, 309); certainly unlike Thrace(Buchheit, 152, n.5), and perhaps also suggesting both Apollo's benignity and the pos-

itive, if misleading, outcome of the visit. **P.** often reinforces words of comparable sense (*quies, pax*); so too **t.** Vd. Piacente, *cit.*

**79 accipit** Cf. **69–120**; Nelis(27) well notes that V. here opens his extended reference to the Argonauts' halt at Cyzicus with a minor indebtedness of idiom, unrecognisable except to experts, or modern scholars, *Arg.* 1.954 (and vd. Vian on 4.1635): Καλός δὲ Λιμὴν ὑπέδεκτο θεοῦσαν. Cf. **96, 544, 708** and note **210 excipiunt**.

**egressi** Cf. 1.172; standard Latin for 'disembark' (Liv. 1.1.3, etc., Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.284.33ff.); *pace* Lloyd (1957a), 139, actual disembarkation is *not* a recurrent element in V.'s narrative.

**ueneramur** Cf. **34**: note both the recurrent element of religious acts(**34**) and the studied parallelism of Aenus and Delos(xiv). Not automatically a synonym for *precamur*, though, as Henry explains, citing the ample range of non-verbal gestures of reverence, *Plin. Nat.* 28.25 (vd. Sittl, 174ff., Corbeill(**83**), 30). The verb recurs at **84** (in the sense of *precamur*); too soon for many modern ears, but perhaps deliberate of Aen.'s sense of relig. awe here (and with variation of sense, vd. n. on 7.554). Again, note the Argonauts, who raise an altar to Apollo at Cyzicus, 1.966. King Cyzicus too has reasons as good as Anius' for warm hospitality (*Arg.* 1.969ff., Nelis, 27).

**Apollinis urbem** Cf. **104 Iouis magni ... insula**, 12.516 *Apollinis agris*, 7.682f. *arua Gabinae/ Iunonis*. Altars and groves are slightly different. Apollo, the principal guide of Gk. voyages of colonisation, passes naturally into the Aen.-legend, and into *Aen.*; a topic once complicated by (partly, though not entirely, unnecessary; see Cameron (**182**), 328ff.) doubts about the citations in *OGR*: vd. Horsfall (1989), 10, 14f.. See Furtwängler, *Ro.* 1.440.4ff., A.S. Pease, *CPh.* 12 (1917), 1ff., W. Leschhorn "Gründer der Stadt" (Stuttgart 1984), 20f., *et passim*, C. Dougherty, *Poetics of colonisation* (New York 1993), 32ff., I. Malkin, *Religion and colonisation* (Leiden 1987), 17ff.. Paschalis, (**68**), 48 not at home with the debate on *OGR*.

**80 rex Anius** Cf. **69–120**; A.'s mythological identity acquires substance outside the Aen.-legend (cf. e.g. Conon 41 = *Phot. Bibl. cod.* 186, 139a19, *DS* 5.62.3, *Schol. Lyc.* 570, Wentzel, *PW* 1.2213.33ff., Gruppe, 234, *EV* 1, 177f. (Chirassi Colombo), P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* (Paris 1970), 418f., *id.*, *LIMC* 1.1.793, *id.*, *NP* 1, 705), as both Delian (at least by adoption) and priest of Apollo. In particular, A. was a figure of a most distinguished literary history:

so Pherecydes, on his advice to the Greeks *en route* for Troy (*FHG* fr.94), not to mention Call., on A. son of Apollo and father of the Oinotropoi (fr.188 where vd. Pfeiffer, d'Alessio; possibly after *Cypria*, fr.29Bernabé, 26West, 19Davies) and even a poem *Anios* by Euphorion (fr.2 Powell).

**rex ... hominum** On the epanalepsis of **rex**, cf. n. on 7.649, Wills, 73, 153, 159 (not uncommon in the case of figures not mentioned elsewhere). **R.h.** Homeric (ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν) and Ennian (*hominum rex*, *Ann.*203; cf. 591, 592).

**idem ...-que** Cf. 9.327 *rex idem et regi Turno gratissimus augur*; so Goold here, well, 'at once ... and'. *Praedicative vel in appositione*, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.189.16 (not a specially frequent idiom; contrast *Buc.*3.101, *G.* 2.87 'the same ... as', *et sim*, which is common), *Sall.Jug.*85.47 *consultor idem et socius periculi ... adero*, *Nep.praef.*3 *non eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia*, *Ov.Her.*17.219 *idem reprehensor et auctor*, *F.*1.129, *Colum.*11.1.4. For epic priest-kings, cf. n. on 7.750.

**Phoebi ... sacerdos** Like Panthus, 2.319 *arcis Phoebique sacerdos*, a visibly more complex expression. Anius could be read in terms of Augustan 'Apollinism' (Stahl, 46f.), did the context encourage such an approach, but in a context where V. is working in a notably intense and complex manner with Hellenistic erudition, the Palatine cult might be considered not an enrichment, but something of an unwelcome distraction.

**81 uittis** The description very roughly comparable with that of Chryses, *Il.*1.14–5. **V.** cultic woollen hairbands; cf. 7.418 (fillet and olive), with further refs..

**et sacra ... lauro** Cf. nn. on 7.59 and 62 with M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz* (*RVV* 38, Berlin 1982), 233, Paschalis (68), 56f., *Buc.*7.62, Lersch, 191f. for the bay and Apollo. On Apollo's island, clearly pertinent (*Serv.Dan.* too confidently asserts that on Delos the *laurus* was *consecrata* to Apollo), though more specifically associated with Delphi, Paschalis, 55, Unte, 221, H.W. Parke, *Oracles of Apollo* (Beckenham 1985), 75, *id.* and D.E.W. Wormell, *The Delphic oracle* 1 (Oxford 1956), 26, Beschi, *EV* 2, 21; the Parnassus of *G.*2.18 stands at Delphi's shoulders, Maggiulli, *EV* 3, 144, *ead.*(22f.), 333. For V. above all literary, *Call.H.*2.1, Heyworth, 255.

**redimitus tempora** Cf. *G.*1.349; the vb. *ter* in *Cat.*63. For the retained acc., cf. n. on 7.74, Courtney(47), 426f..

**82 occurrit** Cf. 11.499. For tense and form, vd. *infra*.

**ueterem ... amicum** V. of *amicus* and *amicitia* standard Ciceronian usage; old friendships ratified among rodents too, *ueterem uetus hospes amicum*.

**Anchisen** A meeting the reader will recall at 8.155ff. where Evander recalls his earlier encounter with Anch.; possibly on the same trip as this visit to Delos. On **82**, Serv. explicitly declares he does not know how Anch. and Anius had become friends, but on **80** Serv.Dan. tells us that Anch. had come to Delos *ante Troicum bellum* to ask whether he should go to Salamis (vd. bk.8, *cit.*) as companion to Priam. They were also kinsmen, according to Palaephatus, **69–120**.

**agnouit** ‘Dear to V. at numerous dramatic moments’, n. on 11.910. **Agnouit MP**;

**agnoscit M: agnouit** conventionally explained as a (quite possible) isolated ‘instantaneous perfect’, but, at least if V. was not swayed principally by the pedestrian need to avoid ambiguity (cf. NW 3, 355: this was not a consideration clearly attested in good republican prose authors), then he had perhaps just used **occurrit** as a form of the perfect (cf. Sommer, *Formenlehre*, 549, NW 3, 352ff., Holzweissig, 37; see *Aen.*4.153, 11.189 *decurrere*, 7.224 *concurrerit*, Hor.C.1.28.6 *percurrisse*, *Epd.*16.29 *procurrerit*. **O.**, that is, to be recognised as perf., in the light of closely following **agnouit**. If that is right, then **M**’s present is easily to be explained as a scribal harmonisation of tenses after a mis-identified **occurrit**.

**83 iungimus hospitio dextras** Cf. (epic-formulaic repetition) 11.165 *iunximus hospitio dextras*, 7.264 *iungi hospitio* (where vd. n.), and n. on 7.366 for the right hand (add now A. Corbeill, *Nature embodied* (Princeton 2004), 21). See too Wills, 205, n.42. Probus (vd. Serv. here) was troubled by **hospitio**, perhaps only because he thought it might be dat. (Timpanaro, *Storia*, 120)

**et tecta subimus** Cf. **292 portu subimus**. Both cases are regularly found, *OLD* s.v., §7, KS 2, 634, addendum to 1, 269, C.F.W. Müller, *Synt.Nom.Akk.*, 141; **t.** normal also of e.g. Latinus’ palace. That concludes a swift and cool summary of events; arrival, cult-act, encounter with king unroll rather stiffly amid the arid landscape of epic commonplace. Such passages (cf. **294–355**, *passim*, Puccioni, 96f.) are not easily avoided but they are not read (or even perhaps written) with minute attention or particular pleasure.

**84 *templa dei ... uenerabar*** With plur. *deum*, cf. G.2.148, *Aen.*7.443; the vb. considered at 79.

**saxo ... structa uetusto** Cf. 8.478f. *saxo incolitur fundata uetusto/urbis Agyllinae sedes*. We may also recall G.2.156 *tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis*. **V.** a little more expressive than *vetus*; cf. 11.142, Evrard, *EV* 5\*, 525. Delos suggests friendship (kinship, even), *pietas*, and an antiquity as venerable as Troy's.

**85–9** A prayer not so much Homeric (Mackie overstates) as Callimachean; *Aen.*'s humble plea employs the language of permanent settlement, read as echoing the proem. and as leading (eventually) to Augustan Rome. This Delian/(Augustan) Apollo will shortly make explicit, after Call.*H.*4(87–188: the prophecy of the as-yet-unborn Apollo; note 166 Ptolemy II an ὑπατον γένος); see Mackie, 66, Highet, 34, 39, Heyworth, 255, Barchiesi, 438ff.. Delos is Sibylline only in passing (Paus.10.12.5, H.W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline prophecy* (London 1988), 40) and her cults and usages are hardly prophetic, for the hints of an oracular role at *HHAp.*81, 132, 288 seem never to be developed later. Bruneau (80 (1970), 146; cf. Heinze, 101, Paschalis (68), 54, den Adel(69–120), Barchiesi, 439) rightly insists that the oracular rites and Apollo's response here are yet another semi-learned Virgilian construct. For the poet's technique in presenting the hocus classicus, cf. nn. on 7.81–106. Moskalew, 142 wonders why *Aen.* did not ask Apollo for an oracle; clearly the god would have been much perplexed had the hero done so.

**85 *da ... da*** Vd. n. on 7.331f.(with bibl.); unmistakable *Gebetstil*.

**propriam ... domum** Cf. again cf. 7.331 *da proprium ... laborem*; from that discussion (and cf. too n. on 11.359), it emerges that *proprius* here should perhaps not be taken as suggesting 'for your very own', but rather (in opposition to the conventional view) 'of your very own gift', with reference to Apollo, most appropriately patron of the Trojans and of this colonising voyage, and thus a credible and appropriate donor of homes and walls.

**Thymbraee** *Aen.* appeals not to the Apollo of Delos, but of Thymbra, prob. on the Xanthus, 3 miles SE of Troy(mod. Hanaytepe, s. of Akçaköy); cf. E. Schwertheim, *NP* 12.1, 521, J.M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973), 117f. *et passim*, W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge 1923), 177ff.. Some anxiety in Serv./Serv.Dan.(lucidly surveyed, Fo, *EV* 5\*, 179; a bloodstained battleground for textual specialists: vd., most

recently, Timpanaro, *Nuovi contr.*, 428ff., C. Murgia, *HSCP* 91 (1987), 306ff.), though they begin well: *Thymbraeus Apollo dicitur a loco Troiae, id est agro uicino, pleno thymbra* [the plant *t.*, a kind of thyme, is entirely irrelevant; cf. Ross, *Virgil's elements*, 220f.]. A place called Thymbra on Delos (Serv.Dan. *ad fin.*) is feebly invented. *Tamquam patrius Troianorum deus*, though (Forbiger), well clarifies situation and motive. The epiclesis thus excellently suited to weary and perplexed Trojan wanderers. Attempts to associate this name with that of the Tiber (Scarcia *ad loc.*) are mere fantasy (vd. *EV* 5\*, 156, for that river's many names), unhelpful in the present context.

**moenia .../ 86 et genus et mansuram urbem** The walls are programmatic, and central (like, of course, the future *moenia*, 1.7, *urbs*, 1.5 and indeed *genus* of 1.7; cf. S.C. Smith, *TAPA* 129 (1999), 250, n.44), from 1.7 on (note too 5.737 *tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces*): cf. Horsfall (1989), 17, 26, *Companion*, 102f., n. on 7.145. So too **g.**, the *progeniem ... Troiano a sanguine* of 1.19 (etc.). **Mansuram** not part of V.'s favoured thematic language, though fut. partics. are naturally put to hard work, 7.257f. *progeniem uirtute futuram/ egregiam* (with n.). In contrast, notes Hübner, with the once-shifting island, 110f.

**fessis** Cf. 78.

**86 serua** Cf. 8.37 *aeternaque Pergama seruas*, 2.642; *EV* 4, 814f. unsatisfactory, but Hickson, 79f. shows that *s.* belongs (perhaps recognisably) to the real language of Roman prayers for preservation and security (cf. *Cat.Agr.*141, *Liv.*22.10.2, *et saep.*).

**altera Troiae/ 87 Pergama** For **P.**, cf. n. on 7.322 'strictly the citadel of Troy, whence (in general) Troy' (the gen. is therefore a sort of *gen.inhaerentiae* and the enjambement confers extra weight); *trag.inc.*16 *exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo* is no guide to the expression's origin. The use of **a.** to indicate 'a second', used in various aspects of V.'s conception of Troy re-born, is hallowed usage: cf. n. on 7.321. No second citadel yet exists, but the city the Trojans believe they will build (cf. 8.37 *aeternaque Pergama seruas*) guarantees that it one day will. Williams (after Con.) defines **P.** as the surviving Trojans; that is an unsatisfactory, minimal definition, for the expression must also include the *nomen* of Troy and her sacred objects (penates, etc.).

**reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli** Cf. 1.30, where V. describes the Trojans in the same five words), 598 *nos* as *reliquias Danaum*. Note too 10.430 *Grais imperdita corpora*. The plea of **85** is rich in topics familiar from the proem., understandably, in the first prayer

of the voyage. Such topics (A. Rengakos, *AuA* 39 (1993), 116) must long have been clear in V.'s thoughts/notes. Moskalew, 106 refers to the echo of the proem. in bk.3 (with its heavy charge of Juno's hatred); very true, even though it is probably the proem that derives language from 3 (xxxix). On 1.30, Conway well cites both Aesch.*Ag.*517 στρατὸν ... τὸν λελειμμένον δορός and Lyc.662 λείφανον τοξευμάτων. The idiom is not that rare (cf. Eur.*Tro.*716, *El.*554), and it would be surprising if (cf. Pacuv.*trag.*200) the Latin tragedians had not excogitated something very similar. **R.** also used thus by Cic.(*Sen.*19 *aii reliquias*, 'what your grandfather left behind'; so Powell, who cites *Fam.*12.4.1). For the prosody, cf. n. on 7.244. *Tacet EV.* **Danaum** V.'s commonest word for 'Greeks'(rare in Hom.), of no distinct 'colour': cf. Austin on 2.5, *EV* 5\*, 215f. **I.** hitherto *bis* in *G.*4(*bis* too in *Cat.*64; note Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.467.29); *saeuus* also used at 1.458, 2.29; cf. Privitera, *EV* 1, 24f. Burzacchini (*EV* 3, 549) suggests that V. had Hom. ἄγριος, used of Ach. at *Il.*21.314, in mind. Perhaps not; the sense is not very close, and the cruelties of Ach.(and his son) in Eur., not Hom., seem closer to V.'s sense. **Achilli** (or *-ei*) as gen. is regular, for Gk. names in *-es*: cf. NW 1, 507f., Holzweissig, 494f., Leumann, 447, 458.

**88 quem ... quoue ... ubi?** Cf. 7.131, 10.72f. for this mixed sequence of interrogatives.

**sequimur** For indic. thus in delib. questions, cf. **367**, 12.637 (vd. Traina), possibly 2.322 (but vd. Austin) and probably not 4.534 (vd. Austin), Görler, *EV* 2, 273, Ernout-Thomas, 242f.. This is the traditional usage of spoken Latin, Bennett, 1, 22ff., LHS, 308, and Kroll on the *cui dono* of *Cat.*1.1. For the vb. thus of following a god or sign, cf. 2.701, 4.576, 9.21. The Trojans have been issued with an incomprehensible goal and obscure hints of a route; there is no inconsistency between the riddling allusions vouchsafed to Aen. and the naive questions here posed. Cartault, 276 proposes **qua**, unnecessarily.

**ire iubes** Cf. 7.154 (natural placing of words in dactyl.hexam.). Aen. does not *tell* the god he was unable to understand 2.780ff., but that inability underlies his words here.

**ponere sedes** Cf. 1.264 *moresque uiris et moenia ponet*, **3.399 posuerunt moenia**, 4.211f. *urbem/...posuit*, etc.(after Lucr.1.994 *sedes ubi ponere possint*; Spallone, *EV* 4, 750). Aen. is concerned with addressing to the god of colonies, in severely conventional language, fundamental questions regarding his ktistic role. Cf. Horsfall (1989), 17f., 26, Schmid, 191f.. Pomathios, 163ff..

**89 da ... augurium** Recommencing the appeals (**da ... da**) of **85**; we may recall 2.691 *da deinde auxilium, pater*, which is indeed followed by an *augurium impetrativum*. Moskalew, 141f. is loosely argued. The line contains two distinct ideas: a plea for inspiration (perhaps in the understanding of an imminent oracle, anticipated as obscure), much like that which descends on the Sibyl, 6.77 ff. (though Delos is hardly an oracular site, **84**), and a plea for some explicit confirmation by portent of the god's benevolent presence on his sacred island. The lack of any real link between them perhaps betrays the light hand with which V. sketches the cults of Delos (on which Varro had however written, Serv.Dan. on **85**).

**pater** Cf. 11.789, with n., **3.35** (Gradius), von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1. 686.15.

**animis ... nostris** Cf. Lucr.4.881 *animo nostro*, Liv.37.54.6 *animi nostri, patres conscripti*, and common in Cic.. Cf. Negri, 146.

**inlabere** First here in Lat. *Gebetstil* (an intensification of *ueni*, if you will); used often by the Christians, O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1. 334. 11 ff. The vb. used by Cic., then Hor.C.1-3(*bis*), and at *Aen.*2.240. Cf. Avien.*descr.* 6f. *deus en, deus intrat Apollo/ pectora* (so too e.g. *infundi*). The prefix should not be assimilated, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 431. The dat., **a....n.**, is slightly archaic in flavour, cf. Antoine, 149ff., Görler, *EV* 2, 266.

**90 uix ea fatus eram** Frequently, as Austin notes on 6.190, in the context of supernatural intervention (citing 1.586, 2.692, 8.520). Such prodigious intervention is typically swift: cf. nn. on 7.67, 120. Asynd. after *uix* comic; in high poetry first here (LHS 481, 624).

**90-2** The reactions of the natural world to the presence of a deity are an ancient theme, variously and wonderfully developed, with much further influence upon metaphor: Alc.fr.307.1(c), Eur.*Ba.*1084f., with Dodds' n., AR 3.1218ff., Call.*H.*2.1 ff. (with D'Alessio's n.); cf. Barchiesi, 439f., Paschalis (**68**), 55, NH on Hor.C.1.23.5, Harrison on 10.101ff., Burkert, *Greek religion*, 146, E. Pax, *RAC* 5, 841, Bömer on Ov.*F.*4.5, A. Traina, *Poeti latini*, 1, 210ff., Hügi, 123, M. Tartari Chersoni, *EV* 3, 612f. Such reactions come close (cf. n. on 7.515) to the pathetic fallacy, nn. on 7.722, 759, 11.259 and **673** *infra*.

**90 tremere omnia** The ἐρέϊατο of Call.*H.*2.1; cf. Ov.*F.*3.329 *tremuisse* with Bömer's n., *Met.*15.634f., Phaedr.Appx.8.5(s.v. Delphi, before passing on to Delos) *tremuntque lauri*, n. on 7.515 *contremuit* (Allecto's



trumpet-call, Stygian, if not Olympian), **3.581, 673**. Note (Hardie, 225, Barchiesi, 440, n.10) *Lucr.6.122 f. omnia saepe graui tremere et diuulsa repente*. Vd. further **91 moueri**.

**uisa** Cf. **26 uideo** for the fundamental link between sight and human reaction in *Aen.*. Here, note the regular use of *uidetur, uisum*, in narrative of portents (vd. **174** for dreams): cf. 2.682, 5.722f., Catrein, 62, Norden on 6.256, Luterbacher, 44 on *Liv.1.39.1, 56.4, EV 5\**, 536f.

**repente** Vd. *supra*, **uix ea ...**

**91 liminaque laurusque dei** An improvised alliterative pair, not registered by Wölfflin. For the **laurus**, primarily Delphic, not Delian, cf. **81**. The **limina** respond to the presence of deity in varying ways; doors open and close at the passing of a god (vd. a full n. on 7.620, *morantis*), the threshold may even bear a sacred footprint (K.M.D. Dunbabin, *JRA* 3 (1990), 85ff., engrossingly), and about the *limen* cluster numerous cults, usages and superstitions (Dunbabin, 105f.). *EV* 3, 225f. is hardly adequate. The lengthening of the first *-que* before **laurus** is exceptional; cf. Barchiesi, 440, n.10, Winbolt, 200f., Norden, 451f. and notably Nettleship, in *Con.-Net., Aen.7-12*, p.486f.; V. normally lengthens after Homer's manner before mute and liquid, which do not of course make position, unlike the x of *G.4.336 Drymoque Xanthoque*. The only other exceptions are *Aen.12.363 Chloreaque Sybarimque* (vd. Page here; *bene*) and *G.1.371 Eurique Zephyrique* (for which cf. n. on 11.308); cf. **3.270 nemorosa Zacynthos** (and note *alta Ζ.*, *Ov.Her.1.87* (where vd. Knox' n.), Platnauer, *Lat.eleg. verse*, 62), which rather suggests that at *G.1.cit.*, z may *not* make position. The expansion of **omnia** by means of a specifying **-que ...-que** familiar from *G.3.343f.*(and 4.221 f.); cf. (e.g.) 4.558, 9.650; at *CLE* 8.2 already *omnia ...-que ... atque*.

**totusque .../ 92 mons** Mt. Cynthus(350 feet; NH on *Hor.C.1. 21.2*); vd. A. Plassart, *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe* (Paris 1928), *EV* 1, 787 (Rocca): of splendid literary antecedents (*HHAp.17, Call.H.4.9f.*); likewise as a title of Apollo, *Buc.6.3* (vd. Clausen) and *G.3.36*, after *Call.Aet.frr.67.5f., 114.8*. The adj. augments the spatial impact of Apollo's presence; cf. 8.230f.(Hercules) *ter totum feruidus ira/ lustrat Aventini montem, 12.928f.*(echo) *totusque remugit/ mons circum*.

**moueri** May of course refer to an earthquake (*Lucr.6.667, etc.*, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1542. 19ff., *passim*), but certainly need not do so, 6.256 *iuga coepta moueri, Ov.Her. 16.59 pedum pulsu uisa est mihi terra moueri*.

Why Hardie (*CI*, 225; cf. Stahl, 47 ‘sizeable earthquake’) calls this celestially-inspired quivering an earthquake I do not know; Barchiesi then refers to ‘a catastrophic break of natural order’(440; vd. Pease, *infra*). Serv.Dan. offers the sensible remark *quia opinio est sub aduentu deorum moueri templa* (on **90**, though, he refers to an earthquake, *si terra tremat*. Cf. Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.18 *se ... tremefecit ... tellus=cons.fr.*2.25); TCD *haec sic mota sunt ... ut deum ipsum praesentem fuisse monstrarent*. Between humble prayer and uplifting (if perplexing) response there is no opening for terror; in **100**, the Trojans are filled with **laetitia**. That would be unnatural immediately after an earthquake, above all on the famously immune Delos (cf. **75f.**), where an actual quake (as against a benign quiver, signalling the deity’s arrival), and at such a moment, would clearly be an appalling and unnatural paradox and would undercut the oracle with untimely horror. But I may have felt too many tremors, quakes, and after-shocks under my own feet, in both Greece and Italy, to be able to write quite dispassionately.

**92 circum Totus ... mons** and **moueri ... circum** interwoven; the run-over monosyllable mitigated by the advb. delayed and given added force by its unusual position.

**mugire ... cortina** The verb, though clearly onomatopoeic in origin, is not distinctively farmyard in tone: cf. Ustrnul, *TLL* 8.1559.39ff., 6.256 *solum* (cf. A. Traina, *Poeti latini*, 1, 210), *tuba*, Lucr.4.543, *malus* (mast), Hor.C.3.29.57, *motu terrae mugire cauernas* Luc.3.418. Vd. West on Hes.*Erga* 508 μέμυκε δὲ γαῖα καὶ ὕλη (the effect of wind). The *cortina* ‘the rounded vessel [cauldron] placed on the sacred tripod’(Paschalis (**68**), 56, n.68), at Delphi, naturally, and here ‘transferred’ to Delos. See H.W. Parke, *Greek oracles* (London 1967), 74f., Parke and Wormell(**81**), 1, 24ff., Burkert, *Greek religion*, 116 and Paschalis, 55f.(with further bibl.). The noun used generally of a pot, Cat.*Agr.*66, etc..

**adytis ... reclusis** The vb. Lucretian; cf. n. on 7.617 (we are back to the sphere of wondrous door-opening, **91 limina**). The noun used of the inner room of any temple (Acc.*trag.*624); at Delphi ‘the sunken area at the end of the temple interior’ (Burkert, *cit.*, and *ib.*, 91); cf. Parke and Wormell(**81**), 1, 20. Not alien to Delos but altogether familiar in any detailed account of Delphi (e.g. DS 16.26.2, Paus.10.24.7); also called (e.g.) ἄντρον (Strab.9.3.5), μύχος.

**93 summissi** Classically Lucretian, 1.92 (Iphigenia) *muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat* (ter Lucr., *semel*, Cat.64; vd. Wigodsky, 134).

**petimus terram** Still with Lucr. in mind; *petere* in the sense of *tenere* explains Non.367.14, *pauore nimio uestigiis firmis non potuimus stare demissique ad terram ...*, TCD; Serv.Dan. wonders whether **submissi** referred to body(*inclinati*) or soul(*supplices*) and unfortunately offers explanations of *why terram petimus*, not *how*; Dubielzig(*TLL* 10.1.1954.6) cites the gloss *timore prosternimur* (4.457.46). 10.489 *terram moriens petit ore cruento* is not comparable (vd. Harrison); The gesture was evidently not entirely understood and not even careful consideration of ritual usage (Corbeill(83), 27, Sittl, 177–9) provides a solution, for in prayer suppliants can either kneel(Sittl, 178, nn.1,2, citing e.g. Ov.F.2.437, 4.317) or prostrate themselves(Sittl, 178, n.9, citing e.g. Prop.3.15.1, Stat.Silv.5.1.163). If we consider Greek male usage, neither position will quite do(Sittl, 177f., Corbeill(83), 27, n.67; *Od.*4.433 again does not clarify the suppliant's exact posture): cf. Appel, 202, with ample material.

**et uox fertur ad auris** F<sub>i</sub>MP<sub>2</sub>ωγ, Non.p.390.2, **uox FP**, TCD (without **et**). Cf. **40** *auditur tumulto et uox reddita fertur ad auris* and note *et uox faucibus haesit, quater* (never without *et*), *et uox excidit ore (semel)*; hard to see why Sabbadini and Geymonat should have been tempted to omit. Apollo's voice (99) is introduced anonymously, in the passive, rather in the manner of Roman portent-voices (so Polydorus, 40).

**94–8** Routinely listed among 'the brief prophecies of Rome'(O'Hara, *DOP*, 128, n.1, after Block); five dense lines, a full, consolatory but unclear reply to Aen.'s questions; of marked thematic complexity, where conventional panegyric motifs are unfolded in a context elaborately both Homeric and Callimachean (Barchiesi, 438ff., Heyworth, 255ff.).

**94 Dardanidae duri** The Trojans so named because V. is about to introduce the story of their Italian descent from Dardanus; cf. my n. on 7.195(D. again used thus). That this was the 'key' to the response was realised by Macr.*Somn.*1.7.7f. and by Serv. Aen., however went to Crete, *unius uerbi neglegentia* (Macr.); a trivial error, and spiteful lack of Apolline goodwill, we might feel, or else the poet's challenge to his readers, not least if the story of Tuscan Dardanus had enjoyed some recent fame. For **duri**, cf. n. on 7.747(a key term, of much importance). For the Trojans' Italian origins, cf. my n. on 7.206–11; after considering 12 *supra*, it becomes much clearer that Jocelyn (*Sileno* 17 (1991), 90, n.68, 96f., after Buchheit, 164) was probably right to regard the *reduxisse*

of Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*3.148 not as Varro, but as a Virgilian invasion of Serv.'s citation of Varro and therefore not as evidence for a Varronian 'return of the Dardanidae'. The story did almost certainly exist before Virgil (the date of [Lyc.] 1239 *παλιμπλανήτην* is as unclear as its relevance; cf. n. on 7.206–11), but it is not at all clear where; if it was in Varro (and it might have been), we cannot prove it on a sound evidential basis. The remarks of E. Gabba, *Dionysius and the history of archaic Rome* (Berkeley 1991), 116f. are not persuasive: no case has yet been advanced convincingly for V.'s use of Etruscan versions of anything at all; cf., again, my n. on 7.206–11.

**quae .../ 95 prima ... tellus** Cf. 27 for **prima** again attracted into the rel. clause. **T.** not just 'earth', but 'country' (*tacet EV*); cf. *OLD* s.v., §5, citing 1.34, 2.69, Gallus fr.1.

**uos .../ 95 ... tulit** 'Decidedly more common of the vegetable world in V.' (n. on 11.285), citing Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 496. 43 (= *educavit*) not precisely comparable.

**a stirpe parentum** Cf. 6.864 *stirpe nepotum*; see n. on 7.579 for the metaphor from arboriculture.

**95 eadem uos** Cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.197.55. 6.655 is comparable in elegant economy; cf. too Hor.C.4.10.7, Liv.7.33.3.

**ubere laeto V.** enriched, so to speak, as at 7.262 *diuitis uber agri* (vd. n.), *G.*2.185 *fertilis ubere campus*; *laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt* remarks Cic. *de orat.*3.155 and at *G.*1.1 *quid faciat laetas segetes* Serv. comments *nam fimus, qui per agros iacitur, uulgo laetamen uocatur*. In Italy, it still is ('letame'). Cf. Buchheit, 152, n.6. This is swift confirmation of 2.781 f. *arua/ inter opima uirum*, and anticipates the **matrem** of the next v.; see A. Keith, *Engendering Rome* (Cambridge 2000), 46f.

**96 accipiet reduces** Cf., with *stellantis regia caeli* as subj., 7.211 (with n.), and 'heu quae nunc tellus,' inquit, 'quae me aequora possunt/ accipere?' (2.69f.), Liv.4.31.3. The noun perfectly suited to the 'return-theme'; cf. n. on 11.797.

**antiquam ... matrem** Cf. 7.762 for more conventional 'mother-country' idioms (with Bulhart, *TLL* 8.445.82ff.). **A.** at 131, 164, 1.531 of countries; Evrard, *EV* 1, 196 also compares *G.*2.157, 174 (Gk. *παλαιός*, Pind. *Pyth.*5.55). Affinities with the homecoming of the Argonauts may also be relevant (Nelis, 29); certainly, Richard Hunter *The Argonautica of Apollonius* (Cambridge 1993), 173 does well to refer to the unknown, different route the Argonauts are to take homewards, 4.254.

V. thus casts Aen.'s voyage as in one sense a *nostos*, like Od.'s, though Aen. leaves his own homeland for ever, and sails ever further away from it (cf. Knauer, 141, n.1, 324, M. Bonjour, *Terre natale* (Paris 1975), 476ff. and Nelis, 24, 284, etc. for AR; Aen. is then also in some sense a returning exile: vd. 3). It is singular that the intellectual origins of this motif of the unsuspected mother-country (for Corythus/Corythum, cf. n. on 170), a motif thus far deeply perplexing to the Trojans and, if totally incomprehensible, of uncertain effect upon the Augustan reader (likelier, therefore to be known at least to the learned by the time of writing), have received so little attention. Since Pease (79), 10, cf. Horsfall (1989), 10f., *Alambicco*, 81; Dougherty (79), 18ff., C.P. Jones, *HSCP* 97 (1995), 233ff., and Erskine, 15ff. skirt the specific issue at a distance, and even W. Suerbaum, 'Die suche nach der *antiqua mater*', *Festschr. ... Radke* (Münster 1986), 269ff. seems not to consider that the motif he would expound has a clear literary history before V. (not to mention the controversial Hemina). V. writes precisely in the manner of Greek ktisis-stories: Isocr. *Arch.* 17.6 ὁ δε θεός... ἐκέλευεν δ' αὐτοὺς [the Heracleidae] ἐπὶ τὴν πατρώων ἰέναι χώραν (ch.18 is devoted to the problems of interpretation); Pind. *Pyth.* 5.69–72 (where vd. Giannini's comm.), elucidated by Apld. *Bibl.* 2.8.2 (the return of the Heracleidae, again, called κάθοδος by Apld.); at Plut. *Mor.* 297B (= *QGr.* 26), the Aeni-anian maidens sang to their men μήποτε νοστήσαιτε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. The motif of ambiguous mother earth is then revived in Roman garb, in the (probably related) stories of Caesar's dream (Suet. *Caes.* 7) and Brutus' return from Delphi (Liv. 1.56.10ff.). TCD comments well on the whole story (p.279.3f.) *hoc dicto ademit ... luctum perditae ciuitatis*, etc. (the *antiqua mater*, if you will, trumps the Trojans' love for their homeland; paradoxically, Corythus supplants Pergamum) whereas 'a fixation upon the former Troy threatens the Trojans' effort to make a new beginning' (Quint, 57) does not illuminate V.'s theme, that there is in fact no rupture of substance between remote past and distant future.

**exquirite** Cf. 7.239 *uestras exquirite terras* (where vd. n.; cf. also Oel-lacher, *TLL* 5.2.1817.58ff.), 8.312.

**97 hic** In the *antiqua mater*, of course; world sovereignty will devolve upon Dardanus' homeland, a concept foreign to the context of Aen.'s banquet with Dido.

**domus Aeneae** Hom.'s Αἰνείαο βῆη, *Il.* 20.307 (Poseidon's prophecy of the glorious future of the Aeneadae; Aen. not to be killed by Achilles; Knauer, 348), Call.'s ὑπατον γένος, *H.* 4.166. Cf. 9.448; the plain sense

of these words has been distorted by readers unwilling to admit that in Aug. Rome they could easily refer to the *gens Iulia* in general and (Aen.'s principal descendant) Augustus in particular (cf. *Ov.F.1. 701 domuique tuae*, with Bömer's n., and note *Aen.5.121 domus ... Sergia*). V. has passed, little though some like it, from the genealogies of the Troad, to the notion of divinely-authorized world-rule under the line of Aeneas' descendant. There is paranomasia between **domus** and **dominabitur**.

**cunctis ... oris** Cf. 7.564 *multis memoratus in oris*, where vd. n.; this is solidly Augustan panegyric language. It has long been realised that V. here reflects a late, 'political' variant in Hom.'s text, at 20.307 Strab.(13.1.53) offers (τινὲς δὲ γράφουσιν) πάντεσσιν ἀνάξει [for the vulgate] Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει (τοὺς Ῥωμαίους λέγοντες); cf. R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the hymns* (Cambridge 1982), 158, W.J. Verdenius, *Homer, the educator of the Greeks, Meded.kon.Ned. Akad.*, NR 33.5 (1970), 218, H. Cancik in *Homer, the bible, and beyond*, ed. M. Finkelberg and G.G. Stroumsa(Leiden 2003), 119. The notion (R.D. Williams) that V.'s Latin influenced the mss. of Homer as quoted by Strabo should not, even if we allow that S. was still writing after 20AD(not impossible; K. Clarke, *Between geography and history* (Oxford 1999), 252–5), carry any conviction. Pergamum, some time after 200BC, might seem a likely home for such an embellishment of Hom.'s text. It may also be that V. has in mind Call.H.4.167 ff. (vd. Barchiesi, 441 f.). 1.285 (*infra*) does not settle the tiresome question of whether the words are dat. or abl.; *pace* Williams, the presence of **hic** does not render abl. (perhaps 'of extension') impossible (**hic** the seat of rule, **c....o.** its sphere).

**dominabitur** A vb. dear to Lucr.(*octies*), and to V. (cf.1.285 *uictis dominabitur Argis*, 6.766; cf. n. on 7.70) and common in panegyric contexts(Dittmann, *TLL* 5.1.1901. 6ff.); cf. *rerum dominos*, 1.282, Hor.C.4. 14.44, Christ, 85, Grassmann-Fischer, 65. Note Call.H.4.167 Μακηδόνι κοίρανέεσθαι. Barchiesi acutely remarks (442) that a Greek oracle foretells dominance of the Trojans; the 'echo' of 1.285 sets the Roman conquest of Greece in Apollo's mouth.

**98 et nati natorum** Cf. Hom.'s καὶ παίδων παῖδες ('posterity', for Cic.*Att.* 16.11.1; cf. Wills, 213, n.36), Pind. *Isth.*8.25 υἱέεσσι υἱέων and *Genesis* 45.10 *filii filiorum tuorum* ('childrens' children'; the expression—Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.757.77f.—is common in OT and vd. too *Daniel* 11.24 *patres patrum*); cf. LHS, 54f. for the coexistence of semitisms and old Latin idiom (add Jocelyn on Enn.*trag.*34 *mulier melior mulierum*,

Hofmann-Ricottilli, 222f., Bennett 2, 24f.) in this use of the part.gen.. Just as *rex regum* was both Parthian (Suet.*Cal.*5.1) and philosophical (Hor.*Ep.*1.1.107), so **n.n.** is both Hebrew and (here) Homeric. Con. acutely remarks that this very specifically answers Aen.'s enquiry about **genus, 86.**

**et qui nascentur ab illis** Hom. continues τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται; here, the *figura etymologica* (cf. e.g. Cic.*ND* 3.47, Varr.*LL* 5.61, Lucr.1.112f.) extends the old use of the part. gen. by means of a closely related, strongly alliterative rel. clause (cf. Wills, 263); Hom. has the rel. clause, while V. unrolls a far weightier threefold development. Cf. 1.286 for the equally prophetic *nascetur*.

**99 haec Phoebus** Cf. *Buc.*8.62, *G.*4.528, *haec ubi dicta, ter* (cf. Leo, Seneca 1, 188), *Iuppiter haec paucis* (*Aen.*10.16; cf. 1.76, 9.207, 12.631), *hoc tantum, uix ea* (vd. Görler, *EV* 2, 274 on V. and ellipse). Della Corte asserts(57) that this prophecy is really uttered by the prophetess Launa, though V. assigns it explicitly to Apollo; there is no evidence for L.'s prophetic gifts (vd. **69–120**) and this wild and unhelpful speculation is altogether unfounded. Cf. further **102.**

**mixtoque ... tumultu** *T.*, *magnus*, or *ingens* indeed, common in Virgilian public life (n. on 11.225); Homeric(Seymour, 101f.), Roman, Italian, too. For this mingling of abstracts, in the later books markedly to V.'s taste, cf. Lucr.6.1244, Pfligersdorffer, *TLL* 8.1088.18f., *Aen.* 10.398, 742, 871(=12.667), 11.807.

**ingens .../ 100 laetitia** Liv.3.54.6 *ingenti hominum laetitia* perhaps just earlier (cf. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.877.11), but *mira, mirifica, incredibilis et sim.* common with *l.* in prose. Joy, in this case (cf. n. on **7.288**) relatively short-lived, given Anch.'s confusion.

**exorta** Cf. 12.583, of *discordia*. Enn., Lucr., Cat.64; cf. Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1577.20.

**100 cuncti ... quaerunt** Cf. the **omnibus** of **60**; an unprompted, unanimous reaction to Apollo's obscurity.

**quae sint ea moenia** This quest for **moenia** thematically fundamental; the plot of *Aen.*3, indeed: cf. **17, 85.**

**101 quo Phoebus ... uocet ... iubeatque** Compare e.g. Hdt. 4.157.1: the colonists of Cyrene return to the oracle for clarification (cf. **7 incerti**). V. used of **Auster (70)**: the god can *summon* his suppliants just as they can *call* on him; *fata* likewise can summon (often) and so

too Bacchus' Mt. Cithaeron(4.303) or the Magna Mater's *buxus* (9.619). So too e.g. *Ov.F.2.358. Iubere* almost thematic: cf. **88**, **114**, **162**, 4.346; Apollo's orders a natural consequence of his role as oracular patron of colonising *errores*. Whether **quo** is parallel to **quae** or explanatory of **moenia** is not a question that need ever have been seriously raised.

**errantis** *Exilium* as definition looks back, **e.** forwards (cf. e.g. 1.32, 755, 756, 6.532; *tacet EV* and *vd.* rather Hey, *TLL* 5.2.807.13ff.), inasmuch as from the very start the Trojans do have a sort of goal.

**reuerti** Cf. **96 reduces**; the frequent lexical garb of the Corythus motif (cf. Buchheit, 162). We remain firmly within the thoughts of **cuncti**, and to them all is attributed an awareness that these 'wanderings' are actually a 'return'.

**102 tum genitor** Again ellipse of verb of speaking; **V.** is in haste to pass by the tedious but necessary articulations of the narrative. Cf. 1.335 *tum Venus*, 6.713, 8.313, 394. Cf. **9** for Anch.'s active role; the fugitive obscurity of **Dardanidae** has the further effect of mitigating unworthy suspicions that Anch. might be a foolish old man. Cf. 7.122, 306 on **g.**.

**ueterum ... uirorum** Cf. 8.356, 500, Evrard, *EV* 5\*, 525; *ueteres aui, u. parentes*, and simple *ueteres* closely comparable. Cf. n. on 7.206 and *Athen.66* (1988), 33 for the narrative authority with which old men are traditionally endowed.

**uoluens** Of thought at (e.g.) 7.254 (*vd.n.*); here, cf. rather 1.262 *uoluens fatorum arcana mouebo*, Traina, *EV* 5\*, 626. The book-roll metaphor may be present in both (cf. *G.4.509, Aen.9.528*, Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.164*; Traina, *cit.*, doubtful). Ponderous alliteration perhaps suggestive of laborious unfolding of remote memory.

**monumenta** Cf. 8.312 *auditque uirum monumenta priorum*, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1466.7f.. The word in comedy and prose, Cic. *carin.*, bis in *Cat.*, *Lucr.5.329 aeternis famae monumentis* and *monumenta uirum, bis*), then 16x in Livy's first pentad. The historian shows the poet something of the word's dignity and possibilities? The word's novelty and importance for **V.(decies)** ignored, *EV* 3, 564. **num- M, -nim- FP**; possibly **V.** wrote **-num-**, his later scribes **-nim-**. For the orthogr. issue, cf. **486**.

**103–117** Speeches in interpretation of oracles/portents are common enough (Highet, 103, 311ff.); here, too much has been made of Anch.'s error, for he has recently been dismissed as a foolish old man (by Quint, 57; *vd.* Armstrong, 322. Even Henry E., 8 reproves his failing



memory): unacceptable rhetorical strategy to attribute to Aen., and a perverse reading of the text. Anch. took **93 antiquam ... matrem** as referring to the *Magna Mater*, and the **prima ... tellus** of **95** to the earliest home of the Trojans. Both these references pointed to Crete (vd. Cartault, Armstrong, 322) and the Cretan Teucus was conventionally Dardanus' father-in-law (and was thus older by a generation; so already Hellanicus *FGH4F24*; cf. DS 4.75.1, etc., *EV* 1, 998 and 5\*, 153). Williams on **107** strangely inverts Serv.Dan.'s account of Dardanus, possibly following a *quidam*-variant inserted at the end of a very long note. So too, apparently, Stahl, 77, n.27. V., though, is best understood in the light of *pre*-existing genealogies and the cumbrous attempts of his commentators to understand *his* innovations are hardly relevant here. Conventionally (*supra*) Dardanus m. Teucus' dau.; so might it not be rather headstrong to claim **Dardanidae** as an easy clue stupidly missed by the old man? The Italian origins of Dardanus were for V.'s readers a recent (and perhaps obscure) story, hardly to be extrapolated with ease from one epithet, in the teeth of an apparent sequence of weighty hints pointing to Crete. Anch. presents an excellent, faulted, case (Paratore 'non aveva tutti i torti'); of course, in retrospect, an even better case could have been made (Heyworth), but Anch.'s failure is not at all discreditable to him and he is not represented as demonstrably foolish or enfeebled mentally. This is a speech of singular learning and density, in which we find elements of Homer and Cat., a substantial presence of Call.H.1, and possibly even some Boio. See R. Herzog in *Memoria. Vergessen und Erinnern* (München 1993), 100ff., Cartault, 237, Heyworth, 257, Armstrong, 321f., Quint, 57f., Hight 34, 232.

**103 audite** Cf. n. on 7.400.

o **proceres** Only employed here; an old word (cf. n. on 11.403; cf. now Vestergaard, *TLL* 10.2.1515.33ff., pointing out further that Plaut. *Bacch.*1053 is paratragic, and Cic. *Fam.*13.15.1 epicising), not much favoured by V.. Cf. **58** for a clear sense of rank and hierarchy among the Trojans: here Anch. addresses a category of leaders; contrast the **cuncti** of **100**. Cf. *Od.*2.25 κέκλυτε δὴ νῦν μεν.

et **spes ... uestras** Cf. 5.672 *uestras spes*. Here too, marked brevity: Anch. bids the Trojans take note of [their newly-understood goal], for which they can [at last] hope.

**discite** Cf. not only *G.*2.35 *discite* (of the modern commentators, only Erren takes note, most unhelpfully), but also the awesome *discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere diuos* (6.620) and in sing. *G.*3.414, *Aen.*2.66,

12.146 and 435 *disce puer uirtutem ...*; note too Cic.*Dom.*127 **discite** *orationem, pontifices, et vos, flamines; etiam tu, rex, disce a gentili tuo*, *Rep.*2.45, *Fam.*9.18.3 *veni igitur, si uir es, et disce a me*, Varr. *RR* 2.3.1, Hor.*C.* 3.27.75, *Serm.*2.2.4, *Ep.*1.17.3 and *uers.pop.*15 Courtney *disce miles militare*. This is not a very common Greek way of putting things, but cf. *Il.*6.444 μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐκθλόσ, Theog.35, Orph.*Lith.*177, *Or.Sib.*3.562, *Or. Chald.*1.10. However, the injunction to 'learn' does occur with very marked frequency in the heavily ethical and preceptive speeches of Hdt., in particular 1.207.2, 9.17.4, 9.111.5, but cf. also 1.71.3, 3.35.1, 5.20.4, 5.106.4, 7.49.3, 9.98.3. An injunction, therefore, one might expect to find attributed to Appius Claudius Caecus or the elder Cato. Cf. therefore the *praecepta haec ... habeto* of C. Castricius, *CIL* 11.600, with Horsfall, *Ancient History* 27.1 (1997), 19ff.

**104 Creta** Placed in due prominence; 'precede prepotentemente tutto' (Paratore). It is a relief that V.'s Crete has at last attracted some serious and sober discussion: vd., S.R. West, *CQ* 53 (2003), 302ff., R. Armstrong, *ib.*52 (2002), 321ff., S. Heyworth, *ib.*43 (1993), 255ff., Kühn, 52f., Lacroix, 138f., Unte, 215ff.(and on V.'s Crete in general, vd. L.P. Day in *Classical texts and their traditions. Studies in honor of C.R. Trahman* (Chico 1984), 25ff.; fanciful interpretations are here rigorously eschewed; for a less intolerant bibliography, cf. M. Paschalis, *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 33f.). For Idomeneus, in particular, vd. *infra*, **121–91**. Mythological connexions between Crete and the Troad are no surprise; they derive at one level from an association of Rhea with Cybele(Dodds on Eur.*Bacch.*120–34), and at another from the homonymy (cf. Horsfall, *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 34, Nelis, 28, *AR* 1.1128f.) of Trojan and Cretan Ida(A. Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* (Göttingen 1905), 10); for the further refinements of Cretan Berecynthus and Phrygian Dactyls, cf. Gruppe, 310, A.B. Cook, *Zeus* 3 (Cambridge 1940), 1033, n.1, Robert 1, 658; Paris, after all learned music from the *local* Dactyls on Phrygian Ida(Schol.*T.II.*22.391). Cf. **111** for Corybants and Curetes.The connexion is given body and 'history' by assigning a Cretan origin to Teucrus (indigenous, however, at DS 4.75.1; cf. Robert, 2<sub>4</sub>.1, 392, 398), a version which goes back as far as Callinus (fr.7West=Strab. 13.1. 48); then vd. Lyc.1303ff. (where see the comm. of Fusillo, Hurst, Paduano) and Hegesianax *FGH* 45F4 (whose Dardanus, though, is Samothracian, as often: vd. Hellanicus *FGH* 4F23, *Apld.Bibl.* 3.12.1, DS 5.48.3, Robert, 2<sub>4</sub>.1, 391); see J. Schmidt, Ro.5.403. 64ff., Robert, 2<sub>4</sub>.1, 397, *EV* 5\*, 153f..

**Iouis magni** Cf. 9.82f., 208f., 12.808f., Plaut.*Aul.*776, *Poen.*1163, Ter.*Ad.*714, Liv.8.6.5, Hor.*C.*1.10.5, *ter* in Prop., 17x in Ov., *Culex* 11 (cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.134.73ff.); in the positive grade, the epithet rather pallid and undistinctive. Zeus named as Idaean in lit. texts from Eur.(*Cretans*, fr.472.10N/K); vd. **106 Idaeus**.

**medio ... ponto** Cf. **73 mari ... medio**; whereas the centrality of Delos is clearly significant, here the point seems only that Crete is 'in the midst of the sea', i.e., unlike Delos, not near any other islands. Here cf. closely *Od.*19.172 Κρήτη τις γὰρ ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ and likewise 173 περίρρυτος. Such terminology reappears in *periplus*-texts(PsScyl.6), but here (*pace* Lloyd, *EV* 4, 28) it is the *Od.* echo that is likelier to be recognised. Heyworth subtly remarks (256f.) that Anch.'s uncertainty itself has a literary ancestry, that of the proem to Call.'s *H.*1: *is* Zeus Dictaeon or Lycaean? Was he born on Ida? In Arcadia? *Cretans*, though, are liars, and in fact Zeus was born in Arcadia but (33ff.) raised on Crete. The 'parallels' for 'Zeus' and 'Idaeon'(Heyworth, 257) are hardly significant, but clearer debts of detail will emerge.

**iacet insula** Cf. **692 iacet insula contra** (with n. on the periplus manner), Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.21.51, González-Haba, *ib.*2036.2.

**105 mons Idaeus** With the use of the adj. (vd. 7.139), cf. n. on 7.1 and contrast **6 montibus Idae**. A great massif in central Crete, reaching 8195 feet (vd. G. Bonamente, well, *EV* 2, 890f.), where in some versions the infant Zeus was hidden from Rhea(Robert 1, 133). A moving, brief account rich in curious classical resonances, P. Leigh Fermor, *A time of gifts* (London 1977), 74, with C. Stray, *Classics transformed* (Oxford 1998), 127. See too Sporn(111), 358ff..

**ubi** The insignificant advb. frequently shuffled out of sight by convenient anastrophe and synaloepha.

**gentis cunabula nostrae** The transferred use first at Cic.*Rep.*2.21 *uidetisne ... populum neque ut in cunabulis uagientem relictum, sed adultum iam ...*, Schwering, *TLL* 4.1389.33ff. and cf. also Cic.*Att.*2.15.3 = *Poet.*fr.inc.iv, p.300 Soubiran *in montes patrios et ad incunabula nostra*; perhaps seen here as carrying on the sequence of metaphors **ubere laeto ... antiquam ... matrem** (not to mention **106 uberrima**); c. used literally at *Buc.*4.23.

**106 centum urbes habitant magnas** An immediately recognisable triple obeisance to *Il.*2.649 Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο (note

too Eur.fr.472.3N/K, Hor.C.3. 27.33f.). Passably learned myth, Call., and epic cohabit easily. **Magnas** might be mere stuffing (cf. 7.629), or V. could have glanced back to v.648 πόλεις ἐν ναϊετοώσας and simplified. Gellius (13.21.3) tells us that Virgil trusted his ear to choose between acc.plur. *urbis* and *urbes*; here (§5), *urbes* (cf. Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 28, 112, with whom, though, I cannot agree on Probus' alleged consultation of autograph mss. of V.; vd. *Vergilius* 41 (1995), 57 ff., with M.L. Delvigo, *RFil.*117 (1989), 297 ff.). A subject is easily and naturally supplied for the vb.(Brandt, *TLL* 6.3.2478.72f. compares Liv.40.3.4).

**uberrima regna** So *Od.*19.173 καλή καὶ πείρα. and cf. (e.g.) Strab.10.4.4, Plin.*Nat.*25.94, Solin.11.12. If not a significant continuation of the metaphor, then Anch. at least echoes Apollo's theme of the fertility of the *terra mater*, **95 ubere** (cf. Paschalis, 119f.); a first, non-significant similarity helps mislead. Cf. 6.566: V. is not Ov., and superl.+ *regna* never degenerates into formulaic convenience. The adj. (Lucr., Cat., Hor.C.) also at G.4.141.

**107 maximus ... pater** 'I. proavus' remarks Bulhart, *TLL* 8.127.68 (cf. 'Cato Maior'). Compare Pacuv.*praet.*1 *nostrae progenii patris* (of Ascanius, ancestor of the Aemilii), **168 Iasiusque pater genus a quo principe nostrum**, 10.619 *quartus pater*, 8.134 *Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor*, Paul.exc.Fest.p.12.23ff. compares (*alii uolunt ...*) the derivation from Gk. αὔρος *significatque magnum, quoniam ueluti magnus pater sit auus*; cf. Isid.*Etym.*9.6.24 *patruī mei pater mihi pater* [coni. *patruus* Reydellet] *magnus est* and von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1.674.25ff., helpfully: the superl. indicates the most distant forefather. Gk. more modestly uses πρόγονος even of Zeus as forefather (e.g. of the Scythian kings, Hdt.4.127) but here perhaps V. had ἀρχηγέτης in mind (Wagner, Page). Heyworth, 257 suggests we might first think that the expression was going to refer to Jupiter: indeed called both *pater* (von Kamptz, *cit.*, 685.27 ff.; Liv.Andr.*Odus.fr.*2, etc.) and *maximus* (Enn. *Ann.*444, etc., Bulhart, *TLL* 8.134.75) but to refer to him as the exceptional, anomalous **maximus ... pater** here is barely credible, while the genealogical reference to Teucrus is amply established. No riddles, then, here.

**unde .../108 ... primum** Cf. G.4.368 *et caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus*, where *p.* is adjectival, Lucr.3.272, 5.182.

**si rite** There is of course much irony to be found here by the reader who observes and unravels the sense of Apollo's 'Dardanidae'. Cf. 5.25 *si modo rite memor seruata remetior astra*; non-religious senses (common enough; cf. here *OLD* s.v., §3a).also at 4.555, 9.352. Taken with **audita**

by Cova ('heard rightly'); clearly, though, to be understood with both vb. and partic..

**audita recorder** Cf. Cic.*Acad.*1.14, Apul.*Flor.*16; also Sinko, *TLL* 2.1276.48. Compare also Ov.'s *si (com) memini, ter* in the *Fasti*; indeed, cf. Horsfall, *Athen.*66 (1988), 33: Anchises speaks much in the manner of one of Ov.'s delightful elderly fictive oral sources, but there is perhaps also Hom.(109f.).

**108 Teucrus** Cf. **104 Creta**. On Teucer (commoner) and Teucrus (cf. Euander, Euandrus), vd. NW 1, 122 ff..

**Rhoeteas ... in oras** R. the eastern end of the deep bay on the Hellespont whose W. end is Sigeum, silted up since Strabo's time by Scamander and Simois (a *quaestio vexata*: see Janko on *Il.*13. 675, with bibl. and Kirk *Il.*5-8, 48; the name itself not Iliadic). The associations of R. (not only post-Homeric, but Catullan, the *R.litus* at 65.7) studied by P. Bleisch, *CA* 18.2 (1999), 194 ff.. The *litora* of R. meant something to Strabo too (13.1.30) εἶτα 'Ροίτειον πόλις ἐπὶ λόφῳ κειμένη καὶ τῷ 'Ροιτείῳ συνεχῆς ἡῶν ἀλιτενῆς ἐφ' ἣ μνημα καὶ ἱερὸν Αἴαντος....*EV* s.v. is *non satis*.

**aductus**. Cf. 1.558, *sexies* in *Aen.*; note *EV* 5\*, 470 (Lopez), Banner, *TLL* 1.827.49.

**109 optauitque locum regno** Here and at 1.425 *pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco* (Carthaginians) Serv. glosses *eligere*; cf. too 5.247, Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.825.38, 80. Compare 8.53 (the Arcadians) *delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem*. At one pole, then Troy's very first founding (here; naturally Dardanus, Tros, etc. are all called founders of Troy, elsewhere), not to mention implied urban renewal after the sacks (vd. **3, 476**, *G.*1.502, *Aen.*2.643, etc.), both by Neptune (Robert 1, 585) and by Heracles (Robert, 2.2.547 ff.); at the other, Rome's, variously from Saturn's (8.319 ff.; 8.322 *composuit* is clarified by *ib.*357; cf. **3.387 urbem componere**) on to Romulus' (6.778 ff.). Here, then, we are at the very first step in the sequence of foundations that leads towards Augustan Rome.

**nondum .../ 110 ... steterant** V. recalls Aen. who tells Achilles (*Il.* 20.204), πρόκλυτ' ἀκούοντες ἔπεα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων (cf. **107**) of his lineage, back to Zeus, who fathered Dardanus, who founded Dardania (216-8) ἐπεὶ οὐπω Ἰλιος ἴρη/ ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιςτο.../ ἀλλ' ἐθ' ὑπωρείας ᾧκεον πολυτίδακος Ἰδης. And not even Ach. will be able to wipe out this long-running line.(Horsfall, *RMM*, 12; cf. **97** for this motif

in *Il.*20, one clearly essential to Rome's Trojan legend). A stage before the very first urban settlement: cf. 8.321f. (*infra*) and B. Reischl, *Reflexe griech. Kulturentstehungslehren bei august. Dichtern* (diss. München 1976), 27f., M. Wifstrand Schiebe, *Das ideale Dasein bei Tibull ...* (Uppsala 1981), 135f. **N.** evokes a stage far earlier even than that of the ideal Roman past evoked by the **nondum** that is such a keyword of Ovid's mannered primitivism, *F.*1.249, 339, 3.101, etc.. **S.:** cf. 6.554 *stat ferrea turris ad auras*, 2.460, *EV* 4, 1026. Plpf. because (vd. Forbiger) when Teucus built the walls, no settlement had (even earlier) stood there; really the very first, therefore, just as T. himself was **maximus ... pater**.

**Ilium** Cf. **3** (we recall typical variation on the names of Troy). Vd. Hom. *supra*.

**et arces/ 110 Pergameae A.** specially common in plur. and frequently with loftier adj. not gen. (cf. **Idaeus 105**): compare *G.*1.240, 2.172, 4.461, *Aen.*1.20, 4.234, 6.774, 10.12. **P.**, cf. **87**. The reader of *G.*2.156 *tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis*, and the reader (or indeed poet) who has seen the ancient hill-towns of central Italy (some still today with their pre-Roman walls) will sense that man (at least civilised Italian man, from *Aen.* on) lives naturally in fortified hill-towns. The stories of Paris and Romulus posit shared rustic origins: cf. G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes ...* (Meisenheim 1964), 144f., 153, *et passim*.

**habitabant** No subj. specified (no more was there at **106**; here as very often intrans., Brandt, *TLL* 6.3.2473.63); the same after all applies to Hom's ἄκεον. Serv. here is clearly wrong to suppose that V. is writing of Dardanus' followers; the sequence in V. is pellucid, and Stahl's hesitation I do not understand (77, n.27).

**uallibus imis** Still Hom.: ἀλλ' ἐθ' ὑπωρείας ἄκεον πολυπίδακος Ἴδης. For of course they had no *Pergama*, no citadel of Troy. The v.-end as at *G.*1.374; chance or formulaic convenience. According to Cornutus(6), the Great Mother wore a mural crown (*Aen.*6.783ff.) because Man had *first* lived on mountain-tops.

**111 hinc .../ 112 ... hinc** A common anaphora, *Lucr.*1.254f. *Aen.*2.97 etc., Rehm, *TLL* 6.3.2807.33ff.. Cf. 7.635, 11.601 for *huc ... huc*

**mater** Even **Mater**. Cf. *Cat.*63.9, etc. (Bulhart, *TLL* 8.442.1ff.) for **m.** as applied to the Magna Mater of Phrygia (for whom, vd. n. on 11.768, with bibl.. See too Burkert's admirable summary, *Greek religion*, 177ff. and now J.N. Bremmer, in *Catullus' poem on Attis*, ed. R.R. Nauta, A. Harder (Leiden 2005), 30ff.).

**cultrix Cybeli** Cf. Cat.63.72 *cerua siluicultrix*, 64.300 (Diana) *unigenamque simul cultricem montibus Idri*. The agent-noun (Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.1320.27 ff.), then, is amply Catullan, and from it derive both the goddess' name and its *etymon*, and also the necessary solution of the textual point: **Cybeli F**; **Cybele F<sub>1</sub>MP**, Serv. *ad Aen.*10.220, TCD here; Serv.Dan. here refers to *Cybele*, a mountain of Phrygia, *in quo colitur* the goddess (whether the goddess' name was in origin an oronym or not; vd. Bonamente, *infra*). In Serv., though, the mountain is called *Cybelus*, and this is pretty clearly what V. wrote likewise at 11.768 (where vd. my n.), for a neuter form is well attested in Gk. (prose and verse; vd. Bremmer, 39, 42, 43, n.76, etc., Alex.Polyhist., *FGH* 273F12) as the goddess' sacred mountain (*tacet* Barrington). Given that a toponym is clearly preferable after **cultrix**, **F** has done well here (vd. likewise G. Bonamente, *EV*1 774).

**Corybantiaque aera** In a Cretan context, these *aera* might seem to be specially significant (cf. Dodds on Eur.*Bacch.* 120–34), for loud music of various kinds was, in terms of aetiological myth, invented by Curetes/ Corybantes (cf. West, Hes.*Erga* p.372f.) to drown the cries of the infant Zeus, to save him from being devoured by Cronus (Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*1.1.7, and see Call.*H.*1.53f., banging on shields). Historically, Corybantes (cf. Call.*H.*1.46; cf. F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Bibl. Helv.Rom. 1985), index s.v., B. Dignas, *ZPE* 34 (2002), 29ff.: my thanks to Prof.J.N. Bremmer) are bands of young men associated with orgiastic cult (Dionysiac, Phrygian); their literary association with Curetes at least as old as Eur.*Bacch.* 120ff., *Hipp.*143ff. (note the Cretan Dictynna): see still, Bailey on *Lucr.*2.600 and now P. Ceccarelli, *La pirrica* ... (Pisa 1998), 210f.; by *Ov.F.*4.210 *hoc Curetes habent, hoc Corybantes opus* (drowning cries with music) there is no distinction (vd. Bömer, Fantham *ad loc.*, K. Sporn, *Heiligtümer u. Kulte Kretas* (Heidelberg 2002), 334ff.), nor had there been in Callim. (*H.*1.46, 52, Heyworth, 257). For distinctions in therapy, cf. Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational*, 77f., 96. It is generally assumed that V. here refers to loud brass instruments: such a sense is common enough for **a.** (cf. *Hor.C.*1.16.8 (where vd. NH), *Prop.*4.7.61 of Cybele's cymbals, Bickel, *TLL* 1.1073.58ff.). *G.*4.173 should never have been brought into the argument (*pace* Birolì Stefanelli, *EV* 1, 42); much more to the point (no problem perceived by Cova or Scarcia), Giampiera Arrigoni (*ib.*, 772) acutely observes that both at *G.*4.151 *crepitantiaque aera* and here there is a strong case to be made for a reference to the armed dance of the Curetes (Call.*supra*, *Strab.*10.3. 19, *HOrph.*38.1, etc., Ceccarelli,

*cit.*, 210), for cymbals are womens' instruments in the cult of Cybele (Diog.Athen. *Semele* fr.1.3Snell, *TGF* 1, Bremmer, 54 on Attis; Corybants are—*vd. supra*—male), while Lucr.2.637 and Ov.*F*.4.209 show the familiarity of the Rom. poets with these armed dances. Spears, then, upon shields, with much probability, and not the conventional cymbals. Nelis, 28 draws attention to AR 1.1134ff., where the Argonauts beat swords on shields to drown the mourning cries of the Doliones, and proposes Anch.'s account as a likely 'correction' of AR's Phrygian account of the ritual. Note that *tympana* and bronze shields have actually been found in Zeus' cave on Cretan Ida (Burkert, *cit.*, 280). For the *synaloepha* at 5D, *vd. n.* on 7.696.

**112 Idaeumque nemus** Homonymous **Ida**, we have seen, was an obvious clue to seize (*vd.* **104 Creta**); we have also seen (**5f.**) the (historical and poetic) importance of the forests of *Phrygian* Ida (*vd.* too 2.696, 5.252). Perhaps here V. has also in mind the θάμνοι of Call.*H*.1.11, scenery to Call's narrative of the nursing of Zeus. The u of **nemus** lengthened in *arsi* at caesura; *cf. n.* on 7.174.

**fida silentia sacris** *Cf.* Hor.*C*.3.2.25 *fideli ... silentio*, with Licinia Ricottilli's ample discussion, *EV* 5\*, 13; for ritual silence, *cf.* in particular Appel, 187ff., citing *Aen*.1. 730, 735, 5.71. See also NH on Hor.*C*.2.13.29, Oakley on Liv.7.6.4, Watson on Hor.*Epd*.5.51. Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.705.33, 706.44 gives no indication of how he understands our phrase (classification under use with 'dativo personae' is no help), and the dat. apparently resembles that of 2.23 *statio male fida carinis* (clearly 'disadvantage', just as **sacris** is to be classified as 'advantage'; 'obedient' (Williams, *ed.min.*) appears to be loose paraphrase of **f.**). It will never do to write, as Williams does, of the close association of Cybele with Demeter (in itself, perfectly correct, Nelis, 29), gazing hopefully towards distant Eleusis. Phrygian Cybele had her own mysteries (Gruppe, 1541f., 1621, n.1, Arrigoni, *EV* 1, 772, 773, Bremmer, 32f.): that much the Athenian exgete Timotheus (an author known at Rome, at least to Alex. Polyhistor; Susemihl, 2, 28f.; see fr.45–7, *FHG* 3, 233), *ap.* Arnob. *Adv.Nat.* 5.5 (*cf.* Bremmer, 33f.), had made clear and so it was represented at Rome (Mart.8.81.1, Aug.*Civ*.7.24, Schol.Juv. 6.511). Much more to the point, there were also, just as Anch. here suggests, venerable mysteries established on Cretan Ida (*vd.* Eur.*Cretes* fr.472, Burkert, *cit.*, 178, 280; on them, there was more to be read in Boio's *Ornithogonia*; *vd.* Ant.Lib.19, Powell, *Coll.Alex.*, p.24), where torches are swung for the μητρὶ ὀρείᾳ; Eur.*cit.*, v.13). If these myster-



ies are poetic rather than cultic, no matter. V. has attributed to Anch. a grand leap of elegant religious erudition.

**113 iuncti ... leones** Cf. Lucr.2.601 *in curru biiugos agitare leones*, Cat.63.76 *iuncta iuga resoluens Cybele leonibus*, Varr.*Men.*364, Cornutus 6; i. as at G.3.169; cf. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.654.5. The image is therefore amply 'literary', but corresponds to an old Greek (and probably oriental) image (at least c.6 in Gk. art; cf. *Hom.Hymn.* 14.4, *Soph.Phil.* 400f.) of the goddess' domination (cf. *Macr.*1.21.8) over the animal kingdom. V's readers, though will perhaps have enriched their mental picture with recollections of a lurid scene from the more recent past, *Plin.Nat.*8.55 *iugo subdidit eos primusque Romae ad currum iunxit M. Antonius, et quidem civili bello, cum dimicatum esset in Pharsaliis campis, non sine ostento quodam tempor(um), generosos spiritus iugum subire illo prodigio significante*. Confirmed, *Plut.Ant.*9.8, *Cic.Phil.*2.58 (Cic. did not write *leonibus*). G. Arrigoni, *Scripta Philologica* 3 (1982), 8f., *EV* 1, 772, Bömer on *Ov.F.*4.215, Nelis, 28f., Bremmer, 57.

**currum ... subiere** Cf. 6.785 for the chariot and compare *Plin.supra* and *Nat.*8.4 [*elephanti*] *Romae iuncti primum subiere currum Pompei Magni Africano triumpho*, Wulff, *TLL* 4.1524.55. Note 6.222 *subiere feretro*, approached a bier so as to raise it. For perfs. in *-ere*, cf. *EV* 4, 22. The verb not exactly parallel with what precedes; a welcome tiny irregularity of form.

**dominae** Absolute? Of the car? Of the lions? *Serv.Dan. ad fn.* wavers between (1) and (3) and Arrigoni (1982), 43f., n.40 offers an ample doxography (vd. above all A. Henrichs, *HSCP* 80 (1976), 253–86, and add now Bremmer, 56, Dickey(41), 80), but the experienced reader will realise that all these senses coexist untroubled. **D.** is strikingly and atypically, a cult-title, used precisely and correctly: cf. *dea domina Dindymi*, naturally (Cat.63.91; cf. v.13, 35.14 and Varro *ap.* *Serv.Dan.* here; see the admirable I. Kapp, *TLL* 5.1.1936.45ff., 1940.9ff. at 15). Cat. once appeared to lead back naturally to AR 1.1125 (of Rhea; cf. 1151) μήτερα Δινδυμίην πολυπότνιαν, and we might still cite AR, if Cybele's Gk. title δέσποινα were not so solidly established (Arrigoni (1982), 42, n.34, after Henrichs, *cit.*): cf. *Pind. Dith.*fr.80.1, *Ar.Aves* 877, *Timoth. Pers.*125, *Call.Iamb.*4, fr.194. 105f.

**114 ergo agite et** Cf. 5.58, 635 *quin agite et* and 7.130 *quare agite et* (with n.); perhaps comparable to Gk. ἴθι. Parataxis perhaps more energetic than the use of an advb. or particle to indicate haste or vigour.

**diuum ducunt ... iussa** Cf. 4.396 (where vd. Pease's n.), 6.461, 10.155, Bailey, 225, *EV* 3, 56f.(Iacoangeli). Compare too 7.432 *caelestum uis magna iubet*. So too Cleanthes, to Zeus, *SVF* 537.v.8 πείθεται ἢ κεν ἄγῃς, Sen.*Ep.*107.10 *duc, o parens ... / nulla parendi mora est* (cf. *Aen.*2.701, *iam, iam nulla mora est; sequor et, qua ducitis, adsum*, though the further detail of promptitude is Seneca's not Cleanthes'). Anch. is here delighted to obey, but were an element of Stoicism seen in his obedience to a (mis)understood oracle, there could be no serious objection. Cf. Arnold, *Rom. Stoic.*, 283f.; Prof.W. Görler kindly draws attention to (inter alia) J. Barnes in (ed.) J. Brunschwig, *Les stoiciens et leur logique* (Paris 1978), 3ff., J. Mansfeld in (ed. M.J. Vermaseren) *Studies in Hellenistic religion* (Leiden 1979), 129ff..

**qua** Anastrophe confers added relief on the preceding words; cf. n. on 7.659.

**sequamur** Cf. further **188**, *G.*3.40f. *sequamur ... iussa*, *Aen.*4.538, G. Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.585.75.

**115 placemus uentos** Cf. 2.116 *sanguine placastis uentos*, 5.772f., M. Labate, *EV* 5\*, 495, Wissowa, 227f., Bömer on *Ov.F.*6.193, P. Stengel, *Die griech. Kultusaltertümer*<sub>3</sub> (München 1920), 126f., *id* (**66**), 146ff. Menelaus (*Od.*4.351ff.) learned a good deal about the need to secure favourable winds. Cf. L. Cornelius Scipio, *CLE* 6.6 *dedet Tempestatebus aide mereto[d uotam* (259BC; at Porta Capena); current usage, too: *App.Civ.*5.406 (36BC; cf. Sen.*NQ* 5.17.5, Latte, 52). Cf. further **119f.**, **528**.

**Cnosia regna** An extremely easy and convenient arrangement for v.-end, from *Saturnia regna* in *Buc.* on; cf. **272**, 6.14 *Minoia regna*, 6.798, 11.252; **185**, 1.338 in different *sedes*. The adj. *sexies* in V. (vd. *EV* 1, 829f.), after *Cat.*64.172. For *Gn-*, cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 392, Leumann, 180, 188, Sommer, *Formenlehre*, 233: if (Housman, *Coll.Pap.*3, 1142)V. wrote *Cn-* and his scribes normally *Gn-*, then it is not clear that we should correct the mss.; we can hope to recover, in general, the c5. orthography, but hardly, save in exceptional cases, as here, that of the c.1BC, on account of the lack of evidence, so the case for actually printing the entirely correct *Cn-* is not decisive and binding. The adj. suggests naturally Minos and an earlier generation of myth.

**petamus** The flattest of words available, 7.132, with n..

**116 nec ... distant** The (neat) litotes not, it appears, specially common, *Cic.Lucull.*59, *Prop.*3.5.17; Pflugbeil, *TLL* 5.1.1534.76.

**longo ... cursu** Cf. **430**, 5.131; the distinction between Aen.11.907 *nec longis inter se passibus absunt* or Quint.12.10.4 *non multum aetate distantes* and 10. 434 *nec multum discrepat aetas* or Hor.'s use of *paullum, nil, nimum* with *distare* is only that between advb. and instrum. abl. used to indicate distance or degree (LHS 130f.). Cf. n. on 7.89.

**modo** Cf. Hand 3, 634, LHS, 616, Bell, 238f., Brandt, *TLL* 8.1301.17 for its use in clauses of proviso(with imper./subjunc.); see *Buc.*4.8ff. (vd. Clausen), 8.78, 9.27, *G.*3.10, 73f., *Aen.*1.389, 401, 2.160, 4.50, 7.263 (Horsfall insufficient), 9.43, 141.

**Jupiter adsit** Cf. *G.*1.18, *Aen.*1.734, 4.578 (vd. Pease), 8.78, 10.255 (vd. Harrison), 461, 773f., Appel, 115f.. Knauer compares *Il.*9.362f. for the formulation: if Poseidon grants Achilles εὐπλοίην from Troy, on the third day he will reach Phthia(but vd. also **117**). V. may (Heyworth, 257) still have *Call.H.*1 in mind; in practice Jup. here stands as often for 'weather' (cf. Feeney, 138, 150, Bailey, 133, citing e.g. 6.271f., 9.670, 12.140).

**117 tertia lux** Cf. 11.210, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1911.75f.. Here see D. Gray, *Seewesen* (*Arch.Hom.*IG, Göttingen 1974), 106ff.(length of Hom. voyages), Rougé(**69**), 91ff.(N-S routes in E. Mediterranean), Casson, 281ff.(speed of historic ships). Given Achilles' plan (*supra*), a voyage of ca.325km.(Gray, 107, with comparanda), to conclude on the third day, Anch.'s estimate here (for ca. 250 km.) seems entirely reasonable; were one to have pressed Palinurus, he might have specified island-hopping, with nights ashore, as far as Thera. Lloyd (*EV* 4, 28) goes so far as to suggest that the detail (cf. **205f.**, **356f.**) is perceptibly reminiscent of *periplus*-literature. But, alas, such detail, is, we have just seen, Homeric(even when *Od.* is off the map, 12.399), and Apollonian too, (e.g.)2.899f., 4.1223.

**classem ... sistet** Cf. Valgius fr.4 *hic mea me longo succedens prora remulco/ laetantem gratis sistet in hospitiiis*, *G.*2.489, *Aen.*6.676. Puccioni, 94 claims **s.** both here and at **7** as archaic *simplex pro composito*; the two uses are, however, sharply different.

**Cretaeis ... in oris** Loftier than '*Cretae ... oris*' (cf. *G.*2.171, *Aen.*1.1, 301, etc.) would have been; cf. 1.252, 377, etc. and n. on 7.252 (special case of adjs. from proper nn.). Perhaps first here in poetry; cf. Lyne on *Ciris* 113 for the choices available.

**118 sic fatus Decies** as formula of conclusion, in imitation, as Harrison remarks on 10.535, of Hom. ὦς φάμενος.

**meritos ... honores** Cf. 264, 5.652, 8.189, *EV* 2, 854. Here Serv. glosses *aptos*, at 264, *congruus*; cf. Cic.*Phil.*7.10 *meritos ... honores et debitos*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.812.58. **H.** often used by V. in this concrete, ritual sense (*G.*2.393, *Aen.*1.49, 3.547, etc.); also in com., Cic., *Fasti* (*Amitern.*, Sept.17).

**aris** For the dat. cf. *G.*2.380f. *capere omnibus aris/ caeditur*.

**mactauit** Cf. n. on 7.93, in some detail; old and solemn language. The recurrent (cf. 34) ritual act is this time actually performed by old Anch. himself (cf. 58, 102). Sacrifice immediately prior to departure is unsurprisingly traditional (vd., for example, *Od.*2.431f., Pind.*Pyth.*4.193 ff.(with Braswell's note), *AR* 1.359 ff., 404(=:Call. *Aet.* 18. 12), 534, *Aen.*3.527 ff., 5.775f., Wachsmuth(*infra*), 116, 168f.. Cf. further 115.

**119 taurum Neptuno** Solidly Homeric: *Il.*11.728 ταῦρον δ' Ἄλφειῶν, ταῦρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι. For Pos. and bulls, cf. also *Il.*20.403 ff., *Od.*3.6, 11.131, 13.181f., 23. 277f.. Cf. Plut.*Mor.*163B, *Aen.*5.235f., Lersch, 169, *Act.Arv.*, p.124Henzen; here the detail is approved even by Antistius Labeo, *Macr.*3.10.5 (vd. 20f.). Clearly appropriate, with the Trojans about to depart by sea, just as Apollo, on his own island, has recently given the Trojans, whom in general he favours (79, 85), a destination.

**taurum** To Apollo: beyond the obvious Homeric antecedents, *Il.*1.40f. (vd.Eust. on v.59), 315f., La Cerda cites Paus.9.12.1. Cf. too Antistius Labeo *ap.Macr.*, *supra* and note the *iuuenci* offered to A. at 369, 6.38.

**tibi** 'The apostrophe re-enacts the verbal dedication to Apollo[cf. *Buc.*5.66, 7.29, 8.93, *et saep.*], but in a way that is purely formal and authorial'(Williams, *TI*, 265); the apostrophe also practically useful, to achieve neat balance and variation between the deities.

**pulcher Apollo** Serv.Dan. remarks that there was criticism of the epithet *pulchros enim a ueteribus exoletos dictos. nam et apud Lucilium* [fr.23Marx]*Apollo pulcher dici non uult*. Indeed not common: vd. Furtwängler, *Ro.*1.442.52 ff., Theogn.7, Rhianus, *AP* 6.278.1.

**120 nigram ... pecudem** Black and white lambs balanced at *Il.*3.103 (La Cerda). Sheep/lambs were regularly sacrificed to marine deities: cf. 5.772f., Watson on *Hor.Epd.* 10.23f., after D. Wachsmuth, Πόμπιμος ὁ Δαίμων (diss. Berlin 1967), citing Schol.*Ar.Ran.*847, which lays down a principle of 'like to like' that would well explain the choice of colour

here. Hom. ἐρεμνός of storm; vd. NH on Hor.C.1.5.7. For **p.**, cf. Lucr.3.52, and n. on 11.199.

**Hiemi** A personification which here stands in as variation for the common (vd. 115) Tempestates. Gender is barely relevant (vd. *infra*).

**Zephyris felicibus** The flowers that bloom in the Spring, *pace* Isid.*Etym.*13.11.8, followed by Ammann, *TLL* 6.1.437.29 and Bellincioni, *EV* 2, 486, have here nothing at all to do with the case; Ammann even cites *Gloss.Lat.*4.442.6 *i. prosperis uentis* against his own classification s.v. *fecundans, fertilitatem praebens*. Given the context, the common sense of *propitius* (439.16ff.; vd. e.g. *Buc.*5.65, *Aen.*1.330) ought to have been left to prevail unchallenged. **Z.** is clearly used, as usual, as a kindly wind, in general (see e.g. Od.2.420f., and cf. Labate, *EV* 5\*, 498); quite possible, indeed, for the Trojans' voyage due S.(S.L. Mohler, *TAPA* 79 (1948), 53), but to be viewed in terms of V.'s profound insouciance in such matters(70).

**albam** For the balance of colours, cf. Il.3.103, black victim to Earth, white to Sun. The colour evidently suits benevolent winds; the gender might seem surprising, but the old 'rule' of male victims, male deities becomes, with detailed examination, ever less valid (vd. full n. on 7.87) and it should come as no surprise (*pace* Watson, *cit.*) to discover exceptions in the category of maritime deities too. 'White' winds (Hor.C.1.7.15, Edgeworth, 12f., n. on 7.214) might also be relevant (cf. NH *ad loc.*, Edgeworth, 66), if only in contrast of both shade and character.

**121–191 Crete** Idomeneus, for Hom. the leader of the Cretans (Il. 2.645), almost disappears from sight in classical Greek literature: he is present in the list of Nostoi at *Aen.*11.265 (vd. my n.), which suggests he belonged to the conventional list of tragic homecomings from Troy (cf. [Apld.]*Epit.*6.10, Cameron(182), 96); his story is also related in some detail by Varro, *ap.*PsProb. *ad Buc.*6.31 (a remarkable text, apparently discussed only by Oldfather, PW 15.1179.45ff., Federico, 371ff., and Dušanic, *infra*). That his fate was narrated in the epic *Nostoi* is not likely, given the limits within which we may fill Proclus' summary out with [Apld.]*Epit.*; he also appealed to Lyc.(1214ff., with S.R. West, *CQ* 53 (2003), 306), but in what form or format he reached V. is not at all clear, though a prose source consulted by Varro and Lyc. would be an economical (though hardly an enticing) explanation. Idom.'s fatal vow and killing of his son are not necessarily present in V.'s mind here. Cf. Robert 24.3, 1497–9, Bérard, 420, 430, E. Federico, *Dall' Ida al Salento. L' itinerario mitico di Idomeneo cretese*, *Mem .... Lincei* 9.11.2

(1999), S. Dušanic in *Mél. d'histoire et d'épigraphie ... F. Papazoglou* (Beograd 1997), 35 ff. [a copy kindly supplied by M. Gioseffi, Milano], Perret, 35 ff. and bibl. at **104**. The Trojans' visit to I.'s territory is, though, an unchallenged innovation on V.'s part (cf. Horsfall in *ORVA*, 468, Lloyd (1957c), 395 ff.) dramatic in its own right (the plague) and necessary for V.'s development of the *antiqua mater* motif, inasmuch as the gods' rejection of Crete is essential to V.'s elevation of Italy to the role of original homeland (vd. Stahl, 47 f.). Serv.Dan. refers at **133** to a version of Aen.'s visit to Crete, *in libris antiquioribus*, a phrase used also at 8.288; that does not provably refer to a pre-Virgilian account, and if there had been such an account, it might have been expected to surface more visibly elsewhere in the prose tradition. Anch. has argued that Crete is indeed the Trojans' ancient homeland (**104–15**); it is, moreover, near (**116–7**). And now it emerges that the Trojans will enjoy vacant possession (**122–3**); V. does not explain why (neither Aen. nor Dido know, nor will they in the poem) and a knowledge of I.'s unhappy *nostos* leads the informed reader to anticipate a probably unhappy outcome of the Trojans' Cretan settlement too.

**121 fama uolat** Cf. 7.104, 392, 8.554, 11.139; the phrasing is of a familiar type (cf. Sall.*Iug.*13.1 *fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam ... divulgatur*, Acc.*trag.*274 *fama celebrescat tua*, Liv.7.12.7, Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.220.58 ff.), and carries a hint of the full-blown allegorical *Fama* of 4.178 ff., but whereas in bks. 7 and 8, *citt.*, *fama* pertains to the epic world, and to events and rumours therein, here the expression is significantly more complex (*Alambicco*, 121 with n.10; this discussion should ideally be read in the Italian version, rather than in *PLLS* 6 (1990), 49 ff.), for (i) Aen. tells Dido of a rumour (sc., perhaps that had reached Delos from Crete) and (ii) V. tells us that **fama est ....** In this case perhaps used as a distancing mechanism, given (**121–91**) the number of variant versions of the story of I.; it is sad to see the complex results of this analysis entirely misstated (P. Bleisch, *CA* 18 (1999), 203, n.35) and a clearly unsatisfactory intertextual account of the issue, to the effect that *fama* always refers to a written source, preferred (cf. *Alambicco*, 126 ff. for numerous instances of the use of *fama* with reference to probable, even certain, innovations).

**pulsum ... cessisse** For the partic., cf. Varr.*ap.*PsProb. *ad Buc.*6.31 *Idomeneus e Creta oppido Blanda pulsus per seditionem* (this very story), 10.852 *pulsus ob inuidiam solio sceptrisque paternis*, 11.539. The union of part. and infin. serves, if you will, as pass. of *ui expellere*. With **333**, 2.351, 5.445,

11.653 *pulsa recessit*, cf. 5.394f. *non laudis amor neque gloria cessit/ pulsa metu*. As part of the malediction of Nauplius, (cf. n. on 11.265) Idom.'s wife Meda betrayed him with Leucus, who killed her, then drove Idom. from Crete on his return.

**regnis ... paternis** Cf. 10.705, 852 (*supra*; the phrasing, therefore, deserving of re-use when V. reached Mez.); on Prop.4.2.2, Zoppi, *TLL* 10.699.33ff. cites Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, 227.

**122 Idomeneia ducem** Cf. n. on 11.7 *Mezenti ducis* for the appos.. The phrasing notably neat with a Gk. accus.(NW 1, 472), but not itself Homeric; the normal form (cf. NW 1, 470ff., Holzweissig, 469, Cat.63.53, etc.), but not the normal prosody: at 1.611 *Ilionea* and in a handful of later imitators (NW 1, 472) the e is lengthened, in imitation of the Ionic η in Hom., thereby permitting the word's use in dactyl. verse.

**desertaque litora Cretae** Cf. 2.24 *deserto in litore* (after Cat. 64.133); empty beaches may symbolise desertion and pestilence alike and here there is surely no trace of Ariadne to be sensed, even if some will have recalled the language as Catullan. Given the importance of G.3 for what follows, note G.3.476f. **desertaque regna/ pastorum et longe saltus lateque uacantis** (standard usage, *OLD* s.v., §4a; for **d.**, cf. Vetter, *TLL* 5.1.685.70), apparently undeserving of Briggs' or Moskalew's attention, and now likewise of Erren's, but here clearly present to V.. *Faebant omnia Troianis* TCD; rightly, it seemed, for now.

**123 hoste uacare domum Domum FP; domos M.** For the theme and variation **domum ... sedes**, cf. 7.52 *sola domum et tantas seruabat filia sedes* (with n.), 1.167f. *uiuoque sedilia saxo/ nympharum domus*, 2.634f. *patriae peruentum ad limina sedis/ antiquasque domos*. **D.** might perhaps refer to I.'s palace, and **sedes** to his subjects' homes; the distinction is elusive and unimportant. **H.** of I. and his followers: Anios was no enemy, and prefigures the 'good Greeks', Evander and (eventually) Diomedes, but I. had fought at Troy and is naturally assumed to be forever hostile (cf. 272, 398). For Greeks in *Aen.*, cf. H.-P. Stahl, in *Rezeption und Identität* ed.G. Vogt-Spira, B. Rommel (Stuttgart 1999), 249ff., *Alambicco*, 50, 84, *Companion*, 182, nn. on 7.672, 11.243 and 613 *infra*.

**sedesque astare relictas** There is elaborate balance here, **uacare—astare** (with rhyme), **hoste uacare** with **relictas**, **domum** with **sedes**, an elaborate theme and variation. **A.** perhaps 'stand ready'; vd. Jocelyn on Enn.*trag.*89 *adstante ope barbarica* ('with the aid of barbarian

allies standing ready to hand'). Cf. 2.28 *desertosque uidere locos litusque relictum*, 351 *excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis*, 4.281, etc..

**astare FP, adstare M**, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*400, Holzweissig, 924, Leumann, 194, n. on 7.181. The weight of the mss. for once supports 'correct' assimilation.

**124 linquimus** Recurrent scene (cf. 72) and language (cf. 289, 550, 568); cf. Lloyd (1957a), 140: part of the Trojans' long travail lies in the very fact of its weary and wearying repetition. Cf. AR 2.963, 1230, 4.752, after *Od.*12.201, 403, etc.; also in *periplus*-texts (vd. 60).

**Ortygiae portus** Adj. with *portus* at 378, 5.24, 6.366, gen. at G.4.390, *Aen.*3.707, 5.813, etc; cf. Plepelits, *TLL* 10.2.61.18ff. Delos has changed name and so her instability has perhaps not (*pace* 76 ff.) been fully remedied. O. is linked to 694 (for while Delos is polyonymous, one of her names—Ortygia—is, as a distinctive and limited cult-title, itself peculiarly well-suited to play upon homonymy, *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 34); Artemis thus leads us to think of Sicily to come, of Syracuse in particular and perhaps, by extension, of Elis. O. (the place, or deity, of quails) is associated with Artemis (*Od.*5.123, 15.404, *HHApoll.*16), with Latona (a comic title, *Ar.Aves* 870; cf. *Strab.*14.1.20), and with Delos in particular (*Pind.Paeon* 7b.48; cf. *Call.Aet.*18.7, *H.*2.59, *Epigr.*62.2, AR 1.419, 537, 4.1705). Cf. Panessa, *EV* 3, 894f., Gruppe, 240, J. Schmidt, *PW* 18.1520.26ff. Strabo's identification of O. with Rheneia (10.5.5) runs counter to poetic usage (and geographically makes very little difference).

**pelagoque** Abl. of extension: cf. 204 **erramus pelago**, 4.52 *pelago desaeuit hiems*, 5.212, and likewise, naturally, with *ponto, mari*; vd. *Malosti* 79ff.

**uolamus** Vd. 121; the word re-used quickly, visibly and in a different sense: vd. Austin on 2.505, n. on 7.554. The familiar flight of chariot or ship: cf. n. on 7.808f., 11.712, 746, *EV* 5\*, 613 (Pasqualetti). Specifically of ships, cf. 520, G.2.41, *Aen.*5.219, *Enn.Ann.* 376 (with Skutsch's n.), *id.trag.*45 (with Jocelyn's full n.), Austin on 6.19. Flight under both sail and oars, from Hom. on (*Od.*11.125); attractive to Cat., *Lucr.*).

**125–7** The islands of Olearos, Paros, Naxos and Donusa (V. does not list them in the geogr. order here restored) lie in a line from W. to E., a line which the Trojans must intersect at some point as they sail S. from Delos (cf. Lloyd, *EV* 4, 27, Della Corte, 55, Reeker, 90ff.).



Donald Monro's *Description of the ... Western isles of Scotland* (pub.1582; repr. as appx. to M. Martin's *Description*, Edinburgh 1999) illuminates the difficulties found by Greek authors in organising their systematic accounts of the Aegean islands: Strabo 10.5.3 is concerned with what is meant by 'Cyclades' and omits Donusa; PsScyl.58 omits both Olearos and Donysa, while Plin.*Nat.*4.67 lists Olearos, Paros, Naxos, and postpones Donusa to §70. We might wonder how V. learned of the four islands' grouping so correctly: a written source, clearly, and fuller than anything that survives, but not one easily identified. It is merely churlish to note that a W.-E. chain of islands, dependent on **legimus** is a distraction, or obstacle, in the narrative of a N.-S. voyage, at least insofar as much of the detail *is* altogether realistic. The islands are not even all visible at once to the Trojans sailing S.(Della Corte, 55).

**125 bacchatamque iugis** Cf. Santra *trag.*2 *furenter omni a parte bacchatur nemus* (the vb. pretty clearly intr.) and *G.*2.487f. *uirginibus bacchata Lacaenis/ Taygeta* (the constr. predictably disputed; vd. Erren). Note V.'s freedom in using the past partic. of deponents in a pass. sense: *Buc.*9.53 *oblita*, *G.*1.450 *emenso*, *Aen.*2.181 (vd. Austin) *remenso*, **3.143 remenso**, **460 uenerata**, **475 dignate**, *Hor.C.*3.25.12, Roby 1, 236ff., KS 1, 111, LHS, 139, H. Blase in G. Landgraf, *Hist. Grammatik ...* (Leipzig 1903), 293f., Bennett, 1, 436, Flobert, 566ff., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 65. Page compares use of χορεύειν in pass. (*Soph.OT* 1093, *Eur.Ion* 463) but oddly ignores βακχεύειν used likewise in pass. (*Eur.Orest.*835). Cf. too the use of ppp of intrans. verbs, **14**. Williams' n. interprets **b.** as act. (cf. Mynors on *G.*2, *cit*) but he does not here take full account of V.'s usage and predilections (while allowing all the other instances of pass. in bk.3). Here, the phr. is wonderfully well suited to the island *Cat.* calls *Dia* (64.52), whose attested viticulture (*Eupolis fr.*253Kock, *SByz.*468.13) is scarcely relevant. The island is 'made subject to revelry' (*Gloss.Lat.*5.170.14 *baccharum sacris frequentatum* is unexceptionable, and 4.431.34 *Baccho sacratam* not bad; cf. Diehl, *TLL* 2.1664. 27ff.), specifically upon her peaks or ridges, which rise to 3000 feet; revels on these *iuga* (cf. n. on 7.799) seem in turn to suggest Bacchic ὀρειβάκια or comparable revels (cf. nn. on 7.379, 384f.). However, Cartault's vision (237f.) of the hills of Naxos teeming with Bacchantes, will not quite do.

**Naxon** Between Paros to the W. and Donusa to the E., the largest of the Cyclades and more noted in myth, and history than for letters. See

*EV* 3, 665f., P. Pelagatti, *PECS*, 612f., R. Herbst, *PW* 16.2079.29ff., H. Sonnabend, *NP* 8.765ff. **Naxum FP** an isolated attestation of Lat. orthogr. of the island-names in the capital mss..

**uiridemque** At 7.800 *uiridi gaudens Feronia luco* perfectly understandable; here, a contrast with Paros, but we might wonder just why (?marble, ?olives), in vain; Serv.Dan.'s *siluestris* will hardly do of a small mid-Aegean island, even in antiquity (vd. Meiggs, *Trees and timber*), but he does also suggest Lacedaemonian marble, which was indeed green (Plin.*Nat.*36.55). Cf. Edgeworth, 43.

**DonySAM FMP** write **DonySAM** (so too TCD; Serv./Serv.Dan. -i/y-), which would be the normal transcription of the Greek (Leumann, 75, Ribbeck, *Proleg.* 453), and Goold is clearly right to print -y- here. Vd. I. Kapp, *TLL Onom.*3.237.18ff.; cf. *Ciris* 476, -i/y-, Plin. *Nat.*4.69 -i/y-, Tac.*Ann.*4.30 -u-, Mela 2.111 corrupt(*Dionysia* cod.), Ampel.6.13 -u-, *Gloss.Lat.*4.230.21 -u-. In Gk., the spelling -ou- is attested at at SByz.235.23, 236.2 Δουουσία (who relates that Dionysus first took Ariadne here, from Naxos); also *Peripl.Maris Magni* 273.6f., 281.4, Hippol.*Chron.*528.6, 536.4, 539.7. The Latin -y- for Gk. -ou- is common enough in the capital mss. of V. (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 452f.) and should not be overridden here. The island unmemorable. Ten miles E. of Naxos, towards Leros, at the E. end of V.'s chain of islands. Cf. Smith, *Dict.Geogr.*, s.v., Bürchner, *PW* 5.2.1548.65ff.

**126 Olearon** Mod. Antiparo, immediately SW of Paros, and of no visible literary or legendary interest (Smith, *Dict.Geogr.* s.v. J. Schmidt, *PW* 17.2474.38ff.). It stands, though, there, at the W. end of V.'s chain of islands.

**niueamque Paron** Cf. *Marpesia cautes*, 6.471 (where vd. Austin). V. refers to Parian marble, whitely luminous in the dark; 'a single round mountain, sloping evenly to a maritime plain which surrounds the mountain on every side', Smith, *Dict.Geogr.*, s.v. Of interest to Callim.(*frr.*7.11, 710) and to Nicanor in his *Metonomasiai*, *FGH*628F6. Cf. Edgeworth, 43, 186, n.95, McKeown on *Ov.Am.*1.7.52, NH on *Hor.C.*1.14.19, 19.6, André, 340f. for the whiteness of marble. Paros lies between Olearos and Naxos. Cf. H. Sonnabend, *NP* 9, 353ff., O. Rubensohn, *PW* 18.1781.65ff.

**sparsasque per aequor** Cf. n. on 7.551 for **s.** agriculturally, of sowing, as *consita infra*. Hor.'s *interfusa nitentis/... aequora Cycladas* (*C.*1.14.19f.; vd. Lloyd, *EV* 2, 180f.). *EV* s.v. notably unilluminating.

**127 Cycladas** Vd. *infra*, **freta consita**. The prosody standard for acc.pl. of Gk.nn..

**crebris ... terris** Cf. Cato, *Agr.*151 *semen serito crebrum*; V.'s image is amply explicit.

**legimus** Cf. *Buc.*8.7 *siue oram Illyrici legis aequoris*, *G.*2.44, *Aen.*3.292, but also common in e.g. Livy: von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1127.50ff., Mauchach, *Dichtersprache*, 118. *Verbum nauticum* remarks TCD, referring first to ropes (so too Serv.) and secondly to *transmittunt pelagi prolixa* [the wide spaces; vd. Banta, *TLL* 10.2.1831.5]; but that is to misunderstand V. here and the common use of the vb., *supra*. The vb. a nautical tt, then, but in another sense. Note, however, that **l.** governs, easily, the island-names, but (by zeugma) is slightly less easily rendered with adjacent **freta**; Page compares 2.207f. *pontum ... legit* and renders 'pass by ... pass over'. Williams suggests that the place-names of **125–6** are governed not by **l.** but by **linquimus**, despite the intervening **uolamus**.

**freta consita Consita**, recc., Serv., Bentley, Goold; **concita FMP**, TCD, Non.p. 205. 24, Mynors, Geymonat. The Cyclades are stormy enough (Hor.C.1.14.19f. with NH; cf. Tac.*Agr.*10.6 for rough seas between islands, and so understood by Serv. here), and **concita** is indeed used of the raging sea, as in Plaut.*Merc.*877, Ov.*Met.* 7.154, Prop.3.2.3, though Henry rightly remarks that V.'s picture is of a swift and easy journey at this stage. The context does demand an easy journey and a following wind, not supplied by **concita**.. On the other hand, **consita**, a vb. used by Lucr. and Cat.64, is perfectly in keeping with the erudition and with the imagery of this passage (cf. n. on 7.339, Bartelink, 56, and O'Hara, *TN*, 137, unusually cautious): no play on the etym. of **Cycladas** here (though cf. **73**), but—whatever we read here, in fact—a play on *Sporades* (**sparsas**, with evident ref. to Gk. σπείρειν): note both that V. is capable of such a sideways etymology (O'Hara quotes the famous case of 6.817f., Brutus *superbus* next to Tarquin; cf. n. on **stant**, **210**) and that *Sporades*, which refer more precisely to the islands of the eastern Aegean (Plin.*Nat.*4.68ff., Mela 2.111 (with etym.), Strab.10.5.1, 14, Dion.Perieg. 530ff., etc.) also have a wider reference: for SByz., Tenedos and Thera alike are *Sporades* and *Suda* s.v. *Sporades* (Σ 961; cf. Hesych.Σ 1553, Phot.Σ 532.20) regards the two names as almost synonymous; there was also doubt about the correct classification of some islands (cf. Artemidorus *ap.*Strab.10.5.3, Eust. on Dion. Perieg.530, for Melos; even Cos, *id.* on v.525). V. clearly has in mind the name of the *Sporades* (**sparsas**, and, surely, **consita**); the sideways etymology is rendered far easier if the two glosses actually frame (cf. O'Hara, *TN*,

82ff.) the reference to the islands. **Consita** therefore, because less obvious and because beautifully integrated with the language and thought of the context. Cf. M. Bonamente, *EV* 1, 777f.

**128 nauticus ... clamor** Cf. 5.140f. *ferit aethera clamor/ nauticus*, with 4.411 and 5.207, *EV* 1, 808. We remember the βοή of the Greeks at Salamis, Aesch.*Pers.*402 (where vd. Broadhead; add e.g. Thuc.2.84.3, 7.70.7) and might compare (cf. Hoppe, *TLL* 3.1258.3,7f.) the *clamor militaris* of Liv.7.37.3 (where vd. Oakley's generous collection of *comparanda*); see also M.L. West, *Ancient Greek music* (Oxford 1992), 29f. Serv. and Serv.Dan. here both invoke the *celeuma*—the steersman's call to keep the rhythm, Horsfall, *Culture of the Roman plebs* (London 2003), 15, 44—and their clear error (vd. Page, sanely) has seeped into much later commentary. The Trojans, after all, are currently under sail(130; note that oars *can* be used at the same time as sail, Mohler (120), 51f. and see Morrison and Williams, 202f.); the content of their **clamor/ hortatio** is moreover about to be specified(129; TCD grasps the point) and it does not to correspond to the less inspiring *intra, extra (vel sim.)* of the *celeuma*.

**exoritur** Cf. 2.313 *exoritur clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum*, after Enn.*Ann.*428 *tollitur in caelum clamor exortus utrimque*. G. Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1574.32ff.

**uario certamine** Shouts arise in/from *certamina* presumably between individual ships (whence **uario**; cf. the **certatim** of 290 and 668 **certantibus**); that is exactly how V. visualises the boatrace, as *certamina* between distinct and varied pairs of ships. The noun much relished by V.; *tacet EV*. The theme is about to be amply varied, in another full line.

**129 hortantur socii** Cf. 12 for **s.**. Contrast Curt.9.9.4 *hortari nauticos coepit, incumberent remis ...*; here the obj. ('each other', presumably) is neatly omitted (even neater than 7.472); at 6.184, *hortatur socios*.

**Cretam proaosque** Good, economical expression, a terse summary of the Trojans' current mission to find Crete, their *terra mater*, etc.; the complex idea broken down into its key elements (hendiadys is not always the best term); cf. nn. on 7.15, 419, 11.594. Vestergaard's tentative ('fere') notion (*TLL* 10.2.1444.67f.) that V. uses **proaos** for the land where they live is rather to elevate metonymy at the expense of 'hendiadys'. V.'s careful deployment of the narrative has not always been appreciated: the news of Idomeneus' departure reinforces what are taken to be Apollo's orders; Crete *is*, for now, the *terra mater and*

lies empty. Near at hand, moreover, and an easy leg of the journey. The Trojans are full of excitement that fulfilment is so close. Predictably, we are now but eight lines from tragedy. The developing climax, and typical paradox, are only harmed did one succumb to one of the old proposals for re-ordering vv.125–31 (Peerlkamp, Wagner, Ribbeck, Forbiger, Sabbadini *ed.min.*; vd. e.g. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 74f.).

**petamus** Cf. 115; Con. suggests engagingly a general cry of ‘for Crete and our forefathers, Ho!’. Sidgwick took **p.** as indirect jussive (and found followers), but the ἑταῖροι are in no position to give orders to the ‘us’ of Aen. and his fellow-*duces* (or indeed to Aen.+*socii*); the ἑταῖροι urge each other on with a cry (paratactic) of ‘**petamus**’; inverted commas would not be out of place. The last three words of this line are identified by Serv. as anap.trim. hypercatalectic, the metre of the *celeuma*; cf. E.W. Handley, *Vir bonus ... Studies ... Otto Skutsch ...*; *BICS* Suppl.51 (1988), 169 on Aristophanes lightly disguising hexams. in anapaests and 174 on the rhythm of the ἐμβατήριον in *Il.*22.391 ff.

**130 prosequitur ... euntis** The verse repeated at 5.777 (cf. Sparrow, 99 on the way in which 5.774–8 is cobbled together almost entirely from earlier material); vd. Moskalew, 130 on the general (and inevitably repetitious) theme of departures, between Troy and Tiber. The wind ‘escorts’ the Trojans (*OLD* s.v., §1d); cf. Liv.28. 9.16 *hi sermones spectantium Neronem usque in Capitolium prosecuti sunt*. Cf. Kroll, *Kultur der cic.Zeit*, 183f.: see notes on 11.12, 500f. for V.’s attentive use of the details and language of Roman personal and ceremonial escorts.

**surgens a puppi uentus S:** cf. 481, 5.20; of the sea too, 196, 6.354 and cf. 9.30. The Trojans have for the moment a following wind (**a puppi**): in moderation, a help; if too strong, they risk being pooped, as Orontes was, 1.119 (Jal, 935f., 942, Mohler(120), 51). More specific than Hom. ἴκμενος (here cf. *Od.*11.6f., and Knauer, 382), but not to be claimed as t.t. of sailors.

**131 et tandem** Cf. 638, 5.34, 6.2 is similar contexts.

**antiquis ... oris** Taking up Apollo’s language, 96, as Armstrong, 323f. notes; cf. further 164. The designation is significant: no less worthy a homeland than Troy had been.

**Curetum** See 111; because the names are but two lines apart, and both stand after the caesura (cf. O’Hara, *TN*, 86ff.), the suggestion (Heyworth, 257, n.8) that V. alludes to the etym. link of Crete and

Curetes (cf. Solin.11.4) is not to be dismissed, or not directly, as idle fantasy.

**adlabimur** Cf. 569, 6.2, where Norden well remarks on the choice of vb. to suit the ships' slower pace close inshore: cf. 207 **uela cadunt**; **remis insurgimus**, 532, Jal, 993. Cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1659.21 ff.

132 **ergo** Cf. 129 for the meticulous unfolding of the Trojans' false landfall; detail is accumulated in the interests of tragic irony or paradox.

**avidus** In no sense worthy of censure; likewise at e.g. 1.514; eagerness the result of thwarted legitimate desire, **optatae**. **O.** likewise thematic: cf. n. on 7.303 for the Trojan colonists' burden of longing.

**muros optatae ... urbis** Walls and city crucial and thematic, 17, 85f.

**molior** Cf. 6 **molimur**. Walls, like hulls, are atypical hard work for heroes, tolerable and welcome only if they belong to a settlement in the promised land or constitute the means to get there; in other words, heroes who build walls are turning into citizens. Sing., because Aen. gives the orders, while all the Trojans (**adlabimur**) reach the shores of Crete, if the change of number is to be pressed that far (Mackie 67, n.1 improbable)

133 **Pergameamque uoco** According to Vell.1.1.2 Pergamum was one of the three cities Agamemnon founded in Crete, after the fall of Troy. Cf. Plin.*Nat.*4.59, PsScyl.47. Perhaps surprisingly, a city with some history (the tomb of the great Lycurgus was shown here, Plut.*Lyc.*31.4) and tentatively located at the SE end of the Tityros peninsula in far western Crete (Barrington, map 60, A1, R. Herbst, PW 19.692.55 ff.). A gift, therefore to antiquaries seeking connexions between Crete and Troad (cf. 104). *Pergamum* difficult in dactylic verse; *Pergama* perhaps not appropriate here; **Pergameam**, therefore, sc. *urbem* (cf. **urbis**, 132). Anch. has asked Apollo to preserve the new **Pergama** (87) and when Teucus had gone to the Troad, the citadel, **P. arces**, was not yet built(110). It seems therefore now peculiarly appropriate that the Trojans shall build a citadel at Pergamum, itself an eminently attractive name, or so it might appear, for their *antiqua mater*. **Voco** and **cognomine** are regular marks of V.'s naming constructions, O'Hara, *TN*, 75f., 18 *supra*, 7.671,11.542 *uocauit*. See O'Hara, *TN*, 137f., Stahl, 48f.. It is altogether normal, and blameless, for Greek colonists, mythical (and above all Virgilian) or historical, to name their city-foundations after their mother-city: Horsfall (1989),18, and W. Görler in (302),169 ff.; see

too now Armstrong, 325 f. The criticisms offered by Quint, 58 are not helpful: a proper devotion to the past is part and parcel of being Trojan (and indeed Roman; the parallelism is significant). Cf. *infra*, n. on 302 in fuller detail.

**laetam cognomine gentem** Cf. 6.383 (Palinurus) *gaudet cognomine terra*. See 100, 1.554, 7.36, 130, 147, 288 (with nn.), etc. for the use of *laetus* as thematic and significant at important moments in the Trojans' journey. *Propter Pergama restituta* comments Serv..

**134 hortor** Suppression of the obvious obj. normal, 2.33, 74; use with infin. is, *pace* Austin, in earlier prose, Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.3011.45 ff., citing e.g. Cic. *Off.* 3.55, Nep. *Phoc.* 1.3. See also *Rhet. Her.* 2.19.28; further instances from Cic. in Ladewig's n. here, and see too LHS, 345 f.; Williams' 'poetic use of the infinitive in indirect commands' is misleading.

**amare focos** *Gloss.* 4.472.40 comments *domus construere* and Serv. Dan., after an unsatisfactory try, *sacrificia celebrare*, offers *quidam focos lares*, *et per hoc domicilia tradunt. ergo focos pro 'Penates' posuit*. Cf. Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.988.66 ff. In other words, *focus* synecdochic for *domus* (itself in turn a part of *patria*, 7.122). *Vt haberent cum laribus nouis adfectum* TCD. Compare 4.347 *hic amor, haec patria est*, *G.* 2.486.

**arcemque** Symbolic of a city's power and authority, 7.70, and specially appropriate to Pergamum, strictly the citadel of Troy (n. on 7.322).

**attollere tectis** Cf. 11.130 *murorum attollere moles*, with n., 2.185 f. *attollere molem/ roboribus textis*. **T.** 'abl. of manner' (Wainwright, Page, etc.); Williams notes acutely that **t.** might equally be dat. of purpose, for *nondum Ilium et arces/ Pergameae steterant*. Münscher, *TLL* 2.1150.43 ff..

**135–46. The Cretan plague** 'Ornati uersus'; so Heyne, *bene*. Another finely elaborated passage, of quite distinctive flavour and origins; V. is heavily indebted to the Noric plague, *G.* 3.474 ff., but draws extensively on other passages in *G.*; clearly visible, though, behind *G.* 3, is the Athenian plague of *Lucr.* 6.1138 ff., along with 1090–1137, more generally on the origins of disease. But some of the ideas present in V., and tersely expressed, are only understood properly if we go back further, to Hippocrates and Thuc.. Cf. Armstrong, 324, M. Gale, *Myth and poetry in Lucretius* (Cambridge 1994), 112 ff., *ead.*, *Virgil on the nature of things* (Cambridge 2000), 51 f., *et passim*, A.J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in classical historiography* (London 1988), 28 ff.. Just like hunger (*Aen.* 7, comm., p. 110), so pestilence is a traditional ele-

ment in colonisation stories, such as DS 5.82.1, Plut.*Mor.* 435D καὶ λογιζόμενος πηλίκων ἀγαθῶν τουτὶ τὸ μαντεῖον αἴτιον γέγονε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔν τε πολέμοις καὶ κτίεσι πολέων ἔν τε λοιμοῖς καὶ κάρπων ἀφορίας, 773A, Malkin(79), 41 f., and vd. *infra*. Here, though, V. has a particular reason for introducing the plague-motif, for Hdt. already relates (7.171.2) that there was λοιμός in Crete on Idomeneus' return from Troy (cf. Serv.Dan. on 121, Federico, 335 ff.; Serv.Dan. connects the plague with Idom.'s intention to kill his son, or with the actual killing, but that looks like a desire to link V.'s narrative with the story of Idom.'s sacrifice of his son: vd. Frazer, *Apld.*2, 394 ff., an ancient story-type but only late antique in its application to Idom.). Consultation of the oracle standard in such circumstances from *Il.*1.62 ff. on (cf. Pascoli's n., Demon, *FGH*327F20=Schol.Eur. *Rhes.*251, Pease (79), 6, Plut.*Mor.* 773A, etc.. Apollo ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπολλύειν Serv. reminds us). V. learned early to disguise his inventions with swift, learned *bricolage* of varied, traditional materials. 'Perhaps Virgil wanted a bit of padding', Stubbs, 69, unconstructively; Apollo will shortly send the Penates, and salvation, to Crete (154 f., Otis, 257), and the visit to Crete does have a role of substance in the 'plot', by which the Trojans in the end return to their Italian homeland(121–91). We may wonder too (for no hint is given) just *why* the plague has been sent; hardly a divine critique of Anch.'s error (cf. 144), and more likely to be understood as a warning (of traditional character) that the Trojans are not in the right place for the fulfilment of destiny; vd. Binder's n., Walde, *infra*, 278.

**135 iamque ...// 137 ... cum** Cf. n. on 7.25 ff. for this typical inverted *cum*-clause and add *EV* 1, 954 ff.. The formula **i.f.** already Ennian, 'specifying a point in the action at which a major development is about to occur', Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*264; Cic. has *tum fere* (*Brut.*44, 258, etc.).

**fere** Only *ter* in *Aen.*; rather unpoetic, Axelson, 137, n.4 (but tolerated in *Enn.*, *Lucr.*, Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.492.13 ff.). Serv. here notes the unusual final long e; cf. *Gramm.Lat.* 6. 237.12, Bannier, 491.81 ff.

**sicco ... litore** Cf. 510, 6.162, where TCD distinguishes between *udum litus* and *s.l.*, at the high-water mark, as we would say. The distinction, though not the terminology, is juridical, *Dig.*50.16.96.pr.1, 112; an area of legal thinking, though, known to V., n. on 7.229, Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2.1536.18 ff..

**subductae ... puppes** Cf. n. on 71 **deducunt**. **S.** and **d.** are both standard terms, not specifically nautical or historical in flavour.



**136 conubiis aruisque nouis** Zeugma, or paradox: the *iuuenes* may indeed work hard on the land, but in this coupling of the toils of married life with those of the farm humour may be detected. For the prosody of *c.*, cf. *n.* on 7.253. The expression to be understood in terms of colonisation-stories: cf. **141 agros**, 7.261 f.(with *n.*), 11.316 ff., 247(*agris*, with *n.*), 12.185, Horsfall (1989), 19 on 4.374. An ancient motif: cf. Dougherty(79), 21 on *Od.*9.116–24 and the suitability of the Cyclopes' land for sowing, ploughing and flocks; she collects ample written evidence, as I should have done in (1989), for this widespread and familiar theme (though we should not suppose that colonies existed only to remedy food shortages, P. Garnsey, *Famine and food-supply* (Cambridge 1988), 128 ff.); I cite gratefully e.g. *Plat.Leg.*704C, *Archil.fr.*21, 22West, *Athen.*4.167D<sup>f</sup>. See too **147–191**, *infra*, Pease (79), 6 and note e.g. the use of *μηλοτρόφον* by the Delphic oracle at *Hdt.*4.157.2 or *Plut.Mor.*297C *χώραν ... ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάμφορον οὔσαν*. The reference to marriage, however, is less easily understood (Horsfall (1989), 21, oversimplified by Cova): did the Trojans carry a supply of marriageable girls with them? How radically had Idomeneus depopulated his homeland(122–3)? Was there in fact intermarriage (cf. (1989), 19f. on the risk of such intermarriage at Carthage), as there was to be in Italy(*ib.*, 22 with *n.*97, *n.* on 7.579), and as occurs often in colonisation-stories(Horsfall (1989), 21, with *n.*95)? Typically, V. tells us nothing and we are ill-advised to ask impertinent and irrelevant questions. TCD, sensibly, *quae res ostendebant plenam fiduciam commanendi*.

**operata** The vb. Lucretian (4.985); *G.*1.339 and here in V; its existence independently of *operatus*, 'busy', is not always clear or sure (Flury, *TLL* 9.2.690. 38f.).

**iuuentus** *Quinquies Troiana i.*; cf. *n.* on 7.672. Ennian, *Ann.*303, etc.. Younger, perhaps, and brisker, than **socii**.

**137 iura domosque dabam** For the common *iura dare*, cf. 7.246f. *cum iura uocatis/ more daret populis*, 5.758 *patribus dat iura uocatis*, but *Aen.* is here both Roman magistrate and Greek oecist: καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρακ wrote Hom. of Nausithous, *Od.*6.10; cf. (e.g.) *Arist.Pol.*5.1319a7ff., *Ar.Aves* 995f., T.J. Cornell, *RAC* 12, 1121ff., Dougherty(79), 22f., Horsfall (1989), 18, Pomathios, 157. The building of homes (cf. Nausithous again, *Od.*6.9 ἐδείματο οἴκους and cf. also *Call.H.*2.55 Φοῖβω δ' ἐσπόμενοι πόλιαις διεμετρήσαντο) is typical of Aeneas as oecist (**134**, 7.126, 127, 290, with *nn.*, Horsfall (1989), 27); at 5.756, he uses the lot

for apportioning housing(*sortiturque domos*) exactly as the Greeks used it for land-distribution (Hdt.4.153, etc., Horsfall (1989), 18 with n.74).

**subito cum** Cf. as here 2.731, 12.249 and with conjunction first, 1.509, 3.590. See 90 for speed as typical of divine intervention.

**tabida .../138 ... miserandaque .../139 ... lues L.:** already in *Carm.Arv.*4 (*lve* is what is actually written, G. Radke, *Archaisches Latein* (Darmstadt 1981), 107f., Maltby, *TLL* 7.2.1794.69f.); thereafter only in prose before V. **M.** we will see is from *G.*; *tabes* and *tabescere* distinctively Lucretian; the adj. **tabida**, though not attested earlier, probably not a Virgilian coinage (cf. Liv.21.36.7 and F. Stok, *EV* 5\*, 2). There is a great stately development in the phrasing, largely ignored by the commentators: the subj. of **membris ... uenit** unfolds slowly, **tabida ... miserandaque ... lues et letifer annus**, while the technical detail of the plague's origin and victims (equally polysyndetic, **membris ... arboribusque satisque**) is consigned to dat. and abl.; the subjects are delayed to the very end, the slow unfolding of a sinister climax.

**membris .../ 138 ... uenit** The very Virgilian dat. of motion (and the noun very Lucretian), Görler, *EV* 2, 266f., Antoine, 149ff.(esp. 156); cf.(e.g.) 2.47 *uentura ... urbi*, *G.*1.322, *Hor.Serm.*1.3.87 ('de malis et calamitatibus ingruentibus', Forbiger).

**138 corrupto caeli tractu** In some sense after *Buc.*4.51=*G.*4.222 *terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum*; note *Hor.*C.4.2.26f. *altos nubium tractus* and also compare *G.*3.481 (the Noric plague) **corruptique lacus, infecit pabula tabo**. For the phrase's further antecedents in *G.* and *Lucr.* (cf. Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1049.46ff.), vd. *infra* on *G.*3.478; what precedes there follows here. *EV* omits *corrumpere*, mangles *caelum*, and does justice to *tractus* (5\*, 250, Scaffai). The abl. clearly of origin (cf. TCD), and not abs., as in e.g. *Con.*.

**139 arboribusque satisque** Cf. *G.*1.443f. *namque urget ab alto arboribusque satisque Notus pecorique sinister* (listed, not discussed by Moskalew). There Mynors senses the victims of the Noric plague, but unwisely takes *N.* 'of any wind'; it is precisely the intolerable south wind, mod. *scirocco*, of the Italian summer and early autumn. TCD remarks that the Trojans' first labours on the land were thus in vain. For *-que ...-que*, vd. on 7.470.

**letifer annus** The adj. Catullan (64.394; Steinmann, *TLL* 7.2.1188.33f.); **a.** can indicate conventional seasons in V. (*Buc.*3.57, *Aen.*6.311, Lehnert, *TLL* 2.120.3ff., Zucchelli, *EV* 1, 185; cf. *Lucr.* 5.1438,

Hor.*Epd.*2.29) but here clearly refers to a less precisely defined ‘sickly season’. That was often specified as the early autumn (NH on Hor.*C.*2.14.15, Mayor on Juv.4.56, Thomas on *G.*3.479, Horsfall on Hor.*Ep.*1.7.5ff.), but V. is about to suggest July(141), which would in turn ‘fit’ at least with the indications offered by 69f. and indeed with the hint there might be in 135f. that the Trojans planted crops in the spring, Mandra, 29ff., Büchner, 340.56ff., Mehmel, 87f.. We remain firmly within the ideas and language of the Noric plague, *G.*3.478f. *morbo caeli miseranda coorta est/ tempestas totoque autumnu incanduit aestu* (where vd. Erren, Mynors, Thomas for V.’s ample antecedents in Lucr.(6.1097 *fit morbidus aër*, 1123f. *caelum/ corrumpat*), Hippocr. (e.g. *de flat.*6, *de aere* 1ff.), and V. himself, *Buc.*7.57 *uitio ... aëris*, where vd. Clausen). Cf. further 141.

**140 linquebant** *Quare anima dicitur relinqui et non magis relinquere?* asks Serv. Cf. Balzert, *TLL* 7.2.1461.51ff.. The expression (Garg.Mart.*med.* 16 *quibus anima linquitur* is hardly an imitation) is normally registered as a simple instance of hypallage, exchange of subj. and obj.(Görler, *EV* 2, 277, *id.* *WJA* 8 (1982), 77, Hübner, 117), but Prof.Görler has taught us that not all hypallages are quite that simple. Here then, contrast (a) *Il.*4.470 τὸν μὲν λίπε θυμός, 5.696, 8.123, 12.386, 13.671f., 14.518f., 16.410, etc., *Acc.trag.*605 *anima corpus liquerit*, Gell. 19.11.4,v.14 [*anima*] *et me linqueret*, *Sen.Ep.*57.5 *linquuntur animo*, *Boeth.Cons.*1.carm.3.1 *me ... liquerunt ... tenebrae* and (b) such familiar expressions as *Lucr.*3.656 *donec reliquias animai reddidit omnis*, 5.989 *dulcia linquebant lamentis lumina uitae*, *Plaut.Pers.* 638 *animam eflauit*, *Aen.*11.883 *expirant animas*, 1.98 *animam hanc effundere*, 5.517, 6.436, again after the Gk. idiom, *HHAp.*361 λέιπε δὲ θυμόν, *Il.*4.524 θυμόν ἀποπνεύων, 24.638 ὤλεσε θυμόν, *Od.*12.350, etc.. Similarly *Il.*22.467 ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκάπυσεν. Vd. Onians, 168ff., Bremmer(62), 74: the relationship of the individual to life/soul/spirit at the point of death is sufficiently obscure to warrant some flexibility in idiom over the millennia, alongside that in terminology, without invoking hypallage in the face of terminology judged somehow (and with little enough justification) ‘less familiar’. ‘Utrumque recte’ [of (a) and (b) *supra*] Heyne. Subj. not specified, as at 106, 110.

**dulcis animas** Cf. *Lucr.*5.989 *supra*, *G.*3.495 *dulcis animas ... reddunt*, *Aen.*6.428 *dulcis uitae exsortis*. Clearly of much greater affective force than (analogous) Hom. φίλος; Lackenbacher, *TLL* 5.1.2194.3 compares *Il.*10.195 μελιηδέα θυμόν: only *ter* in Hom., though, and not a striking,

obvious antecedent, so a specific echo here should perhaps not be claimed. *EV* 2, 151f. unilluminating.

**aut aegra .../ 141 corpora** Lucretian, 3.510 *corpus ut aegrum*.

**trahebant** Cf. *G.*3.484f. *omniaque in se/ ossa minutatim morbo conlapsa trahebant*; cf. 3.424, 4.94, *Aen.*5.468 *genua aegra trahentem*, *EV* 5\*, 248.

**141 tum** On **138** Serv. comments *hic est ordo pestilentiae, ut Lucretius docet: primo aëris corruptio, post aquarum et terrae, mox omnium animalium*. Actually, livestock and the Trojans themselves here suffer before the farmland; if we look at 6.1138ff. (the Athenian plague), the neat arrangement here adumbrated and praised by Serv. seems absent from *DRN*. Rather, vd. 6.1090–1137, firmly the intellectual origin of these lines (cf. R. Thomas, *HSCP* 90 (1986), 176). Note moreover the sequence present at *Il.*1.50ff..

**sterilis ... agros** Cf. *Lucr.*6.1125–7 for the plague's descent from air to crops. The adj. a classic instance of prolepsis, the result of **exurere** (vd. Bell, 206, *Aen.*3, 7, 11, indices s.v.).

**exurere** The vb. *bis* in *Lucr.* (and vd, already *Pacuv.trag.*13); at *G.*1.107, 3.432 of soil literally burned dry (cf. *Cat.*68B.62, *EV* 5\*, 403, Schmeck, *TLL* 5.2.2125.16ff.); cf. too the *perusta* of *Hor.Epd.*2.41, the scorched ochre skin of the Italian peasant woman, sadly rendered 'suntanned' in the recent Loeb ed.(Rudd). For the hist. infin., cf. n. on 11.142. V. writes here firmly within the range of ideas already glimpsed in n. on **139 letifer annus**: it is the summer heat that brings on the plague (cf. *Lucr.*6.1102, *Hippocr.de aëre* 2; *Thuc.*'s plague belonged, naturally, to the summer, 2.47.2f.; cf. 2.52.2) and exacerbates its results; Heyne realised this and maybe other commentators should have done so too.

**Sirius** The heliacal rising of S. (19 July for Hes., West on Hes. *Op.*417, 587) regularly associated with fevers, *Il.*22.31, *Archil.fr.*107, *Hippocr.de aëre* 11, *DS* 4.82.2, *Plin.Nat.*18.269f., 282, *Verg.G.* 2.353, *Aen.*10.273, *Hor.C.*3.13.9, *Celsus* 2.1.1ff.. Vd. West's full nn., NH on *Hor.C.*1.17.17, Smith on *Tib.*1.1.27. In *Demon, supra* (135–46) *λοιμοῦ καὶ φθορᾶς κάρπου*. Cf. too Nelis 27, with n.38 on *AR* 2.516ff. where Sirius is named to give a rough date for a *λοιμός*; perhaps present to V. here because *AR*'s geogr. indication is that of the *Μινωϊδακ...νήσου* (516); in fact, in *AR*, the ref. is to the old Cretan maritime empire, but the name does indeed suggest Crete.

**142 arebant herbae A.** favoured by V. in descriptions of the summer, *G.*2.377, 4.427, *EV* 1, 304 and cf. *Buc.*7.57 *aret ager, uitio moriens sinit aëris herba*, *G.*1.107, *Tib.*1.4.42, 7.21, *Ov.F.*4.939f., McKeown on *Ov.Am.*2.16.4.

**uictum ... negabat** So *G.*1.149 *uictum Dodona negaret*. F writes **negare**, printed by Sabbadini.

**seges aegra** Cf. **140**; the repetition underlines that men and crops alike (crops, as already at *G.*3.481, *Lucr.*6.1126) are affected.

**143 rursus** If I cite the story of Thera and Cyrene again (cf. **7, 101**), it is not to suggest that V. must have had Hdt. in mind (though I sense he did); rather, the narrative pattern is markedly similar and the similarity suggests how intimately familiar V. was with colonisation-narratives: Hdt.4.157.1 ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γὰρ σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο ... οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφούς, ἀπικόμοιοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τὴν Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρῆσσειν οἰκεῦντες. *Pace* Paratore, nothing 'truly singular' about it at all.

**ad oraclum Ortygiae** For **O.**, cf. **124**. *Oraculum* is admitted to dactyl. poetry either in plur. or with syncope (Baer, *TLL* 9.2.869.18ff., E. Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 336ff., Leumann, 98, Platnauer, *Lat.eleg.verse*, 69, *Enn.trag.*58). Puccioni, 94 claims 'arcaismo'; direi piuttosto 'forza maggiore'.

**Phoebumque** Once more the single idea (Apollo's Delian oracle) is broken up into its constituent parts (hendiadys, if you must).

**remenso/ 144 ... ire mari** For the passive use of the pp of a deponent vb., cf. **125 bacchatam**, with n.. See 2.181 *pelagoque remenso* (where Austin refers to the pass. *remensum est* at *Lucr.*2.516), *G.*1.450 *emenso ... Olympo*, *Aen.* 5.25 *seruta remetior astra*. Rocca, *EV* 3, 507f. offers short measure. In the event, the Trojans will not have to retrace their steps.

**144 hortatur pater** Cf. **134**; here Anch. takes control once more: the issue is clearly religious, and the solution lies back at Delos, though just how and where he has as yet no idea. Illumination dawns without embarrassment for Anch..

**ueniamque precari** The plague envisaged, naturally, as punishment for an offence (undefined, unexplored, undeveloped) against Apollo for which pardon must be sought: cf. 4.50, *G.*4.536, and the wide range of prose texts listed by Hickson, 50f.; Henry is quite right

to insist that **u. can** often indicate 'grace, favour', but here that is, as Heyne had seen, to obscure Anch.'s definition of the plague as a punishment (cf. Ogilvie on Liv.3.2.1, Oakley, Liv.6, p.58f., NH on Hor.C.1.21.13); 'deum placare ... et ex eo quaerere', Forbiger. Serv.'s *ueniam erroris Anchisae* is schoolmasterly and unhelpful. For *u. precari*, cf. Pacuv.trag.296 *ueniam precor petens*, Liv.21.41.12, 37.45.7, 39.10.5, Reijgwart, *TLL* 10.2.1153.29ff., 1157.32ff.. Correct literary-religious language (of prayers, that is, as recorded in literary texts).

**145 quam ... finem ... ferat** OO follows naturally. Cf. 7.117f. *laborum ... tulit finem* (with n.); TCD remarks *ediceret finem*. 'One should not dismiss the occurrence of an unusual gender in a poem as a mere grammatical or morphological curiosity' (R. Renehan, in *Studies ... Clausen* (14), 215). Actually Renehan's deeply subtle and learned study, having dismissed the ancient grammarians' appeals to euphony(216f.), rather slips silently away from *finis* (fem.; cf. Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.787.6ff.); his hint of the relevance of analogy is, however, interesting, for masc. *finis* may well be older and instances of fem. are likely to result from a tendency of nouns in *-is* to slide in that direction (EM s.v. *finis*; cf. Sommer, *Formenlehre*, 361 f., and NW 1, 998ff. for a substantial and unnerving list). Fem. is in practice found in prose and verse, both quite early (Accius, Lucr., Cat., Cael.Antip., Cass.Hem.) and late (NW 1,1002f.). In the case of nouns such as *finis*, *funis*, *callis*, even *amnis*, fem. is amply attested, to the point of requiring binoculars, not microscope. Italians define the distinction between *muri* and *mura* (plur.), *frutti* and *frutta* (plur.), comprehensibly enough, but *buco/buca*(sing.) and *tavolo/ tavola*(sing.) seem hitherto to have resisted attempts at lucid and rational explanation, for 'size' alone is less than helpful. French is richer in such problems: start with 'aigle'(m. and f.) and 'amour'(likewise) and proceed down the list, A.V. Thomas, *Dictionnaire des difficultés ...* (Larousse, Paris 1971), 188. So too perhaps with Latin here: an unexplored, unexplained morass.

**fessis rebus** Cf. 11.335 with n. and *supra*, **78** for the key thematic adjective.

**unde .../ 146 ... quo** Cf. Hor.C.3.27.37, *Serm.*1.9.62f., 2.4.1 and *quo ... unde* at *Aen.*6.43f., 8.113, 10.670.

**laborum/ 146 ... auxilium** Cf. *G.*3.452 *praesens fortuna laborum est* (with 7.559, where vd. my n.), 8.472 *belli auxilium*. Defined as objective, Antoine, 84, 'remoter objective'(!), Sidgwick, Wainwright; of sphere, Horsfall, *cit.*.

**146 temptare** Cf. 12.484 *fugam cursu temptavit.*, 4.293 *temptaturum aditus. iubeat* Almost technical; cf. 114.

**uertere cursum** Cf. 7.196 *aduertitis ... cursum*. The idiom of hist. prose, Liv.36.20.8, 37.11.15, 27.3, but not very markedly so (Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1532.75f.). Apollo has of course told the Trojans already, 96; but that was not enough and this plea for clarification (cf. 7 for the motif of repeated questioning) is typical of Greek colonists.

**147–91 Appearance of the penates** Dreams (and what follows is a dream, as will be maintained *passim* against various hoary cavils) vouchsafed to the future oecist are widespread (a) in colonisation stories in general and more particularly (b) in the Aeneas-legend; cf. Pease, Cornell, Horsfall, *infra*: for (a), cf. Plut.*Alex* 26.4f., SByz. s.v. *Alexandriai*, (Alexandria, p.70.8), Paus.7.5.1f. (Smyrna), SByz. s.v. *Antiocheia*(p.100.4: Antioch), s.v. *Laodikeia*(Laodicea ad Lycum), Paus.4.27.2 (Messene); for (b), cf. Fab.Pict. fr4P.(=FGH809F2=fr.5Beck-Walter), DH 1.57.4, DS 7.5.5. Cf. Ov.*Met.*15. 10ff. (Numa). In particular, V. presumably had in mind here, if not the vague version preserved, Serv.Dan *ad Aen.*3.148 (Aen. related to have made a treaty with Latinus after a warning by Penates), then rather Cato's *Origines*, *OGR* 12.5(=Cato *Orig.*fr.14b Schröder/Beck-Walter; Cameron's ingenious and elegant objections to Momigliano (186) do not bear on the citations of Cato which are not yet shown to be necessarily quite spurious in language and content, though alien elements will certainly have entered our present text). Aen., having seen the sow and piglets *agri sterilitatem maereret* (the hunger-motif, again), *per quietem ei uisa deorum Penatum simulacra*, who foretold the foundation of a more prosperous Alba in thirty years. By far the clearest indication hitherto considered that V. may actually have used *Orig.* (cf. *Aen.*7, p.418, *Athen.*66 (1988), 39f.). V. effortlessly transfers the old Italian dream to give body to the Cretan innovation (cf. *Aen.*7, comm., p.419, *Aen.*11, comm., p.313f., *Athen.*, *cit.*, 36ff., 48ff. for the technique), or invites the reader here to recognise the underlying presence of Lavinium. Cf. Kühn, 53, n.12. Quotations in *OGR* were only restored to some measure of grace in 1958 (cf. Horsfall (1989), 14; vd. the admirable A. Momigliano, *JRS* 48 (1958), 56ff., =*Secundo contributo*, 145ff.): it is singular that this substantial change in our source material is still not recognised as such (so e.g. J.F. Miller, *Colby Quarterly* 30 (1994), 171, n.3, quite as much in the dark as Heinze, 84 was; Cameron does not simply restore matters to their pre-1958 state). V.'s singularly neat use of inherited material has not, appar-

ently, been noted; certainly, I should have noticed the importance of *OGR* 12.5 long ago. Varro is irrelevant here, *pace* W. Suerbaum in *Et Scholae et vitae. Beiträge ... Karl Bayer* (München 1985), 28 (the misunderstanding goes back at least to Steiner, 44, n.1): Serv.Dan.'s *tradit* (*loc.cit.*) indeed seems to refer to Varro, but he is here writing, at the end of his n., of appearances of the Penates to the (Roman, not legendary) *maiores*, having first attributed to Varro Aen.'s transporting of the gods from Troy to Italy, and then only referred, without specific citation of source (*tradunt*), to visions vouchsafed to Aen. himself. Here, then, in a characteristic half-invention by the poet, Aen. receives his third clarification of the gods' will (after Creusa, Delos). Hunter's case ((96),174) for V.'s indebtedness here to AR 4.1305 ff. is not, in detail, strong (cf. Walde, 279, Nelis, 28, n.39), but for 4.1731 ff., vd. *infra*, 154–71. See H.R. Steiner, *Der Traum in der Aeneis* (Bern 1952), 37–44, P. Kragelund, *Dream and prediction in the Aeneid* (Copenhagen 1976), 56, 72, C. Walde, *Die Traumdarstellungen in der griech.-röm. Dichtung* (München 2000), 275–80, Armstrong, 325f., Buchheit, 153f., Mackie, 67f., Horsfall (1989), 15, T.J. Cornell, *RAC* 12, 1132, Pease(79), 4f., P. Kragelund, *Historia* 50 (2001), 50, n.3; between *sogni* and *somnium*, *EV* neatly avoids discussion.

**147 nox erat** Cf.4.522, 8.26 (preliminary to Tiberinus' appearance to Aen.). This 'temporal ecphrasis' (my phrase, but see A. La Penna, *SIFC* 89 (1996), 107 ff.) recalls AR 3.744  $\nu\lambda\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau'$   $\epsilon\pi\iota\ \gamma\alpha\iota\alpha\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\acute{\nu}\epsilon\phi\alpha\varsigma$  and even more *Il.Parv.*fr.9 Bernabé  $\nu\lambda\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\eta\nu\ \mu\epsilon\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ , =11aDavies(reading  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\kappa\eta$ ; an important night, for the Trojans: vd. Grafton and Swerdlow, *cit.*, v.10); note also Musaeus 282. The echo will have been easily recognisable (cf. 2.250 ff. with Austin's n.; the passages cited by Pease on 4, *cit.* describe night, but without the distinctive ecphrastic form). For a similar Augustan use of a motto, memorably situated, that has survived from the long-lost cycle (cf. *Aen.* 11, p.465 ff.), see Hor.*AP* 137; here, its potentially baleful implications for the Trojans will soon be rejected.

**terris** Abl. of extension, Malosti, 77; cf. 12.803, 4.568.

**animalia somnus habebat** Cf. the notable expansion at 8.26f. *et terras animalia fessa per omnis/ alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat* and also 9.224ff.*cetera per terras omnis animalia somno/ laxabant curas ...*; Enn. had already had (*Ann.*396) *totum sudor habet corpus* and the arrangement of body and symptoms was to delight Ov., *Ars* 2.318, etc.; vd. Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2431.3ff.. Now V. draws (but with marked brevity; here no extended contrast between tranquil night and human concerns



is called for) upon the familiar themes of the lit. description of night; with **a.**, cf. Alc.89.3PMG, *Anacreontea* 33.4f., and perhaps AR 3.749f. with Varr. *Atac.* fr.10; see Pease, *supra*.

**148 effigies sacrae diuum** One concept, two phrases, again: cf. **129**, **143**; ‘hendiadys’ (so already Serv.) not quite right. Cf. 2.167, 7.443 *diuum effigies*, with n., Brandt/ Kapp/G. Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.180.78ff.; Fugier, *EV* 4, 629 remarks that after **sacrae**, the addition of **diuum** is almost redundant (I render her literally); indeed so, but by such criteria, the *Aen.* could be shortened—by an eighth, let us say. Even when redundance is less of an issue, the words do tend to gravitate together naturally (cf. **19**, **370f.**, 4.200f.) in a poet who often prefers the ampler phrase. Steiner’s doubts over the identity of the line’s two elements rest only on a misreading of Serv. on 9.256. V. here may have in mind those many dreams in which a statue appears to the dreamer (Walde, 277, Steiner, 39, n.4, with further bibl., C.A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan horses* (New York 1992), 8); note (e.g.) Cic. *Div.* 1.46 (*tacet* Pease), Schol. *Pers.* 2.56, Heracl. *Pont.* fr.132 Wehrli, Artem. *Dald.* 2.39, 3.63 *et saep.* (vd. Hercher’s index, s.v. ἄγαλμα), Ael. *Arist. Hieroi Logoi* 1.p.276.11, 277.20ff. Dindorf, Schol. *Pind. Pyth.* 3.137 with Paus. 9.25.3 (about Pindar).

**Phrygiique penates** The adj. as often used simply as ‘Trojan’ with no negative implication (cf. n. on 11.170); what *Aen.* perceives are perforce, at so short a distance from 2.717, 747 and **3.12**, exactly what Anch. carried from Troy. The image is endlessly familiar to V.’s readers: for the origins of the Augustan iconography, cf. in some detail, *JHS* 99 (1979), 40ff. Anch.’s sacred burden was, though, undramatically but regularly, concealed in a box. To the contents, clearly crucial here (for the tradition of archaic aniconicity is not necessarily relevant, n. on 7.443), there are numerous references: see Timaeus, *FGH* 566F59=DH 1.67.4, κέραμον Τρωικόν (though what follows—bronze statues—is clearly not relevant; vd. Castagnoli(12), 109), Cass. Hem. fr.5P=6Beck-Walter (no ref. to material and often misquoted, e.g. Bömer, *Rom u. Troia*, 60f.), Cato, *cit.*, *simulacra*, Varro *res hum.* 2 ap. Serv. *Dan. ad Aen.* 1.378 *sigilla lignea uel marmorea* and here *lignea uel lapidea sigilla; ligneis sigillis uel lapideis, terrenis quoque* Varro, *ib.*, ap. Schol. *Ver. ad Aen.* 2.717; vd. Wissowa(12), 108f.=40f., G. Radke, *EV* 4, 13 and Faraone, *cit.*, 7ff. for analogous statues in the Greek tradition. The cheerfully confused and speculative evidence reflects a fundamental ignorance among our sources (could the objects even have been genu-

*inely* hidden from the curious?) and this confusion will have served to fuel the imagination of V.'s readers at this point. It does at least appear that V. envisaged the figures in human form (Bömer, *cit.*, 100, Radke, *cit.*). The penates do not themselves speak as deities; it is apparently their small, familiar, quotidian, above all comforting, statues, placed by Aen. in his bedchamber as sacred objects (cf. Naev.*BP* 25.2), that speak for them (Walde).

**149 quos mecum a Troia/ 150 extuleram** Not only domestic and familiar, but faithful companions both in old Troy and of the escape and voyage, as here again bears repeating (vd. **12** and n. on **Phrygii p. supra**). Cf. 1.378f. *raptos qui ex hoste penates/ classe ueho mecum* and Lyne, *WP*, 60 for the range of verbs used. With the vb. cf. 1.652, Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.142.56. **FP** write **ab**; **MP**, **a**. For prepos. as against plain abl., cf. LHS, 102f., Bennett, 2, 288ff.; Acc. wrote *ab Argis* (*trag.* 682), Cato, *ex Venafro*, Plaut. (*Bacch.* 1058) *ex Troia*, but prepos. is always less common. Vd. **595**.

**mediisque ex ignibus urbis** Cf. 7.296 *medias acies mediosque per ignes/ inuenere uiam* (with n.), 11.787. On **i.**, Rubenbauer glosses *incendio*, *TLL* 7.1.291.49, and Hofmann counts the frequent gen. dependent on *incendium* as objective, *TLL* 7.1.860. 42ff.; so too then here.

**150 uisi** Cf. (e.g.) 2.271 (Hector's ghost), 2.773 (Creusa), 4.557 (Mercury), 5.637 (Cassandra), 8.33 (Tiberinus), Dodds, *infra*, 105 and **174 uidebar**.

**ante oculos** Cf. (again) 2.270, 773, and (where vd. n.) 7.420.

**astare** Not technical or conventional in Lat. for visions, but close (cf. Steiner, 38, n.2, Ov.*F.* 3.639, Münscher, *TLL* 2.955.25ff.) to Gk. ἐφίτασθαί, which very much was, *Il.* 10.496, *Luke* 2.9, *et saep*, LSJ, s.v., §III, Dodds, *ib.*

**iacentis** Aen. is about to specify his state (sleeping, **151**; cf. 6.521, 7.427, with n., *G.* 4.439, Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.15.6ff.), which will then be qualified, **173ff.**

**151 in somnis insomnis multi ap.** Serv.: *multi hic distinguunt et uolunt unam partem esse orationis, id est 'uigilantis'*. So too TCD, though he later admits *in somnis* as an alternative..Accepted by Heyne, singularly (though the adj. is not unvirgilian); he had just written, sensibly, *per somnum* (*exc.* 9 *ad lib.* 2, p.419, ed.4); vd. Steiner, sanely, 39, n.1. Aen. is about to tell Dido of the light sleep (**173**) from which he woke after the

dream. V. uses **in somnis**, often and without exception (1.353, 2.270, 4.353, 466, 557, 12. 908) of the sleep in which dreams occur (Serv.'s notion that *in somniis* is meant is unhelpful, though technically not impossible; cf. Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881), after Enn.(*trag.*51, *Ann.*212) and Lucr.(14x); here, given **iacentis**, perhaps specifically after Lucr.4.987 f. *quippe videbis equos fortis, cum membra iacebunt fortis, / in somnis sudare tamen*. For the perceived association between light sleep and dreaming, cf. n. on 7.88, Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational*, 123f., n.24 with Arist. *Insomn.* 462a11, *id.* 128, n.62, citing Max.Tyr.*Dial.*9.7, Iambl.*Myst.*3.2 (*passim*, with Ael.Arist. *Hieroi logoi* 2.298.12ff.Dindorf), and, most specifically, vd. Plut.*Mor.* 590B(cave of Trophonius). Cf. also Steiner, 42, n.2.

**multo manifesti lumine** The adj. 14x in Lucr., 7x in V.; cf. 4.358 *ipse deum manifesto in lumine uidi*, Hey, *TLL* 8.311.25f.; Hom. ἐναργής, as *Od.*3.420. **Manifesti F**, **manifesti M**; **manifesto P**. The -u- (the older orthogr.)—a common problem in the mss., Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 450f.—is probably to be preferred at 89, but not necessarily here, on a crude count of capital mss.. Consistency not necessarily to be imposed. **P.**'s abl. a simple error. Serv.Dan. comments *cum nimbo suo, qui circa deos solet uideri*, as he is rather fond of remarking. This aura of light is familiar enough: 2.589ff., 616(*nimbo* clearly to be read), 4.358, *Aen.*1.402 *refulsit*, and cf. too *Il.*1.200, *HHDem.*278 (with Richardson on v.276), Austin on 2.616, Warde Fowler, *Death of Turnus*, 85, A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus* (Heidelberg 1967), 84, with n.40, Heyne, exc.xiii to *Aen.*1. It would be very easy to expand here, *en route* from Homeric cloud to Christian halo/imperial nimbus (S. MacCormack, *Art and ceremony*, 165). But was Serv. right to suggest that the light was the penates' rather than the moon's? Such a reference to the nimbus would be altogether apposite here, were it not for the moonlight in the next line, in vigorous competition. If V. wanted his dream-penates supernaturally illuminated, they had surely to appear, for best effect, surrounded by darkness, rather than by bright moonlight. Contrast 6.272ff., 453f.: V. does well understand these effects. As it is, or so it would appear, the moon lights up the figures. Prop.1.3.31 *diuersas percurrens luna fenestras* does not solve our problems, nor Ov.*Pont.*3.3.5.

**qua** A neglected indication which does clearly suggest that the penates appeared *just where* the moon gave light. Cf. 114, 7.100, 519, 801, 11.293, 310, etc.. For the double monosyll. at l.-end, cf. 7.310, 790.

**se/ 152 ... fundebat** V. perhaps had in mind Lucr.4.375 *noua se radiorum lumina fundunt*. Cf. Cic.*Orat.*125 *tum se latius fundet orator*,

*Fin.*5.66(*iustitia*) and much commoner of concrete subjects; vd. notably *Lucret.*2.114f. *cum solis lumina .../ inserti fundunt radii per opaca domorum*. Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1572.26ff. In act., cf. *G.*2.432, *Aen.*2.683. The light is treated as though in some sense a liquid, Catrein, 116.

**152 plena ... luna** The [light of a] full moon(*Cat.Agr.*37.4, etc., *TLL*, *infra*, 1836.27ff.), for the pedantic(as at 2.340); with **se ... f.**, therefore, under 'exempla audaciora', Maltby/ Flury, *TLL* 7.2.1831.65ff.

**per insertas fenestras** A problem at least from Serv.'s time. He writes *aut 'clatratas'* ['barred'] *aut 'non seratas', ut sit quasi 'inseratas', id est, non clausas. et dictum quomodo 'asprosque molares' pro 'asperos' ....* Serv.Dan. continues *uel 'insertas fenestras', quas lumine suo luna inseruerat, ab inserendo, quod se per rimas insereret. 'fundeat' scilicet abundans lumen.* The second interpretation (cf. TCD *patentibus*) is hardly to be taken seriously: *sera*, 'bolt'(as *Ov.Am.*1.6.32) yields indeed the rare *sero*, *serare* (*Varr.LL* 7.108), but no hint that *inseratus* (as though the opposite of *consertus*, remarks Danesi Marioni, with more hope than evidence) is here present by syncope. Serv.Dan.'s interpretation (and both Serv. and Serv.Dan. have followers, cited by *TLL*, *cit.*, among the glossators) is illuminated by Stiewe's helpful reference to *Lucret.* 2.114f. (just cited): here then, the moon apparently *se fundit per fenestras ubi inseritur; locus licentiam poeticam redolet* sniffs Stiewe, but we might rather wish now to speak of a form (entirely credible and attractive) of hypallage(Görler, *EV* 2, 246), *fenestra inserta* for *luna inserta*. Much preferable to the windows, *specularia*, inserted in the wall, or the horn in the window, or the window in the frame (*uel sim.*, vd. Henry, with typical abundance of curious learning). Vd. Stiewe, *TLL* 7.1.1874.49ff., Danesi Marioni, *EV* 4, 798. *Aug. de trin.*11.2.4 *insertarum fenestrarum cancelli* looks like an echo of Virgil read through Serv., in the sense of 'barred', *clatratas*.

**153 tum** The line also at 2.775, (cf. xxxvii, xxxix) 8.35; *hic uersus in multis non inuenitur* Serv. (vd. Zetzl, *Lat.text.crit*, 97). However a line of introduction is required here; speech is heard in Virgilian dreams, and answers are given, and light likewise is perceived; no dramatic illusion of slumber has to be preserved, Steiner, 35f., Walde, *supra*, 445, Horsfall on 7.427. Because the line appears before Creusa, the penates and Tiberinus, respectively, speak, Moskalew believes the repetition is calculated and thematic (64, 105, apparently followed by O'Hara, *DOP*, 88f., n.1); three times *Aen.* receives comfort and encouragement, in his troubles: the counterpoint is familiar, even essential, and the

unmemorable echo does little if anything to enrich our reading. Cf. too **147**; twice, in the Tiberinus-scene, V. draws upon the present passage, without the creation of any deeper bond, such as that between the landings in bks. 1 and 7.

**sic** *Tum sic* an element in other Virgilian speech-formulas, 1.594, 4.114, 222, 8.154, 9.234, 295, etc.; the visible parts of the epic's 'scaffolding' are run up fast and lightly.

**adfari** Cf. 7.544.

**et curas ... demere** The phr. at Varr.*Men.* 37 and 394 (and *Aen.*2.775; Gudeman, *TLL* 4.1472.47 ff.): colloquial, therefore, but that is hardly a necessary or distinctive flavour here; standard language, clearly. After **fundebat** has intervened, it is unnecessary to take the infins with **uisi** (Williams), when they could so easily be historic.

**his ... dictis** Again, within a formula there are recurrent, partly interchangeable elements, cf. 7.373, 11.342, 827, etc..

**154–71** Nelis hints only in passing at the debt these lines may owe to AR 4.1731ff.(28, n.39), but the theme of a nurse(1741; cf. V.'s plays on *uber*), a home for παιδων παῖδες (1751f.; cf. **98**), and Jason's recollection of Apollo's oracles on hearing Euphemus' account of his dream(1747–8; cf. **183f.**, when Anch. only now begins to make sense of Cassandra's old warnings), taken together do rather imply that *Arg.* is here of moment, though in no very orderly way. Walde sheds much light on how this dream is also to be understood as balancing *Aen.*'s first, of Hector (2.268ff.), in form, contrasting atmosphere(here, though, the unnerving and unmerited plague here is not to be forgotten) and comparable context(note 2.268:: **3.147**). Duckworth, 106, E. Henry, 82, O'Hara, *DOP*, 128, Block, 118, Steiner, 40ff., Walde, 277ff.

**154 quod** The antecedent absorbed into the rel.; the penates serve as messengers or mouthpieces of the god, to save time. **251f.** is different (Jupiter to Harpies, Harpies to *Aen.*), not to mention 4.270 (Mercury bears message from Jupiter), 9.804.

**tibi delato** Cf. n. on 7.22, *trag.inc.*182, *Acc.trag.*676, Lambertz, *TLL* 5.1.315.29ff.; regular of ships and sailors..

**Ortygiam** Cf. **124, 143**; in the present context, it would not be helpful to play on further changes of name.

**dicturus ... est** Cf. **362f.**, 6.850 in the sense of 'predict, foretell'.

**Apollo** In the end, Apollo's benevolence towards Troy and Rome suffices to prevent any prolongation of the misunderstanding of *antiqua*

*mater*; clearly too, even a brief return towards Troy would not have favoured the narrative. For the aphaeresis, cf. n. on 7.311.

**155 hic** Prominent, to give proper emphasis to the saving of time and distance

**canit** 'foretell', used of gods and humans, **366, 559**, 2.176, nn. on 7.79, 271, *EV* 1, 649, Poeschel, *TLL* 3.271.46f.

**tua nos ... ad limina** Typical juxtaposition of contrasting pronouns, 7.221, 427, 11.24, 74, **42** *supra*. The placing of **tua**, which avoids the flat tedium of e.g. *hic canit; en ultro nos ad tua limina mittit*, does have the effect of throwing much weight onto the word, very welcome to Aen.. If the penates were Aen.'s, why did they have to be sent to Aen.'s *limen*? To save him a journey to Delos. Naturally, they were always there, but only on this occasion did they serve as Apollo's mouthpiece. Some ink ill-spent in the older comms.. **L.**: cf. 7.598, n..

**en ultro** Cf. 9.7 *uoluenda dies en attulit ultro*. **En** fully deictic; the results of Apollo's benevolence are here for Aen. to see (cf. 7.452); for **ultro**, cf. n. on 7.236.

**mittit** Cf. **Apollo**, *supra*: no theological or compositional justification for delay.

**156 nos te ... tuaque arma** Juxtaposition of prons. again, reversing that in the previous line (Paratore, failing to realise the link of **te** and **tua**, takes V. to have cobbled an abl. abs. to a participial phr. with the **-que**); **tua** recurs in successive vv.(and **te** again in **157**), though without anaphoric effect; the common polyptoton of pron. and pron.adj. is Ennian (*Ann.*26, perforce alliterative; cf. n. on 11.410). The elaborately patterned play of pronouns is claimed as archaic by Steiner, 40, n.1, rightly: cf. Enn., *supra*, Pacuv.*trag.*27, 79, 166, 184, 306, *Acc.trag.* 76, 229, 503, 556, though nowhere on the present scale, for which we would need to turn to Plautus. *Wills*, 267, often indispensable, is here overly exercised by possible links with 10.672 *me meaque arma secuti*; there is no difficulty whatever in the penates' reference to a military mission (**arma**), for their home depends on Aen.'s survival and ultimate victory and the later passage echoes, one might suspect, the neat metrical disposition rather than some deeper harmony of thought.

**Dardania incensa** Cf. 7.295f. *num incensa cremauit/ Troia uiros?* with n.. Now the penates help their rescuer; *pietas* pays. **D.**; cf. **52**. Just possibly significant (at all events, less so than **Dardanidae**, **94**), given

that the penates will before long return to the theme of Dardanus' homeland

**secuti** 7.300 is altogether different. Juno pursues the Trojans, as Dido's avenging spirit and the future Hannibal will do; fair winds and fortune follow them benignly, *passim*, but only here, it would seem, are tutelary divinities represented as themselves following the Trojans.

**157 nos ... permensi** The pronoun here repeated with much formality at the head of successive verses (Wills, 397ff.; extremely common), after **155**, less prominently; the triple repet. of **nos** unique in V; line-initial repet. of *nos*, though, famous from *Buc.* 1.3f. **p.**; **permensi M<sub>1</sub>**, *multi ap.* Serv. (cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.* 435); the verb old and lofty, *Enn. Ann.* 67, 461 (cf. the simplex, *G.* 4.389, *Lucil.* 996M), *Laevius*, fr. 11.2, *Cohee*, *TLL* 10.1.1538.11f.

**tumidum ... aequor** Cf. n. on 7.810, *EV* 5\*, 312f. for *tumens*, *tumidus*, *tumeo*, *tumescō* of the sea, in V; old (*Cic. progn.* fr. 3.2, Gk. οἶδμα, etc.). It is clearly irrelevant that the Trojans reached Crete from Delos with a fair wind.

**sub te** Cf. 8.515 *sub te tolerare magistro*; the penates, as old symbols of Aen.'s piety and protectors of his home, voyage tranquilly under his command.

**classibus** Cf. 61.

**158 idem** Long familiar (vd. *Lucr.*) for *iidem*, *Leumann*, 468. 'Pro enunt. relat. particip. ponitur', *Hofmann*, *TLL* 7.1.198.74, of this (perfectly clear, but elusive, for here partic. take the place of more familiar relative clauses; cf. *LHS*, 470) passage, quoting no comparable instances before *Dig.*: 28.5.38pr. (*Julian.*) *qui seruum Sempronio legatum, eundem post mortem Sempronii ex parte heredem instituit.*

**uenturos ... nepotes** The scale and range of Apollo's promise at **97f.** is here confirmed (2.194—Sinon—has been utterly discredited, in the Trojans' view, but will also prove true); slowly Aen. is being taught that his journey and the Trojans' settlement has, however little he understands it, however little some may like it, an imperial outcome (*Steiner*, 39f., *O'Hara*, *DOP*, 128). The language is standard: with **n.**, cf. 6.757, 7.99 (with **n.**); with **u.**, cf. *Buc.* 4.52, *Aen.* 1.22, 2.194 (*supra*), 6.790; *Bell.* 155 (after *Serv.*) proposes an idiom of *uenturos* for *futuros*, not altogether credibly. Old commentators advance (after *Serv.* on *Caesar qui primus inter deos relatus est*) woodenly a reference here only

to Caesar (and, with exciting flexibility) to Augustus too; clearly it is to the Romans at large, as no longer needs to be argued.

**tollemus in astra** Cf. **462 fer ad aethera**, 7.99 and (where vd.n.) 272 (add now Adler, 194); traditional hyperbole (cf. 2.222 *ad sidera tollit*, 12.795 *ad sidera tolli*, Bell, 247, Hardie, *CI*, 272, etc.), variously applied, rather than a commonplace of Hellen.-Augustan panegyric: *tacet* Christ. Crinagoras, *GP*, 1901 might even be a droll reworking of the Latin idiom. Cf. Hardie, *CI*, 301 for the Trojans' progression from waves to stars (for deification is not necessarily entailed). Word-end at both 4tr. and 5tr., when *-que/ -que ...-que* is not involved, is passably rare (Austin on 4.58, Norden, pp.176, 323(35 instances), 427 ff.), suggesting as it does 'false endings' to the line.

**159 imperiumque urbi dabimus** Cf. 2.783 (the penates who already promise *regnum* to Aen.), 1.279 (Jupiter speaks) *imperium sine fine dedi*, Melinno's hymn to Rome, 5f. *οὐ μόνον, πρέσβιστα, δέδωκε Μοῖρα/κῦδος ἀρρηκτῶ βασιλῆον ἀρχᾶς*, Ael.Arist.*Encom.Romae* p.227.1f. Dindorf καὶ οἱ θεοὶ καθορῶντες συγκατορθοῦν ὑμῖν εὐμενῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ **διδόναι** βέβαιον τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτῆς; 'we find already in Homer the belief that kings are *διοτρεφεῖς* and appointed by Zeus' (NH on Hor.C. 1.12.50, amply; cf. C.3.1.6, 6.5f., where vd. NR). V's *urbs* is both the settlement the Trojans are to found in Italy and its descendant, Rome; no elaboration here required. Thus naturally Rome's rule is by Jupiter's decree and favour (cf. Christ, 126f., 164, Cairns, 21, Feeney, 141, Horsfall, *Prudentia* 8 (1976), 82f. and in particular W.V. Harris, *War and imperialism*, (repr.Oxford 1985), 118ff., 123, P.A. Brunt, *Roman imperial themes* (Oxford 1990), 295. See Cic.*Mil.*83, Sall.*Jug.*14.19, Vell.Pat.2.131, Ael.Arist. *cit.*, at length, reworking perhaps the old rivalry in Attica's favour upon Olympus, Men.Rhet. p.361.29ff.). The penates speak of 'we' as messengers of Apollo and indirectly mouth-pieces of Jup.; they are indeed already symbols of Troj.-Rom. *pietas* (itself a condition of rule), but during their speech seem to grow at times into *Di Penates publici populi Romani* (cf., with caution, Bailey, 93).

**tu .../ 160 ... para** Cf. 4.87f. *aut propugnacula bello/ tuta parant*, Caes.*Gall.* 5.42.5, *turris*, Liv.39.37.3 *arcem et munimentum sibi, non ciuitati parauerunt*, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1.413.35f.

**moenia .../ 160 magna** Cf. **703f. maxima .../ moenia**, 2.294f. *his* [sc. *Penatibus*] *moenia quaere/ magna*. The motif of the Trojans' destined *urbs* and its *moenia* is never absent: cf. 17. The adj. is postponed, enjambed, and juxtaposed with **magnis**, for maximum effect.



**magnis** Wills remarks(227) with understanding ‘V. uses only a few adjectives in this way [sc. in polyptoton], but repetition makes these plain words pointed’ (cf., for example, **383** and *G.*1.190, 2.326f.), comparing instances in various areas of archaic literature (cf. too *ibid.*, comparing *Lucr.*1.741, 4.902, 5.644, with various forms of *magnus*), after Jocelyn on *Enn.trag.*105; Jocelyn adds ‘very frequently one of the adjectives is used either redundantly or in a fashion removed from common usage’. So here, where **m.**, exceptionally and a little obscurely, serves as a substantive (*id est nepotibus*, *Serv.*); not clear whether he believed in actual agreement with **n.**(**158**), or meant simply that **n.** should be supplied). Cf. *G.*3.513 *piis*, 9.453 *primis* and naturally, *debellare superbos*; for (much commoner) neuters, cf. *nn.* on 7.86, 562 and *vd.* 11.319 for use with *part. gen.*. A (further) ref. to the *magni di* of **12** cannot be excluded, but a neut. (‘thy great destiny’ *uel sim.*) surely can (cf. Kühn, 52). *EV* 3, 319ff. avoids any engagement and V. himself may have sought a touch of oracular obscurity.

**160 longumque fugae ... laborem** The majestic (and archaic) allit. continues, with variation of consonant (and note also the sequence -gn-...-gn-...-ng-...-nqu-). Note *longum ... laborem* at *G.*1.293, *Aen.*5.769 *omnemque fugae perferre laborem*; *Caes. Gall.*6.31.5. has already *laborem aut belli aut fugae* (cf. Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.790.71). On the thematic significance of the Trojans’ *labor* (from 1.10), cf. P. McGushin, *AJP* 85 (1964), 225ff. (*EV* ss.vv. *labor*, ‘lavoro’ singularly ignores *Aen.*). **F.**: cf. also **283** and the use of *profugus*. The adj. in a more simply geogr. sense at e.g. **383**; not used ‘thematically’ in bk.3.

**ne linque** Cf. *Hor.*’s *linque seuera*, parallel to *mitte ... curas* (*C.*3.8.17, 28). A sort of litotes for ‘stick to’; cf. *Caes. Civ.*3.8.4 *neque ullum laborem aut munus despiciens*, *Cic. ND* 1.22, etc.. Cf. **61**, **124**, etc.; the preference for simplex hardly to be taken as archaising every time, *pace* Puccioni, 94. TCD patiently (and well) spells it out that the penates make a thorough job of comforting and cheering *Aen.* before they tell him something of the *labores* to come; on **154**, *Serv. Dan.* remarks that there were also readers who complained that their intervention came rather late in the day. The imper. with **ne** archaic, *nn.* on 7.96, 438.

**161 mutandae sedes** Standard idiom from *Plaut.* on, *Tessmer*, *TLL* 8.1726.34ff.; see e.g. *Lucr.*4.458f. *caelum mare flumina montis/ mutare*. **S.** chosen idiom; cf. **88**, **123**. Divine benevolence here also shown by the penates’ swift arrival at the crucial issue. *Suffecerat hoc solum*

*dixisse* remarks TCD, with little regard for V.'s typically pleonastic *modus dicendi*.

**non haec ... litora** Cf. 4.647 *non hos quaesitum munus in usus*, 5.646, 9.737 *non haec dotalis regia Amatae*, 11.45f.(with n.) *non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti/ discedens dederam*, 152 for the demonstrative pron. negatived. Cretan *litora*, 135.

**tibi ... suasit** *Simplex pro composito (persuasit)*; Serv.Dan. complains that *capere* is lacking, but the use of **s.** with acc. and dat. is altogether unexceptionable (cf. Statius' huntsman who *canibus ... silentia suadet*, *Theb.*11.534, Keulen, *TLL* 10.1.1762.18ff.). **S.** and **iussit** exactly parallel, but typically with different constructions. *EV* 4, 1048 (Lambardi) commendable.

**162 Delius ... Apollo** Cf. 6.12 and 85–9. At first sight **D.** might seem the subject of **suasit** and **A.** of **iussit**, yet clearly **D ... A.** is a single unit; this disposition is economical and not uncommon: cf. 628f. **nec talia passus Vlixes/oblitusve sui est Ithacus**, *Buc.*6.1f., *Aen.* 1.195f., 411, 691, 6.473, 8.461f.(with Leo, *Ausgew.kl.Schr.*, 1, 91f.), 481f.. Not a dislocation (or hyperbaton) violent enough really to excite the connoisseurs (vd. my indices, ss.vv. for further bibl.). Here, vd. Conway on 1.13, Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*186, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 33. Pace Williams, the involved order of 1–2 is not at all comparable.

**aut** After **non**: cf. 43.

**Cretae** The loc. was always going to be *Cretae* (cf. NW 2, 640, Leumann, 420, Forbiger here; loc. *Cretae* indeed used at Varr.*RR* 1.7.6, *Vitr.*2.9.13), and by analogy with *Lesbi*, *Rhodi*, etc. (cf. LHS 150) entirely irreproachable in usage; Schol.Pers. 2.36 once (Jahn) quoted the v. with *confidere*, and that is actually proposed here by Palmer, and then re-floated tentatively, but inexplicably, by Williams. See, however, now Clausen-Zetzel.

**iussit** Cf. 101.

**considerere** Cf. 11.323 with n.; standard, and thematic too. For the synaloepha, cf. n. on 7.570 *condita Erinys* (but with e much commoner than with a; 99 instances, Norden, 455).

**163 est locus 163–6=1.530–3.** Only 393ff. offers internal repetition on a comparable scale in the entire *Aen.*; here priority is, for once, easily determined, for in bk.1, 534 is a half-line and 535 is a singular case of inverted *cum* virtually without antecedent (Goold; vd. Sparrow for further criticism of 1.530ff.). Here, the whole passage is densely

coherent, and the only objection to the priority of bk.3 can derive from opposition at any cost to the view that 3 is indeed the earliest book (cf. xxxix–xl). Cf. Cartault, 137, G.P. Goold, *HSCP* 74 (1968), 160, n.49, Günther, 34f., *id.*, *Herm.*124 (1996), 214f., Sparrow, 93. Determined uncertainty in the face of a singularly clear and comprehensible situation, Moskalew, 112. For the formula *est locus*, cf. n. on 7.563. Note the asyndetic parataxis, markedly archaic in flavour (Highet, 259, Görler, *EV* 2, 275, Quinn, 360, Lunelli-Janssen, 110f.).

**Hesperiam** As an adj., first in AR(3.311; cf. Agathyll.fr.15.3Suppl. Hell.=DH 1.49.2); as another name for Italy (or part thereof), see first Enn.*Ann.*20 *est locus Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant*; vd. *JHS* 99 (1979), 39. There are no sound grounds for supposing that AR uses a word from Stes., as the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* might once have seemed to suggest. Vd. Horsfall, *cit.*; Maddoli, *EV* 2, 390f. appears unaware of the state of the question. In the story of the Trojans' struggle towards revelation, the penates here offer a gloss on Creusa's ref. to Hesperia, 2.781.

**Grai cognomine dicunt** 'Erudite' phrasing, like Enn.'s, suggesting perhaps the innovative form **H.**, itself based on a variation upon AR (and we should not forget either the Ennian echo or the metonymy). For 'naming constructions' as suggesting not, as often, an etymological signpost (altogether absent here) but the existence of some poetic prehistory for a given word, cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 126, comparing my discussion of expressions such as *uocant, fama est* when used of genuinely and recognisably traditional material, *Alambicco*, 118ff.. Cf. further n. on 7.671 *dictam cognomine gentem*. **Grai**: cf. n. on 11.289 (archaic-poetic).

**164 terra antiqua** The Trojans' promised land is distinctively the Italy of *G.*, three familiar topics, here in the order **BCA**: cf. Steiner, 40, n.3 (an excellent observation, thereafter ignored, except by Binder here): here cf. specifically *G.*2.157 *fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros* (and indeed all of 2.155–7; *a.* then recurs at 174). Corythus, and indeed all Italy can therefore at least match the antiquity of the Crete they are about to leave(131).

**potens armis** Cf. *G.*2.167–72, starting *hic genus acre uirum ....* Compare Sall.*Jug.*14.7 *copiis potens*, Hor.*AP* 289f. *nec uirtute foret clarisue potentius armis / quam lingua Latium*, Liv.9.19.13 *potentissimas armis uirisque urbes* (slightly later than *Aen.*3, we may suppose), Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.2. 278. 23ff..

**atque ubere glabrae** Cf. not only G.2.143–50, but **94**, *supra*, **ubere laeto** (and we might recall the fertility explicit in Creusa's reference to *arua/ inter opima uirum*); **u.** inseparable from the idea of Italy as *antiqua mater*. Here vd. too n. on 7.262 *diuitis uber agri*, after Hom. οὔθρα ἀρούρη.

**165 Oenotri ... uiri** The name originally applicable to—roughly—mod. Bruttium and Calabria (cf. Strab.6.1.15, etc.); the identification of Oenotria with all Italy not provably pre-Augustan, but the re-naming of (part of) Italy after Italus, a leader of the Oenotri is attested also in DH 1.35.3 (after Antiochus, *FGH555F5*), in terms so similar to V's as to have suggested (nn. on 7.85, 178, D. Musti, *EV* 2, 317) a common but unidentified source. For the (not frequent) use thus of *uiri*, cf. 5.530, 11.677, 12.117, *EV* 5\*, 552. For the many names of old Italy, cf. H. Nissen, *Ital.Landeskunde* 1 (Berlin 1883), 63ff., D. Musti, *EV* 3, 34ff., *id.* in *Storia di Roma* ed. A. Schiavone 1 (Torino 1988), 39ff..

**coluere** Cf. 7.684 (with n.), 714. There may be play here too on the link between *colere*, to till and the etym. (cf. οἶνος, naturally) of the name **Oenotri** (cf. Lydus *Mens.*1.5, with my n. on 7.179), 'wine-growers' (*Alambicco*, 121).

**nunc** Common in both *aetia* (n. on 7.602) and as here *metonomasiai* (O'Hara, *TN*, 89ff., citing e.g. 1.267, 5.602); the use of name-change, *metonomasia*, as an ornament of erudite Alexandrian poetry has for now received enough attention: cf. O'Hara, *cit.*, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 32, *Athen.*66 (1988), 38, *Alambicco*, 115, *Aen.*7, *Aen.*11, *Aen.*3, indices, s.v..

**fama** Cf. **121**; again delicate: *Aen.* reports to Dido that the penates had reported to him a story about Italy's new name, and at the same time the poet suggests to us that he is distancing himself from 'fact', etymology, sources (whoever they were, here) and name-change (*Alambicco*, 121).

**minores** Cf. (neatly balancing the far commoner use of *maiores*) 1.733, 6.822, 8.268; thus used by Lucr., 5.1197; see my dear and much-lamented friend Gerhard Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.1.559.8ff..

**166 Italiam** On Italus and Italia, cf. (in detail) n. on 7.178.

**dixisse ... gentem** Cf., amply and very well, O'Hara, *TN*, 73ff. on 'explicit etymological aetiologies' in V. (vd. nn. on **18**, **335**, **702**, 7.3f., 208, 671, 11.246f., 542f.).

**ducis de nomine** Cf. 1.277 *Romanosque suo de nomine dicit*, **3.210 Graio ... nomine dictae**, 9.387. For further instances of *de nomine*, in comparable contexts, cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 73ff., n.329.

**167 hae nobis propriae sedes da propriam, Thymbraee, domum** we have seen (85; cf. 11.359), may well not be comparable. But 1.73 *propriamque dicabo*, 5.229 *proprium decus* and 6.871 *propria haec si dona fuissent* do confirm the familiar sense of 'ours, in stable ownership'; *EV* s.v. not a safe guide to this tricky word. **S.:** cf. **88**.

**hinc Dardanus ortus** Quoted at 7.240 (the prophecy, near enough, fulfilled), where vd. n.. So the old, familiar penates of Troy reveal to Aen. that the identification of the *antiqua mater* depended (not on Teucus, **103–17**, **104**, but) on Dardanus. Better, they give Aeneas directions, of a sort: the *antiqua mater* is Hesperia, land of the Lydian Tiber, and *that*, in plain language, is Italy (or Ausonia, **171**), which used to be called Oenotria. Even a precise spot (or person), Corythus (or *-thum*), is apparently specified. We have come a long way, quickly, since the perplexity of v.7: not inconsistency but a swiftly, and tightly plotted chain of revelation.

**168 Iasiusque pater** I. (Iasion/Iasius) originally famed for his union with Demeter (vd. *Od.*5.125ff., *Hes. Theog.*970, with West's n.), in Crete (*Theog.*971). DS 5.48.3f. makes him a brother of Dardanus, and founder of the Samothr. mysteries (Robert, 2.1, 391, Stok, 194; cf. Hellanicus, *FGH*4F23, 24b, Hegesianax, *FGH*45F4). The association of penates with *Di magni* and Samothrace does not account for the penates' use of his name here (*pace* Della Corte, 59); rather, I. and Dardanus were indeed brothers (*Hellan.fr.*23, etc.) and are paired on that account (I. would therefore *not* have been understood as father of Dardanus, or so one hopes). But, as has often been remarked, I. had no place in the traditional genealogy of the Trojan kings (so e.g. 8.134 *Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor*; vd. Stok) and his role here as *princeps* of the Trojan and Roman ruling houses has aroused bewilderment, confusion, even, in the commentators. The plur., *genus a quibus principibus nostrum*, would never have done. The order of the names might in the end have been inverted (*hinc Iasiusque/ Dardanus et genitor*, as it might be). Or V. could use, as he surely has done, the 'so-called elliptical singular', Remus for Remus and/or Romulus, Pollux for Pollux and/or Castor: cf. LHS 14, after Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 1<sub>2</sub>, 72ff.; also Bell, 174. If this explanation be thought too audacious,

then we need but say that V. refers for convenience to a mere half (the unexpected half, for surprise and effect) of a composite antecedent (cf. LHS, 433 or, for a different approach, cf. W. Görler, *EV* 2, 276, citing the famous 6.847f., and 8.3, though *here* we do not quite have exchange of attributes, since only one attribute is dislocated). **P.** the sing. of more familiar *patres*, ancestors (cf. 107, Lobrano, *EV* 3.1018, n. on 7.372, von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1.674.30ff.). On I., R. Rocca, *EV* 2, 886 imprecise and unsatisfactory. See rather Robert, 2.1.388ff., F. Stok, *Atti conv.virg. Brindisi 1981* (Perugia 1983), 193ff.

**genus ... nostrum** Cf. 184 **generi ... nostro**, *Buc.*8.45, *Aen.*6.766 *unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba*. *G.* often of descendants, from *Aen.*1.28 (vd. my n. on 7.219 *ab Ioue principium generis*); cf. Fasce, *EV* 2, 658, who rightly points out that *Aen.*10.201–3 shows clearly the distinction between *gens*, *genus*, and *populus*.

**a quo principe** Cf. *Cic.Phil.*3.11 *a L. Bruto, principe huius ... generis et nominis*, *Liv.* 3.17.8, *Ov.F.*1.40, Schwind, *TLL* 10.2.1278.35.

**169 surge age** Cf. 8.59, 10.241; after Hom. ἀλλ' ἴθι/ ἀλλ' ἄγε.

**haec ... dicta .../ 170 ... refer** The tedious, mechanical epic business of passing on messages cast in atypical alliterative and (notably) interwoven language. The expression at 12.75f.; plur. at 10.491 and with *mandata*, 7.267, 11.176.

**laetus** As so often, V. employs at a key moment this neglected but amply significant term (ignored, e.g., by Mackie here); his penates bid *Aen.* take joy in conveying this abundance of good news to his father. Cf. 178 and 7.36, with n.. E. Henry, 81f. acutely draws attention to *Sen.*'s repeated emphasis on the Stoic's cheerful assumption of burdens.

**longaeuo ... parenti** *Anch.*, it bears repeating, is not censured or embarrassed on account of his earlier error; his age is venerable, not risible. For the adj.(a coinage by V., cf. Stirnimann, *TLL* 7.2.1617.44), cf. 7.166 with n.; of *Anch.*, also at 5.535.

**170 haud dubitanda** Cf. *Cic.Cael.*55 *res minime dubitanda*, *Fin.*5.55, Bulhart, *TLL* 5.1.2102.76ff.; not *Lucr.*, and just possibly calculatedly a little prosy in tone, for the context of reported message.

**Corythum** The noun might be *-us* or *-um* and might refer to a king or (more probably) a place(see n. on 7.209). The town or ruler was not clearly located in antiquity (more precisely, that is, than 'within Etruria') and later attempts at location, whether Renaissance or mod-

ern, including my own, should be viewed with severe censure (cf. *ib.* for—at last—a properly sceptical position).

**terrasque .../ 171 Ausonias** Significant juxtaposition of opposed toponyms, given added force by enjambement: cf. n. on 7.233 *Troiam Ausonios*, 709, 11.141, 168. **A.** as used here simply another synonym for *Italas* (or at least central Italy S. of the Appennines: cf. nn. on 7.104, 623).

**requirat** Ennian; cf. n. on 7.625.

**171 Dictaea ... arua** Cf. 104, 111. Like **Cnosia** (115), a handy synonym, faintly precise and specific, for ‘Cretan’; Dicte now identified, perhaps overconfidently (Barrington map 60, F2; cf. H. Sonnabend, *NP* 3, 572) as Mt. Modi in the far East of Crete. The *arua* conventional of heroic/colonists’ settlement, 136.

**negat tibi** Standard usage, Pascucci, *EV* 3, 683; cf. n. on 7.9.

**Iuppiter** Cf. 159; the penates have been charged with a weighty revelation of the divine will. Cf. 114, 116: for the Trojans, the visit to Crete was not a leader’s senile aberration, nor for us merely a scholar-poet’s learned enrichment of the narrative by means of a new nexus of associations. V. is at pains to integrate the episode into a larger divine plan.

**172 talibus ... uisis** Resumptive, as at 2.195 *talibus insidiis*, and often after speeches. Not so much a tiny, unobtrusive abl. abs. (cf. Antoine, 235f.) as an instance (as 4.456 *hoc uisum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori*; cf. *OLD* s.v.) of the noun *uisum* (‘sight, vision’, in the pass. sense): Maselli, *EV* 5\*, 537 rightly favours the latter; otherwise **et** would be superfluous.

**attonitus** Cf. 4.282 *attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum* and n. on 7.580 ‘often used of reaction to divine intervention’, Kühn, 52, n.8, Münscher, *TLL* 2.1554.80. An account of the dreamer’s reaction a regular element in the epic dream: *Aen.*4.571–2, 7.458–9, O’Hara, *DOP*, 59, Walde, 453f.(in ample detail).

**uoce deorum** Cf. 7.90f. *uarias audit uoces fruiturque deorum/ colloquio*, with n., 9.134 *responsa deorum*.

**173 nec sopor illud erat** Aug. and later texts are little inclined to insist on congruence in such cases: KS 1, 36, LHS 442 (quoting by way of contrast *CLE* 1109.10 *non fuit illa quies*), Bulhart, *TLL* 7.1.364.13ff.. More important is the precise sense here, for failures to mark V.’s exact indications have led to much confusion: *Aen.* opens his parenthesis by

clarifying that he had not been in a state of **sopor**, V.'s normal expression specifically for the unconsciousness of deep sleep (vd. in particular *Aen.* 4.522f., 6.278, 8.27, 405f., Steiner, 41, n.4, citing Henry on 1.684, *OLD* s.v., §1a; Moya, *EV* 4, 940f. unsatisfactory). 'Not-**sopor**' is not in the least incompatible with **151 in somnis**: V. refers thus to that light sleep which the ancients thought rightly was particularly well suited to dreaming (n. on **151**). His phrasing may well be influenced by Hom. οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπναρ ἐκθλόν (*Od.*19.547), but Hom. should not be cited to legitimate abuse of regular Lat. idiom or indeed of the poet's surprisingly clear line of thought and I do not cite the numerous modern misreadings of V.'s words here. G.W. Williams (*TI*, 267) finds such disorder of thought here as to prompt the suggestion that **175** may have been intended for deletion. Indeed, some understanding of the background of these lines in current ancient ideas about dreams and physiology will be found necessary to avoid confusion.

**sed coram agnoscere C.**: note *Lucr.*1.134 *cernere uti uideamur eos audireque coram*; commoner in V., though, than in *Lucr.* **A.**: cf. 11.910. To repeat, the dramatic illusion of sleep does not have to be preserved (**153 tum**): on waking *Aen.* is easily, naturally, conventionally able to refer back to his earlier reactions and sensations.

**uultus** The face, of humans only, and, strictly, as indicator of the *mores* within, *Cic.Leg.*1.27, *EM*, s.v.

**174 uelatasque comas** Cf. **405**, **545**, *Lucr.*5.1198f. *uelatum saepe uideri/ uertier ad lapidem*, cf. *Cic.ND* 2.10 (with Pease's n.), *Varr.LL* 5.130, *Liv.*10.7.10, *Macr.*1.8.2, 10.22, *Act.frat. Arv.*p.7.4Henzén, Bömer on *Ov.F.*3.363, Appel, 190f., Lersch, 175f. and note *Fest.*p.432.2ff., *Macr.*3. 6.17, after Gavius Bassus, for *Aen.* as *inuentor* of this rite of veiling the head. The veiling of the head with the *toga* (n. on 7.612) is part of the *cinctus Gabinus*, used when the *primigenius sulcus* (n. on 7.157) was ploughed (Cato, *Orig.*fr.18P, 18aBeck-Walter), and likewise at the *Ara Maxima* (*Varr.ap.Macr.*3.6.17), as well as in *deuotio* (*Cic.ND* 2.10). Cf. further, **405**. Standard dress also for priests during a sacrifice at Rome (Wissowa 417, n. 3). Cf. further Ryberg, *Rites of the state religion*, 40, 43 (Aeneas on the *Ara Pacis*), S. Stone in *World of Roman costume* ed.J.L. Sebesta, L. Bonfante(Madison 2001), 17f., H. Bender, *ib.*, 149. *EV* 5\*, 476f. is awry, but V.'s usage here is in part difficult; cf. nn. on 7.154, 11.101: fillets, crowns and wreaths here at least not pertinent. On the repub. coin reproduced at *EV* 2, 14 the *Penates* are



clearly male and wear close-fitting caps; the splendid illustration in **V** (*ib. pl.1*) shows them veiled, exactly as I have explained. Though Serv. plaintively remarks that the gods of Lavinium did not have *uelatum caput* (as though he knew; vd. **148**), the solemn, priestly aspect here seems entirely appropriate.

**praesentiaque ora** TCD *manifesta*, *Gloss.Ansileubi* PR 713 *adsistentia*, Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.839.32f.. Compare 9.404 *tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori*, NH on Hor.C.1.35.2. So not just physically present, but, in the familiar language of *Gebetstil*, there to help.

**uidebar** ‘I dreamed I saw’; **V.** uses **agnoscere**, and avoids the archaic phrasing *uidere uidetur, uel sim*, but thought and idiom are old: cf. **150 uisi**, Plaut. *Curc.*260 *hac nocte in somnis uisus sum uiderier*, Gell.15.22.8 *uisum sibi esse ait in quiete ...*, Enn. *trag.* 50f. *parere se ardentem facem/ uisa est in somnis* (with Jocelyn’s note), *Ann.*3 *uisus Homerus adesse poeta* (with Prop.3.3.1), 38 *nam me uisus homo*, 40 *errare uidebar*, 43, Cic. *Div.*1.46, 50 *uisum esse audire uocem*, id.56, etc., *Aen.*2.773 *uisa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago*, 4.460f. *hinc exaudiri uoces et uerba uocantis/ uisa uiri*, 467, 557, 5.637, 722, 12.910 *uelle uidemur ...*, Liv.2.36.2. Cf. Catrein, 62, 64, Steiner, 41, n.4, quoting profitably Luterbacher, *cit.*, 35, but from ed.1 (Burgdorf 1880), *quod autem deest in ed. secunda (ibid. 1904)*, *quamvis multo auctiore*. I exclude here comparable references to portents, Norden on 6.256, *EV* 5\*, 536f., etc..

**175 tum** The penates had spoken to the dozing Aeneas; stunned, he knew that in that state he had seen them face to face, and as he realised quite what he had seen just then, he burst—pointing a climax (n. on 7.292)—into a cold sweat.

**gelidus ... sudor** Cf. n. on 7.459 for the cold (as **30**, n. on 11.338f.) sweat of fear.

**toto ... corpore** Cf. 7.459 *perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor* after Lucr. 6.944 *manat item nobis e toto corpore sudor* and (cf. Wigodsky, 42, 48), Enn. *Ann.*417 (next n.).

**manabat** Vd. Lucr. in the previous note; the vb. Ennian, of sweat, *Ann.*417 *tunc timido manat ex omni corpore sudor*, *uersus* ap. Schol. Ver. *ad Aen.*2.173 *namque laborando manat de corpore sudor (incerti 14 Morel/Büchner)*, Bömer, *TLL* 8.320.17. The impf. clearly inceptive.

**176 corripio ... corpus** Cf. Lucr.3.163 *corripere e somno corpus* and n. on 11.462. Alliteration perhaps suggestive of vigorous haste. Cf. Lambertz, *TLL* 4.1041.46f..

**e stratis** Bedclothes are not at all—perhaps surprisingly—unheroic (n. on 7.88; for Hom., cf. Seymour, 204 with n.3).

**tendoque supinas/ 177 ad caelum ... manus** Cf. 4.204 *Iouem manibus ... orasse supinis* (with Pease's n.), 5.233 *palmas ponto tendens utrasque*, 685f., 9.16f. *duplicisque ad sidera palmas/ sustulit*, 10.667 *duplicis cum uoce manus ad sidera tendit*, M. Lobe, *Die Gebärden in Vergils Aeneis* (Frankfurt 1999), 162f., Appel, 190f., Sittl, 187f., with abundant detail (a 'universal' gesture). For 'palms up', cf. Liv.3.50.5, 26.9.8, Hor.C.3. 23.1 *caelo supinas si tuleris manus*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.344.46f., Sittl, 147, 174, n.2; for Gk. ὑπέρια thus, cf. Plut. *Comp.Philop. Flam.* 2.3, *Tim.*11.2, 3, [Aesch.] *PV* 1005, Eunap. *Vit.Soph.* 6.6.12. Lat. phrases of the type **passis de litore palmis** (263; cf. Enn.*Ann.*490, Lucr. 5.1200, G.4. 498, *Aen.*1.93, 2.688, 5.233, 5.256, Adkin, *TLL* 10.1.142.35ff.) do also clearly suggest that the palms are openly visible, i.e. facing upwards. The identity of gesture between prayer to the gods, supplication to a human and military surrender (11.414) is no accident (Sittl, 187f., Corbeill(83), 27); Tert. *Apol.*30.4 speaks of Christian prayer *manibus expansis quia innocuis* (cf. *id.*, *de orat.*14); compare also the bowing of the head, Sittl, 177, and the bending of the knee, *ib.*, 177f.. Gestures of subjection or surrender are called for in the presence of the deity, pagan, Jewish, Moslem or Christian; Page notes 1 *Tim.*2.8.

**cum uoce** Cf. 2.688 *caelo palmas cum uoce tetendit*, 10.667 *et duplicis cum uoce manus ad sidera tendit*. Similar phrasing, e.g. 2.378 *pedem cum uoce*, 7.420 *se cum uocibus*, 11.394f. *totam cum stirpe .../... domum*; a neat and vigorous alternative to 'and', and at the same time a zeugma, the 'stretching' of hands and of voice (cf. n. on 7.514) being distinct and different (Catrein, 156f.).

**et munera/ 178 intemerata** Serv. comments (unhelpfully) *rite perfecta* but Mørland (*Kratylos* 5 (1960), 58, *ap.* Hermans, *TLL* 7.1.2103.68) compares *Od.*9.205 ἀκράσιον, of wine. Cf. NH on Hor.C.1.19.15, citing Fest.p.474.31ff.L on the (invariable) offering of unmixed wine. The *pura ... unda* of 6.229 refers to its purifying force (cf. Bömer on *Ov.F.*2.35, *ad fin.*); so *Tib.*2.1.13 *casta placent superis*, exemplified in v.14 by the use of spring water drawn *manibus puris*; so too *Tib.*1. 10.24, the offering of *purum ... fauum*, *Ov.F.*4.369 *lacte mero*. Here, the language is innovative but elevated (cf. n. on 11.584) and V. refers to unmixed wine, though other liquids cannot be excluded. Pascoli notes, tersely and sufficiently, 'merum'.

**libo** Gk. λείβω, but in Lat. the notion of 'offer' has precedence over 'pour' (cf. EM, *TLL*), and the vb. can be used of solids (e.g. *Cic.Leg.*2.19,

Ov.F.1.588; cf. **303**); cf. 1.736, 5.77, 7.133, where vd. n.(note variety of constructions used). Cat.66.82 *munera libet* not a distinctive antecedent.

**178 focus** Cf. 12.118 *in medioque focos et dis communibus aras*, Cat.68B.102, Varr.RD fr.68Cardauns. But V. has in mind not so much the *foc[ul]i* of Rom. cult (portable braziers, Wissowa, 417, 475) as the familiar offerings on the hearth in domestic cult (Wissowa, 157, 162, n.1, citing e.g. Serv.Dan.on 1.730, Ov.F.3.284, Latte, 90 and see Watson on Hor.*Epod.* 2.43, Smith on Tib.1.1.6); specially appropriate, as Serv. realises, to the penates. *Ara deorum penatium est focus*, Porph.ad Hor.*Epod.*2.43; vd. Austin on 1.704. A singular omission from *EV*.

**perfecto laetus honore** For **h.** as 'cult act, offering', cf. **118**. With **p.**, cf. (of relig. acts), **548**, 6.637 (but here the use is in no way technical). Cf. 8.268, 279, 544 for **1.** and the performance of cult-acts and 7.147, 8.617, etc. for **1.** and human recognition of divine support.

**179 Anchisen** Prompt discussion with others is a regular element in the epic/tragic representation of dreams, Walde, 454 (this instance perhaps not listed because merely registered, not narrated by the poet), comparing Agamemnon and his council (*Il.*2.47 ff.), Ilia and her sister (Enn.), and likewise sisters in AR(Medea) and V.(Dido). The same applies to the conventional cult-act after the dream, likewise mentioned by V. with extreme brevity: Walde, *ib.* lists Aesch.*Pers.*201 ff., *Cho.*538, Soph.*El.* 894f., Eur.*IT* 61, AR 4.670f., *Aen.*4.56ff.. See Broadhead on *Pers.*, *cit.* for the ancient custom of washing in fresh running water after an ill-omened dream and for Roman procedure after dreams vd. also 8.69 (where see Eden), Prop.3.10.13, [Tib.]3.4.9f., *Pers.*2.16 (and cf. Courtney on Juv.6.522ff. for the wider context). Aen. naturally, and as soon as the gods are thanked, exactly in keeping with his procedure at **58f.** (**primumque parentem**), informs his father( 'consults', Mackie, 68, wrongly). Anch., it has often been remarked, becomes increasingly prophetic in manner during bk.3; a capacity more clearly explicit in Naev.'s account, fr.9Strz., Horsfall (1989), 12, 15, Lloyd(1957b), 143.

**facio certum So bis** in Plaut.*Pseud.* (18, 1097, alongside *certiorem*, *Aul.*244) but clearly thus in *Aen.* because of the impossibility of using *certiorem* in dactyl. verse (Lunelli-Leumann, 161; cf. Elsperger, *TLL* 3.921.64ff.)

**remque ... pando** Cf. Lucr.1.55 *rerum primordia pandam*, 5.54, G.4. 284 *inuenta magistri*, *Aen.*6.267 *res alta terra et caligine mersas*, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.199.10f.

**ordine** Cf. 11.240f. *responsa reposit/ ordine cuncta suo*, with n..

**180 agnoui** Cf. 12.449 *audit agnoui que sonum*, 632 *dudum agnoui*.

**prolem ambiguam** Foucher, *TLL* 10.2.1823.36 adduces Sen. *Thy.* 327 *prolis incertae fides* (cf. 240 *dubius sanguis*). Armstrong, 325 invites comparison with the Cretan *mixtumque genus prolesque biformis* of 6.25: or rather, faced by Anch.'s error, once more, and by the Minotaur's genesis and appearance, the poet is twice induced to employ a 'hendiadys' that employs words from the limited register used of ancestry and descent. A. prudently suggests no more: even in the labyrinth of polyvalence, there is still some limit to how much bull we may safely attribute to the poet. Compare Hor.*C.*1.7.29, of Salamis, both Cypriot and (nearly) mainland, or Sen.*Ag.* 984f. *nomen ambiguum suis / idem sororis natus et patris nepos*.

**geminosque parentis G.** simply, 'two' (cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1743. 82ff., 6.190, 7.280, 450); **p.** 'de auctore generis', Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.358. 68ff. (cf. 58, 6.765). However, mercifully, no descendants of Iasius complicate the Trojan royal genealogy.

**181 seque ... deceptum** Anch. acknowledges his error with notable verbal elegance and economy; V. then slips from OO into OR for slight expansion (OO remains a black hole of Virgilian studies; vd. Laird, 169f.); significant juxtaposition, **nouo ueterum**, adds verbal point, and conveys a passable excuse: Anch.'s error had been in the spring of this very year (no difficulty in n. used thus; *EV* 3, 769), while the mixed origin of the Trojans was rooted in voyages and cities founded generations before. This antithesis much disliked (inexplicably enough) by numerous commentators (anthologised extensively by Henry), who, though, have nothing better to suggest. Sufficient sense, though, in Heyne. Kroll (Lunelli-Kroll, 63) cites this line to illustrate a neoteric vice, that of introducing a second epithet into a line so as to achieve a pretty pattern of nouns and adjs.. But both adjs. clearly carry weight and convey meaning in a terse statement; the styl. phenomenon is only too familiar (cf. n. on 11.390), but the charge here seems unfair. Cf. *Rhet.Her.*4.64 *ait iste eos similitudine loci deceptos angiporto toto deerasse* (a hugely entertaining passage), 5.851, Simbeck, *TLL* 5.1. 176.20f.

**nouo ueterum ... errore locorum** At 7.795 *ueteresque Sicani* seems to refer to Sicani who are to be understood as [remnants of] those Siculi who had once occupied central Italy, *long before* Turnus led the region to battle against Aeneas (cf. further Evrard, *EV* 5\*, 525). Cf. 6.532f. *pelagine uenis erroribus actus/ an monitu diuum?*, 2.412 *Graiarum errore iubarum*, 7.199 *errore uiae* (with n. on 215 *regione uiae*), Antoine, 84. More clearly objective gen. than **145f. laborum/ auxilium**.

**182 tum memorat** So too 8.532; cf.(concluding) *sic memorat, ter*. Note *Enn.Ann.166 uti memorant*.

**182–8** So Telemus, μάντις ἀνὴρ ἤς τε μέγας τε, warned the Cyclops that he would lose his eye to Odysseus, but the Cyclops did not expect Od. to be ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὐτιδανός καὶ ἄκις and only remembered the prophecy too late (*Od.*9.507 ff.): not central to V.'s thought here, but relevant. Anch. has misunderstood Delian Apollo, but everyone had hitherto misunderstood Cassandra on the same point: that indeed was clearly part of the *Iliaca fata* (**182**), by which father now recognises that son is trained and toughened. The voyage westwards has been a known but unacknowledged part of the Trojans' destiny for some time, and now at last they can set the right course.

**nate** Not once in bk.3 does V. 'show Aen. addressing his father, while Anch. speaks to his son on one occasion only'. Here, indeed (Denis Feeney, *ORVA* 182, n.70 does admit one line of OO from son to father, **179**). At 5.725, Anch. uses the same four words; this repetition would have reinforced Sparrow's argument, 98f., but it will shortly become clearer (**192–208**) that bk.5 draws heavily on bk.3.

**Iliacis ... fatis** Cf. nn. on 7.293, 11.345.

**exercite** Recognised by Bowra, seventy years ago, as distinctively Stoic in language (*GR* 3(1933–4), 15=*ORVA* 370); vd. Pomathios, 225, Cova, 152 and *EV* 4, 1030. Cf. *Sen.Prov.*2.2 *omnia aduersa exercitationes putat, et saep.*, Arnold, *Rom.Stoicism*, 338, E. Henry, 80. One would not gather this marked colouring of the word from a glance at Hey/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1378.66f.(or indeed 1369.21 ff.).

**183 sola mihi ... Cassandra** Cf. 2.247 *ora dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris* (after Aesch.*Ag.*1212 and ultimately—vd. Fraenkel on *Ag.*1202—the *Cypria*); vd. Robert, 2.3, 997, n.5. C. had warned Anch., repeatedly (vd. the impf.), of Hesperia and she was on principle not to be believed (E. Henry, 47, 130, etc.; vd. *supra*). Now Juno will be able to

maintain in the council of the gods that Aen. *Italiam petiit .../ Cassandreae impulsus furis* (10.67f.). Prop.(3.13.63f.) wrote **sola Parim Phrygiae fatum componere, sola/ fallacem patriae serpere dixit equum**, not clearly dependent on V. Cf. *EV* 1, 690f., Robert, 2,3, 996ff., J.N. Bremmer, *NP* 6, 317f., O. Paoletti, *LIMC* 7.1.956ff..

**talis casus** Cf. 1.9 and **3.299** (with **tot** and **tantos**); *EV* 1, 598 strangely classifies **c.** here under the ‘senso negativo di “pericolo”’, but **183** is evidently explained in what follows and the (surprising) events are clearly those of the Trojans’ arrival in Hesperia, to which this is no moment to assign a ‘senso negativo’ (cf. too Pomathios, 344). Lyc. after all had used Cass. as his mouthpiece of Troy’s distant future, notwithstanding deep doubts about date and authorship of the Rome-section; cf. most recently S.R. West, *Terminus* 1–2 (2001), 136f., *ead.* in (eds.)M. Depew, D. Obbink, *Matrices of genre* (Cambridge, Ma. 2000), 153ff.), and notably *ead.*, *CQ* 53 (2003), 307; Erskine’s objections (156, n.102) to Dr. West’s arguments are peculiarly inept, for he adduces Theon as commenting already on the impugned Lyc.1236 (vd. on 1261, SByz. s.v. *Aineia*), about Anch.’s burial in Thrace (cf. Conon, *Dieg.*46, Photius, *Bibl.*186.140b.23; also Robert, 2,3, 1519, J. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford 1999), 228): not in Lyc., or attributed to Lyc., but just related by Theon, from (probably) Hegesippus of Micyberna. Irrelevant therefore to the date of Lyc.’s ‘Roman’ section. Dr. West remarks acutely that Anch.’s patient recall here of apparently crazed ravings reveals Aen.’s destiny to be part of a long-maturing divine plan. Given that Apollo had denied her credibility, in punishment, she is now recalled in confirmation of Apollo’s own prediction. After her death, Cassandra’s audience begins slowly to realise that they had been wrong to disbelieve her, that indeed she had been only too correct in her vaticinations. The fall of Troy unleashes a vast reversal of understanding for both victors and vanquished.

**canebat** Heavily alliterative (perhaps thus distinctively archaic in origin) prediction; vd. n. on **58**. Cf. **155** for the vb. and n. on 7.79 for its application to seers. Serv., as quite often (Cordier, *Alliteration*, 34, n.2) deplores (*compositio uitiosa*) the allit. (*quae maioribus placuit*). Some ancient critical background at *EV* 1, 113.

**184 nunc repeto** Cf. 7.122f. *genitor mihi talia namque/ (nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit*, where vd.n.; there it is not quite clear whether Anch. had actually himself prophesied or had simply (cf. *Aen.*7, p.112) offered an interpretation. Father recalls Cass.; son recalls father:

an agreeable symmetry and, given an early date for 3, we are spared (cf. del Chicca, *EV* 4, 52f. for a summary) unedifying gymnastics to account for an echo of bk.7 in bk.3. As it is, in bk.7 V. seems to use the echo of bk.3 to suggest that Aen. has now come of age as custodian of the Trojans' prophetic mysteries. The infin. after **r.** a novelty, part of V.'s substantial expansion of the range of vbs. (here cf. *orantes transmittere*, 6.313) after which an infin. could (neatly and economically) be used, LHS, 357, Görler, *EV* 2, 271, Lunelli-Janssen, 108f.

**haec ... debita** Immediately to be specified as a future in the west; thought is disentangled into a series of related, paratactic statements, for simplicity and speed (between Apollo' words and the Trojans' departure) are here essential. Cf. 6.66f. *non indebita posco / regna meis fatis*, 7.120 (with n.), 145.

**generi ... nostro** Cf. 168 **genus a quo principe nostrum**; either obvious and natural phrasing, both times, or a hint that Anch. is specifically confirming the prophecy, as reported to him in verbal detail by his son. The Catullan echo (64.229) claimed by Wills, 30, n.46 is not persuasive.

**portendere** Cass., the evident subj., omitted (see e.g. Ladewig, Austin on 2.25). 'Accedente colore praedicendi, vaticinandi', Scheible, *TLL* 10.2.12.84; cf. Lucil.727, Sall. *Cat.*47 *ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus Corneliis portendi*, Aen.7.255f. *hunc illum ... portendi generum* (where vd. n.), Liv.29.10.8, etc.; Scheible adds confirmation from the glossators. The predic. acc. (**haec ... debita**) common with **p.:** cf. bk.7, *cit.*, Liv.1.55.4 *firma stabiliaque cuncta*, Scheible, 14.60.

**185 saepe ... saepe** Only here in V.(excellently suited to this unusual context), while *semper ... semper* is common (Wills, 121 is baffling).

**Hesperiam** Cf. 163. Retrospectively, Cass. proves to have used exactly the same terminology (cf. Buchheit, 154).

**Itala regna** Cf. 4.381 *i sequere Italiam uentis, pete regna per undas; regnum Italiae*, 11.219 and n., Pomathios, 174. The ref. may primarily be to the realm that Aen. will have in Italy, but we should perhaps not exclude the various kingdoms already present in Italy, like Latinus', where Aen. will be offered a home. For the prosody of the initial i, cf. 11.657.

**uocare** Translators and commentators render confidently 'name', or the like, but in that case we would expect a predicate, as at 1.109 *saxa uocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras*, Liv.30.10.9(?), Hor. *C.*1.2.43. At 8.322f. *Latiumque uocari / maluit*, obj. is suppressed, but pred. is present, as at 11.542f. *matrisque uocauit / nomine ... Camillam*. Ovid's usage, like

Livy's, appears identical. There is, though, no pred. here, and it is surprising that this usage ('mention by name'), not difficult, but apparently unparalleled, has excited no comment.

**186 sed quis .../ 187 crederet** The impf. subj. standard in a past potential, LHS, 334, Ernout-Thomas, 238, Roby 2, 228, Handford, *Latin subjunctive*, 111, KS 1, 179, *Buc.* 6.27, *Aen.* 8.650, 676, 9.7, Lambert, *TLL* 4.1146.71 ff.. Compare also 7.808, 11.303 with nn.. Of course no-one believed such predictions; that was Cass.'s lot(183).

**ad Hesperiae ... litora** Cf. 1.2f. *Laviniaque uenit/ litora*. The gen. less lofty than adj.; V. takes up exactly Anch.'s recollection of the prediction itself in the previous line.

**uenturos ... Teucros** Cf. 158. If Cassandra's predictions were current in Troy, then perhaps others may wish to re-evaluate the origins of Creusa's language, 2.781f., where indeed Hesperia was mentioned, along with the Lydian Tiber; cf. xxx.

**187 aut quem tum ... moueret?** Before the fall of Troy(tum), and given Apollo's punishment of Cass., clearly there was no sense in a prediction that Trojans would one day rule in an unknown land to the far west. **Moueret:** cf. *G.* 4.505 *quo fetu manis, quae numina uoce moueret?*, Wieland, *TLL* 8.1542.57 and cf. n. on 7.312 *Acheronta mouebo* (where the sense is clearly rather more than 'persuade').

**uates Cassandra** The noun carries notable force, not easily defined: Cass. in those days, though she was a seer, yet in her prophecies.... *Vaticinando*, glosses Bell, 158, acutely.

**188 cedamus Phoebō** Cf. 5.467 *cede deo*, 2.704, *Buc.* 10.69 (naturally), in keeping with the strong sense of obedience to the divine omnipresent in *Aen.*, (vd. next n.); cf. Bannier, *TLL* 3.726.44 ff..

**moniti meliora sequamur** Cf. 88, 114 for **s.** It seems to have been assumed, rather too easily (and already, with complete confidence, by TCD), that the object of **s.** is **meliora**. Unexceptionable (cf. *G.* 2.434, *Ov.Met.* 7.21 *deteriora sequor*), but a little flat and obvious. **M.** may indeed be taken as obj. of **s.** but should also be understood with **moniti**; the retained acc. with pass. verb is irreproachable(bibl. at 7.74; add Courtney(47), 429), and usage with *moneo* suggests strongly that **moniti meliora** should long since have been connected(noted, fully and correctly, Bell, 293, 374): cf. *Pacuv.trag.* 112 *di monerint meliora*, 3.712 **multa horrenda moneret**, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1408.8 ff.. Now it also



becomes far easier to understand *Phoebum* as obj. of *s.* (cf. 2.701, **3.88** *et saep.*), a natural restatement of **cedamus Phoebo**.

**189 sic ait** Cf. 11.29 (with n.), 520, etc..

**cuncti** Cf. **60, 100** for these unanimous reactions; 11.132 is more striking.

**dicto paremus** Standard idiom, Breimeier, *TLL* 10.1.378.10ff. (from Plautus), *Ter.Hec.*564, *Caes.Gall.*5.2.4, *Aen.*4.238f., perhaps Hom. in origin, *Od.*2.103, etc. ἡμῖν δ' αὐτ' ἐπεπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ. Note, at the moment of departure from Carthage *Aen.* **sequimur te, sancte deorum,** / *quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ouantes* (4.576f., not discussed by Moskalew): then, the great leave-taking is swiftly revised, with the help of this Cretan echo, into yet another (*hanc quoque sedem*, indeed) departure en route for Italy.

**ouantes** *Serv.Dan.* *alacres, non utique gaudentes*; note how **544 quae** [Pallas] **prima accepit ouantes** [sc. *nos in Italia*] takes up **523f.** (esp. **524 Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant**), and cf. too 4.543 *nautas ... ouantes* (*Serv. laetantes*). Vd. Plepelits, *TLL* 9.2.1198.74ff., *EV* 3, 914. The word thus evidently conveys a brisk, cheerful (even noisily cheerful) activity.

**190 hanc quoque ... sedem** Cf. **88, 123, 161, 167**. Though there is little strong sense in bk.3 of Dido's role as audience, over and above ours, here perhaps there is a weary, wry, even grimly amused sense of 'yet another landfall/settlement/departure' inevitably experienced on the endless journey west (cf. **496**), that Dido, herself an exile, might perhaps be expected to share, and indeed view with justified concern.

**deserimus** Cf. 4.582 *litora deseruere*; there the verb's frequent association with amatory desertion is not absent (cf. Pichon, *Ind.verb.amat.*, 127), but here desertion is entirely praiseworthy and in prompt, direct obedience to the gods (cf. n. on 7.291).

**paucisque relictis** A neglected commonplace of colonisation-narrative, present also in 5.700–718: the voyagers—Trojans and others—gain and lose from their original number (Horsfall 1989, 16, Schmidt, 195f.); here, cf. *Hdt.*1.165.3 (the Phocaeans who returned home), *Agathyll. l.c.*(**163**), *Aen.* leaves two daughters in Arcadia, *DH* 1.49.4 the Trojans leave in Thrace those unable to continue, *ib.*1.50.2 (*Cin-aethion*), *ib.*1.51.2 (*Aluntium* in Sicily), *ib.*1.54.2 (*Elyma*): for *DH* a favourite motif, aetiologically indispensable (cf. a fuller discussion, *CQ* 29 (1979), 381f.). Not, though, an invention for *DH*, nor any direct

link, either way, between V. and the *Ant.Rom.* See too n. on **78 fessos**. Perhaps cf. **133**; in that case, some reinforcement of the foundation-story of Cretan Pergamum/Pergamea (so e.g. Pascoli). Did these *pauci* want to stay behind? Speculation in Cova and earlier, not invited or encouraged by the swift and terse text.

On a quite different line, but inexplicably neglected, TCD suggests (*mortis necessitate remanentibus*) that the *pauci* had died from the plague: cf. *Buc.* 1.15, *Aen.* 9.482, 10. 673; quite possible, in Greek too, and a sense not to be excluded here, though apparently absent from the comms..

### 191 uela damus Cf. 9.

**uastumque ... aequor** Cf. 2.780 *uastum maris aequor arandum*, 7.228 *uasta per aequora uecti*, 10.693; *G.* 4.430 *ponti* (cf. **3.605**); *Cat.* 31.3 and *Cic. progn.* fr.6 for *u* used of *pontus*, *gurgis*. Sinking into the formulaic. Vd. Pinotti, *EV* 5\*, 455.

**caua trabe** Cf. 1.552, 4.566 for **t.** used, like δόρυ, of ship timber (so *Enn. Ann.* spur.9 and *trag.* 209, *Cat.* 4.3, *Hor. C.* 1.1.13) or metonymically of the ships themselves. **C:** Hom. κοῖλος (cf. *G.* 1.262 *cauat arbore lintres* (where vd. Serv.), 1.136 *alnus ... cauatas*).

**currimus** Cf. 5.222 *fractis discentem currere remis*, *Prop.* 2.1.34 *Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra uia*. The use of **c.** with a dir. obj. (cf. 5.235 *aequora curro*, 862 *currit iter*, 1.67 *nauiat aequor*) not so much a striking transitivity (cf. n. on 7.581, indices to bks. 7, 11, s.v.), but rather (cf. Page on 1.524, and, usefully, Antoine, 39ff.) to be explained as an extension of the cognate acc. (cf. 1.524 *maria omnia uecti*, 5.627), possibly under Greek influence; cf. *Eur. Hel.* 1117 ἔδραμε ῥόθια πολιά, and *Od.* 2.429, etc. ἡ δ' ἔθεν κατὰ κύμα and frequent expressions such as (Page) *Soph. OC* 1686 κλύδων' ἀλώμεναι ('acc. of ground traversed'); cf. R.G. Mayer, *ALLP*, 163 for Serv.'s view. The verse seems to carry a singular flavour of the rather conventionally, laboriously lofty; possibly V. sought a grand ending to a long narrative section and executed it in slight haste. The sequence of iambic and pyrrhic words between weak caes. (with *-que*) and 4D is not frequent (cf. *Enn. Ann.* 376, *Buc.* 2.6, 53, *Aen.* 5.140, 10.705, Norden, 431 ff.), and confirms a certain striving for effect.

**192–208** The storm, we shall see, is an elaboration of *Od.* 12.403ff. (=14.301ff.); vd. Mehmel, 34ff., Knauer, 184ff., who explains how Hom.'s sequence, Tiresias' prophecy (11.100–37)–slaughter of Helios' cattle—storm is re-worked into storm—slaughter of Harpies' cattle—

prophecy. Vd. also Stahl, 48. At the same time, Aen.'s course intersects with Od.'s more literally: both had visited Thrace. Thereafter, Aen. visits, unhomerically, Delos and Crete, and is then tossed by a storm for three days, en route for the Strophades, while Od.(9.79ff.; cf. Delvigo, *infra*, 311), en route for Ithaca round Cape Malea, is swept off by a nine days' storm to the land of the Lotus-eaters (vd. **192f.**, **205** and for M. in the tragedians, cf. Willink on Eur.*Orest.*362); Malea became proverbial, like Euboean Caphereus(11.260): cf. Strab.8.6.20 Μαλέας δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλάθου τῶν οἴκαδε. But Stephanie West(*CQ*53 (2003), 304) and others(Cova *ad loc.*, M.L. Delvigo, *RFil* 117 (1989), 309, n.2, 310f. and so already Mehmél, 35, n.5, Hügi, 56) do well to remind us of the context of the storm's reappearance at *Od.*14.301 ff.: in one of Od.'s lying tales, but just after he had left Crete. There are also (*infra*) two Argonautic storms, one unlocated, one directly after they left Crete, and of visible relevance to V. Here, Aen.'s storm takes him through exactly the same waters as the storm in *Od.*9; Malea is suppressed (vd. n. on **204**; on 5.193, vd. Highet, 288 and n. on 7.302, *Alambicco*, 101f. for V.'s geographical rhetoric. Misunderstood, Della Corte, 61) and V. is indeed careful to blur the detail until **209**. This little storm in bk.3 (verbally related to that in bk.1, perhaps inevitably: Hershkowitz, 72f.; vd. **197**) moved V. to exceptionally developed, elaborated writing(a sketch, or first trial for the great storm of *Aen.*1, suggests Cartault, most attractively, 241; cf. xxxix–xl), and we discover significant elements of AR, Call., and Lucr. as well. This storm, or at least **192–5**, is then re-used by V., with some variation, at 5.8–11 (cf. Sparrow, 98, Moskalew, 94). Cf. **182**. Here, V. can be seen working with typical precision at the inversion of an Homeric sequence; in bk.5, the re-use is very convenient, but there is no significant structural link to Hom.; a convenient further indication that bk.3 is earlier. For Call., cf. **202**, **203**. AR has the Argonauts reach Bithynia (and the Harpies) after escaping from a giant wave (2.171f.; cf. Nelis, 36); far more important (excellently, Cartault, 279, n.6, Nelis, 221f.), after they leave Crete, they are enveloped in blackest darkness(4.1695f.), to the point that they lose their way (1701); clearly the narrative sequence is both Homeric and Apollonian and there is specific indebtedness to both. Cf. further Hügi, 56ff., F. Fiumi, *Orpheus* 19 (1972), 172ff.(whence Paratore): V.'s insistent references to the storm's darkness are peculiarly Apollonian(Cartault, 241, with n.2). Note also Henry E., 49f. on these lines as description of a mental state (cf. Otis, 259).

**192 postquam** Cf. 1.

**altum tenere** Cf. 5.164 *altum alii teneant*, EV 5\*, 100. See 11, Lucr.3.1030 (while Cat. has 'heights', 63.1) and Merguet's *Lexicon* for a..

**rates** Ennian (n. on 7.197); also Pacuv. and *trag.* anon..

**nec iam amplius** Cf. 260, 5.8f. *nec iam amplius ulla/ occurrit tellus*, 11.807 (where vd. n. for the synaloepha of monosyll.), after Hom.(see next n.).

**ullae/193 ... terrae** Cf. Od.12.403f.(=14.301f.) οὐδέ τις ἄλλη/ φαίνεται γαιῶν; the normal basis of heroic and classical navigation had disappeared (cf. full n. on 7.215); roughly speaking, the Trojans, though their destination was unknown, knew where they were in Crete, but now, for the moment, they do not, which famously (only more so) is what happened to Od. at Od.9.80ff. (cf. Denys Page, *Folktales ...*, 5ff. hardly less dramatic and romantic than the original text).

**193 apparent** Cf. 1.118, 2.422, 483 (and 484, anaphoric), 622, **3.701**, etc., a favourite, and powerful collocation. Perhaps after Lucr.3.18 *apparet diuum numen sedesque quietae*. Macr.5.3.3. reads **ulla/ apparet tellus**.

**caelum ... pontus** Cf. 5.9 *maria undique et undique caelum*, and Hom. had continued, 12.404, ἄλλ' οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα (note also 5.294 γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον). V. extends the polarity of sea and sky (Hardie, *CI*, 298ff., citing e.g.1.129, 4.52, 5.790, 821; note too e.g. Moschus 133) into an equally familiar tripartition(Hardie, *CI*, 313ff., at 317; cf. 1.58, 223f., 280, etc.), though without stylistic parallelism of all three elements (for the land has quite disappeared).

**undique et undique** The conventional polarity sharpened, though, and dramatised by a quite new gemination of advb., finely disposed in ABBA sequence. New for Lat., but perhaps after AR 4.1237 πάντη ... πάντη (also at Opp.*Hal.*2.530, 4.31). Note Lucr. 4.432 *quippe ubi nil aliud nisi aquam caelumque tuetur*, Hor.*C.*3.27.31f. *nihil astra praeter/ uidit et undas* (where cf. NR).

**194 tum mihi ... supra caput** For **tum mihi**, *olli* at 5.10. *supra caput astitit* also at 4.702 (Iris over Dido), Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.397.35f.. From Hom.(*Il.*2.20, etc.) εἰς δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, via Lucr.3.959 *et nec opinanti mors ad caput adstitit* and *G.*4.319 *tristis ad extremi sacrum caput astitit amnis*. Williams, *TI*, 270 is troubled by the 'mechanical gesture towards a narrator who is also a participant'; or we might prefer to think of it

as a detail whereby the narrator, in a swift bridging passage, steps out of a markedly learned and literary storm, into a participatory sense of direct personal danger.

**caeruleus ... imber** V. still has in mind the storm of *Od.*12/14: (12.405, 14.303), where the son of Cronus set over Od.'s ship *κυανέην ... νεφέλην* (cf. *Cic.Arat.*204 *caerulea ... nube*); see Edgeworth, 107f., André, 167, Goetz, *TLL* 3.106.53f..

**astitit** Cf. also *Plaut.Merc.*879 *nubis atra imberque ... instat*.

**195 noctem hiememque ferens** The first half of the line introduces simply the two key elements, storm and darkness(cf. Kornhardt, *TLL* 6.3.2774.46f.), present in the brilliant and difficult second half.

**inhorruit unda tenebris** An extension ('latius', Hofmann/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1601.40) of the more obvious and literal bristling of *G.*1.314 *spicea iam campis cum messis inhorruit*. NH refer to the unproblematic instrum. abl., **tenebris** (as to *Ov.Ibis* 201 *tristis hiems Aquilonis inhorruit alis*) in their (ultimately inconclusive) battle at *Hor.* C.1.23.5. At *G.*3.198f. V. also has *campique natantes/ lenibus horrescunt flabris* (cf. Williams on 5.11, well citing *Cic.Rep.*1.63 *subito mare coepit horrescere*, *Cat.*64.269f. and **3.285**; note though also *Pacuv.trag.*411 *inhorrescit mare/ tenebrae conduplicantur*, *Acc.trag.*413 *mare cum horreret fluctibus* (cf. *AR* 4.1575, *Sen.contr.* exc.8.6.2), *Aen.*2.110f. *aspera ponti .../... hiems*, where Austin offers merely 'rough'). But that is not quite all. Hom.'s ἤχλυσε πόντος (*Od.*12.406, 14.304), V.'s evident model here (though cf. also 9.68–9, before Malea), is taken by LSJ as 'grows dark'; Eust. renders however ἀχλύος ἐπλήσθη and Schol.V offers ἀχλύϊ καὶ κότω περιειλήφει (Ἡ ἀχλύος ἐπλήσθη καὶ κότους); V. will hardly have thought of eyes necessarily darkening at *AR* 3.963, either, and for him, the surface of Hom.'s sea *may* have simply darkened, or, far more suggestive, may (also) have grown hazy with spume (so, clearly Schol.Hom. and Eust. above, if they are not to be charged with mere repetition of synonyms) as the wind got up; more, clearly, than φρίξ. Here, then there is indeed ample darkness (compare the yet greater elaboration in *AR* 4., *supra*); the subj., though, is not *mare* (Acc.) but *unda*. It may therefore not be enough to say conventionally that the sea's *aequor* bristles with waves, if, wonderfully, the waves themselves actually bristle (sc. with spray, presumably, at least if *unda* is not just a dull metonymy for *mare*), while at the same time—in place of the sober and logical *hieme* that we might want to supply from **noctem hiememque ferens**—the Pacuvian (and, of course, Apollonian) darkness is untranslatably subsumed

by means of an instrumental abl.. The *horrescit strictis seges ensibus* of 7.526 is excellent, but by 11.824 *tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum*, the joy of such writing as **195** seems to have passed. Cf. Wigodsky, 85; *EV* sunk by its freight of short change.

**196 continuo** Cf. n. on 7.120, faintly high and archaic.

**uenti uoluunt mare** Cf. Tietze, *TLL* 8.379.67, Varr.*Men.*471 *mare uoluere*, Liv. 37. 16.4 *postquam circumagente se uento fluctibus dubiis uolui coeptum est mare* (possibly an echo of V.); compare 1.85f. *Eurusque Notusque ... / ... uastos uolunt and litora fluctis*, after *Od.* 5.296 Βορέης...μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων, with Cordier, *Alliteration*, 70, Traina, *EV* 5\*, 625.

**magnaue surgunt/ 197 aequora** Further allit., with change of consonant. Cf. [Liv.Andr.]fr.40Morel, *Enn.trag.*43, Lucil.996 *uir mare metitur magnum*, Lucr.6.615 and Bulhart, *TLL* 8.124.73ff. for *magnum mare* (an allit. V. perhaps hears here), and G.4.388, *Aen.*9.101f., for the apparently flat and unmemorable pairing **m....a.** (but note that here the adj. is proleptic and thus more interesting). Cf., though, (Thomas, Biotti on G.4, *cit.*) *Od.*3.179 πέλαγος μέγα. **A.** by no means necessarily the flat surface of a calm sea, that grows high; often 'surface' in general, and 'sea', Aricò, *EV* 1, 37f.. **S:** cf. 6.354 (of winds, **130**); *tacet EV*.

**dispersi** Cf. 8.321 *genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis*, n. on 11.795 (from Lucr.).

**iactamur** Cf. 1.3, 29, 182, 332, 668, 10.48: in high poetry from *Cat.*(68.63), but standard usage in e.g. *Plaut.* and *Caes.*; cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.53.72f., *EV* 2, 876.

**gurgite uasto** Clausula also at 1.118 and 6.741, remembered perhaps from *Cic.Progn.* fr.6 *caprigeni pecoris custos de gurgite uasto*. Abl. of extension; vd. **204 pelago**, Malosti, 80f.. For **g.**, cf. 11.624, *EV* 2, 820f.(Marchetta), G. Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.2361.71ff.. For **u.**, cf. **191**, 7.228.

**198 inuoluere diem nimbi** Note **uoluunt** at **196**: cf. also **201 diem** and see n. on 7.554 for the overacute ear of the modern reader; *Con.* renders 'caelum'; 'luce[m]', rather (as Heyne had of course seen). Kapp, *TLL* 7.2.264.80 remarks that *abstulit* is used as a synonym and *Serv.Dan.* comments *aspectum ademerunt*; cf. 2.250f. *nox/ inuoluens umbra magna terramque polumque*, 6.336 *obruit Auster, aqua inuoluens nauemque uirosque*, 8.253 *inuoluitque domum caligine caeca*; Kapp well suggests *obtegere, operire* as the sense. 'Envelops', perhaps. Compare 1.88f. *eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque/ Teucrorum ex oculis*, when V. reworks the scene in a grander manner.

**nox umida** *Quinquies* in V; cf. n. on 11.201 (after Lucr.; night moist because of the association of moon and dew; here, though, the moisture is more readily explained as both rain and spray).

**caelum/ 199 abstulit** Cf. 6.272 *et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem*: Ennian, *trag.*167 *ecce autem caligo oborta est, omnem prospectum abstulit*; after 8.253, *supra*, V. continues *prospectum eripiens oculis*, with Enn. and bk.3 in mind. Vd. Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 496, von Mess/Ihm, *TLL* 2.1335.12ff.

**ingeminant ... ignes** Cf. G.1.333 *ingeminant austri et densissimus imber*, 4.531 (apparently a Virgilian coinage, Cordier, 145, *TLL*). On **ignes.**, Hofmann (*TLL* 7.1.1518.25) glosses *fulmina*, after *Gloss.Lat.*4.446.50; cf. too Lucr.2.214 *abrupti nubibus ignes* and Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.290.21. Given the correct pronunciation of -gn- as -ngn- (Allen, *Vox Latina*, 23ff., 108ff., A. Traina, *L'alfabeto e la pronunzia del latino* (Bologna 1973), 60f.), we may note a snorting, explosive assonance here.

**abruptis nubibus** Lucretian (prev. n.), with small grammatical variation. Cf. too 12.451 *abrupto sidere nimbus*, where vd. Traina's n., on s. as 'tempesta'. **Abruptis**, **FMP**, *Macr.*6.1.27, **TCD**; **abrupti**, **G**, printed by Geymonat: both rather easier grammatically, closer to Lucr., and therefore of very doubtful merit. Cf. Klotz, *TLL* 1.140.65ff.

**200 excutimur cursu** Cf. 2.302 *excitior somno*, 1.115, 7.299 *patria excussos* (with full n.; in Lucr. and Cat. and early Livy, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1310.33f.). The verb dearer to V.(22x) than to *EV*. But note that before the storm the Trojans were making for Italy from Crete, and after, they are well on course, heading N. up the W. coast of the Peloponnese; the main Alexandria-Brundisium/Aquileia trade route, as it happens (Rougé(69), 88f., 101f.). In what sense, therefore, were they 'thrown off course'? During the storm, they have been shifted westwards, it appears, from off Malea, and westwards round the capes of the Peloponnese, to the Strophades, but that (contrast Od.) is very much where they want to go; Cova's reference to the scene as a 'deviazione' is unjustified and quite misleading. There is apparently no Homeric or Apollonian antecedent for this moment and Cartault notes that since **200** is taken up by **204** (**erramus** repeated) V. does wish us to suppose the Trojans are well and truly lost. Perhaps V.'s sense is that for the length of the storm, not even Palinurus knows where they are, for neither stars nor shores are visible(cf. n. on 7.215 and also *Acts* 27.39, 28.1 for a similar storm and initially unidentified landfall). When fair weather returns, all proves to be well, though V. does not dwell on this stroke of good fortune.

**caecis ... in undis** At first sight, we might have wanted to compare e.g. 11.781, 889, 12.279, to claim (easy) enallage (cf. Bell, 319), and to render (e.g.) ‘wandered blindly over the waves’; however, V.’s use of *c.* for ‘dark, obscure’ of places is so widespread (of waves, *G.*2.503, 3.260, *Aen.*1.536; cf. Militerini della Morte *EV*1, 598f.) that the reader may have taken the words exactly as they stand. So *Gloss.Lat.*4.432.29 *tenebrosis fluctibus*, Burger, *TLL* 3.45.10f.. Clearly, both meanings may be present.

**erramus** Cf. **101**; thematic.

**201 ipse ... / 202 ... Palinurus** P. the etymon of exactly homonymous P., a town and cape, SE of anc. Velia (today Castellamare di Stabia), in the mod. Cilento, under the same name. Successful etymologies of the name have not been proposed (vd. Lossau): we might hesitate to see a link with the great jujube (*vel sim.*; vd. *Buc.*5.39), παλιούρος, Tullius Geminus, *AP* 9.414.1, but it is difficult to deny that Rom. readers heard (rightly or not) πάλιν and οὔρος in the name (there is much else at Paschalis, 124); note that the toponym occurs elsewhere, *Liv.*37.11.6, *Luc.*9.42. P. is named for one of *Aen.*’s steersmen who died there, *DH* 1.53.2; there is much uninformed guesswork on *DH*’s source for such detail, but see Norden on 6.337–383, §2 (Timaeus a possible candidate). At all events, a figure present in the *Aen.*-legend before and independently of V.; how V. then develops P. is here quite immaterial. Cf. F.E. Brenk, *Lat.*43 (1984), 776ff., *id.*, *Aevum* 62 (1988), 69ff., M. Lossau, E. Greco *EV* 3, 936ff.; there is much earlier bibl.. Cf. n. on 7.1–4 for the Homeric element in P.’s death and burial. **I.** indicates ‘even’ (cf. 1.625, 5.12, Wagner, *QV* xviii.3c and *TCD*, at some length). See too Tietze, *TLL* 7.2.365.65ff..

**diem noctemque ... discernere** For the nouns thus coupled, cf. *G.*3.341 and in reversed order 5.766, 6.556, 8.94, Pflugbeil, *TLL* 5.1.1026.26. Predictably, an ancient polarity, *Od.*5.388 (two days and two nights, noted by Knauer), 14.93, *Soph.El.*780, 1365, *OC* 618, *Eur.HF* 505, *Ba.*187, 485, *IA* 398, *Plaut.Asin.*602, *Most.*22, 235, *Ter.Eun.* 193, *Lucr.*3.62 (and it would be only too easy to continue). The notion much expanded, with *discernere*, at *Manil.*1.70ff.; cf. Graeber, *TLL* 5.1.1300.76f..

**negat** For this use with simple infin. (with *se* easily omitted; cf. **184**, Austin on 2.25, *LHS*, 362), cf. *Buc.*3.24, *G.*2.234, *EV* 3, 682 (acc. and inf. also common); **n.** is after all a vb. of speaking (cf. *LHS*, 357f.). Followed by **nec**, which is pleonastic but not unusual, *LHS*, 805.



**caelo** Cf. *G.*1.6, 366, 474, *Aen.*3.515, 4.692, 12.76, Malosti, 89: the abl. 'of extension'.

**202 meminisse uiae** Cf. 7.199 *errore uiae*. Not only Apollonian (ἀμηχανέοντες ὄπη φέροι, 4.1701, **192–208**), but, as Nelis (221 f.) notes, Callimachean (*Aet.*fr. 17 + *Suppl.**Hell.*250; vd. D'Alessio's n.62), for Tiphys (among Call.'s Argonauts, not AR's; vd. *Buc.*4.34) has not even Ursa Major to guide him on his way. Pal. can see neither the stars nor the landmarks which might be thought to have guided him before; Page refers to *Acts* 27.20, neither sun nor stars. Had Trojan ships already sailed the Ionian sea? If we were sure that an answer was necessary for our understanding of V., the question might have to be faced.

**media ... in unda** Cf. 6.339, 10.305 (both in plur.; cf. *Cat.*64.167, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.584.65) and compare **73**, **104**. The Trojans are thus deprived (cf. **192f.**) of the normal basis of ancient navigation, by landmarks and of the less usual (in heroic times) use of the stars (cf. above, nn. on **512–7**, and on 7.215).

**203 tris ... soles** A reduction of Hom., as we have seen: while Od. is blown off into the unknown, *Aen.* has work to do, as hearer of the Harpies and kinsman of Andromache and Helenus—not to mention his destined goal. No place for lotus leaves (not to mention Siren songs) in an Augustan epic. For this use of **s.**(so too ἥλιος, LSJ s.v., §13), cf. *Lucr.*6.1219, etc., *Buc.*9.52 and *EV* 4, 925.

**adeo** Cf. n. on 7.629 for this use of **a.** with a numeral.

**incertos** *Serv.*Dan. *obscuros*; cf. *Sall.**Hist.*4.fr.40 *cum interim lumine etiamtum incerto*, *Aen.*6.270 *per incertam lunam sub luce maligna* (cf. **198f.**; in those great lines, it looks as though V. makes discreet use of this passage), Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.880.72f.

**caeca caligine** Inverted, 8.253(*caligo* in high poetry from *Enn.**Ann.* on; cf. also *G.*2.309, Meister, *TLL* 3.158.60ff.). **Caecis** just used, at **200**, and in a slightly different sense (of **undis**); cf. n. on 7.554 *arma* for such repetition (and notably Austin on 2.505 for repetition with sense-change). Strong allit., after *Lucr.*6.691 which V. has currently in mind, *infra*, **206**; taken up by **noctes**. For the *cacemphaton* of *-ca ca-* (vd. *Serv.*), cf. Adams, *LSV*, s.v., **250** and Austin's n. on 2.27.

**204 erramus pelago** The verb at **200**; the repet. encloses the ref. to the steersman's helplessness. **P.** (*Acc.**trag.*, *Lucr.*, *Cat.*; a distinguished synonym for *mare* Malsbary, *TLL* 10.1.989.62ff.) again abl. 'of exten-

sion'; cf. 1.70 *ponto*, **197 gurgite uasto**, 5.212 *pelago ... aperto*, Malosti, 80f.

**totidem ... noctes** Cf. **201** for the polarity; there, the polarity is of 'day and night'; it is then neatly repeated, with expansion and slight alteration, 'days ... and nights'. Cf. **202** for the combined effect on navigation. **T.** thus too at *G.4.540*, 551, in place of repeated *quattuor*; cf. 1.705, 5.97, 6.39, 44, etc., *EV 5\**, 222.

**sine sidere** Cf. n. on 7.215: astral navigation not post-heroic and note above Tiphys in *Call.Aet.*, **202**, AR 1.108. Note that at 6.338 **P.** was watching the stars when he fell to his death.

**204a-c** Serv.Dan. here offers: *hinc Pelopis gentes Maleaeque sonantia saxa / circumstant pariterque undae terraeque minantur. / pulsamur saeuīs et circumsumimur undis. hi uersus circumducti inuenti dicuntur et extra paginam in mundo.* Cf., for a start, G.P. Goold, *HSCP* 74 (1968), 133, M. Geymonat, *EV* 2, 289 and in *Companion*, 300, S. Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 192f., *Virgilianisti*, 152f., M.L. Delvigo, *RFil.* 117 (1989), 297ff., Horsfall, *Aen.7*, xxviii<sup>f</sup>, *Vergilius* 41 (1995), 57ff., Cova, lxxii<sup>f</sup>, F. Lo Monaco, *Aevum antiquum* 4 (1991), 265ff., J.E.G. Zetzel, *HSCP* 77 (1973), 235, G. Polara, *EV* 2, 996. The lines Serv.Dan. cites are poorly integrated into their apparent context, breaking as they do the sequence **tris ... soles (203) ... quarto ... die (204)** and interrupting the sequence of thought from Palinurus' disoriented bewilderment to the first sighting of identifiable land. Delvigo's argument (313f.) that they would fit better after **200** is ingenious and such an error by Serv.Dan. would be altogether credible. Three lines are a short sample, not space enough to lure their author into betraying himself by some expression **V.** would never imaginably have allowed himself: some Virgilian tags have been identified (Delvigo, 309, etc.); Delvigo (314f.) also scents an echo of Ovid in the dangers by sea and land (rocks and foes alike), but that polarity is itself Virgilian (*Aen.1.3ff.*, Hardie, *CI*, 302ff.) and proves nothing. *Pelopis gentes* (not unvirgilian; cf. **3.1**) have been taken (Cova) as equivalent to 'Argives', rather out of place geographically (though such minor awkwardness is in itself hardly unvirgilian) but analogous to **272 Laertia regna**, while to interpret the expression as referring to the peoples of the Peloponnese in general smacks rather of the idiom of Priscian and Avienus, *insula ... Pelopis* (cf. Quicherat, *Thes.poet.*, s.v.). Timpanaro's reference to 'ottimo latino' (*Per la storia*, 192) is mildly mystifying, given *circumstant ... circumsumimur*. But Latinity is not so much the issue as transmission. **226** is comparable (for the same language is

employed in Serv.Dan.), but is entirely unlike both 1.1a-d, the Helen episode, 204a-c and (of far lower quality) 6.289a-d, for it is attested in the capital mss..1.1a-d have been splendidly discredited (for bibl., vd. *Companion*, 24); 6.289a-d have no serious champion(except, predictably, Berres, *VH*, 221-4); no serious, detailed case for the Helen episode has been advanced since the assaults by Goold and Murgia (vd. *Companion*, 300); 3.204a-c are hailed (unhelpfully and unconvincingly) as possibly, or theoretically Virgilian by Cova and Timpanaro (and hailed as authentically Virgilian by Berres, *cit.*, 219-21); not actually printed in the text since Mackail (in italics). We may, though, have a clue to why they were inserted here, in Mnestheus' reference (5.193) to the Trojans' efforts at their oars in the Syrtes, Ionian sea, *Maleaeque sequacibus undis*; typical rhetorical distortion of the 'facts' (vd. 192-208). But enough perhaps to prompt a competent versifier (whether grammarian or reader) to offer here an 'explanation' of the later passage, *ad loc.*. It would have been useful to compare how V. systematically avoids, in various ways, some of the classic moments of peril in Hom.'s narrative (cf. n. on 7.5-24, Heinze, 111, *Alambicco*, 69f.). Serv.Dan.'s language and methods have received much attention recently (Timpanaro, Delvigo, Lo Monaco) but we are not yet out of trouble and Thome, *TLL* 10.1.85.44ff. has added nothing new to Delvigo's discussion(299) of *pagina* = 'column'. D.'s learned analysis (302ff.; cf. Lo Monaco, 269ff.) of *circumductus* shows that in Serv.Dan.here, and at 226 and perhaps less technically at Suet.*Aug.*87.3 (cf. Probst, *TLL* 3.1135.5ff.), the word, under influence of Gk. περιγράφειν, is used to mean 'signed [for deletion]'; comparison of less technical uses of περιγράφειν and derivatives (vd. LSJ) suggests that here in Serv.Dan. *c.* could very easily mean (as well, perhaps) quite literally 'with a line round it'(cf. Goold). To Delvigo we are grateful for references to *inuenire* in Serv. of literally finding things in mss. (298, with n.7) but we must also remember that *dicuntur* is typically used in Serv. not of reference to a real but nameless source but of merest invention (*Companion*, 3, with n.20). Delvigo notes in passing(307) the major unsolved problem, that Serv.Dan. does not tell us where he, or his source (?Ael. Donatus) found 204a-c; perhaps if it had been in an autograph (real or imagined; cf. Horsfall 1995), someone would have said as much. If not in an autograph, then what was there about the ms. that contained 204a-c that made Serv.Dan. or his source pause and record its interpolation(s)? Goold's verdict has seemed almost shocking and incredible (Delvigo, 298; Timpanaro averted his gaze): that

all the detail of margins(*mundo*), columns and learned squiggles was got up to lend credibility to a pretty little hoax. Not at all incredible in the wider context of Roman palaeographical levity (cf., in some detail, Horsfall 1995, with bibl.): Serv. and the SHA, the doyen of spoof bibliography, *Alambicco*, 34f., were after all near-contemporaries. If there was ever an actual ms. that contained these vv. (and there just might have been) we know nothing at all of its date and ‘authority’.

**205 quarto ... die** After rounding Cape Malea, Od. travels for nine days, ἀτὰρ δεκάτη they reached the Lotus-eaters (9.83); after three days and nights, the storm miraculously closes with the Trojans in almost the right place (vd.209). The Trojans have not been thrown off course, *pace* Cartault, 240f.. ‘Pulcri versus ad sensus veritatem in prospectu terrae ex alto’ Heyne.

**terra .../ 206 uisa** Less interesting than **90, 174**, perhaps, but it is about to become clear that V. renders the impression, not the reality. V. at once flatly ‘is seen’ and subtly ‘gives the impression’.

**primum se attollere** The first loom of land at a distance, rapidly rendered more specific by mountains and smoke(so already Heyne). Cf. **552 attollit se diua Lacinia contra**, 4.49, 176, 690, 5.127, 8.32, 9.321, 10.856f., 12.703 *se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras*, an idiom apparently new in V., Münscher, *TLL* 2.1153.5ff.. Here and at **552**, there is a problem of sorts (cf. W. Görler, *Vergilius* Suppl.2 (1982), 72f.), for the mountains do not, literally rise up, nor do the ships; ‘the mountains do rise for a naive observer who knows nothing about causality, time and space’, explains Görler, comparing also **411**.

**tandem** Palinurus and his comrades have been looking anxiously for landmarks for the whole length of the storm.

**206 aperire ... montes** A sense of ‘reveal’, *vel sim.*; cf. 1.106f. *unda .../ terram inter fluctus aperit*, **3.275 formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo**, 7.448, *EV* 1, 217, Prinz, *TLL* 2.216.34ff.. So the mountains of Phaeacia had appeared (ἐφάνη) to Od., *Od.* 7.268f.

**procul** Cf. **13**; ‘at a distance’, impalpably.

**uoluerе fumum** Wonderfully, distinctively Ithacan as the Trojans enter the Ionian sea: cf. *Od.*1.57ff. ἀτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς./ ἴεμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρόσκοντα νοῆσαι/ ἦς γαίης. θανέειν ἰμείρεται, but also the smoke of the Cyclopes’ homes, seen at a distance, 9.166f.(where vd. de Jong), 10.30, 99; here too, the Harpies *do* inhabit the Strophades,

but their smoke foretells no pleasant human welcome. The expression Lucretian, 6.691 *crassa* [vd. 203] *uoluit caligine fumum*, and the smoke of hearths evocative to V. from *Buc.*1.82 on. A studied variation on **196 uoluunt mare**.

**207 uela cadunt** An unexpectedly problematic expression, shrewdly discussed, J.C. Rolfe, *CJ* 6(1910–1), 75–7: it has been thought that *c.* indicates that the sails are let fall (sc. to the deck; so even Jal, 994), but normally sails not in use are brailed *up* to the yard (so clearly at **532 uela legunt**) and nothing suggests that the yard itself is lowered. On **549** Williams supposes that the yard was lowered to furl the sails, inexplicably: for the usual procedure, cf. Jal, *cit.*, Rolfe, 76, and in detail, Mohler (120), 50f., Gray(117), 101, Morrison and Williams, 203f., Casson, 68ff.(with pl.91), 275ff., citing e.g. *Od.*3.10f., *Aesch.Suppl.*723 (whereas *Eum.*556 refers to an emergency lowering of the whole yard), *Aen.*5.15 *colligere arma* (cf. further Casson, 275, n.21, 278, n.28). If then the sails do not fall to the deck, they sag because the wind drops (Rolfe, after Henry; clear contrast to the preceding storm): cf. *Ov.F.* 3.585ff. *uela cadunt primo ... / findite remigio' nauita dixit 'aquas' / dumque parant torto subducere* ['brail up'] *carbasa lino ...*, *Luc.*5.432 (the *lintea* (430) *cecidere*, after 429 *perituras colligit auras*). *Cadere* more often of the wind, as *Liv.*26.39.8. The passage from sailing to rowing (for whatever reason), and vice versa, often described, n. on 7.27, Seymour, 309, Morrison and Williams, 202f., 204.

**remis insurgimus** Cf. **560 insurgite remis** (=5.189), 10.299 *con-surgere tonsis* and note VF 1.450, 2.13, *Rut.Nam.*1.400; here, *Serv.Dan.* comments *id est exsurgentes fortius remigamus* (good; cf. Henry on 5.189, who explains how it is done); *AR* 2.661 is compared, but ἐπερρώ-οντ' ἐλάττειν suggests that the Argonauts worked hard at their oars, not, distinctively, that they rose from their benches with the effort(von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.1.2061.82ff.); cf. Casson, 104, n.34 against rowing standing in antiquity. The dat. is 'of motion'(cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 266). Williams, *TI*, 268 condemns the changes of person as 'really bizarre', but Henry saw the close connexion of wind falling and 'all of us' seizing the oars (a recurrent collective viewpoint, **3.62–8**, **93**, **115**, **124**, **127**, **188ff.**, **200**, **204**: some instances perhaps *plurales maiestatis*). Possibly *Aen.* is not to be thought of (or does not wish Dido to think of him) as hauling at his oar for hours. Certainly the alternative narrative focus upon *socii* (**71**, **129**, etc.) and *nautae* (**128**, **275**, etc.), not to mention **omnibus** (**60**) is welcome variation and constitutes complication

of the potentially arid tripartition of narrative, I/they/we. Note 127–34 for an equally energetic alternation of focus.

**haud mora** Cf. 7.156 (with n.), 11.713.

**nautae/ 208 adnixi** It might be that the buc. diaeresis after **insurgimus**, followed by the run-over participle, and the spondaic rhythm conveys first speed, then effort. The vb. in com., and dear to both Sall. and Liv.(from 1.9.15); *octies* in *Aen.* V. will use **208** again at 4.583. The perf. in *-nix-* is Ennian (*Ann.*436, Cordier, 43); *antiquum est* to Serv. on 1.144 (like *conixus*, as against *-nis-*; cf. Thomas, 236f.). The distinction of sense claimed by NW 3, 560ff. is not persuasive. *Tacet EV* 3, 742f..

**torquent spumas et caerulea uerrunt** That the para. ends here should be clear just from the presence of such a splendid archaic closure(cf. Wigodsky, 49f.): cf. *Enn.Ann.*378f. **uerrunt** *extemplo placidum mare: marmore flauo/ caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum*, and *Cat.*64.7 **caerulea uerrentes** and 13 **tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda**, both after the common *πολιὴν ἄλα τύπτον ἑρετμοῖς*, as well as *Od.*12.171f. *οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἑρετμᾶ/ ἐζόμενοι λεύκαινον ὕδωρ ξεετῆς ἐλάτῃσι* (the wind has fallen, the mast is taken down and *Od.*'s men row), *Lucr.*2.767, *Aen.*10.208 *spumant uada marmore uerso* (repeated *ἀναρρίπτειν ἄλα πηδῶ* is also comparable but lacks froth); cf. Giovanni Franco, *EV* 4, 1003f., M. Tartari Chersoni, *ib.* 5\*, 218, M.L. Angrisani Sanfilippo, *ib.*, 507. Cf. n. on 7.198 for the colour. The two actions are simultaneous and complementary; best not to claim hysteron-proteron; cf. n. on 7.7.

**209–269 The Harpies** (i) Modern moral criticism of the Trojans' assault on the unguarded cattle of the Strophades (e.g. Putnam, 54f., Cova on **249** after W. Nethercut, *GR* 15 (1968), 90; cf. Akbar Khan, 131ff. against T.E. Kinsey, *Lat.*38 (1979), 118ff., Rabel, 317 for the ensuing polemic) hastens to set this episode alongside such alleged outrages as—for example- the assault on Polydorus' myrtles, the 'invasion' of Latium and the murder of Silvia's pet stag. See however nn. on **13–68**, 7.38f. and 492 for hints of a less heated ethical evaluation, in the text and even among ancient readers; *Aen.*'s first hunt on Punic soil, 1.180ff., should also be considered(Akbar Khan, 134ff.); TCD there remarks(1.42.22ff.) that this was not for the pleasure of hunting, but to remedy acute hunger. That sober critic also remarks on **221 nullo custode** that there was *custos nullus qui prohibere posset inuadentis*; nor indeed to warn them that the *pecus* was *sacrum* (**221**). In the c.5AD(?), such issues were exciting: was Iulus free to kill Silvia's stag? See TCD, and

my n. on 7.492. Here, he refers to the *crimen uiolentiae*, 1.298.3, excused because the Harpies are *gens dira*; cf. R.J. Starr, *Vergilius*, 37 (1991), 3ff.; Akbar Khan's 'defence' of the Trojans oddly takes no account of TCD. Od.'s men do not heed the warnings of Tiresias (*Od.*11. 104ff.) and Circe(12.127ff.) and suffer (justly, we might say) for killing and devouring the Cattle of the Sun.

(ii) The episode is often called 'Apollonian', as against 'Homeric', but the distinction is crude and misleading, given the importance of the Hom. Cattle of the Sun (in terms both of detail and, very strongly, of structure: see **247–57, 256**) for V. here. Cf. also (i), *supra*.

(iii) AR. Not only the Harpy-episode. Cf. too perhaps both the Stymphalian birds(**242**), and the Cattle of the Sun(**221**). Prodigious quantities have been written on V.'s concentration of Apollonian material and departures from Argonautic narrative (the Trojans are themselves assailed): the eloquent Otis and the excellent Nelis are commended. This is not the admirably horrific tone of Polydorus' bush, but a concentration, to the limits of decorum(**216f.**) of the nastily horrid: the Trojans are befouled, or contaminated, not menaced in their very existence. AR's heritage here is short of danger and drama; V. does not remedy its absence, but, given his elaborate tonal variations in bk.3, he may well have known from the outset that this would never be a scene of drama, adventure and terror.

(iv) But proper consideration of the non-epic elements in the episode is also required. *Fames* is essential to understanding the Harpies' mythol. role (cf. **216f.**) and hunger is also a recurrent motif in colonisation-literature(**135–46, 136, 147–91**, Dougherty, 16, n. on *Aen.*7.107–47, (i)); Celaeno's message fits perfectly under either heading, a coincidence evidently appealing to V., and perhaps one out of which the episode grew(cf. E.L. Harrison, 148ff., Horsfall 1989, 12f.), given that, conveniently, neither motif is firmly localised. Aesch. and Acc. both wrote *Phinidae*, not of this generation of myth (see **223**); there is one possible point of contact with Soph.'s *Phineus* (**217**). A vastly more significant element in the episode is the Roman and ominous, in V.'s description of the Harpies and their behaviour; this has long been realised(Heinze, Grassmann-Fischer, Hübner) and details are noted *infra* (vd. **dira, 211, 228, 235, tristius, 214, subitae, 225, horrifico lapsu 225**).

(v) The scene arouses strong feelings among critics. Quinn offers(127) 'a not very successful episode'(cf. Cartault, at greater length); contrast both Otis' eulogy(258; strongly felt, even if the psychologising line of interpretation has now lost its appeal) and the tribute of imitation

(the spread of the cholera) offered by Thomas Mann in 'Death in Venice' (Hübner, 65). Note the finely-developed *Steigerung* of the three attacks on Polyd.'s tomb in contrast with the largely formal *Dreiheit* here (cf. 238). But the episode is clearly well embedded in the book's structure, in the sequence of horror after the blood and pollution of Polyd. and the plague in Crete and in the complex tonal variation, after terror in Thrace, plague in Crete, and joy from Apollo's oracle on Delos, the Penates' message, and the Trojans' escape from the perils of the sea (Hübner, 62). The eating of the tables binds Harpies and Helenus, bks. 3 and 7 also; Celaeno's dread warning will paradoxically find a light and charming outcome. We might suspect that V. is trying out, or anticipating various motifs: Misenus and Palinurus, in sequence here as they will be in death, hunt and feast with bk.1 in mind (after a rehearsal storm, perhaps), hunting with dire consequences here and as Asc. will find in Bk.7; Celaeno, even, with Allecto to come. But that is to speculate.

See Bailey, 180f., D.F. Bright, *Vergilius* 27 (1981), 40ff., Cartault, 241ff., P. Desy, *Hommages C. Deroux* 1 (*Coll.Lat.* 266, 2002), 148ff., *EV* 1, 334ff. (Fasce; incautious), Fiumi (192–208), 189ff., Gibson (14), 362ff., Gleis 146f., Grassmann-Fischer, 40ff., E.L. Harrison, *PLLS* 5 (1985), 147ff., Hershkowitz, 73f., Heinze, 90f., 113f., Heyne, exc.vii, Heinze, 90f., 113f., W. Hübner, *Dirae im röm. Epos (Spudasmata* 21, Hildesheim 1970), 61ff., Hügi, 61ff., H. Akbar Khan, *Prometheus* 22 (1996), 131ff., Kühn, 53f., Nelis, 32ff., Otis, 257ff., R.J. Rabel, *CJ* 80 (1984–5), 317ff., Stahl, 48f., H.W. Stubbs, *Vergilius* 44 (1998), 3ff., Unte, 218f..

**209 seruatum ex undis** Cf. *G.*1.436 *uotaque seruati soluent in litore nautae*, *Aen.*5.283, 699 *seruatae a peste carinae*, 12. 768 *seruati ex undis*.

**Strophadum ... litora L.:** cf. 122, 186; a weightless filler. The two Strophades lie off the SW Peloponnese, some 37 miles W. of Kiparisia and 18 S. of the SE point of Zakyntos. Low, barren islets notably lacking in history and associations (cf. Creutzburg, PW 7A.374.50ff.), except that they were such suitable candidates for identification as the Harpies' home (because windy and bird-infested, speculates Janni). But the localisation of the Harpies is long, flexible and problematic (Robert, 24.3, 814, Vian, AR 2, p.143f.): the name Strophades was held to derive from the *turn* (στροφή) made by Calais and Zetes, on abandoning their pursuit of the Harpies (but at *Apld.*1.9.21, the Harpies' own turn): in the *Eoae*, Hes. identified the Strophades as the Echinades, off Cephallenia (fr.155,6MW), but Pherecydes (vd. 211 **insulae**) looks to the



Sicilian sea (and thus quite possibly to 'our' Strophades); similarly, Antimachus (Schol.AR 2.296f.= Antim. fr.60Wyss/West). AR's Strophades-Plotai(2.296f.) are conveniently unlocated and though Schol.AR 2.285 refers to the Sicilian sea again, this is not sustained by the text of *Arg.* (cf. Vian, pp.143, 269f.); V., however, might himself have thought, reasonably enough, that AR's account of the pursuit was not incompatible with his own localisation, which may be an innovation; if it actually is (and we have no idea of what happened in e.g. Varr. Atac.), it is also perspicuous. The actual Harpies/Phineus-narrative in AR is another matter, and is carefully located on the Bosphorus, Vian, p.130, n.6; they, after their encounter with the Argonauts, flee to Crete, 2.299. And there is an important consequence: the Harpies are a surprise, not foreseen by Aen., by Dido, by us. An unexpected turn of events, too in the endless balance between destiny and *labores*. Readers who recalled what had happened in other localisations of the Strophades might even have realised that the outcome was unlikely to be very terrible. Cf. *EV* 4, 1039 (Janni), less enthusiastic about the relevance of *puffinus cinereus* than Wellesley, 149f.. Puffins are already applied, noisily (but not by me), to the story of Diomedes: cf. n. on 11.271.

**me ... primum/ 210 excipiunt** Cf. 79, Nelis, 27 for the use of the vb.(5.41 of Acestes' welcome not strictly comparable; of *locus* and *domus* in Cic., *porticus* at Hor.*Serm.* 1.4.134, of *taberna* at Prop.4.8.62, Rehm, TLL 5.2.1251.41 ff.). **Accipiunt M**, TCD, markedly less attractive and interesting; easy, though, for a scribe, after 79, 96. **Primum**: first haven after the storm.

**Strophades** This simple repetition is, in the context, the epic equivalent of heavy footnoting; partial repetition is a common feature of 'etymological signposts'(cf. Romulus>Romanos, Chaon>Chaonia); here, V. alludes to no turning of the ships (AR 2.295) but invites the reader to gaze with care upon the name, from which, as we shall see, a good deal emerges.

**Graio ... nomine dictae** A familiar signal to the careful reader: cf. nn. on 7.208, 607, 671, 11.246, 543, 163 above. Note in particular O'Hara, *TN*, 75f. 'naming constructions as etymological signposts', with full list of instances and my earlier discussion, cited *supra*: we do now expect etymological play, in the Greek name, indeed (so in the interpolated 6.242 *Grai dixerunt nomine* on Avernus, α privative + ὄρνις).

**stant** Very clearly not a bald synonym (cf. 110) for 104 *iacet*, but, *pace* Williams' dismissal *ad loc.*, an integral part of a complex name-play (cf. prev. n.), as O'Hara of course sees, 138f., in part after after *Phoen.* 44

(1991), 370f.; so already Horsfall, *PLLS* 6(1990), 51=*Alambicco*, 120. The islands are called Strophades, but, as AR tells us(2.285, 295–7), they had been known as *Plotae*, floating islands(a topic of recent interest to V. elsewhere, **75f.**). Note therefore (1) the metonomasia (cf. n. on 7.777) of an island-name(explicit, AR 2.296), which suggests Call.'s monograph on the subject, fr.601 with Pfeiffer's n.(the comparable play discussed at **127 freta consita** is, strikingly, upon islands likewise; cf. Pfeiffer 1, p.339) and (2) the learned paradox of a floating island *standing*; cf. of the originally floating Delos **77 immotamque coli**. Hom.'s account of the island of Pharos is sometimes cited here in comparison, but structure, themes and language are not closely analogous.

**211 insulae** Typical accumulation of metrical anomalies and extravagances (cf. 7.555, 623, 631) in the presence of Greek names and themes(cf. **74**). First, in hiatus, a final long is shortened, in thesis (one of the neater ways of introducing cretic-shaped words to a dactylic line; contrast Austin on synaloepha used thus, 2.667): cf. Williams' n. here and on 5.261 *Ilio alto*, Austin on 6.507 *te, amice*, Cupaiuolo, *EV* 2, 378, Winbolt, 197f.. Nelis remarks that in AR's coda, 2.295–8 we have *Τροφάδας* (296), *νήκου*, and *Ἄρπυιαι* in the same position in successive lines as their equivalents here in V.; a sequence however to be expected in any preamble or coda to the Harpies, marked not only by (Nelis) the shift from end to beginning, but by V.'s virtuoso inclusion of **insulae** in place of *νήκου*.

**Ionio in magno** Short i and long o (as in Hor.*Epd.*2.54, *C.*3.6.21) coexist with long i and short o, to suit the needs of iambic and dactylic verse; so naturally in Gk. too, though other prosodies do also occur (e.g.[Aesch.]*PV* 840). Synaloepha of long o at 2D with proclitic prepos. following to blur caes.(**45**). The adj. conventionally imprecise (cf. 7.4, 629). Some confusion over the delimitation of Ionian and Sicilian seas in antiquity: cf. Bunbury in Smith, *Dict.geogr.*, 2, 61f., 989, more illuminating than Philipp, PW14.1675.38ff.. In poet. usage (which might be thought to matter to V.) *I.* and *S.* seem used as synonyms, AR 4.291, 308, 632, 994 (vd. Vian's nn.; contrast usage in Ps.Scymn.133, 135). That in several versions (from Pherec. on, fr.69 *FHG*; cf. Robert, 2.4.3, 813, n.3, Vian, *supra*), the Harpies are associated with the *mare Siculum* is unsurprising: that wider designation can easily and naturally be applied to any of the locations of the story in western waters that were noted above. Some confusion in Russi, *EV* 3, 8f.; poets do not use toponyms with consistent precision..

**quas .../ 212 ... colunt Cf. 13, 73.**

**dira Celaeno** The adj. discussed fully at 7.324 (see e.g. L. Zurli, *GIF* 29 (1975), 177, Grassmann-Fischer, 41; cf. **235, 256**): it suggests prodigy-language, it hints at the Dirae, it sketches an association with Furies (**252, 7.324**), and it resolves nothing. C. first here as a Harpy-name; common as a n. of minor mythol. figures (vd. e.g. Gruppe, index), and clearly suggestive of blackness, an attribute entirely appropriate to such figures, n. on 7.329. Perhaps a Virgilian invention.

**212 Harypiaeque ... aliae** Further names at *Il.*16.150, Hes. *Theog.* 267; neither AR nor V. specify a number (Nelis, 33). At **227 diripiunt**, V. may gloss the familiar etym. link of the Harpies' name with Gk. ἄρπάζειν, to snatch (O'Hara, 139, Nelis, 32). It is (too) easy to define them (quite credibly, given their names in Hom., *Il.*16.150 and Hes., *Theog.* 267) simply as (cf. *Od.*1.241, etc.) 'storm deities' (and they do indeed snatch, *Od.*20.61 ff., story of the Pandarids, at v. 77), but the detail of V.'s account is in many respects Stygian (cf. 6.289; here, though, it is merely silly to call the Strophades 'mitiche isole dell' aldilà', Fasce, *EV* 1, 336), reflecting a long period of interaction between winged female creatures of various kinds, in respect of characteristics and attributes: some of V.'s non-Apollonian detail (e.g. **226**) is a matter more of general reading than specific allusion. See Sittig, *PW* 7.2418.48 ff., Robert 1, 470 ff., Gruppe 2, 846, Fiumi (**206 f.**), L. Kahil, *LIMC* 7.1.387 ff., J.N. Bremmer, *NP* 5, 166, *EV* and Hübner, *supra*.

**Phineia .../ 213 ... domus** An exalted form of expression (Gk. adj. for gen.; cf. nn. on 7.10, 410): the form **P.** exactly Apollonian, fr. 5.4 Φινῆια δόρπια (cf. J.M. Smith in *Essays ... G. Williams* (New Haven 2001), 269). In AR, Phineus, variously punished for the grave misuse of his prophetic gifts (2.178 ff.; *alii alia*, Robert, 2, 3, 811 ff., P. Draeger, *NP* 9, 902 f., L. Kahil, *cit.*, prev.n.), is unable to eat, because either the Harpies *snatch* away (189) the food offered the seer, or the odour they emit renders eating impossible (191–3).

**postquam/ 213 clausa** Convenient anastrophe of the conjunction, leaving it at line-end (such a prominent position for unimportant words generally avoided, Norden 400 ff.). Phineus' home barred to the Harpies since the Argonauts' passage, and the intervention of Calais and Zetes (AR 2.262 ff.; cf. Robert, 2, 3, 813 ff. for the many variants). Cf. 1.232 f. *quibus tot funera passis/ cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis.*

**mensasque ... priores** Under the heading (Buchwald/Rubenbauer, *TLL* 8.740.6) of *ad mensam adeunt bestiae*, but 7.490 is scarcely com-

parable, for the pet stag is welcome to eat at the board of Tyrrhus and Silvia, while the Harpies attend Phineus' table only to steal and defile. After their encounter with Phineus, the Harpies are 'unemployed' and for the moment not actively harmful.

**metu liquere** Cf. Cat.62.3 *iam pinguis liquere mensas*; the instrum. use of *metu* very common (with *liquere*, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.908.57 compares Sall. *Jug.*70.1, Liv.8.15.4; cf. *Aen.*4.164, 390, etc.). While V. reworks the Argonauts' struggle with the Harpies, there is a basic distinction, for the Argonauts belong to an earlier generation of heroes and are endowed with superior abilities (e.g. flight), which are profoundly unhomeric (cf. Griffin, 33ff.); Calais and Zetes had cleared Phineus' home, but the Harpies now face workaday heroes, currently unblest by supernatural afflatus and superhuman abilities.

**214 tristius haud illis monstrum** Cf. 2.337 *tristis Erinys*, 7.408 *tristis dea* (with note), 8.701 *tristes ... Dirae*, Thome, 84, n.168. Newman, *EV* 5\*, 271 ff., not satisfactory. **M.** common in V. of monstrous mythol. personages, from *Buc.*6.75 on (cf. n. on 7.328 for *m.* of Fury, Dira, Cacus, etc.), but also (cf. 26, n. on 7.270, Grassmann-Fischer, 111f., Luterbacher, 9, Szantyr, *TLL* 8. 1446. 57ff., Thome, 100) part of the conventional language of Rom. portents, which will emerge as a significant element in V.'s Harpies: cf. F. Stok, *EV* 3, 574f. (*bene*).

**nec** After **haud**, Cf. 628, 1.327, 5.399f., etc. (so already Acc., Lucr.), Brandt, *TLL* 6.3.2565.24.

**saevior ulla** Cf. nn. on 7.329, 511 (*s.* of Fury), 12.849 (Pluto), Thome, 104ff. The markedly emphatic or pathetic use of *ullus* (*G.*1. 506, *Aen.*6.600, 10.626, 11.791 *spolia ulla*, 12.185 *arma ulla*, 203 *uis ulla* (so too 11.148, negated), 840, etc.) comparable to that of *omnis*, n. on 7.635 and cf. LHS 195f., 272.

**215 pestis et ira deum** A splendidly weighty compound expression (or 'hendiadys'): *pestis* likewise used of Allecto (7.505, where *vd.* n.); of a Fury, Ennian, *trag.*24; see Thome, 268ff.; 'de numinibus noxiis', Spoth, *TLL* 10.1.1931.9) and the *Dirae* (12.845, 865), while **ira** is rather more complex and mannered: Stiewe/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.365.75ff., under the general heading of 'spectatur effectus irae in eis qui ira (*sc.* aliorum) premuntur, iram patiuntur' divide into B, 'fere i.q. invidia, odium, poena' (citing e.g. 366) and A, 'metonymice de eis qui ultionis divinae exactores homines premunt', citing this passage, along with VF 1.683, 4.428 and 521. That is precisely their role in AR's account of

Phineus(2.223 ff.), in tandem, indeed, with the Erinyes(2.220 f.); they are the κύνec of Zeus (2.289), again like the Erinyes (*Aen.* 7, p.320). Cf. n. on 11.233 for the more general theme of the anger of the gods, which, we have seen, is often expressed as a pestilence (cf. 137–42, 144 for that suffered by the Trojans in Crete). Render e.g. ‘the pestilential wrath of the gods’; compare *OED* Suppl. s.v. ‘wrath’.

**Stygiis ... undis** Cf. 7.773 (with n.), 6.385, 12.91.

**sese extulit** Cf. 11.462 *corripuit sese et tectis citus extulit altis*, with n..

**216 uirginei ... uultus** *Virginum* normally unsuited to dactylic verse; the adj.(*bis* in Cat., *semel*, Lucr.) anyway loftier than gen.. The whole mythol. group conventionally virginal, n. on 7.331. Cf. 9.120f. *uirgineae ... / ... facies*.

**uolucrum** The triple allit. possibly (cf. 12.876) to suggest beating of wings(standard in representations, see e.g. plates, *EV* 1, 335f.); wings common to the entire group, Gorgons, Furies, Dirae, etc.(n. on 7.408; *Buc.*6.42 slightly more conventionally avian); of Harpies, from Hes.*Theog.*269, AR 2.187, etc.; here, cf. 226, 242. Schol.AR 2.1088 might suggest that Pisander (cf. fr.5 Davies, fr.14Bernabé) referred to the Harpies as ὄρνιθεc, but that (if indeed the attribution is correct) could be no more than the result of scholiastic ‘shorthand’. Schol.Lyc.653 refers to the Harpies as having τὰ κάτω μέρη of birds.

**foedissima uentris/ 217 proluuies** Cf. Lucr.6.1200 *nigra proluuie alui* (cf. Wigodsky, 135); the adj. also at 244. Anatomy and language are typically discreet (cf. n. on 7.499, J.N. Adams, *BICS* 27 (1980), 50ff., *id.*, *LSV*, 100f.), whereas behind Lucr., *cit.* Thuc.2.49.6 is sensed. The poet’s sense of decorum in both lexicon and taste is notorious(Clausen, *VA*, 6f.; Horsfall, *CM* 52 (2001), 309f., nn. on 7.352, 499, 11.348, *Companion*, 7). However, Serv.Dan. comments on **p. sordis effusio. et uitauit ne diceret ‘stercus’** (‘avian’? ‘human’? It is not clear). Cf. Romero, *TLL* 10.2.1840.50, citing *Gloss.*1, Ansil. PR 2324 *purgatio*; cf. too TCD *ipsarum solita ... effundunt*. Heyne, exc.vii remarks that V.’s description of the Harpies ‘mouet nauseam’ (vd. Heuzé, 365ff., 369, Hübner, *Dirae*, 66). AR refers three times to the foul smell created by the Harpies (2.191, 229, 272, Nelis, 33), which prevents human eating in the neighbourhood and at 2.224 perhaps to something nearer V.’s version, but the text of AR there is quite uncertain(see 232). V., rather typically, avoids specific concentration on one detail or aspect and refers variously to **contactuque omnia foedant/ immundo** (227f.), to **polluit ore dapes** (234), and to **taetrum ... odorem** (228). Heuzé, consider-

ing the Harpies' connexion with both hunger and the pollution of food, offers elegant anthropological arguments in favour of an interpretation as human *stercus* (369). We need not suppose that V. would have corrected the passage away out of a revised text (cf. Heuzé, 368, Cartault, 280; cf. 218) and perhaps ought to consider rather that the excreta of birds are disagreeable but a good deal less repugnant to humans than their own (cf. Adams, *LSV* 234ff. on *fmus*, *stercus*, *laetamen*; cf. 5.333, 358); *p.* indeed is the word used of birds' droppings at Sol.2.48 and that might well be what V. wishes us to understand here (so Deroy, *infra*, 244); our very uncertainty at the last might well be the desired effect (Heyne 'satis honeste pro sordibus effusis'). *Venter* at 2.356 (wolves); note too *G.4.122* (gourds), *Lucr.5.1324* (horses), and *Cat., bis* (44.8, 67.48: human).

**uncaeque manus** Serv., well, *pro unguibus manus posuit, hoc est γαμφώνυχας* (used by Soph. of the Sphinx, *OT* 1199); cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.343.1 (6.360 of Palinurus' own hands); Note in Soph. *Phineus* fr.706Radt χερσιν ἀρπάγοις, but nothing comparable in AR. The adj. *quinquies* in *Lucr.*; notably 5.1322 *unguibus uncis* (lionesses).

**pallida .../ 218 ora fame** Cf. *Mart.12.32.7 f. frigore et fame siccus/ et non recenti pallidus magis buxo*; *p.* paired with *exsanguis*, *Ps. Quint. decl. mai.* 12.2,7 and above all compare the *macies et pallor et omnia captam/ quae deceant urbem* (*Ov. Met.* 14.578f.; cf. 8.801); cf. *Liv.2.23.3*, *Sen. Contr.* 1.1.20, *Juv.* 15.101, *Oros.6.12.2*: Zäch, *TLL* 10.2.129.69ff., 130.17f.. Contrast *Suet. Vitell.* 17.2: high living and high colour.

**semper** Cf. (e.g.) 7.748, 11.378, 732 so used of permanent characteristics or attributes. Half-lines are clearly enough signs of incompleteness or lack of revision, but the exact definition of the aspect (or aspects) of a passage requiring revision is often unclear (cf. *introd.*, xxxviii). Here, vd. Günther, 41, 43, Cartault, 242, n.3 (at 280), Sparrow, 39 and Berres, 231ff., and *VH* 141f. **219 huc ... delati** refer back to **210–3**, and were **214–8** to have disappeared, their passing could not be deduced from the context. The ecphrasis of the Harpies (which corresponds closely to that of *Allecto*, 7.351–9) seems therefore to be an addition, though Cartault's list of the 'inconsistencies' between these lines and the rest of V.'s account is captious (e.g. the hands of **217** and the feet of **233**). **Proluuius** is hardly to be condemned because it does not, when narrative resumes, befoul the *Aeneadae*, or because it is too revolting for the poet in *prim* revising mode; certainly V. realises that such detail is more acceptable in ecphrasis than in narrative. But none of these considerations prove that **214–8** belong perforce to a *later* phase of com-

position than the surrounding narrative. The gaping seams before and after the ecphrasis, along with the awkward hemistich, could as well suggest that V. had from the very first intended to supplement narrative with ecphrasis (cf. the initial digression, AR 2.178–93), but had never completed the task of integrating ecphrasis and context, or made the definitive decision on where in the narrative the description was to go..

**219 huc ubi delati** Cf. **441 huc ubi delatus**, 154, 5.57, 7.22 *delati in portus*, 411. The repetition is formulaic, convenient and inevitable, given the recurrent situation of landing (on which Lloyd 1957a, 140 is omissive).

**portus intrauimus** Cf. **254 portusque intrare**, 5.57 *portus delati intramus amicos*, 7.201; no inclination to phrenetic variation (Moskalew, 93 offers a judicious formulation; cf. too Nelis, 30, Mehmel, 31 ff., Hügi, 76 ff.).

**ecce** Only here at line-end in V.(apparently ignored by Norden, 400 ff.); cf. Cat.64.61 *ehew*: the interjections acquire extra force from their unusual position.

**220 laeta boum ... armenta** Cf. 8.360f. *passimque armenta uidebant/ Romanoque foro et lautis mugire carinis*, G.2.144 *armentaue laeta*, 515 *armenta boum*, Erren on G.1.1, comparing Lucr.2.343 *laeta armenta feracae*, G.1.423 *laetae pecudes*, 2.520 *glante sues laeti redeunt*; while the application to fields ('fertile'; cf. 95) is clearly understandable, here, Serv. comments *pinguia: nam in animalibus in quibus cognosci non potest sensus, laetitiam pingue corpus ostendit, non mens, ut in hominibus* (again, dry mirth in the schoolroom); cf. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.884.69ff.: the acorn-fed pigs (*supra*) confirm Serv.'s note; at Hor.*Epd.*2.45 *laetum pecus*, Watson glosses 'pingue, 'sleek'".

**passim campis** Expansion of *p.* thus not common, Acc.*trag.*271, Prop.2.15.22, *Bell. Afr.*60.5, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.611.29ff.; the abl. 'of extension', Malosti, 38.

**uidemus** Cf. 26.

**221 caprigenumque pecus** Cf. Pacuv.*praet.*5 *caprigeno pecori*, *trag.* 408 *repandirostrum incuruiceruicum pecus*, Acc.*praet.*20 *pecus lanigerum*, Cic. *progn.*fr.6 *caprigeni pecoris*, Probst, *TLL* 3.360.1ff., Cordier, 284, etc., Wigodsky, 110, Lunelli-Leumann, 170f.: a clear archaic flourish. Cf. Macr.6.5.14, Colonna, *EV* 1, 862 and n. on 7.773 *poenigenam* for such compounds.

**nullo custode** Normal, we learn, for the sacred flocks of deities: cf. Hdt.2.65, DS 1.90.1, 4, Alex.Polyhistor, *FGH273F135a4*, Liv.24.3.4 *sacrum deae pecus pascebatur sine ullo pastore*, Suet. *Iul.*81.2. Forbigier well compares the metaphor used at Plat.*Rep.*6.498c; the common term used in Gk. is ἄφετος (vd. LSJ s.v.). For (e.g.) Delphi, cf. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, 2, 651, n.99. On ἱερὰ βοσκήματα in general, cf. Stengel(115), index, s.v.'Herde', Burkert, 373, n.25, R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Rom. Emp.*(New Haven 1981), 34f., and R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Penguin ed. 1988), 43f., with further bibl. On herds sacred to Helios in the Greek world, D. Page, *Folktales on Homer's Odyssey* (Cambridge, Mass. 1973), 80. Note that the pastoral world of Lat. poetry has no illusions: some form of *custodia* is essential (n. on 7.817); the detail here looks to belong less to a Golden Age of which there is no other trace hereabouts (cf. Smith on Tib.1.3.43, Akbar Khan, 133: unguarded flocks *could* have been developed as a Golden Age motif) than to primarily Greek religious usage. Fasce, 336, Desy, 152 suggest a reversal of AR's account of the Cattle of the Sun, shepherdesses included (4.964–81): likelier if the context did something to alert the reader. As it is, we might as well cite the shepherds of the Laestrygonians, *Od.*10.82. Or indeed the Cyclopes themselves, 9.217, etc.. Heinze(113f.) observed that the Harpies' hunger and their rich flocks were in some sense inconsistent; the flocks are necessary for the plot here, and are clearly imported from Thrinacie, but we may feel that the hunger motif is not worked out with care in the details.

**per herbas** At line-end 13x in V; cf. *G.*3.162 *cetera pascuntur uiridis armenta per herbas*.

**222 inruimus ferro** So Porph. comments on Hor.C.4.4 *Drusum ait tanto uigore ... Vindelicos inuasisse, quanta ui soleat aquila in rapinam inruere*, Primmer, *TLL* 7.2. 451.1ff. For the orthogr. point, vd. n. on 7.425: no ms. support for the 'grammatically correct' *irr-*. The addition of *ferro* becomes a habit, 11.102, 218, 255, 646; epic variation on *ui*.

**diuos ipsumque .../ 223 ... Iouem** 'And in particular', as Page does not fail to remark: cf. **58 delectos populi ad proceres primumque parentem**, 5.746 *socios primumque accersit Acesten*, 7.136f. *geniumque loci primumque deorum/ Tellurem*, 6.839 *ipsumque Aeaciden*, *G.*4.16, *OLD* s.v.§9b. At 11.260, V. passes from *Euboicae cautes* in general to *ultorque Caphereus* in particular; cf. Wagner, *QV* xxxiii.6. See n. on 7.110 for **ipse**. V. may perhaps have in mind Hom. Δί τ' ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσι, Clausen, *THP*, 118.



**uocamus** Cf. 1.290, **3.253, 264, 303**, etc.: ignored by Appel, Hickson, as also by *EV*; cf. n. on 7.133.

**223 in partem praedamque** *In partem praedae* (Serv.; for *in p.*, cf. Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.463.1 ff.); a good, neat compound expression; best not called ‘hendiadys’, not least because here (contrast **467 hamis auroque**) the members of the expression are visibly not closely parallel or even roughly comparable (cf. closely 2.534 *uoci iraeque*, 5.36 *aduentum sociasque rates*). When animals were sacrificed, the Romans distinguished between parts to be eaten (**231**), and parts to be offered, Lersch, 181 f., Wissowa, 416 ff., Bailey, 51 f., Latte, 375 ff., Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies*, 24, Beard-North-Price, 1, 36 f., n. on 7.175 f. (and cf., for Homer, Seymour, 503). For livestock as booty, cf. Liv.2.64.3, 4.21.1, 5.24.2, Gatti, *TLL* 10.2.524.18 ff., Oakley on Liv.6.31.8. V. may also have in mind the occasional Rom. usage of dedicating a tithe (if **partem** be pushed) of booty (**praedam**) to the gods, to which Livy had recently given (or was perhaps just about to give) great prominence in his account of Camillus: thus to Apollo before the assault of Veii *tibique hinc decimam partem praedae uoueo* (Liv.5.21.3; cf. *ib.* 5 *iam in partem praedae suae uocatos deos*, *CLE* 4.3, and also (business profits), *ib.*, 248, 2, 5, with Latte, 215); see D.S. Levene, *Religion in Livy* (Leiden 1993), 182 f., Paul on Sall.*Iug.*41.7, Oakley on Liv.6.2.12, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.172.36 ff., 173.25 ff., Liebenam, *PW* 4.2306.51 ff. (meagre): pace Serv. on **222**, this share of the booty for the gods was not common Rom. military practice: vd. Livy’s rare use of *decima*, but note also Plut.*Crass.*2.3, *Sull.*35.1; commoner—perhaps surprisingly—in the business world, DH 1.40.6, Plut.*QR* 18(267F), Fraenkel, *Elementi plautini*, 22, Wissowa, 278. Aen. is not ashamed either to invite Jupiter to share in the banquet (Akbar Khan, 141) or to describe the Trojans’ fresh beef as ‘booty’ (cf. Gatti, 525.30 ff. *passim* for *praeda* and the hunt—indeed Gratt.247 echoes V. here; cf. 1.210, Rabel, 321 f.); the Trojans did not know they were poachers, and V. might have hesitated to portray them objectively as such; twice at least in 7, he is at pains not to.

**tum litore curuo** So at **16 et litore curuo**; we cannot be sure whether V. did not notice, did not care, or intended a formulaic effect, arguably appropriate to a long, inevitably repetitious narrative of travel. Acc.*trag.*569 *curuo litore* does, we note, occur in the *Phinidae* (cf. *Apld.*3.15.3 for the story).

**224 exstruimusque toros** Cf. (bk. 3 reworked in a funerary context) 11.66 *exstructosque toros*, with n., Kapp, *TLL* 5.2.1938.45. The past part. used *septies* in Lucr.6. Cupaiuolo comments (*EV* 2, 345) on a certain formality in these heroic meals (cf. Lersch, 258f.). Couches carried dismantled, or improvised on the spot, of e.g. turves, as TCD assumes (so now e.g. Ugenti, *EV* 4, 1043; cf. the analogy of 8.176)? These *tori* (cf. too 1.708, 6.604) belong to 'modern' reclining, as against archaic/heroic sitting (cf. n. on 7.176).

**dapibusque ... opimis** Cf. n. on 7.109: any sort of meal; the adj. in Lucil. of *epulis* (569); Serv. glosses *pinguibus*; cf. Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.710.13f. Echoed in Apul. *Met.*5.3; cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.36.74f..

**epulamur** Cf. *G.*2.537, *Aen.* 4.206f. *cui Maurusia pictis/ gens epulata toris*, 4.602, 5.762, Bannier, *TLL* 5.2.705.51; the vb. in *Acc.fr.* 3.6(*Annales*). With abl., naturally (LHS, 120), when in the sense of 'feast on', though in practice not often so used. TCD notes that the feast in bk.1 is vastly more detailed. So too, of course, the preceding storm. Stock scenes to be unrolled in their full splendour but once each: it might well be that the feast here is described, just like the storm(192–208), in miniature, as rehearsal for the later, greater version.

**225 at** The moment of relaxation broken by the Harpies' intervention.

**subitae** Cf. 137, 7.67, 95: familiar in descriptions of portents; ἄφνω at AR 2.187 (the first attack), ἄφαρ at 2.267, but the flavour (cf. next n.) of portent-language is here very strong.

**horrifico lapsu** The adj. *quater* in *Aen.*; after Lucr.3.906, Cic.*Arat.* 122 (cf. Cordier, 284, etc., *EV* 1, 862, Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2996.10ff.). The noun (cf. Cic.*de cons.* 2.9 *certo lapsu spatioque feruntur*, 30, *Marius* 3.9, ND 2.99 *uolucrum lapsus atque cantus*, with Pease's n.) belongs to the language (Obsequens, Liv., Cic., Val.Max.) of portent-descriptions, involving birds and snakes (with *labor*, and compounds): here, cf. 238, 243, Grassmann-Fischer, 35, n.46, 40f., Hübner, 67 and notably Luterbacher, 53f..

**de montibus adsunt** The islands reach a maximum height of fifteen metres (Janni, *EV* 4, 1039); Wellesley, 150 extrapolates 'cliffs', optimistically, but we have learned not to press V. for precision in such details. Possibly V. has in mind the picture of AR 2.268 ἀπρόφατοι νεφέων ἐξάλμεναι ἐκκεύοντο; cf. L. Gamberale, *RCCM* 20 (1978), 917f..

**226 Harpyiae** Last heard of by name at **212**; there followed the ‘insertion’ describing them, after which the Trojans come to land (**219**); we know of the inhabitants’ violent and disgusting habits, and they, as yet, do not. A simple tragic irony, which bears heavily on our evaluation of the Trojans’ ‘aggression’(186).

**magnis ... clangoribus** For the adj. used of loud sounds, cf. n. on 7.462. Serv. remarks that *cum* is lacking[*deest ‘cum’*], so as to give the sense [*ut sit*] of wings beaten along with[*cum*] *clangores* [‘cries’], comparing G.4.484 *atque Ixionii uento rota constitit orbis; aliter*, he continues, *acyrologia* [that is, improper diction] *est, si clangorem dixit alarum sonitum*. **C.** indicates the Harpies’ cry: cf. Cic. *carm.*Aesch.fr.2.14 (the vulture) *clangorem fundit uastum*, Liv.1.34.8 *aquila ... cum magno clangore uolitans*, and notably 5.47.4 *clangore eorum alarumque crepitu* (the geese) and Gamberale, 915f. confirms with much detail that *c.* does indeed often convey the cry of (large, as it happens, just like Harpies) birds; V.’s use of AR 2.267ff. has been noted and at 269 AR does refer exactly to the Harpies’ κλαγγῆ; so VF’s Phineus (4.579) *Tartareas saeuo clangore uolucres*. The Harpies beat their wings *along with* loud cries, and the abl. ‘of attendant circumstances’ is likewise unproblematic (for no reader would naturally have supposed that the beating of the wings resulted in *clangores*): cf. too e.g. G.1.407f. *magno stridore ... / insequitur*, 2.160 *fremitu assurgens*, Benace, *marino*, and Antoine, 196ff.. Such cries need not detract at all from the **uox** of **228**, *pace* Williams. The problem may originally have been that someone wanted **c.** to refer precisely to the beating of wings, which it can hardly do in an Augustan literary text; there may also have been doubt regarding the use of **c.** in the plural. Whence perhaps a desire to insert the less contentious **stridoribus** (Serv.Dan.; perhaps with the Dira of 12.869 *stridorem agnouit et alas* somewhere in mind), or even **plangoribus** (corrector of **P**, and a). Cf. Gamberale, *cit*, 917ff., Hübner, 67f..

**quatiunt ... alas** Cf. Cic.*Phaen.*fr.xxxii.1 *equus ille iubam quatiens* (cf. Liv.8.7.10, and Enn.*Ann.*538 *iubam quassat*), Cat.64.105, the oak *quatientem brachia*, Lucr.2.632 Curetes *terrificas capitum quatientes numine cristas*, *EV* 4, 366f.(Formicola) unsatisfactory. It may be the difficulties in interpreting **clangoribus** that gave rise to a desperate solution: Serv.Dan. here remarks *sed sane hic uersus qui circumductus est talis auditur ‘resonant magnis stridoribus alae’*. On the sense of *circumductus*, cf. n. on **204a-c**. *Resonant magnis stridoribus alae* was clearly enough indicated in some way as a rejected variant in the margin; Serv.Dan.’s use of *auditur* for normal *legitur* is not explained, nor do we quite know why just here a variant

was given such prominence: if not on account of some claim that it was an author-variant (Zetzel), then at least because the variant was considered old and respectable (cf. Timpanaro, 190, who shows that the v. cited is of markedly inferior quality). Cf. Lo Monaco(204), Delvigo (204), 307, Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 189ff., *Virgilianisti*, 152f., Cova *ad loc.*, Zetzel, *cit.* (204).

**227 diripiuntque dapes** Alliterative pecking, perhaps; **dapes**, from 224; the expression quoted by *Apul.Met.*10.15. The vb. solidly old: Cato spoke *pro direptis Lusitanis*; *bis* in Cato, fr. and frequent in Cic., Caes., and much rarer in Sall., Nep.. In AR, ἡραζον (2.189; cf. 223). For (likely) etymological references, cf. 212.

**contactuque** Presumably in an extended sense, as at *Liv.*25.26.8 *contactus agrorum uolgabat morbos* (cf. 4.30.8, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.624.68ff.; only *bis* in Celsus, though); but perhaps better if further extended, with the *contactus* sc. of their *proluuiis*. The associations of **c.** overstated by Hübner, 65, n.244.

**omnia foedant** Cf. 216; the vb. of good poet. pedigree, *Enn.trag.* 399, *Cic.carm.*Aesch. 2.19, *Lucr.*3.49, 4.844 (etc.; cf. n. on 7.575, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.997.56ff.).

**228 immundo** Postponed and run-on; V. returns to the theme of 216–7. Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.501.54 very strangely takes the word under ‘incorpor.’; quite the reverse, and clearly worse than the stench of *G.*3.564, or the ash of *G.*1.81, *Aen.*12.611. Naturally, we should compare 5.333 *immundoque fmo*.

**tum** The Harpies’ assault on the Trojans’ hasty and imprudent self-confidence develops by stages. **T.**, anyway, does not necessarily impose temporal sequence: cf. *OLD* s.v, §9, ‘besides, likewise’.

**uox ... dira** The adj. already (211) seen to belong to the language of Rom. portents; for now, the **uox** is apparently not that in comprehensible form (246), but rather a fearful bird-like cry, quite unlike the strange multiple *uoces* of Roman/Italic superstition (cf. n. on 7.90). Cf. rather the *uoces* of the ominous *bubo* (4.463, where vd. Pease, in good form) and note too Nigidius on the *uoces* of the *noctua*, *Plin.Nat.*10.39.2.

**taetrum ... inter odorem** Cf. *Lucr.*3.581, 6.787, 807, 1154, *Cic.Verr.*2.3.23, *Caes.Civ.* 3.49.2, *VM* 1.6.5, Paschoud, *TLL* 9.2.470.25ff., *EV* 5\*, 20. A standard combination. The stench is extremely Apollonian (vd. 216f.).

**229 rursum** Cf. **232** and *G.2.78*; 15x in *Lucr.* (vd. Puccioni, 95). Cf. *sursum* and vd. EM s.v. *verto*. The second attack at **232**, the third at **238**; the *Steigerung* less elaborated than in the Polyd.- episode. AR too has three attacks, 2.184–93, 223–31, 263–87; cf. Hübner, 64, Nelis, 34.

**in secessu longo sub rupe cavata** Cf. 1.159 *est in secessu longo locus* and 1.310 *sub rupe cauata*. It has become clear (xxxix–xl) that in all probability 3 is the earlier book (*aliter*, Cova, *ad loc.*) and there is no reason to suppose that the present passage is some late insertion into bk.3, perpetrated after bk.1 was written. No difficulty in assuming that V. recalled his earlier description of the Trojans' vain shelter from the Harpies, and re-used two scraps (for convenience; hardly 'significant') for his Tunisian refuge from the great storm, for which we have seen that **192–208** may have been a dry run (cf. Reeker, 49ff., Pöschl, 141ff.). **S.** apparently first here in Latin (cf. Cordier, 145; vd. Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379); note 8.193 *hic spelunca fuit uasto summota recessu*. **Cavata** Lucretian (1.313, 6.1194); in V. from *G.1.136*, 262; note *G.3.253 scopuli rupesque cauatae*, *Aen.* **3.566 inter caua saxa**. Hoppe, *TLL* 3.655.38. *Tacet EV*. Given the complex shades of *sub* in topogr. indications (cf. n. on 7.82), V.'s exact sense here is predictably not perspicuous: between 'sous le surplomb d'un rocher' (Perret), 'unter der Höhlung eines Felsens' (Binder), 'im Schutz eines Felsengewölbes' (Götte), 'in a deep recess under a hollowed rock' (Goold), 'sotto lo scavo di una rupe' (Scarcia), and 'in una profonda rientranza sotto una cava rupe' (Canali)—to go no further—we may fairly wonder whether **secessu** and **rupe** are part of one and the same feature (i.e. a deep cave in the rock; if not, then perhaps an overhanging rock at the head of a bay) and whether **sub** refers to an overhanging rock or to the Trojans cowering 'deep inside' (cf. again n. on 7.82) a cave. TCD's *secessus longitudine ... tutos et sub caua rupe quo tutiores essemus* does not answer these questions, and no commentator I have seen pauses to consider them. V., we might agree, leaves the detail imprecise (common) but at the same time seems not to offer the reader the elements of a mental image of what is happening (much rarer). The reality of the actual Strophades clearly best ignored.

[**230 arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris**] In **MP**, but palpably repeated from 1.311 (clearly because the clausula of **229** is echoed at 1.310) and here unconnected with the circumjacent syntax (cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.* 74, 153, 308, Sparrow, 131), at least until the correctors of **M** and the c.8 mss. start work. Omitted by Serv., but

not by TCD. Geymonat surmises, with naive and injudicious optimism, that the poet himself inserted the verse here, from 1.311: that is (1) clearly enough the wrong way round (vd. xxxix–xl), (2) an impertinence to V.'s sense of relevance, and indeed of simple grammar (unless you tinker, as many have done, with the text of the interpolation itself), and (3) a wilfully retrograde step made in the face of some real progress in respecting and understanding the transmission of V.(more of the same, Berres, 234f., Cova, *ad loc.*). G. himself takes a more defensible position at *EV* 2, 288.

**231 instruimus mensas** Cf. 1.706, 7.107ff., 8.175ff., Lersch, 183ff.: a familiar scene in *Aen.*; cf. *Enn.trag.*91 *auro ebore instructam regifice* (sc. *domum*), Ugenti, *EV* 4, 1043, von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.1.2015.39. After **213**, it should be clear that setting tables for dinner in the Harpies' presence is simply asking for trouble, a positive invitation to the monsters, a signal to the alert reader, and a discreet drum-roll for the coming attack. Note *epulae instructae*, Liv.3.29.5, von Kamptz, *cit.*, 55ff.

**arisque reponimus ignem** Altars are the right, the due place for setting fire, whence *re-ponere* (cf. n. on 7.134 *uina reponite mensis*, and vd. too nn. on 11.103, 149, 689). Cf. **223**: V. now touches briefly on the two elements of sharing out the booty (**partem praedamque**): dinner and burned offering. Cf. Lersch, 180, *EV* 4, 634, Wissowa, 418, with n.3, Latte, 389 for technical details of the latter.

**232 rursum** Cf. **229**.

**ex diuerso caeli** *D.* often used in neut. as noun and governed by prepos. (thus in V. with *ex*, 2.716, *in*, 8.642, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.1585.68); the part.(?) gen. after neut. adj. familiar and frequent, Antoine, 71ff., Austin on 2.332, LHS 153f., Löfstedt, *Synt.*, 2, 293f.

**caecisque latebris** Cf. **424 at Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris**, Lucr.1.408 *caecisque latebras* (possibly an accidental echo here); the noun *quater* already in *G.* and shortly to be employed *bis* of the Horse(Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.992.50f., 993.44), the adj., as often (**200**, **203**), applied to a physical context (whether actually tangible or not) from/into which there is no visibility, in either, or both directions(*EV* 1, 598f.); it is clearly more important that the Harpies, currently the aggressors, shall be able to see their targets. V. hints at AR 2.224 (the second attack, Nelis, 34): ἐκποθεν ἀφράκτοιο καταΐσσουσαι ὀλέθρου (though the last word raises unresolved problems of text and sense; vd. Vian *ad loc.*, Nelis, 34, n.69).

**233 turba sonans** Cf. 12.248f. the eagle *litoreas agitabat auis turbamque sonantem/ agminis aligeri*; of these two passages, R. Strati writes well ‘un volo disordinato di uccelli, tutto strida e battito d’ali’ (*EV* 5\*, 318); a *din*, we realise, of both cries and wing-beats (226, 228; cf. Roiron, 236f.). The expression then twice used in the acc., 6.753, 12.248, and note also 12.606f. *tum cetera circum/ turba furit, resonant late plangoribus aedes*. How many Harpies did V. wish us to suppose that there were? Very few names are preserved, and it is said (cf. 212, Nelis, 33, Heuzé, 366, ultimately, after Serv.Dan *quare turba cum ‘tris’ dixerit?*) that two or three are insufficient to constitute a **turba** (two will do, *Ov.Met.*1.355, jestingly); note that when mythol. creatures comparable to Harpies are numbered, they come in threes (Dirae, Furies, Keres, Hübner, 63, 75); given their many, and varied, supernatural powers, even three might seem quite enough to amaze and distress the Trojans (so too e.g. Cova).

**praedam** Vd. 223. The Trojans’ booty is the Harpies’ prey; there is only one meal in play after all. Another tight conceit.

**pedibus ... uncis** Vd. 217 and cf. 5.255 *sublimem pedibus rapuit Iouis armiger uncis*.

**circumuolat** The frequentative has a rich poet. history (n. on 7.104); *-uolat* printed as two words at *Hor.C.*1.2.34, but apparently first here (cf. Wulff, *TLL* 3.1183.11 ff.). Here possibly a back-formation from the frequentative. AR prefers *beaks*, 2.188, Nelis, 33; no obvious motive has been detected.

**234 polluit ore dapes** The climax of the Harpies’ second attack in three words, a terse climax, after their line-long hover; the Harpies befoul what they do not steal, TCD, while Serv. blandly glosses *contingit*. As often, the commentators seem unconcerned by what is actually happening. Evidently, there is paradox in the oral pollution of food. But what exactly do we suppose the Harpies to do? 216f. and 227f. certainly do not suggest oral pollution; 5.470 *ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes*, 8.199 *ore uomens ignis*, 10.349 *uomit ore cruorem* are all clearly less unpleasant. I sense that it would not be enough to suggest that the Harpies’ *cry* pollutes the Trojans’ meal. Is the mere touch of their beaks enough to befoul their plates of beef? Or does some unnamable pollutant emerge? The question(s) perhaps needed to be asked; here, though, the sharper contours of the poet’s *enargeia* fade into a horrid (and only too successful) half-suggestion of food somehow rendered inedible. At least as nasty as **uentris/ proluuies**. TCD well remarks *gnara quod uitium etiam in ore haberet*. **Dapes** cf. 227.

**sociis tunc .../ 235 edico** Cf. *ILS* 18.2 *de Bacanalibus, qui foederatei essent, ita exdeicendum censuere*, Liv.2.11.5, 24.6, 45.8, *et saep.*; strongly traditional Roman language. For *socii*, cf. **3.12**; they are Homeric ἐταῖροι, subject to Roman discipline.

**arma capessant** Quint. remarks(9.3.64) upon the two constructions (both common) used after **edico**, an unnamed *figura*, and not unusual (LHS, 530, 816f.); effortless *variatio*. For the subjunctive in parataxis, cf. Hey, TLL 5.2.64.19ff.(first here).The verb (Enn.*Ann.*) formally a desiderative but here (as usual) used of a swift and efficient grasp(so likewise, Bartalucci, *EV* 1, 654f.); cf. Liv.4.53.1 *capessentibus arma* (common in L. with *pugnam, bellum, fugam*). A variation, without perceptible variation of sense, upon *arma capiant*. With the constr. here (jussive in parataxis; prose and verse alike; extremely Virgilian) cf. 10.258 *edicit signa sequantur*, Görler, *EV* 2, 273, KS 2, 228, LHS, 530). Only here in the Harpies-episode does narrator-Aeneas become active participant; cf. **207 insurgimus**.

**235 dira ... cum gente** The adj., it bears repeating, belongs to the conventional language of portent-description. Here, the repetition calculated, and crucial to V.'s Romanised monsters; cf. **211, 228**. With this (uncommon)'mythological' use of *gens*, cf. n. on 7.304f. *gentem/... Lapithum*, *EV* 2, 659, G. Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1854.30ff.

**bellum ... gerendum** Cf. 7.444, 11.113, with nn.; Enn. and standard in prose and verse. Cf. 7.444 *quis bella gerenda*; gerundives are common in V., and carry (unlike e.g. *impers. pass.*) no characteristic tone or flavour.

**236 haud secus ac iussi** Cf. **561 haud minus ac iussi faciunt**, 10.272 *non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae* (cf. *G.*3.346, etc.): see n. on 11.456 (mixed flavours of archaic, prose and colloquial). Of **iussi** Serv.Dan. enquires *utrum uerbum an participium sit*; comparison of **561** makes it very clear that only the latter is to be contemplated. Cf. too n. on 7.781 *haud setius*.

**faciunt** Cf. V.'s *iussa facit/ facessit* and *Caes.Gall.*3.6.1, 21.3, etc.; here, we should probably supply *iussa*, though abs. is possible usage. The *socii*, in the presence of loathsome monsters, do not panic and behave like good Roman soldiers.

**tectosque per herbam** The clausula **p.h.** *bis* in *G.* and then *sexies* more in *Aen.*; the flavour may sometimes (cf. 7.109, 1.214, in equally gastronomic contexts) be deliberately near-pastoral; AR's Bor-



eads (2.263–5) are ready for the Harpies' last assault, but do not essay concealment. Comparison of Front.*Strat.*2.5.27, 4.7.13 (and cf. 3.2 *passim*) suggests that we are here in the realm of familiar soldierly stratagem (concealed weapons); abundance of analogies in Polyaeus. Desy, 155 compares the hidden, sharpened club of *Od.*9.329f.

**237 disponunt ensis** A good military term (vd. Hey, *TLL* 5.1. 1423.13ff.), common of the disposition of troops(38x in Caes.); cf. Liv.31.17.1 *tormentis per muros dispositis*, 32.10.11, Front. *Strat.* 3 10 6 *disposito per occulta milite* (Viriathus). The vb. 12x in Lucr.

**et scuta latentia condunt** The combined vbs. appealed to Ov., *Her.*19.122, *Am.*3.2. 36, *F.*3.302. The expression (from **tectos** to **latentia**, naturally) rightly taken by Görler, *EV* 2, 270 as a prime instance of V.'s eptic use of adjs. and partic.; cf. nn. on 7.350, 11.67.

**238 ergo ubi** Cf. *G.*4.77, *Aen.*4.474; Lucr. has (not often) *ergo cum*.

**delapsae** Cf.5.518 (the dove in the archery contest), 7.620 (Allecto), 11.595 (Opis). So already at **225 lapsu**.

**sonitum ... dedere** Cf. **226, 228, 233 (sonans)**: the omnipresent racket of wings and cries is a strong recurrent element in the Harpies' terror; V. is not much concerned to vary detail between assaults, for, within limits, insistent repetition reinforces terror. Cf. Roiron, 237.

**per curua ... / 239 litora** Cf. **223**.

**dat signum** Cf. nn. on 7.519f., 11.474 (Enn., Caes.).

**specula ... ab alta** Cf. *Buc.*8.59; repeated exactly, 10.454. Hom. σκοπιή. Occasional in milit. narrative, Liv.31.24.4, 37.23.5, etc..

**Misenus** Fully discussed, *JHS* 99 (1979), 39f. (some confusion, *EV* 3, 543 and no advance, *LIMC* 6.1, 582f.). The name necessarily derived from the cape three miles S. of Baiae; perhaps first mentioned not in Stes., but in what was once claimed as Tim. (vd. Horsfall, 39, n.95), the source (whatever it was) of Strab.1.2.18 (as a companion not of Aen., but of Od.), possibly reinforced by Lyc.737. Present in the Rom. antiquarian tradition from the *Pontificalia* of L. Julius Caesar (*OGR* 9.6, as *gubernator* of Aen.; cf. DH 1.53.3 and note Cameron(186), 330). Then seen on the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina, with (?) his trumpet(Horsfall, *cit*). A (post-Homeric) trumpeter, clearly, in *Aen.* (cf. also 6.164f.), for Palinurus has the job of steersman.

**240 aere cauo** Cf. **286 aere cauo clipeum**. At 6.171(a fine n. by Austin) it is Mis. again, who this time *caua ... personat aequora concha*.

**Aere:** common use of material for thing, cf. nn. on 7.526, 11.75, 637 and particularly 7.245(a form of synecdoche). Cf. nn. on 7.615, 628 for Homeric and Roman trumpets. Pause with synaloepha of long vowel after 1D a rare rhythm (cf. 6.493 *exiguam: inceptus clamor.*), but no special effect seems intended here.

**inuadunt socii S.:** cf. 234; the vb. used absolutely, as in early Livy(4.53.9, 5.39.7) and at 2.414, 9.567(Mühmelt/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.110.31 ff.); not used in milit. sense by Caes., but otherwise standard Latin.

**noua proelia** Of course, literally, a new, third phase of the conflict, but also for Trojan warriors, well used to the Achaeans and their allies, a singular (Serv., *mira*; cf. 9.110, 731, etc.) conflict against feathered monsters.

**temptant** Cf. 2.334, 11.912 (see n.): Lucretian (but implicitly, cf. 5.1299).

**241 obscenas** A good, old (e.g. *Enn. Ann.* 576; cf. *Varr. LL* 7.97) word for 'ill-omened'; cf. Grassmann-Fischer, 41, n.20, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.158.80 ff.. On 4.455, Pease observes well that here there is also a sense of 'repulsive' present (cf. n. on 7.417, Watson on *Hor. Epd.* 5.98).

**pelagi ... uolucres** The Harpies explicitly birds, as at 216; the phr. from *G.* 1.383 *uariæ pelagi uolucres* (and in origin an echo of *Varr. Atac. fr.* 14.1; cf. Wigodsky, 104), possibly by sheer chance, given the altered sedes. They live on an island, personify squalls, and are granddaughters of Ocean, via his daughter Electra (*Hes. Theog.* 265 f.). On the prosody of **uolucris**, cf. Timpanaro, *EV*, 4, 232 ff..

**ferro foedare** Ennian: vd. *trag.* 399 *ferro foedati iacent* and the vb. also similarly in *Cic. carm.*, *Lucr.*, fr. inc. 11 Courtney; cf. Wigodsky, 42. Befouling the foul birds a neat vigorous alliterative conceit (cf. 216, 227). **Ferro:** 222; for the abl., Henry compares 4.673. **Temptant** governs both acc., and, probably, the infin. too (cf. *G.* 4.554 ff., both *monstrum* and *stridere* dependent on *aspiciunt*, *LHS*, 346); **f.f.** is normally taken as in appos. to **proelia**; possible, but the change of construction seems more 'interesting' both here and in *G.* 4.

**242 sed neque ... nec** Cf. *G.* 2.103 f., 136 f., *Aen.* 12.903, *Lucr.* 5.878.

**uim ... ullam ... uulnera** There is a good deal of sound- or word-play between *uis* and *uulnus* (cf. 10.857, 12.720, *Cic. Sest.* 24, *Val. Max.* 1.8 (ext.). 18), but *uis ... uulnus* (the shorter *uim* here reinforced by *ullam*) is

not a familiar Wölfflinian alliterative noun-pair (cf. indices to 7, 11 s.v. alliterative), though it might seem a likely candidate.

**plumis ... tergo** 'Hendiadys' of sorts, balancing the noun-pair: the feathers on the Harpies' backs/ the backs protected by feathers (Nelis, 'metal plumage', quite wrongly, 37; AR apparently superimposed on V.). In AR(2.284, misunderstood by Cova), the Harpies risk dismemberment at the Boreads' hands, but for Iris' intervention. Mere Trojans here cannot hope to do them the sort of injury that Diom. did Aphrodite. The Harpies, suggested Donatus (ap. Serv. here) were invulnerable because daughters of Styx; *quod non probatur* comments Serv. cf. Griffin, *Homer* 166, and n. on 7.692 for the motif of invulnerability (vd. also 11.785); for Hom., cf. Kirk on *Il.*5.339ff., 416, 870f., Janko on *Il.*14.250–61, 402–8, 16.777–867, Gruppe, 998, n.5. The comparison (so e.g. Perret's n. on 244) of the Stymphalian birds is unhelpful, for though they have brazen feathers, they are no match for Heracles, just as the birds of Ares are chased off by the Argonauts, and the feathers are in practice for attack, not defence (AR 2.1030–89; Nelis, 37). Against such adversaries, arrows, as both Heracles and Argonauts know, will not serve (2.1048f., 1054) and are not tried, though in *Arg.* invulnerability is not spelled out.

**243 accipiunt** Cf. Caes. *Gall.*1.48.7, 4.12.6, Liv.3.5.7, 10.1.5, etc.; the standard expression, with perhaps a hint of bald narrative prose.

**celerique fuga** Non.p.307.28 glosses **f.** as *uolatum*. The epithet at Hor. *C.*2.7.9, 13.17, 4.8.15. Not in Caes., Cic., Sall., Liv.

**sub sidera lapsae** **S.s.** rarely paired; Ov. *F.*3.453(*subter*), and Sil. 2.337, 14.505 suggest that the clear sense of 'up to' here was not much appreciated. Cic. *Tim.*37 *pone quos aut ante labantur* (sc. 'dei stellis incorporati', Flury) does help confirm that a sense of *upwards* flight (contrast e.g. 4.223) was indeed possible (cf. Flury, *TLL* 7.2.786.67f., Bartalucci, *EV* 3, 84), though the use of *lapsus* offers no support.

**244 semesam praedam** The **praedam** of 223; we might think of AR 2.228–9, where the Harpies (ever ready to foul and flee, but not to fight) leave Phineus some disgusting remnants of his/their meal. Cordier, 47, n.2 seems to suggest that **s.** is Pacuvian; it is not, and seems to be a word first attested in V.; for V.'s *semi-* compounds, cf. *EV* 4, 762f.. Some orthogr. confusion in the capital mss..

**uestigia foeda** ABBA pattern of nouns and adjs.; not a single large compound expression, and here, cf. rather 217 (note Deroy, *EV* 5\*, 520

and cf. 4.23 for **u.**), **234**. No further detail, mercifully. **F.**: V.'s adj. of choice for this scene: cf. **216**, **227**, etc.; thematic repetition may become tedious if one looks too closely.

**relinquunt** Cf. AR 2.189f. ἐλείπετο δ' ἄλλοτε φορβῆς / οὐδ' ὄσον, ἄλλοτε τυτθόν.

**245 una ... Celaeno** For the name, cf. **211**; here she is given prominence by the hyperbaton, and by **u.** in the sense of 'one in particular'(sc. out of three, or however many(**233**) there were), without added *sorum*, *ex virginibus* or the like; cf. 11.649 (Camilla) *unum exserta latus*, 1.312 *uno ... Achate*, and perhaps the single serpent of 7.346.

**in praecelsa..rupe** So Juvenus of the Sermon on the Mount, 1.452 *praecelsa rupe resedit*. A Virgilian coinage, given a marked preference for adjs. in *prae*-(Squillante Saccone, *EV* 1, 54; cf. Euler, *TLL* 10.2.410.36ff.); mysteriously absent from Cordier's list of coinages, 144ff. but see nn. on 11.155, 213. A novel and metrically convenient alternative for conventional *excelsa*.

**consedit** Cf. *Buc.*7.1 *forte sub arguta consederat ilice Daphnis*, *G.4.436* (Proteus), *Aen.*5.841 (Somnus).

**246 infelix uates** So Allecto as Calybe, 7.435, 442 and Proteus (*G.4.387*, etc.), but prophetic gifts are not inherent to Harpies, and they are not present in Hom.'s episode of the Cattle of the Sun, except in Circe's and Tiresias' warnings(**209–69** (i), **256**). V., though, has built up the Harpies as specially repellent, and one of them is therefore admirably well-suited as mouthpiece for his first, hostile version of the prophecy of the tables (vd. *Aen.*7, p.112f.). The adj. used with enallage, as was noted by Serv.Dan. (*nuntia infelicitatis, ut μάντι κακῶν*[Agam. to Calchas, *Il.*1.106], *hoc est nobis infelix*) and *Gloss.Lat.*4.446.33 *mali ominis*; cf. *Ov.Met.*4.490, Fleischer/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1. 1363.13ff.. Bellincioni's list (*EV* 2, 487; cf. Duckworth, 13f.) of instances of *i.* in the sense of 'luckless', 'doomed' includes nothing remotely similar.

**rumpitque hanc pectore uocem** Cf. n. on 11.377 *rumpitque has imo pectore uoces*.

**247–57** A prophecy of subtle tone and complex origins, little studied. In V.'s ample inversion of Hom.'s Cattle of the Sun(**256**), Celaeno's warning of hunger to overcome before city-founding in the promised land corresponds to Circe's warning that Od. will lose ship and comrades if the Cattle are harmed on Thrinacia(12.139ff.; cf. Polyphemus'

prayer ὄψὲ κακῶς ἔλθοι, 9.534), while AR offers only Iris' warning to the Argonauts not to wound the Harpies(2.288–90). Block much overstates the terror in scene and content: after Apollo and the Penates, Celaeno confirms that the Trojans will reach their goal and found their city: first, though, hunger and table-eating (a small punishment, we might think, for the slaughtered cattle): the learned reader will recall the oracle's fulfilment, and even the story-type in colonisation-literature (*Aen.* 7, pp.110–2); the Trojans are indeed appalled(259f.), but promptly seek pardon for their offence and will soon be assured by Helenus(394f.) that the fulfilment of Celaeno's warning will not be so very terrible. Her *inuectio* (TCD's word) does not even(cf. 209–69) foretell delay or death for the Trojans. Vd. Block, 232–6, Cartault, 243, Duckworth, 106f., 113, Heinze, 90f., 113f., Highet 97, 102 (unsatisfactory), Nelis, 35.

**247 bellum .../ 248 ... bellumne inferre paratis** 'Martial gemination'(Wills, 63f., well); whereas *arma ... arma* has a wonderfully rich and complex history (nn. on 7.340, 460), *bellum ... bellum* (cf. 539f., 6.86) apparently starts here (though we might compare. *Il.* 8.453 πρὶν πόλεμόν τε ἰδεῖν πολέμοιο τε μέμμερα ἔργα). An expression faintly recalled at 7.604f. *sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum/ Hyracanisue Arabisue parant* (where vd. n.).

**etiam** Uncharacteristically, Page offers a perverse and unnecessary novelty, **e.** in a sense of 'indeed', in an indignant question; **e.** is so used (Hand, 2, 575), but the sense of 'also' (i.e. violence over and above theft) is evident and unchallengeable.

**pro caede boum** Cf. 9.778, 10.426, 11.634, *Hor.C.* 3.25.14 *multa caede bidentium*. Commentators agree rightly enough on the irony in **pro**: war too, against us, in defence of your (bad enough, and already accomplished) slaughter of our livestock.

**stratisque iuuenicis** Neat, strong phrasing; a single idea lent weight by division, and interest by the irregular pairing **caede ... iuuenicis**, while the repetition of words for oxen escapes tedium by the change of case. Cf. 1.700 *strato ... astro*, etc..

**248 Laomedontidae** Here there is a strong hint of the Trojans' 'original sin'(as at *G.* 1.501f., *Aen.* 4.541f.); cf. Mynors on *G.*, *cit.*, and NH on *Hor.C.* 1.2.17 for 'Laomedon's perjury as a symbol for more recent guilt'(cf. also 3.3.22, of less interest to NR). Celaeno tosses in the distant memory of perjury, as little more than a handy insult, to

reinforce the present charge of theft; TCD's *facitis more generis uestri, ut prouocetis bello paterna possidentis et ferro innoxias adpetatis* does nothing to 'justify' the leap from perjury to banditry (but *nomen pro conuicio posuit* is altogether on target). Dido's mythological reference will be closer to the point. At 7.105, no moral obloquy; *sane alibi indifferenter nomen ex persona poetae posuit* Serv.Dan. here. See Dickey(41), 211 f.

**249 et patrio ... regno** So already at **121 regnis ... paternis**. The Harpies claim as their ancestral home the islands where they have lodged since their encounter with the Boreads(209), as the islands' name reminds us. 'Una menzogna'(Cova); 'the exaggeration natural in an injured and indignant female'(Page; cf. the *ex persona* defence at Akbar Khan, 132f.). The Harpies are daughters of Thaumias and Electra, and thus maternal grandchildren of Oceanus and Ge (241, Apld.1.2.6). Of course Serv.Dan.(followed by Con.) might be right to say that **patrio** means little more than *proprio* (cf. G.1.52).

**Harpys insontis** Cf. Hor.*Epd.*7.19 *immerentis ... Remi* (where vd. Watson).The adj. dear to a poet with so strong a sense of wrong and injustice; *septies* in *Aen.*; *EV* 4, 944f. lightweight. The Harpies revolting but wronged, the Trojans guilty but unwitting; a good, typical Virgilian moral and dramatic complication.

**pellere** *Simplex pro composito*, clearly, for *expellere/ depellere* (Bell, 333); cf. discussion at 7.217 *pulsi regnis*.

**250 accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta** The line repeated at 10.104 (where vd. Harrison); cf. too 5.304 *accipite haec animis*: Enn. had had *et hoc simul accipe dictum* (*Ann.*187); V. conflates (and was perhaps not the first to do so) with the common Hom.  $\kappa\upsilon\ \delta'\ \epsilon\upsilon\iota\ \phi\rho\epsilon\alpha\iota\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\omicron\ \epsilon\tilde{\eta}\epsilon\iota$  (cf. Negri, 146). **Animis** clearly to be understood with **figite** too, as **haec dicta** with **accipite** (cf. Bell, 254, 262). For *figere* thus, Lackenbacher (*TLL* 6.1.718.9ff.) compares Lucil.431 *firmiter hoc pariterque tuo sit pectore fixum*; possibly Greek in origin, for LSJ s.v.  $\pi\acute{\eta}\gamma\gamma\upsilon\mu\iota$  cites (§IV) Pind.*Nem.*3.62  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \phi\rho\alpha\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\iota\theta'$ , but, *pace* Harrison, that is rather slender foundation for a 'Grecising' Lat. idiom. Cf. Moskalew, 96. O'Hara, *TN*, 139 draws (sceptical) attention to the observation that the line begins, if you wish it to, *accipiter*, thus alluding to the bird-like Harpies. So e.g. the  $\mu\tilde{\eta}\nu\iota\upsilon$  of 1.37 (cf. D. Fowler in (ed.C. Martindale), *Camb.comp. to V* (Cambridge 1997), 260). The animal lurking in *Romana per oppida* will one day not be considered boring (cf. *effera uis, pondus et auri, liquuntur sanguine* for further consideration) and no doubt *Aen.* will

be rewritten thus over the coming decades, but not by me. Mockery of such 'hidden' references, though, is hardly in place at 1.37 (not least because such jesting is of a familiar Roman type, Cic.*Fam.*9.22.2–4; note Lombardi in *EV* 1, 593 s.v. *cacemphaton*, 203), and sober judgement (here unusually necessary) may, *passim*, yield useful results.

**251–2 quae Phoebus pater omnipotens mihi Phoebus Apollo/ praedixit** For **pater omnipotens**, cf. n. on 7.770. For Jupiter's gift of prophecy to Apollo, implied here, we should recall, according to Macr.(5.22.12f.; vd. Wigodsky, 91), Aeschylus (*Eum.*19, *Hiereiai*, fr. 86.2Radt); cf. too *HHAp.*132, *Soph.OT* 151, *OC* 793, [Tib.]3.4.47f., Robert 1, 278 and vd. Archil. fr.298West for prophetic Zeus. AR 2.181f.(Zeus and Phineus' misused prophetic abilities) probably not germane. **Phoebus Apollo**: cf. n. on 11.794. La Cerda is right to note that V. has in mind here Hom.'s frequent accounts of the hands through which a message passes, citing, e.g., *Od.*12.389f.. Celaeno is therefore not merely revolting, but authoritative (and cf. 7.110 for Jup.'s authority recollected). Cic. had used *praedicere* of Apollo himself: *Off.*2.77, *Fat.*33 and the vb. Naevian, *Bell.Pun.*fr.8Strz.). And Apollo had always had the ability to confer knowledge of the future as he desired, on Cassandra, or on Celaeno, on Helenus(474) and on the Sibyl(6.35): cf. Fraenkel on Aesch.*Agam.*1202, Frazer on *Apld.Bibl.*3.12.5.

**252 uobis ... ego** Juxtaposition of contrasting pronouns, with the second given even greater force by insertion between the two elements of C.'s greatest claim to fearful authority.

**Furiarum maxima** Cf. 6.605, of the fury Tisiphone, *Ov.Met.*2.346 *sorum/ maxima*, and *Aen.*1.654, *Liv.*1.3.10, *Hor.C.*4.14.14 (simply, 'eldest'; a good deal more seems indicated here), with Bulhart, *TLL* 8.126.51 ff. V. here appears to call the Harpy Celaeno a Fury, just as the Dira of bk.12 has likewise been identified as another Fury. Neither identification is satisfactory: cf. Horsfall, *Companion*, 211, n.129; also, much more fully, n. on 7.324, with bibl. and *ib.*, p.224 on comparable identifications before V. (Lyssa and Gorgon in Eur.*HF*, for example; add Marcell.Sid. *Regilla* (*Epigr.Gr.* 1026)14: Harpies and Fates). Here, V. follows AR 2.220 'Επιούρα, of the unspecified Harpy. The senior Fury, as TCD remarks, is a most suitable mouthpiece for the message that follows.

**pando** Used by Cat.64.325 of the Parcae; cf. 479, 6.723, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.199.35 ff..

**253 Italiam ... petitis/ 254 ibitis Italiam** With ABBA arrangement of vbs. and the repeated noun; what Wills(331) calls ‘climactic repetition’, comparing Cat.68B.45f. *sed dicam uobis, uos porro dicite multis/ milibus et facite haec carta loquatur anus*, Ov.F. 2.421. V. prefigures the clamorous triple repetition of **Italiam** at **523f.** Cf. 5.166 *abis ... pete* (contrast 6.115, 12.378) for the neat, natural polarity of these verbs. Note the (faintly archaic, or Homeric) simple acc. of destination, with n. of country(J.H.W. Penney, *ALLP*, 261, Antoine, 63ff., LHS, 50). The comma after **petitis** in many older edd., linking the vbs. and separating **cursu** from **uentisque uocatis** serves only to strangle the disposition and rhetorical force of the line. Favouring winds would add nothing to the prophecy which follows; here, though, Cel. reveals to the Trojans that she knows their goal(cf. **166**), and that accuracy (as was noted, TCD, Serv. on **253**, Zurlì, 176) in turn lends weight to the grim prophecy which follows.

**cursu ... uentisque uocatis** Cf. **115, 118–20** for sacrifices for fair winds. The line ends thus also at 5.211; cf. too 8.707 *uentis ... uocatis*, 4.223 *uoca Zephyros*, Labate, *EV* 5\*, 494. *Cursu petere* a standard combination, *Buc.*6.80, *Aen.*1.157f., 2.399f., 8.221, 9.478f.; cf. Liv.1.37.4 and already Enn.*Ann.*466 *ingenti uadit cursu*; here therefore no more than (in traditional language)’you are making swiftly for ...’. Paratore’s suggestion that **uocatis** might be 2plur. pres.indic.act. is most singular.

**254 portusque intrare** Cf. **219**.

**licebit** So too at 10.14. V. develops the *permissio* (Rufinianus 27Helm calls the figure *epitrope* and compares *Aen.*4.381 *i sequere Italiam uentis, pete regna per undas*; cf. Lausberg 1, 426f.): Celaeno, with heavy irony, allows that of course the Trojans will reach Italy and make port, *but* ... (not only further delay in founding the promised city and raising its walls, but famine; already perhaps hinted in Crete as a distant menace, typical of colonisation-narratives, **135–46, 209–69**).

**255 sed non** Cf. 6.86 *sed non et uenisse uolent*, 7.736, 756, *et saep.*. Not Lucr.; *bis* in Cat. polymetra.

**ante .../ 256 quam** Cf. Lucr.3.959f., 969, etc., and see Bartalucci’s useful discussion, *EV* 3, 994f.: used in tmesis for obvious metr. reasons. Moreover, we are now perforce expecting some dire precondition (and Nelis does well to draw attention to Idmon’s words, AR 1.440ff.: Jason *will* return home, but only after ἀπειρέσιοι ... ἄεθλοι). The pres.subjunc.(**subigat**), after a negative main vb., is not yet established



in place of fut. indic.; Handford, *Lat.subjunc.* 164 cites this passage as the second, after Cat.64.188ff. *non tamen ante mihi languescent .../ nec prius ... secedent ../ quam ... exposcam .../... comprecet.* Cf. KS 2, 369, LHS, 600, Madvig, *Gramm.lat.*, §360.

**datam ... urbem** Cf. 337 **sed tibi qui cursum uenti, quae fata dedere, 501 data moenia** (where vd. n.), 4.225 *fatisque datas non respicit urbes*, 11.112 *nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent*, EV 2, 115f., Rubenbauer, TLL 5.1.1667.76f.; the omission of **fatis** here leaves the expression just as unmistakably thematic and expressive of the epic's 'public' plot(cf. n. on 7.157).

**cingetis moenibus** Cf. Buc.4.32 *cingere muris*, Aen.5.597 *Longam muris cum cingeret Albam*, 7.159 *aggere cingit* (with nn.); the walls are an integral part of the destined city, Horsfall 1989, 26. Thus already Cic. ND 3.94, etc., Bannier, TLL 3.1064.28f..

**256 uos .../ 257 ... subigat** For the vb., cf. n. on 7.214.

**dira fames** The adj.'s implications—central to the episode—discussed at 211; now at last Celaeno reveals that the warning has to do with famine and punishment, the latter clearly after the manner of Od.12, with brilliant, complex inversion: Circe warns Od. that they will come to the island of Thrinakie and thence, *if* the cattle of Helios are spared, Od. and his men will reach Ithaca, *κακά περ πάσχοντες* (138), but if the cattle are *not* spared, ruin will follow(127–41): here, the Trojans have survived their storm, the slaughter of the cattle has been accomplished and Harpies threatened, and prophecy follows, on land, between offence and punishment; Aen. *will* reach Italy, and only there will punishment become effective. Cf. Nelis, 37, Knauer, 187, n.1.

**nostraeque ... caedis C.** takes up 247 **pro caede boum** (Piacente, EV 1, 599f., after V. Ferraro, *Giorn.Filol.Ferrar.*6.4 (1983), 103ff.; see too Cova here): ring-composition; **-que** (cf. Piacente, again) has the explanatory force found at e.g. 1.27 (*infra*; vd. Henry); cf. OLD s.v., §6a, Williams on 575f.. and 5.410f., Page on 6.361, Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 21f. Literal-minded readers, from TCD to (e.g.) Piacente/Cova have worried that the Trojans do not actually kill the Harpies. However, (i) Celaeno is making a case, (ii) the Trojans would not be sorry to kill the revolting Harpies (cf. Hoppe, TLL 3.49.84f.) and (iii) they have *re vera* killed the Harpies' cattle. Note the use of *noster* in lieu of a subj. gen.; cf. LHS 61; *caedes* (as often, in a concrete sense, Ferraro, EV 1, 380 and *cit.*(1977), 104) with subj. gen. at 2.526, 9.342. Vd. Bulhart, TLL 8.921.12ff. on the use of *meus* with both subj. and obj. force.

**iniuria** Note **604 si sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri**; Josef Delz, *TLL* 7.1.1677.16ff. also compares 1.27 *spretaeque iniuria formae*, Liv.4.1.4 (also Cic., Caes.; cf. Antoine, 76ff. for the ‘appositional’ or ‘epexegetic’ gen. in V.(see esp. 77), variously classified and baptised).

**257 ambesas ... mensas** Cf. 5.752f. *flamisque ambesa reponunt/ robora*. The preverb =‘round, about’(Leumann, 96, EM s.v., etc.); the vb. old (in Plaut.*Merc.*, of a dowry; Cordier, 144 inexplicably refers to this word as an apparent coinage in V; vd. Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1836.44ff.) and used by V. with deliberation, of flame that eats at the outside of a ship’s timbers, and, with rare but not unparalleled, humour, of hungry Trojans, who will gnaw round the edges of their tables, as though they were wooden, though in the event those tables will be far easier upon teeth and palate (n. on 7.109, *liba*); we might also think of the half-eaten meal (**244 semesam**) that the Trojans leave at the Harpies’ third attack. The tables of bks.3/7 a good deal less ambiguous than has been suspected; cf. n. on 7.116, in detail, on the material ambiguity, so common in colonisation stories.

**subigat** Cf. n. on 7.214.

**malis absumere** The noun in Acc.*trag.* and Lucr. and thus here an elevated, resonant way of referring to the quotidian business of eating(Richter, *TLL* 8.159.67); so used again, 7.114. The vb. (common) used as an alternative to *malis ... consumere*, G.3.268, Varr.*RR*; in early Liv., often of fire and pestilence. Vb. and partic. (**ambesas**) of similar sense, ‘cumulative’; they reinforce mutually, as often (instances in Sidgwick here). The infin. after a verb such as **subigat**, ‘causative verbs of inducing and permitting’, extremely Virgilian, Görler, *EV* 2, 271. **Malis subigat** Diom.*Gramm. Lat.*1.387.6. **Consumere** Prisc.*Gramm.Lat.*2.522.22.

**258 dixit, et** Cf. 11.561, 858, etc..

**in siluam ... refugit** Cf. 6.472f. *atque inimica refugit/ in nemus umbriferum*, 7.500 *saucius at quadrupes nota intra tecta refugit*, though we will not be eager to associate Celaeno with either Dido or Silvia’s wounded stag. V. (vd. next n.) may later on have used this line as something of a lexical quarry.

**pennis ablata** Cf. 4.389 *seque ex oculis auertit et aufert* and more closely, 11.867 *Opis ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum*, von Mess/Ihm, *TLL* 2.1338.2. Cf., in a quite different sense, **199**. Note too Iris’ departure to Olympus during the Harpies-episode, AR 2.300.

**259 at** ‘Transitional’; cf. n. on 7.691, *EV* 1, 441.

**sociis** Cf. **12**; the narrator (who only here directly enters the narrative) might suggest that he at least was not afraid (rightly, it will emerge, but that emerges long after Dido heard of the prophecy) of this pending threat.

**subita ... formidine** Cf. 6.290 *corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum*; cf. **137**, **225**, 7.67, 95, and in particular 446 (vd. n.), for the speed of supernatural interventions and of human reactions to them.

**gelidus ... sanguis** Cf. **30 gelidusque coit formidine sanguis**, **308** for the chilling, coagulating effect of fear in V’s physiological thought.

**260 deriguat** Cf. not so much 7.447 *deriguere oculi* as **coit supra**, and nn. on **30**, **48**, and 11.21.

**cecidere animi** Cf. Liv.1.11.3, 2.65.7 (closely contemporary; perhaps likely to be very slightly earlier than V; cf. Hoppe, *TLL* 3.26.62f.), Ov.F.3.225, *Met.*7.347 (echoes with zeugma); the Livian parallels might suggest an annalistic, tragic or Ennian origin (clearly, a version of Hom. κάππεσε θυμός, *Il.*15.280), but there seems to be no directly relevant Lat. antecedent.

**nec iam amplius .../ 261 sed** Cf. **192**, here expanded with an adversative.

**armis/ 261 ... uotis precibusque** Cf. n. on 11.158 *uota precesque meae* (citing Hor.C., Liv.praef.), 5.234, 6.51, Morelli, *TLL* 10.2.1219.46ff. (comic fr., prose, Lucr.5.1229). For the antithesis prayers-arms, cf. Morelli, 1217.7ff., Cic.*Sest.*59, Liv.2.40.2, Ov.F.3.198.

**iubent** Not some droll encroachment of democratic authority upon the *res sacra* (cf. **58**), but rather (cf. n. on 11.218; apparently ignored by Pomathios) a regular form of Virgilian reference to popular clamour. *Il.*7.420 is not necessarily analogous (vd. Kirk *ad loc.*); cf. rather *Il.*1.22, 376 with Finley, *World of Odysseus*, 81, 2.151, 23.823, *Od.*7.226, 10.471, 12.294, 352, 13.47, though this verbal collective reaction is not very common in Hom..

**exposcere pacem** Cf. 4.56f., 7.155 (*pacemque exposcere Teucris*); so too Liv.1.16.3, *pacem precibus exposcunt* (stock phrase, rather than significant echo, either way), 3.5.14 (Hickson, 51), 7.8, 4.30.11, 7.2.2, Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1772.12ff.. Compare n. on **cecidere animi**: exactly the same issue here, and the same uncertainty over the expression’s origins. Non.p.371.1 (cf. 460.10) cites this v. for *pax* in the sense of *propitiatio* (cf. Keudel, *ib.* 10.1. 863.51, 866.25ff.), verging on *uenia*, *benevolentia*;

cf. Enn.*trag.*55 (where vd. Jocelyn), Liv. *supra*, G.4.535, Hor.*Ep.* 2.1.137, with Brink's n.) and for the notion of *pax deorum*, cf. now Oakley on Liv.6.1.12. A vigorous zeugma (Bell, 268, 311), disliked by Serv. and misunderstood by Page: **e.p** is a phrase naturally and conventionally used (*supra*) of obtaining divine favour by means of prayer etc.; here, the Trojans have indeed seized their weapons to 'make war' (235; cf. 247f.), but the Harpies are apparently as yet unharmed, and their assailants likewise. An actual 'stay of combat' is not therefore dictated urgently by the situation, and is only present in the text by zeugma, for what the Trojans want is not so much time to finish their stolen meal unmolested as *pax deorum*; whether their adversaries are fully divine or (more truly) in some sense the ominous, avian emissaries of divinity, they are to be stayed by prayer, and an end to combat follows naturally. 'Liberty to feed unmolested', Con.(*male*); there is worse elsewhere in the commentaries.

**262 siue ... seu sint** 'The disjunctive belongs to the language of hymns and prayers', NH on Hor.*C.*1.12.5 (cf. on 1.30.1), à propos of alternative cult-centres; *ita quoque* NR on 3.21.2, 5f.(with further bibl.), more generally of the powers and attributes of a deity, after Norden *Agn. Theos*, 143ff.(and note too Hickson, 42f., Appel, 80).

**deae** From Batteggazzore's useful list (*EV* 2, 35), we might compare Allecto, 7.541 (where vd. my n.), the Furies in general, *ib.*, 324, Fama, 4.195; so too of Muses, Nymphs, etc.. An entirely accurate first classification.

**dirae obscenaeque** V. recapitulates the two adjs. already used (211 etc., 241) to convey that the Harpies are strongly suggestive of ill-omened birds, in the Roman manner. Were that true, they would nonetheless be messengers of the *ira deorum*, cf. 215 **pestis et ira deum**. The second classification equally reasonable.

**uolucres** Cf. 216, 241.

**263 et At** TCD, Prisc.*Gramm.Lat.*2.519.23. On the use of **et**, cf. Wagner, *QV* xxxv. 7.a, comparing 538, 558, 2.726, 760, 5.667, 9.696: the Gk. καὶ τότε.

**pater Anchises** Cf. 9: Anch. here again appropriately takes over in a situation calling for experience of the *res diuina*.

**passis ... palmis** Serv.Dan. here glosses *apertis*, *solutis*, and Serv. *solutis*. On Enn.*Ann.* 490 (*passis*) *late palmis pater* (where vd. Skutsch), Non.p.370.33 comments *patentibus et extensis* and see too Cic.*Nat.Deor.*

2.111 *passis palmis*, Lucr.5.1200f. *pandere palmas/ ante deum delubra*. Traditional language (perhaps perceived as Ennian; cf. Wigodsky, 53. The assonance may be significant), perhaps even technical, though not provably 'sacral'. See further, Adkin, *TLL* 10.1.142.37, Kruse, *ib.* 194.35ff. and for the hands raised in supplication, cf. **176f.**

**de litore** Cf. Stat.*Ach.*1.121f. *uisa procul de litore surgens/ Nereis*. On 4.205, Serv. remarks of this passage *caelestes leuatis ad caelum*, comparing 1.93 *duplices tendens ad sidera palmas*. Spreading, or stretching the hands, therefore, up from the shore.

**264 numina magna** No necessary connexion with the **magnis Dis** of 12. Cf. n. on 7.310 and used also at 2.623, **3.633f.**, **697** (vd. Battezzare, *EV* 3, 780). As Bailey remarks(63), V. promptly glosses himself in direct speech (**di ... di**), so here refers to the powers of the mighty deities he invokes, *vel sim.*. Neither technical, nor specific, but sonorous enough.

**uocat** Cf. **222**, **253**.

**meritosque ... honores** Cf. **118**; there Serv. commented *aptos*, here *congruos*.

**indicit** Cf. 1.632 *simul diuum templis indicit honorem* (Serv. *id est iussit fieri supplicationes*), Lambertz, *TLL* 7.1.1157.15f., and vd. Mehmel, *ib.*6.3.2924.81 ('sc. supplicationem pro Aenea feliciter seruato'). The verb very frequently used of *supplicationes* by Liv., and of *sacra, sacrificia* in epigr. texts. V. therefore both here and in bk.1 avoids the full ritual expression, while using a verb familiar *in sacris*. Serv.Dan. here comments *sacrorum uerbo usus est*, but that is to draw attention to the expression 'indictius'.

**265 di, ... di** Cf. Hor.C.4.13.1, *CS* 45, *Epist.*1.4.6f. (and see Prop. 3.11.65), ignored by Wills, but clearly at home in his discussion of gemination in invocations, 50ff.

**prohibete minas** Apparently not a standard expression: cf. Kruse, *TLL* 10.2.1783.71, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 8.995.9f.; divine threats likewise at 8.60 (cf. *EV* 3, 530). *Prohibere*, however, does belong to the old lexicon of prayer (Hickson, 87): cf. the text cited by Cato, *infra* (so not merely 'literary prayers'), Enn.*trag.*236.

**talem auertite casum** Cf. **620**; according to Serv.Dan., in the augural maner; he cites their *precatio, uti auertantur mala* (Norden, *Priesterbücher*, 8); cf. *auerrunces* Cat. *Agr.*141.2 (lustral prayer to Mars; vd. Norden, 126, n.3), *auertas morbum, mortem, labem, nebulam, impetiginem, pre-*

*atio* ap. Fest.p.230.29L; cf. Varr.LL 7.102, Norden, 211f., 290 (citing Arnob.3.23), Liv.4.25.3 and Brink on Hor.*Epist.*2.1.136, Appel, 170ff., Hickson, 85f., Bickel, *TLL* 2.1323.6. C.: cf. Pomathios, 341.

**266 placidi** Cf. 4.578 (the *sancte deorum/ quisquis es*), 440, Hor.C. 4.3.2, *CS* 33 (cf. Hickson, 58f., Appel, 123). At Lucr. 2.1094 closer to our 'placid'; here, rather, 'benevolent'.

**seruate** Cf. **86**, 2.702 *seruate domum, seruate nepotem*, n. on 11.159, *EV* 4, 814.

**pios** As often on account of the performance of a ritual act; cf. n. on 7.5. Future hunger is punishment enough for the Trojans' slaughter of the cattle; brief ritual and prayer apparently suffice to secure an end to menace and pollution. 'Causale', Pascoli, well.

**tum** Marking a significant passage in the action; ritual is completed, [the gods' benevolence is for the moment reacquired] and the Trojans can set sail again, after yet another unsatisfactory landfall.

**litore funem/ 267 deripere** Understandably less drastic than 4.575 *tortosque incidere funis* (vd. Jal, 1015 on *ib.*579f.; cf. App.*Civ.*1.7.62 (Marius' flight) καὶ τὸ πείσμα κόψας); cf. (Achaem.) **639f.** **ab litore funem/ rumpite, 667 incidere funem** (with Liv.22.19.10), 10.659 *rumpit Saturnia funem* (and cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.632.77). More gently, 5.773 *soluique ex ordine funem*, *G.*1.457 *conuellere* and *Od.*12.145 (after Circe's prophecy of the cattle of the Sun, *Od.* gives orders πρυμνήσια λῦσαι), *AR* 2.536 γαίης δ' ἀπὸ διπλόα πείσματ' ἔλυεν. Cf. Leumann, *TLL* 6.1.1598.45. For the energetic vb., given further force by enjambement, cf. *EV* 4, 401. These ropes are the Hom. πρυμνήσια; cf. Casson, 48, 250f., Seymour, 314f., Gray, 103, Morrison and Williams, 201f.(on Eur. *IT* 1356). Note **deripere P, dirip- M** and, quite incomprehensibly, Sabbadini

**excussosque ... laxare rudentis** The Trojans shake out, or 'whip' the brails(207), to make them run clear (if one does not, the yard is probably doomed); cf. **682f. quocumque rudentis/ excutere et uentis intendere uela secundis**. So too *Laus Pis.* 228f. *teretique fluentia malo/ possit ab excusso dimittere uela rudenti*, while Luc.2.698 (a secret departure) writes *nec quatiunt ualidos, ne sibilet aura, rudentes*. These brails are then slacked off, causing the mainsail to billow out (Arnold's 'shook out more sail') and catch the wind; cf. 8.708, *uela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis*, 10.229 *uelis immitte rudentis*, Luc.3.44f., 5.426f., *Plin.Epist.*8.4.5 and the many passages in Greek and Latin listed by Casson, 259f., 277, n.25. Cf. too Rehm, *TLL* 5.1.1310.14ff.

It may be, though, that V. was unaware of of nautical usage, that is, to shake the ropes out first, and therefore used *excutere* and *laxare* (van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.1071.76f.) as synonyms for the same action (slackening off—vd. *supra* for ancient and modern texts—and misunderstood, Bell, 280); if my suspicion were correct. it should cause no surprise and the practical/linguistic consequences are slight. A dense, vigorous expression, but not specially complex, nautically or verbally. Cf. Casson, 277, Mohler(120), 54, Morrison and Williams, 203, Gray, 101f., Jal, 962ff.

**268 tendunt uela** Cf. **683** *supra*, 5.32f. *uela secundi/ intendunt Zephyri*, of wind and ropes, Luc.6.674. Possibly *simplex pro composito* here.

**Noti** The south winds (cf. *Auster*, Labate, *EV* 5\*, 497), clearly suitable for a journey N. up the western coast of Greece.

**fugimus** Cf. **160**, **272**, **283**, **639**, **653**.

**spumantibus undis** Cf. Cat.64.155 *spumantibus exspuit undis*, 68A.3 *spumantibus aequoris undis*, G. Franco, *EV* 4, 1003: a tag, but of excellent pedigree. So too *spumante salo*; abl. of extension (Malosti, 28, 71, n.96, 81, n.96). No proof that the storm that brought the Trojans to the Strophades is still blowing, as has been alleged. Foam caused by the wind or by the ships' movement, or indistinguishably by both? Best not pressed.

**269 qua cursum ... uocabat** Cf. (for the wind) **3.70 lenis crepitans uocat Auster in altum, 356f. aurae/ uela uocant, 454f. ui cursus in alum/ uela uocet**, 5.23 *quoque uocat* [sc. *Fortuna*] *uertamus iter*, 764 *creber et aspirans rursus uocat Auster in altum* (and compare *G.3.322 zephyris ... uocantibus*, *Aen.5.26 poscere uentos*), and (there is evident zeugma here) for the role of the steersman, 8.712f., 9.22 *quisquis in arma uocas*, 11.96f. *nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli/ fata uocant*, 12.677 *quo deus et quo dura uocat Fortuna*. These idioms have not been discussed or classified as a whole.

**uentusque gubernatorque** We recall that it was Palinurus, explicitly, who brought the Trojans to this ill-starred landfall (**202**); now the winds at least are co-operating fully. V. is usually quite sparing in his use of heavily polysyllabic words. **G.** Ennian (*Ann.465*), but also standard Latin and by extension 'langue nautique'(Cordier, 140) though only because the normal term for an essential member of a ship's crew. The central nouns not only passably spondaic and thunderous, but vd. too the Gk. caes. (with—Greek— *-que ...-que*), without secondary caes. in

4th. foot(cf. Williams on 707); the whole possibly to be heard as closure of a paragraph.

**270–93 Strophades to Buthrotum** A good deal more than twenty-odd lines of Lat. verse periphrastic to link two substantial and elaborate scenes, for in these lines V. not only glides through the treacherous waters of Ionian topography with scant regard for the litoral truth, but brings Aen. past Actium, raising issues of the chronology of the voyage for those who will and opening vistas of contemporary, patriotic (and learned) pomp and circumstance, highly exciting to neo-Augustan readers (*adulatur Maro suo principi*, La Cerda), but not all equally well-anchored in the text; note the cool summary, Miller(286), 445, n.1. Not to mention the shield of Abas(286), which has seemed *unum de insolubilibus*, as Serv. sometimes remarks *in extremis* (cf. *Alambicco*, 52, n.135, 56, n.4). A singular concentration of those problems which regularly arise when the *Aeneid* meets the real world, important as showing how V. begins to apply those techniques (soon to become familiar) of evasion and mystification to maintain the necessary barriers between epic and fact. Vd. J.L. Butrica in *In altum. Seventy-five years of Classics in Newfoundland* ed.M. Joyal (St. Johns 2001), 289–311, Della Corte, 63–70, Lacroix, 139–45, R.B. Lloyd, *AJP* 75 (1954), 288ff., *id.*(1957c), 384f., 391, Nelis, 60ff., Paschalis (276), 57–69, Perret, 57ff., Stahl, 37ff., Unte, 219f., Wellesley, 150f., D.A. West, *GR* 41 (1994), 57ff..

**270 iam** Just under thirty miles of open sea: a neat narrative ellipse bring the reader to the next ‘interesting’ stage in the journey. Stahl, 49 senses a reference to speed, which is possible; rather, the narrator now at last focuses on material worthy of attention. Geymonat records c’s *iam in*, which bewilders Lloyd, *EV* 4, 28.

**medio ... fluctu** Cf. 1.584 *medio in fluctu*, 109 *mediis ... in fluctibus*, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.946.47. Lloyd draws attention to PsScyl.6 καὶ νῆος ἐν μέσῳ τῶ πλῶ, but that is not quite the whole issue, for we must compare too **73 sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus** (where a fine learned point is raised) and **104 Creta Iouis magni medio iacet insula ponto** (where attention is drawn to Hom. antecedents; cf. in particular *Od.*4.844, *infra*). Here then the tone is principally Homeric.

**apparet** Cf. von Mess, *TLL* 2.263.36ff., **531, 701**; so too AR 1.583 φαίνετο ... φαίνοντο, 1113f., 4.922, 1231. Compare **552 cernitur**.



Both AR and V. adopt the manner of periplus-writers, PsScymn.258, Dion.*Bosp.Navig.*37, Dion.*Perieg.*295 *et saep.*, perhaps all ultimately after *Od.*10.29 τῆ δεκάτῃ δ' ἦδη ἀνεφαίνετο πατρὶς ἄρουρα. Cf. Lloyd, *cit.*, 288, Reeker, 92 and note 275 **aperitur**.

**nemorosa Zacynthos** The whole expression is altogether, and most recognisably, Homeric, *Od.*9.24 (cf. 1.246) Δουλίχιόν τε Κάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος. Z. does indeed appear to be mod. Zakintos/Zante, a substantial fixed point in the midst of a topographical maelstrom (Lazenby and Hope Simpson(15), 104, Heubeck on *Od.*9. 21–7, *EV* 5\*, 655 f.(weak), and F.H. Stubbings in (edd.) A.J.B. Wace and FHS, *A companion to Homer* (London 1962), 399 f. (after Strab.10.2.10), Erskine, 121 ff.); V. follows Hom. and eschews all trace of the tedious erudition displayed at DH 1.50.3(Z. a brother of Erichonius; cf. Paus.8.23.4). DH is not troubled by the retardatory and repetitious effect of his landfalls (*ib.*); for V. here a glance is enough. Both wooded and fertile according to Strabo, 10.2.18, as though that mattered to V.. Short open vowel before z Homeric(Chantraine, *Gramm.Hom.*1, 110) and altogether unremarkable: cf. L. Müller, *de re metrica* (1861), 319, Housman, *Coll. pap.*3, 1143, Platnauer, *Lat.eleg. verse*, 62. The sequence of names is literary, rather than physical: on the map, they come into sight in the sequence Zacynthos-Same-Ithaca/Neritos. The adj.(in *-osus*; vd. on 7.566) inexplicably classified by Cordier(143) not as coinage by as ‘recently introduced into the language’: it is not attested before V.

**271 Dulichiumque** Of evident Hom. origin (*supra*); much less easy to say with certainty what actual island V. supposed the Hom. Dulichium to be, if the question ever occurred to him in those terms (unlikely) and if he had a clear (even autoptic) knowledge of the area (most unlikely). Strab.8.2.2, 10.2.10 thought Hom. referred to mod. Dolicha, among the Echinades, off to the E.(Barrington, 54D5), but can hardly be right, as Kirk on *Il.*2.625 f. explains(all the Echinades are too small to provide contingents in *Il.*2). Cf. further, Waser, PW 5.1920.63 ff.(s.v. *Echinades*), West on *Od.*1.246 f.(perhaps different identifications for *Od.* and *Il.*), Heubeck on *Od.*9.21–7, Lazenby and Hope Simpson(15), 101, Stubbings, 402 f., and the survey of identifications, *EV* 2, 152. The **que** looks both ways, Wills, 374.

**Sameque** Mod. Cephallonia (but for Dörpfeld and his *socii*, Ithaki or Thiaki), of which Same is the main town (so already Strabo 10.2.10): see Heubeck, *cit.*, Lazenby and Hope Simpson, *cit.*, N. Boncasa, *PECS*, 801, D. Strauch, *NP* 11.10 f., Burchner, PW 1A.2126.1 ff.. The ‘narrow

strait' between Ithaca and Samos(=Same; vd. Strabo, *cit*), with an island in it (*Od.*4.671, 845, Stubbings, 405) is very strongly in favour of this conclusion and possibly we are to think of the Trojans sailing up it (Stahl, 49); however, two other courses, E. of Ithaca and W. of Cephallenia are not excluded, and such precision is unwelcome; cf. further West on *Od.*1.246.

**et Neritos** Cf. *Il.*2.632 οἱ ῥ' ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον (with *Od.*9.22 (where vd. Heubeck), 13.351): understood by Strabo (10.2.11), as by V. (and by many others) to refer not to another island (vd. *infra* for the issue of gender), but to (mod.) Mt. Anogi, the highest peak of Ithaca (1716 feet, Stubbings, 415): see Lazenby and Hope Simpson (15), 103, R. Herbst, *PW* 17.38.12ff., D. Strauch, *NP* 8.850, Stubbings, 405–7. *Sil.*15.305 and *Mela* 2.110 (hardly authoritative—either of them—on such a point) understand *Neritos*, fairly enough, as the name of an island (and therefore almost certain to be fem., NW 1, 952, Holzweissig, 262); no compulsion to suppose that V. did too (Stahl, 78, n.32. Gender alone no proof of identification, *pace* Williams). Della Corte (63, inexplicably followed by Garbugino, *EV* 3, 708) irresponsibly alleges that R.B. Lloyd, *AJP* 75 (1954), 291 corrects *Neritos* here to *Nericos*; he does nothing of the kind, though the name *Nericos* (*infra*) enters Lloyd's discussion (quite properly) as it had done Strabo's (10.2.8, explaining *Od.*24.377 and *ib.*11, *ad fin*; vd. next note). Cf. Stahl, 78, n.32.

**ardua saxis** Cf. 8.417 (of *Vulcania tellus*, *ib.*422) *fumantibus ardua saxis*, Bannier, *TLL* 2.493.28ff. (nothing quite similar in prose); no matter that ὑπιπετρήεσσα is not Homeric, for *Od.*4.844 (*infra*) is close enough in sense and evidently in V.'s mind hereabouts (vd. **medio ... fluctu supra**): between Ithaca and Samos there lies Asteris νῆκος μέεση ἀλιπετρήεσσα (vd. Strab.10.2.16), which explains the origins of V.'s phrase (*pace* Lloyd, *cit.*, 289); it is unnecessary to invoke (*pace* J.J. O'Hara, *Vergilius* 39 (1990), 31–4, *TN*, 140f.) **ardua** as a form of gloss on Gk. νήριτος; not a compelling case. Lloyd wonders why V. takes **N.** as fem. (289, and n.3): it was not fem. in Hom.: at *Od.*9.22 neut. ἀριπρεπέε used of the mountain Νήριτον (cf. Heubeck there and on 13.351, Leumann, *Hom. Wörter*, 244f.), at *Il.*2.632 (mountain, rather than island), **N.** could have been understood as being masc. or neut., and at *Od.*17.207 Νήριτος is a masc. personal name. *Lupercus* (*infra*) refers to masc. and neut. forms (the latter because used of ὄρος). The situation is, though, slightly more complex yet: note that Strabo 10.2.8 twice uses fem. of *Nericus*, if our text is correct (Jones emends on the basis of 10.2.11 and

Lupercus, *infra*). Nericus (on the Leucas isthmus) likely at *Od.*24.377 (vd. Heubeck's n.) and familiar from *Thuc.*3.7.4 and *SByz.*p.473.20(πόλις Ἀκαρνανίας); location and fem.(perhaps originally because described by Hom. as ἀκτὴν ἠπειροιο, *Od.*24.378) confirmed by *Schol.Od.*1.186, 24.377. Strabo warns against confusing the two names (10.2.11 *ad fin.*), and such confusion is indeed attested, as Lloyd, 291, remarks, citing Lupercus *ap.SByz.*p. 474.1f.(L. a c.3AD grammarian of Berytus), and *Plin.Nat.*4.5; V.'s feminine here, then, might simply mean he took N. as an island(so e.g. Williams), ignoring the gender in Gk., but the fem. here could as well reflect a natural unwillingness to distinguish clearly between the two names, and (also) a pardonable confusion (vd. Leumann, *cit.*)—which derives ultimately from the imperfectly perceived relationship between adj. νήριτος and the toponym—regarding the correct form, gender and even identification of the name Neritos. Cf. R. Herbst, *PW* 17.30.65ff.(Nerikos) and *ib.*38.13ff.(Neritos), Bürchner, *ib.*12.2250.23ff., 2253.8ff.

**272 effugimus** Cf. n. on 7.300 *profugis*; not a motif of major note, cf. **268** (contrast the exiles of 7.359: see n. there and Horsfall 1989, 25f.), Stahl, 43, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.208.60.

**scopulos Ithacae S.** more often in V. suggest reefs(cf. **559**, 5.864, 7.589), rather than crags(cf. 1.163, 180, 4.445); compare Hom. τρηχεῖα (*Od.*9.27(a passage much in V.'s mind here), κραναή (*Il.*3.201), and also *Cic.de orat.*1.196 *Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis tamquam nidulum adfixam*: cf. Capasso, *EV* 4, 733f.; here, either, or both, would be in place. The obstacles to identification of class. *Ithaca* with mod. Ithaki, Thiaki do seem altogether superable: cf. M. Cantilena, *EV* 3, 33f., Stubbings, *cit.*, 398ff. (lucid and witty), Lazenby and Hope Simpson(**15**), 103, Heubeck on *Od.*9.21–7, S. West in *comm.Od.* 1 (Heubeck-West-Hainsworth), pp.63f.

**Laertia regna** Cf. *Buc.*4.6 and *Aen.*11.252 *Saturnia regna*, **3.115 Cnosia regna**, 6.14 *Minoia regna*: lofty adj. for gen., poet. plur., evocative name (vd. *infra*). *Inrisorie*, remarks Serv., after **scopulos**, which would even be perceptive, had it not been wonderfully plain, since the time of Hom. that the Ithacans gloried in the mountainous poverty of their island, *Od.*9.27 τρηχεῖ ἄλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος (cf. 13.242); the alleged low sneer quite unvirgilian.

**273 terram altricem** More than *patriam*; worse indeed, if it spawned and fed (Cantilena cites *Il.*3.201, *EV* 3, 33) Ulysses (cf. Gk. contemptu-

ous use of θρέμμα). Compare *uictrix*, *nutrix*, *genetrix*, *ultrix*; **a.** in Pacuv.*trag.* 404, Cic.*carm. Cons. fr.* 2.42, von Mess, *TLL* 1.1770.67 ff.; cf. Cic.*Div.* 2.45 *Remus cum altrice belua*. Here *Aen.* and *Od.* intersect on the ground; as at Circeii, V. employs a literal *praeteritio* (as he will shortly do again, 291; cf. Knauer, 187, my n. on 7.5–24, *Alambicco*, 71.

**saeui ... Vlixī Hortator scelerum** at 6.529, but **infelicis Ulixī** already at 613, 691. The form abbrev. from *Vlixēi* as *Achilli* often from *Achillei*, NW 1, 508f. Cf. n. on 11.263 (encounter with Cyclopes during nostos), Pellizer, *EV* 5\*, 359f. (with list of comparable epithets). Here, we are still within the dark shadow of the sack of Troy, in which U. took a savage part: Austin on 2.7, 261, Pellizer, *cit.*, A. Setaioli, in *Presenze classiche nelle letterature occidentali* (Perugia 1995), 167 ff. at 175. After *Aethiopsis* and *Little Iliad* (fetches Philoct., fetches Neopt., active role in building of horse (Robert, 2.4.3, 1228, n.4, Austin on 2.264), he steals the Palladium, agrees with Helen *περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς πόλεως*, disputes with Ajax *περὶ τῶν ἄριστέων* (Proclus, Photius). It is not yet time for humanity to leap the trenches (n. on 11.259), nor for Laertes and Anchises to join in tiresome reminiscence (*Alambicco*, 70). Cf. Stahl (123), 270. The name V. is said to be climactic, and perhaps it is, but it will not fit easily elsewhere in the line.

**exsecramur** ‘Render accursed’, Fugier, *EV* 4, 630, against WH, ‘expel from the domain of the sacred’; cf. n. on 11.217 (the vb. from *Enn. trag.*; cf. Oellacher, *TLL* 5.2.1838.79). Reeker (92) well contrasts Hom.’s expression of Od.’s love for his homeland, *Od.* 9.19ff.

**274 mox et ... et** Again V. signals a small leap forward (cf. 270 **iam**); the mass of Leucas (which rises up to 3750 feet), with cliffs of 220 feet at the S. end visible from a great distance. Cf. *EV* 3, 195f.

**Leucatae ... montis** The *Λευκάς πέτρα* on the route to Hades at *Od.* 24.11 is perhaps irrelevant (vd. Heubeck *ad loc.*), but was maybe not thought to be, given the localisation of Cephalus’ and Sappho’s suicides at the Leucadian cliff (mod. Cape Ducato: vd. Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek poets*, 37, *Λευκάτας*, Strab. 10.2.9 (stories of the two suicides), Suda s.v. *Κάπρω*, 108.2, [Ov.] *Her.* 15.172, etc.. Above all ‘Leucas’ the title of Apollo there, Strab. 10.2.9, citing Menander (fr. 313.2 Sandbach), a cult famous also for its scapegoat ritual, K. Meuli, PW 12.2259.8ff., Bürchner, *ib.*, 12.2236.7ff., J.N. Bremmer, *HSCP* 87 (1983), 301, Burkert, *Greek Religion*, 83, Bömer on *Ov. F.* 5.630. Further bibl., *EV*, *KLP* s.v., Paschalis (276), 61f., Butrica, 290ff. and note the excellent map, Stubblings, 409.

**nimbosa cacumina** Νεφροειδέα, though, has poor credentials, and likewise σύννεφα, at least in poetry; cf., however, n. on **291 aeries** and *Od.*5.279 ὄρεα κσιόνετα. **N.** first used by V. of Orion, *Aen.*1.535; for adjectives in *-osus*, cf. n. on 7.566. *Montis ... cacumen* Cat.64.240, and twice in *Lucr.*6. O'Hara's etymologising white clouds are not very persuasive(141; likewise Paschalis, 129).

**275 formidatus nautis** I. Kapp (*TLL* 6.1.1095.77f.) adds, oddly, *i. eius templum*, quoting *Gloss.Lat.*4.442.52, *quem nautae timerent*; it is, though, the deity, present in the temple, rather than the building, that is feared. Feared *there*, clearly, because of the danger to sailors. The vb. used thus in *Sall.(or.Lep.*24); cf. *Hor.C.*3.6.15 the Aethiop *classe formidatus*. 'It [Cape Ducato] still retains among the Greek mariners of the present day the evil fame which it bore of old', Long in Smith, *Dict.geogr.*, 2, 170. Yet the presence of small remains of the temple is apparently the only surviving confirmation of the danger to Greek mariners, though perhaps note too Philip's epigram, *infra*; See further **276 hunc petimus**. Serv. swithers between the dangers of the rocks and the unlikelier perils of human sacrifice(*supra*). See Paschalis(276), 60.

**aperitur** Cf. **206**. Claimed here as *nauticum uerbum* by Serv.; cf. **291**: as often, not proved(nor confirmed by Prinz, *TLL* 2.217.14). Nelis, 62 argues not convincingly that V. here alludes to Apollo's appearance to the exhausted Argonauts, (ἔξεφάνη, *AR* 2.676); that appearance proves aetiological (Nelis), but this does not, though Actium soon will. Rather, cf. **270, apparet**: the tone here too seems that of a periplus.

**Apollo** Cf. *Hom.Hymn* 3.24 for A.'s partiality for ἀκταί τ' εἰς ἄλα κεκλιμέναι λιμένες τε θαλάσσης; he colonised the sea, *Men.Rhet.*442.15f. and was worshipped by sailors, *AR* 1.404. See Robert 1, 258, n.3, O'Hara, *TN*, 141 and the ample collection of material, Gruppe, 1225, n.2, Wernicke, *PW* 2.18.5ff., . However, on the cult of A. Delphinios, note the caution vigorously expressed by F. Graf, *Mus.Helv.* 36 (1979), 2ff.. The site illustrated, Stahl, fig.7.

**276 hunc petimus** Cf. **115, 129, 276**. A well-masticated problem of geography, at least from Heyne's time: for some recent discussions, cf. Wellesley, 150, Fauro Rossi, *EV* 3, 195f., D.A. West, *GR* 41 (1994), 57ff., R.A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1998), 81f., 206, R.B. Lloyd, *AJP* 75 (1954), 292-6, M. Paschalis in *Nicopolis I*(Preveza 1987), 59-63, Stahl, 50-6, Butrica, 289-311 and (*male*) Della Corte, 63ff.. The unmistakable Apollo of Cape Ducato is followed directly by

276; on any normal, natural reading of the Latin, as it unrolls, the *parua urbs* must be on Leucas (unnamed but implied): here (not specified, but no movement between 276 and 277 is implied) the Trojans anchor; here too (again, no visible motion between 277 and 278) the Trojans offer sacrifice not to Apollo, but to Jupiter and celebrate 'Actian' games; cf. Lloyd, 292, Butrica, 306. We are even assured (improbably but not disprovably) that V. must either have known the spot, or learned details of the area from veterans of Actium (Stahl, 53); we know, and V. appears *not* to have known, or not to have taken into account, that Actium is ten miles N. of Leucas. The identification of the *parua urbs* is contested with passion (Paschalis 63, n.33), though this patient reader, long satisfied that V. was no topographer (cf. *GR* 33 (1985), 197, *Aen.* 7, p.417f.), feels that the poet's eye, on any reasonable view of the text, fixed firmly upon Leucas in the first place, has somehow edged northwards by 280 and the Adriatic *porticciolo* changes identity in the process, while Stahl 54, like Paschalis 63, is betrayed by his enviable familiarity with the terrain into an over-simplified view of the issue. This discreet movement has literary motives, even analogues, but before they are considered, we must look for a moment at the Trojans' possible route, as envisaged by the poet and/or his readers: between Cape Ducato and Actium, the Trojans can be thought of either as taking the sea route, passing outside Leucas, or as sailing inshore (cf. Stahl, 55), up the E. coast of Leucas (the alternatives at Thuc. 3.81.1). However, Leucas was (and is) connected to the mainland by a low isthmus (Bürchner, PW 12.2229.60ff.), through which the Corinthians dug a channel ca. 650BC (Strab. 10.2.8, Walbank on Plb. 5.5.12, Liv. 33.17.6), liable to silting up and often replaced by portage (Thuc. 3.81.1, 4.8.2) or change of ship (Cic. *Att.* 5.9.1, to avoid the stormy outer route; note too *superato Leucata* in Liv., 26.26.1, 44.1.4); for the coastal trade, cf. bibl. at *LCM* 14.4 (1989), 61 and for Cinna's *Propempticon* and the alternative routes, vd. fr.4 Courtney (Cinna perhaps interested in the 'Trojan' temple of Aphr., DH 1.50.4). Mastery of the inshore channel apparently important to Octavian before Actium, Dio 50.13.5. But such detail (like portage, indeed) is evidently sub-epic and the Trojans' route is here blurred (Paschalis 62, n.32 inexplicably certain the Trojans took the outer route; cf. too Binder, 219) and the channel between Leucas and Acarnania visible at *EV\*\**, map 2 is idle fantasy. It would be easy to say that V. was simply confused by the complications of the Acarnanian coastline hereabouts, but associations between Leucas and Actium are rather too frequent for us to be able to prefer that simple answer. DH 1.50.4 (and therefore his source(s),

likely to be Varro here (so Perret, 63ff.; cf. J. Poucet, *MEFR(A)*101.1 (1989), 78); Serv.Dan. on 279 cites *Res hum.* 2.fr.12 Mirsch) relates that at 'Leucas', apparently by the channel, the Trojans built a temple to Aphrodite Aineias, exactly as they did at Actium and then at Ambracia too, which Serv. bizarrely identifies as the *parua urbs*. V. himself, writing of *Actia bella* (8.675) offers, two lines later, *feruere Leucaten* (and cf. 704 *Actius ... Apollo*). The frequent associations of Leucadian Apollo with Actium (Prop.3.11.69, [Ov.] Her.15.166, 185, anon. *Suppl.Hell.*982.1, 13= Page, *GLP* 113, *FGE*, clxiii) have been minutely studied (Butrica, 389ff.) and an extremely satisfactory solution at last proposed (see 280). Finally, and not discussed by Butrica, at GP, GP, 2672ff. (Philip himself) the speaker is apparently en route for Actium (a day's journey, only: Cic. *Fam.*16.6.1) and prays to Apollo (cf. Cichorius, *Röm.Stud.*, 350f.; Latin influence not excluded) *Λευκάδος αἰπὺν ἔχων ναῦταις τηλέσκοπον ὄχθον/ Φοῖβε ...* Leucas and Actium are now seen to be related in cult(280), on the map(a mere ten miles) and, more important, in the poetic perception of the area.

**fessi et** Cf. 78 for the motif of fatigue; Stahl(53) rightly draws attention to V.'s partiality for postponed *et* (cf. n. on 7.761), and suggests that **fessi** should therefore qualify **succedimus**; clearly the adj. to be understood with *both* verbs.

**paruae ... urbi** Cf. 8.554; also 6.811 of Cures, 349 of the Epirote Troy and 402 of Petelia. The 'town' less identifiable the harder you look (vd. Paschalis, *supra*; no need to list anew who backs which); that there was no actual *urbs* at (or near) Actium until Nicopolis was built will hardly have been generally known to V.'s readers (cf. Paschalis, 63 and N. Purcell in *ib.*, 71 ff.), though West thinks of a paradoxical reference to the great synoecism represented by the founding of Nicopolis(59; cf. above all Purcell, *cit.*).

**succedimus** Cf. nn. on 11.103, 146.

277 **ancora** Formally anachronistic: anchors (wood and/or stone) had replaced the bored stones of heroic times(Casson 48, 252): see Morrison and Williams, 204, Jal 926, 940, F.H. Sandbach in *ORVA*, 451, Horsfall, *EV* 1, 152 (on the anachronism), Seymour, 314, Gray, 105, Casson, 250ff. and compare *Il.*1.436, mooring-stones and stern-cables. V. repeats the whole line at 6.901, where Bentley unnecessarily proposed its expulsion (vd. Austin's and Paratore's nn. there, Sparrow, 150, Kyriakidis(1), 39, n.49 and my n. on 7.1 *litoribus nostris*); once *limite* is read at 6.900, 901 loses many of its terrors.

**de prora** For anchors hung at the bow, cf. Casson, 251, n.103, citing App.Syr. 27. The bow always faces seawards (Morrison and Williams, *cit.*, with n.86), for ease of swift departure, if required.

**iacitur** Standard Latin for ‘cast anchor’, in com. and hist. prose, Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.36.75 ff.; in particular, vd. Plin.Nat.32.2 (of the remora) *cogit stare nauigia, quod non uincola ulla, non ancorae pondere inreuocabili iactae*.

**stant litore puppes** The clausula *quater* in V; see also 135, 8.497, not to mention 10.223 *steterant ad litora prorae*. Cf. Antoine 210, Malosti, 62 for the abl.(and *ead.*, 53, n.57 for Cat., 57, n.65 for Hor.); compare (e.g.) 7.477, sc. ‘along’(vel *sim.*). For the vb., cf. 403.

**278 ergo** So—so what, exactly? Topography is not the only difficulty in these lines: cf. Paschalis, 63f., Stahl, 58f. The Trojans have emerged from a tempest, have been profoundly alarmed by Celaeno, they have passed a bitter enemy’s homeland, and have emerged from potentially dangerous waters(cf. Paschalis, 57–64). Wherever the the Trojans are just now, they did not expect a safe and easy anchorage quite so soon; threat has been worse than experience, but since leaving Cretan Pergamum, they have had a hard time, and Celaeno had said nothing to suggest impending, even imminent, improvement. Abundance of special pleading, Williams, *TI*, 273; cf. xxxix.

**insperata ... tellure** The adj. standard com. and prose(Furnée/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1. 1948. 11f.): Liv.1.14.4, 25.9, 2.35.1, 3.26.5, 5.23.2 perhaps (all, even) earlier than V. here; possibly Ennian?

**tandem** This looks to be (and indeed is) their first safe landfall since Crete; V. offers a dense accumulation of indications of encouragement and tranquillity.

**potiti** Cf. 1.172, 11.493; already familiar in prose, Cic.*Inv.*2.95, Gatti, *TLL* 10.2. 333. 27 ff..

**279 lustramurque Ioui** Note ‘accedit dat. divinitatis cui fit lustratio’, Clavadetscher, *TLL* 7.2.1873.38 (here rejected); Serv. offers *aut ‘lustramur’, id est purgamur, ut Ioui sacra faciamus aut certe ‘lustramur Ioui’ id est expiamur* and SDan *hoc est ‘diis lustrari’, offensa eorum liberari*. Serv.Dan. also reverts to 222 and notes that the Trojans had there invoked *Jup. non ad iustum sacrificium*; that *offensa* had not been cancelled by the rites of 264–6 and now *Jup.’s goodwill* (as the ultimate authority of Celaeno’s message, 251, cf. 7.110) had, specifically, to be recovered by some form of purification (cf. 6.231, *Buc.*5.75). Since the Leucadian Apollo of 275,



the Trojans have sailed some distance (at least the length of Leucas) but they have not yet reached Actium, the site of a temple of Apollo from an early phase of the Corinthian colonisation on (cf. Thuc.1.29.3, etc., E. Kirsten, *KL.P.1*, 1529.20ff.); Apollo swiftly acquired a major role in the mythology of the battle (vd. the sober remarks of J.F. Miller, in *Apollo. Origins and influences* ed. J. Solomon (Tucson 1994), 100ff. and Butrica, 301ff.), but though Jup. is here sandwiched between two temples of Apollo, Leucate and (in the future) Actium, the deities are kept quite distinct. Cf. Stahl, 58f., Lloyd, 296f., Bailey, 47, 137, *EV* 3, 287, Della Corte, 66f., Paschalis, 64.

**uotisque** *Id est uota facientes* Serv.; finally performing the sacrifices vowed at 222 and thereby completing the purification, Diliberto, *EV* 5\*, 631, Bailey, 47. Cf. *Buc.*5.74f. *et cum sollemnia uota/ reddemus Nymphis, et cum lustrabimus agros*, 8.715 *dis Italis uotum immortale sacrabat*.

**incendimus aras** Cf. 8.285 *incensa altaria circum*, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.867.2 (so used of *agros*, *campos*, *fornacem*). The Gk. βῶμιος φλέγειν (Aesch.*Agam.*91; cf. Eur. *Tro.*309), and in Lat., cf. also *adolere Penates, urit officinas*: NH on 1.4.8 mock this variant, but here, e.g., Aen. does not hurl altars, offerings and all into the blaze; no more there, therefore.

**280 Actiaque ... litora** Stahl(59) suggests a distinction between the conventional *-que ...-que* of 279 and the transitional *-que* here, introducing a new theme; he translates ‘but’, to distinguish, without however adducing comparable instances of *-que ...-que ...-que* used in more than one sense, or explaining why we should want, unprompted, to divorce games from neighbouring vows and purification.. **L.**(adorned by allit.) elevated by an extremely evocative (recent history and ancient cult) topogr. adj.(cf. 11.265, 1.2f., 196, etc.). Significant juxtaposition of proper names (3, 7, 11 indices, s.v.); Troy came to Actium long before the descendants of the Trojans did(cf. Heinze, 102f.). No anachronism, but effortless anticipation and, if you will, mythological legitimat- ion, of the Augustan present; the name reinforced by the games, and perhaps by the dedication (shield, 286::ships, Suet.*Aug.*18; the shield of *Res gestae* 34.2 is rather too late to be relevant to the present text); neither Apollo nor city-foundations are at first sight explicitly present in V.’s Actium(*pace* Miller(286), 445, n.1, and others). *Actia* is not simply a handy alternative for the fuller and ‘more correct’ *Actiaca* (though the phenomenon of noun for adj. is familiar enough: cf. 602, 629, 689 (with my n.; vd. too Williams there), Austin on 1.686, Norden on 6.876(p.344), Dingel on 9.196); rather, as Butrica (300f.) now explains,

admirably, *Actius* (cf. *Call.Aet.*18.12 with Pfeiffer's n., on the other side of Greece) is an independently (and amply) attested cult-title of Apollo Leucadius, 'Apollo of the shore', ἄκτιος (cf. Gruppe, 1225, n.2; for use at Actium, cf. *Ael.Nat.an.* 11.8 Leucadian Apollo καὶ Ἄκτιόν γε αὐτὸν οἱ τιμῶντες ὀνομάζουσι, *Isid.Etym.*15.1.61 *Leucaten*, in *quo Actii Apollinis templum fuit*, [*Ov.*] *Her.*15.165f. *Actiacum populi Leucadiumque uocant*; *Actiacus* elsewhere refers primarily, though not always, to the battle (Butrica, 301f., 304f.). Here Actian games are celebrated—in honour of Apollo, an implication present on a learned reading of the text, and only to readers aware of the old Gk. title, though obvious enough from the general context. O'Hara's claim of **litora** as a gloss on Gk. ἀκτή, *Phoen.*44 (1991), 373, *TN*, 141, remains valid.

**Iiacis ... ludis** SByz.p.65.4f. records that at Actium Ἀπόλλωνος γυμνικός ἀγὼν καὶ ἵππικός καὶ πλοίων ἄμιλλα διὰ τριετηρίδος ἦν (possibly conflating Augustan and earlier games); on both phases, vd. too Suet. *Aug.*18.2, Strabo, 7.7.6 *ad fin.*. It seems to have been largely ignored that Callimachus, in his *Peri Agonon* wrote of the original Actian games, fr.403Pf.(and a Trojan *aition* there in *Call.* would not have surprised), while the ref. at AR 1.404 is not to Actium (vd. O'Hara, 141). Cf. Lloyd, 297f., Gurval, 74–81, Stahl, 59f., Paschalis 64, 68f., W.W. Briggs, *Stadion* 1 (1975), 275f., W.H. Willis, *TAPA* 72 (1941), 404f., G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek world* (Oxford 1965), 93f., Friedlaender, *SG* 2, 145f., E. Kirsten, *Kl.P.*1 1529.13ff.; for Augustan athletics in *Aen.*, vd. n. on 7.162, and for dating of the early Augustan *Actia*, whether at Rome or *in situ* (sadly unclear), vd. xxii with n.3.

**celebramus** 'Frequent in large numbers'(OLD s.v., §1b); cf. *Cat.* 64.287, 302 *nec Thetidis taedas uoluit celebrare iugalis*, *Lucr.*5.1166f. *delubra deum .../... festis cogit celebrare diebus*, Probst, *TLL* 3.744.20ff.

**281 exercent** Cf. *Aen.*1.499 *exercet Diana choros*, 4.86f. *arma*, 6.642 *in gramineis exercent membra palaestris*, 7.163 *exercentur equis*, 748 *terram*, 782 *exercebat equos*, *Prop.*3.14.3 *exercet ... ludos*, and Tac.'s succulent *gymnasia et otia et turpis amores exercendo* (*Ann.*14.20). See Hey/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1375.60. A favoured and tricky verb, ignored by *EV*.

**patrias ... palaestras** *Patrias* of course to the Augustan re-founders, because in origin Trojan, but here and now almost paradoxical because on Greek soil, and heroic, and therefore older than the Greek games at Actium (Stahl, 60, West, 58). Athletic contests are shared between Greeks and Trojans because part of the common patrimony of epic society(cf. n. on 7.162), even though Serv. complains that strictly the **p.**

was Athenian in origin. **Palaestra** used at *G.*2.531 (the old life of the Italian countryside) and *Aen.*6.642 (heroic Elysium). The noun invades Lat. from Plaut. on (cf. *trag.inc.*207, Cat.63.60); present throughout Lat. lit. and would not surprise in Enn.. **Palestras P**; common orthogr. in Gk. nouns and names in the capital mss., Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 414f.

**oleo labente** P. Flury, *TLL* 7.2.787.35 compares *Ov.Trist.*3.12.21; the vb. common of all forms of water (so e.g. Acc., Lucr.), whence also other liquids; not therefore specially or often of the smooth viscosity of oil; for *lubrico*, 'slippery' remarks Bell(203), well, except that *lubricus* is rarely so used (cf. *Mart.*3.58.25, Heus, *TLL* 7.2.1688.22ff.; cf. comparable slippage at *Ar.Equit.*490f. with Taillardat, *Images*, 336). Enallage (the limbs slither, rather than the oil) not a helpful solution. Oil and nudity (cf. 5.135, Horsfall, *EV* 1, 153, Polverini, *ib.*, 3, 274, Briggs, 268, n.6, NH on *Hor.C.*1.8.8, etc.) both familiar as anachronistic, post-heroic elements in Virgilian narrative.

**282 nudati** See prev. n.; the vb. at *Enn.trag.*341, Cat.64.17.

**socii** Cf. 71, 129.

**iuuat** Introduced to high poetry apparently by Lucr.(4.2, etc., Tietze/Buchwald, *TLL* 7.2.747.15ff.). After storms, revolting minor deities, prophecies of famine originating from Jupiter, the last threat is from their old earthly enemies; the Trojans are delighted to have escaped them too and this sense of relief links with force the Trojans' visit to Actium and the Augustan experience of half a generation of civil wars which came to an end just there too..

**euasisse** 'Standard' language, n. on 11.702, Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.989.65.

**tot urbes/ 283 Argolicas Tot** a key word in the lexicon of epic hyperbole: 7.198, 228, 328, 329, 421, 447 a rich sequence. The plur. thus with geogr. adj. familiar idiom, 7.207, 364, 601f., 11.286, 420, etc.. The adj. a marked favourite of Cic.'s, *Arat.*277, *carm.Hom.*1.6, 8.1, *undecies* in V. as against *Argiuis*, *decies*. The reference, explicitly, can only be to Ulysses' home at Ithaca; Idomeneus was absent, Menelaus' nearness not sensed. Hom. used 'Argive' on occasion for the whole of southern Greece (Kirk on *Il.*2.108, n. on *Aen.*7.372) and that is presumably the sense here, hyperbole expressive of profound relief after a variety of dangers(n. on **iuuat**, *supra*). Trojans celebrating games almost in Greek territory represent a first step in the rewriting of Hom. history; the adj. curiously (and comprehensively) neglected by writers on *Aen.*3 (but cf. Rengakos(87), 117).

**mediosque ... per hostis** Cf. 7.296f. *medias acies mediosque per ignes/inuenisse uiam* (with n.). Compare 1.242, 2.377, 9.400, 549, 10.237, 239, 11.815. Predictably common in Caes., Cic., Liv.; cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.585.78ff.. After A., clearly to be understood as human foes, inherited from the recent war. Only Ulysses has been specified; not enough for Cartault, 244, with n.9, but such hyperbole is not unfamiliar in V.: given the image of U. as architect of terror and defeat, the relief at escaping from his dominions is comprehensible. Cf. Stahl, 66, West, 58.

**fugam tenuisse** 'Flight': cf. 272 (as description of Aen.'s journey); the vb. not found elsewhere with *fugam* thus, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.3.1470.16f.; *Ov.Met.*1.600, etc.(*ib.*, 78f.) quite different; cf. too V.'s use of *tenere* with *cursum*, *iter*.

**284 interea** Cf. n. on 7.572.

**magnum ... annum** Cf. *Lucr.*1.1029 *et multos etiam magnos seruata per annos*, 5.644 *quae uoluunt magnos in magnis orbibus annos*, *Aen.*1.269. Unsurprisingly, Serv. (on 1.269) scents here a reference to the Stoic 'Great Year'(recurrent cycles of Creation, of astronomical origin—the lapse of time after which the heavens return to the state they were in at the outset, Arnold, *Rom. Stoicism*, 193f.: vd. *Cic.Nat.Deor.*2.51 (with Pease's n.), *Apul.Plat.* 1.10, *Macr.Somn. Scip.*2.11.8 and Serv. here). His distinction between solar and lunar years (cf. *Macr. Somn.Scip.* 2.11.6) is more relevant, as the Trojans experience the end of the earth's solar orbit (contrast the lesser, lunar year). The eager are thereby granted another clue to the book's apparent chronology (cf. xxxii–xxxiii), best understood, though, not as an indication of the passage of time between Troy and Lavinium, but of the season which the Trojans may, absolutely, be thought to have reached, for the needs of the narrative. Cf. Cova, cviii, Mandra, 71. The season for sailing(69), perhaps the same 'safe' season to which the Trojans' departure from Thrace refers, now comes to an end; a winter's respite(?) from navigation is convenient as a pause, or truce in the narrative, with antithesis between foul weather and Trojan celebrations. Cf. Stahl, 66f., Paschalis, 64.

**sol circumuoluitur** Cf. *G.*2.402 *uoluitur annus*, *Aen.*1.234 *uoluentibus annis* (cf. 1.269 *uoluentis mensibus*, *Lucr. uoluentia lustra*; see Erren on *G.*2.295), 4.524 *uoluntur sidera*, Traina, *EV* 5\*, 625, Wulff, *TLL* 3.1183.47f. *Voluor* is a true medio-passive, of a familiar type (cf. *feror*, *uertor*, Flobert, 386); the compound (a Virgilian coinage, apparently, like 430 **circumflectere**, Cordier, 144; *Aen.*7., index shows his fondness for *circum-* compounds, new and old). The apparent acc. after pass.

verb has aroused some discussion; cf. **478 hanc ... praeterlabare** [sc. *tellurem*], *Acc.trag.*687f. *mystica ad dextram uada/ praeteruecti*, *Hor.Epist.* 1.15.10f. *et deuersoria nota/ praeteragendus equus*, *Lucil.*466 *Carpathium mare transuectus*, *LHS*, 44 (not to mention occasional double objects, *Cat.*61.160, *Traina* on 12.508). On the effect of preverbs in general, cf. *KS* 1, 265ff., *Ernout-Thomas* 20f., 33: here, clearly, the acc. is governed by **circum**, rather than—in one way or another—by **uoluitur**.

**285 glacialis hiems** Synonym for *gelidus*, *frigidus*, apparently coined by V.; promptly *quinquies* in *Ov.*, *G. Meyer*, *TLL* 6.2.2000.5ff. *EV* opines, without evidence, but correctly enough, that *-alis* is a popular adj.-type in V. Cf. *aequalis*, *armentalis*, *brumalis*, *Cerealis*, *crinalis*, *dotalis*, *fatalis*, *feralis*, *fluuiialis*, *genialis*, *genitalis*, (*im*)*mortalis*, *iugalis*, *iuuenalis*, *lustralis*, *muralis*, *naualis*, *niualis*, *pastoralis*, *penetralis*, *Quirinalis*, *regalis*, *trabalis*, *uitalis* and there may be others.

**Aquilonibus** Cf. n. on 7.361, where I should have cited *EV* 5\*, 497, *NH* on *Hor.C.* 2.9.6, and vd. now *NR* on *Hor.C.*3.10.4: a wintry North wind.

**asperat undas** Perhaps simplex (so *Cordier*, *saepius*) for *exasperat* (cf. *Hey*, *TLL* 2.826.37ff.); **a. bis**, literally, in *Varr.RR.*. The *asperitas* of the sea, *Enn.Var.*10, *Hor.C.*1.5.6. *Vidi*: the Mediterranean holiday too often blunts perception of the Balkan winter.

**286 aere cauo** The abl. of material(cf. *G.*2.241 *spisso uimine qualos*, *Aen.*1.655, 728, 2.765, **3.464**), used adnominally (*LHS*, 107; cf. *Antoine*, 188f.), cf. 7.632 *tegmina tuta cauant capitum*. The phrase just used at **240** of the trumpet.

**clipeum** Cf. 7.639.

**magni ... Abantis** Abas one of those familiar warrior-names used rather too often, on various sides, with apparent insouciance (cf. *Aen.*11, p.473), but the epithet is one not idly sprayed about, as *Miller* shows (*infra* 446, n.4), and there was but one 'great Abas', the long-dead son of *Lynceus* and *Hypermetra*, variously associated with shields, shields dedicated indeed to *Hera* in *Hyg.*273.2 (cf. 170.9); his sons (*Miller*, 447, n.11) were claimed as *heuretai* of the shield, *schol.Eur.Orest.*965 (cf. *Paus.*2.25.7, *Apld.*2.2.1). Abas' shield then became the aition of the use of shields as prizes in the Argive games (*Hyg.*, *cit.*). *Serv.Dan.*, on **287**, writes that *Aen.* dedicated this shield not at *Buthrotum* but at *Samothrace*, but *Miller*, 447 seems far too ready to assume that this version is authentically pre-Virgilian. It would be no surprise if V. had suppressed

both this familiar history (of a type often attached to epic weapons; cf. 5.260ff., 9.360ff.) and the hint that this shield had been brought to Troy (by a descendant, a homonym, even), as Serv./Serv.Dan suggest here, where it was (if we must spell out the whole story) captured by Aen.. Miller, 449f. well shows that this was much how Ov.*Met.*15.163f. understood the present passage. Cf. Pfister(287) 1, 159, 332, 337, *EV* 1.1f., J.F. Miller, *CQ* 43 (1993), 445ff.(*bene*). It is here that Serv.Dan. offers a famous formulation *amans inuenta occasione recondita quaeque summatim et antiquam contingere fabulam*; cf. *Alambicco*, 57, n.9 for similar references in the ancient V.-critics. It might even be felt that **283 Argolicas** is less awkward and isolated thanks to the juxtaposition with Abas.

**gestamen** Apparently another Virgilian coinage(cf. 7.246, Kapp/G. Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.1955.35f.); Cordier, 161 compares the coinages *leuamen*, *solamen*, *libamen*, *stramen*. Note too inherited *gramen*, *uelamen*, *certamen*, *examen*, *fundamen*, *flamen*. The formation of notable convenience for dactylic verse (Leumann-Lunelli, 163); V. rejects Lucr. abstracts and retains *-amina* of a concrete sense(Cordier, 197f.).

**287 postibus aduersis** For the terminology of Roman door-frames, cf. n. on 7.622; for the adj.(‘opposite, facing’), cf. **38**. The normal place for fixing spoils (often of arms or armour) in the Greco-Roman world, 5.360, 7.183 (with full n.; cf. too n. on 11.778), 8.722, Hor.*C.*3.26.4ff., 4.15.8, *Epist.*1.1.5, Lersch, 107ff.; cf. *Companion*, 175f.. So already in Hom., but in *Il.* only at 7.83, Seymour, 594f.. For the literature (cf. Diom. at Lyc.850ff., Call.*H.*5.35f.) of the dedication of shields, cf. F. Pfister, *Reliquienkult* 1(*RVV* 5.1, Giessen 1909), 332. Comparison of 8.721 and Suet.*Aug.*18.2 shows that this dedication was also to be recognised as Actian and Augustan, Miller, 445, n.1, Stahl, 67f., Paschalis, 68f..

**figo** Serv.Dan. *proprie; figi enim dona dicuntur*, citing 9.408. Correctly; cf. Lackenbacher, *TLL* 6.1.711.30ff., Liv.1.26.10, 24.21.10, Plin.*Nat.* 35.7, Suet.*Claud.*17.3, Schol.Cic. Bob.p.113. 16 Stangl, and *Aen.*1.248, 4.495, 5.359f., 8.196, 11.778 (vd. n.).

**et rem ... signo** Cf. 7.3f. *ossaue nomen/...signat* (with n., and vd. Henry), Ov.*Her.*2.73, *Met.*2.326 *signant quoque carmine saxum*, 8.540f..

**carmine** Cf. *Buc.*5.42 *tumulo superaddite carmen* (where Serv. remarks that the *c.* there is *two* lines long, and here only one), Ov.*F.*3.547, *Met.*9.793 and Hoogma, 251 for this line’s influence on the inscr.. V. has Aen. tell Dido of his dedicatory inscription, a sign both of the poet’s undervalued epigraphic culture (n. on 7.1, with bibl.) and

of the presence of literacy in the epic (to be understood perhaps in the context of a widespread attribution of writing to Rome in the legendary period, *RFil.*122 (1994), 54ff., with ample bibl.; cf. likewise hints of literacy in Hom. and widespread attribution to legendary Greece, *vd. ibid.*): observe also 11.84 *inimicaque nomina figi* and the Sibyl, 445ff., *infra*. The issue misstated, n. on 7.637, for which I should not have been commended, *Mnem.*4.55.3 (2002), 375. Note lastly that prose, antiquarian accounts of the Trojans' voyage rest on, and embroider links between, Trojan foundations and dedications (Actium: DH 1.50.4; the halt therefore is both contemporary and traditional), jealously invented, preserved and developed: cf. Horsfall in *RMM*,13, Erskine, 152, Schwegler, *Röm.Gesch.* 1, 299ff. and *vd. Pfister, supra*.

**288 Aeneas** The ellipse of a vb. (e.g. *donat, dat, or dedicat*) typical in dedicatory language (in passive too, GP, *HE* 2853) and here a further indication of the poet's familiarity with epigr. usage. Cf. LHS, 423f.(elliptically). At *Buc.*7.29 the ancient comms. cited this passage. Aeneas' poetry may be thought to look forward to V's, as his trophy does to Aug.'s: cf. Putnam, 55f., A. Barchiesi, *Il poeta e il principe* (Bari 1994), 7.

**haec ... arma** The plural, the spondaic rhythm, the hyperbaton, and the use of the general for the particular lend majesty to the occasion.

**de Danais uictoribus** Cf. 2.368 *uictoresque cadunt Danai*. A definitive answer to *tenent Danai qua deficit ignis*. 'The name used most often by Virgil for the Greeks, and least often by Homer', Austin on 2.5. For V's (undifferentiated) names for Greeks, cf. *EV* 2, 800; Stubbings, 285 and Kirk on *Il.*1.42 do not distinguish between Hom. names for the Greeks either. Cf. 87. The motif of the victors defeated, the defeated victorious of major importance to V. and the shield dedicated a trophy not after the manner of *de praeda* or *de Samnitibus*, but *de uictoribus*: cf. Miller, 448, nn. on 7.295f.(in detail), 11.306f., E. Henry, 22, 27 f.; so Serv. well notes here, citing 2.368. With the use of *de*, cf. that with *uictoria, tropaea, triumphus*, Hand 2, 224. On Skutsch's hypothesis, Ennian: *vd. on Ann.*180 and cf. Wigodsky, 71. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.53.69f. unilluminating.

**289 linquere ... portus** Cf. 10, 124, 7.7.

**tum** Storm over, winter over, games over, perhaps. But V's use of

**tum**, to indicate unspecified lapse of time, should discourage even the simplest questions (cf. **141**, **194**, **223**, **266**).

**iubeo** Contrast **267** (Anch.); here Aen. once more (cf. **235**) in charge (Mackie, 69, Lloyd 1957b, 47).

**et considerare transtris** Cf. Od.'s orders (departure from the Loto-phagi), *Od.* 9.100 κελόμεν ἑρίηρας ἑταίρους... (101) νηῶν ἐπιβαινέμεν ... (103) ἐπὶ κληῖσι καθίζον. In much greater detail, Eur.*Helen* 1569ff. with Morrison and Williams, 200f., Gray, 98. 'And sitting well in order strike/ The sounding furrows'. Not technical, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.433.14. Here, the exact converse of **207**, coming in to shore under oars (vd. Mohler(**120**), 48f., comparing **668**, 4.583, 5.778 after Hom. usage). Of course the Trojans sit and row before leaving harbour, but the two actions form part of a single operation and hysteron-proteron is hardly to be claimed; 7.6 *tendit iter uelis portumque reliquit* (where vd. n.) is closely comparable.

**290 certatim** The line recurs at 5.778 (*pace* Moskalew, 130 not so much Significant Recurrence as near-formulaic re-use of a maritime commonplace; cf. too Sparrow, 99); cf. **192–208**, xxxix–xl for bk.3 as earlier than bk.5. For c., cf. 7.585 and cf. the **certamine** of **128**: there is some rivalry between ships.

**socii** Cf. **12**, *et saep.*

**feriunt mare** The vb. of walls, doors, olive-trees, etc. and perhaps first here nautically (Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.509.71f.), after Hom.'s frequent ἐξῆς δ' ἐζόμενοι πολίην ἄλα τύπτων ἑρετμοῖς. Nelis, 460 compares AR 1.540, 914: less deeply incised, though, upon the Roman reader's memory, one might think.

**aequora uerrunt** Cf. **208 caerula uerrunt** (high epic): the line easily cobbled together from invented and traditional elements. V. is not, one notices again, much interested by the routine, quotidian mechanisms of epic narrative (cf. **153**, **169f.**).

**291 protinus** Cf. n. on 7.408; it is just on 100 km. from Actium to the southern tip of Corcyra.

**aërias ... arces** That V. might refer to Alcinous' fortress is not a good idea. The ὄρεα κικίοντα of Phaeacia, at *Od.* 5.279, lure some (e.g. Nelis, 460, to judge by the parallels—not nebulous, but mist-filled—he cites) towards 'cloudy' here (and indeed *aër* often indicates cloud or mist, 1.411, 6.887, *Hor.C.* 2.7.14, Lunelli, *EV* 1, 40f., *id.*, *Aerius* (Bologna 1969), 57, n.108 and vd. **274 nimbose**); but V.'s adj.



naturally suggests skywards height (Serv. here: *altas*; cf. von Mess, *TLL* 1.1063.24f.): similar language at Cat.64.240, *G.*3.474 and cf. Hardie, *CI*, 264f., 274f., 280 for Virgilian hyperbole in the matter of mountains; cf. Lunelli (1969), 21f., 46f.: V. hints clearly at the Gk. but knowingly changes the precise sense.

**Phaeacum** Located by V. with welcome clarity on Corcyra, after Hellanicus (*FGH*4F77), AR(4.1209ff.) and Callim. (*Aet.*1fr.12Pf.); see Hainsworth on *Od.*6.8, C. Dougherty, *Raft of Odysseus* (New York 2001), 108, H. Thomas and F.H. Stubbings in Wace and Stubbings(270), 308f., L. Käppel, *NP* 9, 712f., S. Eitrem, *PW* 19.1518. 10ff., Robert, 2.3, 1380ff.. Once more (cf. 273, and see Nelis, 259 on AR's technique at 4.968f.), V. passes by, literally, an Homeric episode (here, rather, 'loses from sight'); a technique, Nelis remarks(61) already employed in these very waters by AR(4.575), when the Argonauts παράμειβον the island of Calypso.

**abscondimus** Serv. comments *nauticus sermo*; vd. xvii–xviii, n. on 11.327 and cf. notes on 2.373, 3.471, 8.606, 653, 9.377, 10.241, 279, 314, 11.453 for technical *militaris* language claimed by the scholia; add 9.437 (gladiators), 1.92 (augurs, and cf. Thomas, 268) there is as yet no general study of supposed techn. language in V.(but vd. indices to comms. on 7 (religion) and 11 (military) for some discussion), or of references to it in Serv.(though vd. the passing remarks of H.D. Jocelyn, *PLLS* 2 (1979), 116). Here, no analogies to support Serv.'s claim, and the word's history suggests otherwise. Oertel, *TLL* 1.160.22ff. compares Gk. ἀποκρύπτειν, Thuc.5.65.5, Plat. *Prot.*338A. *Abscondere* so used already at *G.*1.221, and will be found in prose too, e.g. *Plin.**Nat.* 2.178. Possibly V. also had in mind the use of *condere* in phrases such as *condere soles* (vd. Clausen on *Buc.*9.52). The metaphor(cf. 205 for the language of optical illusion) is finely borrowed by Sen.*Epist.*70.1 f. for losing sight of boyhood, then of youth. The heights of Corfu are not, actually, lost to sight as Aen. sails from Parga to Butrint, or rather, some of the heights are out of sight some of the time, as Wellesley(151) explains. However, V. is hardly to be thought of as writing with telescope in hand, and is therefore to be read with an eye blind to many kinds of irrelevant detail. Mehmel, 31 (cf. Hügi, 74, Reeker, 95) drew attention to the verbal analogies with AR 1.581 δῦετο... 582 ἔδυνε, not recurrent expressions (and note too there αὐτίκα and ἤπειν ... αἶα). But we might just as well adduce 72 **recedunt**: this is (perhaps inevitably) recurrent material—is *also*, we should add—in any periplus-narrative, balancing indeed **apparet/ aperitur**.

**292 litoraue..legimus** Von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1127.62 compares 127, Liv.35.27.6, 36.21.5.

**Epiri** Apart from the associations of Buthrotum, *infra*, Aen. visits Dodona in DH(294–505, §a); at a connexion with Dodona(N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1967), 367ff., H.W. Parke, *Oracles of Zeus* (Oxford 1967), 1ff., 148, P. Cabanes, *L'Épire* (Paris 1976), *passim*)V. nods swiftly at 466 and the learned reader will uncover Dodonaean allusions at 11.785. But now, after a week, or a while, or a winter at Actium, there is no time for an inland digression and no shortage of other mouthpieces to take over any elements of an inherited oracular role that may interest the poet(n. on 7.107–47, §ii, Nelis, 39). Cf. Della Corte, 68, W.E. Gwatkin, *CJ* 57 (1961–2), 97ff., Lloyd (1957c), 385f., Lacroix, 139ff.. For other traces of a Trojan presence in Epirus, vd. 294–505, *ad init.*.

**portuqe .../ 293 Chaonio** An elaborate compound expression (equally to be called theme and variation), nearly a line and a half long, with two verbs, two proper names, and a regional designation(the adj. form, for further effect; cf. Plepelits, *infra*, 61.50ff.), to lend dignity and importance to Buthrotum. To Strabo(7.7.5), the Chaones were the principal people of N. Epirus, having once ruled the whole area; half a day to sail past them, Ps.Scyl.28. Cf. D. Strauch, *NP* 11.10f., Bürchner, PW 3.2111.37ff., and bibl. s.v. **Epiri**, *supra*. **portu ... Chaonio P; portus ... Chaonios M**; the c.9 mss divided, and likewise the grammatical tradition. Both cases common with *subire* (vd. Williams, Plepelits, *TLL* 10.2.59.43ff.); the dat. slightly harder and more ‘interesting’; cf. n. on 7.161 for a very similar problem.

**subimus** Cf. 83, 113.

**293 et celsam ... urbem** Cf. 5.439, 8.65: to be understood of position, of fortifications, or ‘merely’ of moment. Wellesley(151f.) not the first to be exercised by the feet above sea level here.

**Buthroti** By Strabo’s time, a Roman colony(7.7.5); originally, a town of the Thesprotians (facing the n. end of Corcyra), on a peninsula in a salt-water lake connected with the sea; still Butrint. The Trojans may be thought to land at the sea-harbour, later Pelodes, and then walk to the town. Cf. P. Sestieri, *PECS*, 175f., Strauch, *NP* 2, 859f., Oberhummer, PW 3.1084.3f. For legendary associations, vd. *infra*. This defining or epexegetic gen. common in (and from)V., Antoine, 78, LHS, 64.

**accedimus** Cf. 24, 441, 1.509, 5.732, etc., an occasional (flat, standard, but used by Enn.) expression for ‘reached’.

**294–505. Buthrotum** Introduction. (a) Aeneas at Buthrotum. DH 1.51 offers the notably retardatory version of Aeneas' two days' march from Ambracia to Dodona and another four down to Buthrotum (while Anch. sailed up the coast), not to mention time for converse with Helenus, whom he had found at Dodona. Here, though, we have just emerged from a phase of delay (292) and despite high emotion and painful recollection, haste is discreetly but necessarily present in the narrative (356 f., 473, 481). The episode (to which V. also refers in passing at 11.264 *regna Neoptolemi*, where vd. n.) has a peculiarly complex history. Varro represented the fleet waiting for Aen. at Epirote Troy (*res hum.* 2. fr. 14 Mirsch = Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 3.349), while he received the oracle of the tables from Dodonaean Jupiter (Varr. *ap. Serv. ad Aen.* 3.256); Varro knew Epirus well and noted with interest that the names given by the Trojans had lasted (*res hum.* 2. fr. 14 Mirsch *omnia loca isdem dici nominibus, quae poeta commemorat se uidisse*). These Trojan names are numerous, and were often remarked (vd. Hammond, 412, Moscati Castelnovo, 413, Lacroix, 140, Biraschi, 281, n.9, L. Robert, *Hellenica* 1 (1940), 95 f.); they have been claimed as the cause, or indeed as the effect, of the widespread attestations of a Trojan presence in the area (cf. also Erskine, 121 ff.). That presence's origins are controversial from the first, for it is not at all clear that *Il. parva* fr. 21.10 Bernabé = fr. 20.10 Davies (Aen. leaves Troy as a captive of Neoptolemus) is archaic: cf. Simias Rhodius fr. 6.5 Powell and Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979), 373; note too Davies' own hesitation, *Epic cycle* (Bristol 1989), 72 f.. Tzetzes' own text seems an inference from (?) Simias. Canavero understates the difficulties in attributing the vv. to 'Lesches'. Pindar's references to Neopt. are no less problematic (cf. Moscati Castelnovo, 423, n.1 for bibl.), but N.'s connexions with Molossia are unchallengeable (*Nem.* 7.38- he reaches Ephyra, for which, vd. (c) *infra*—, *Paeon* 6.109; cf. *Nem.* 4.53); in *Hellenicus*, (*FGH* 4F84), Aen. too passes through Epirus (apparently on foot; cf. Horsfall, *cit.*, 377, 379, *RMM*, 15). Helenus was originally captured by Od. (*Il. parv.* p. 52.6 Davies = p. 74.6 Bernabé; cf. *Soph. Phil.* 604–13); a companion of Neopt.'s wanderings, Paus. 1.11.1. He shares his sister's Cassandra's mantic skills in Hom. (*Il.* 6.76, 7.44 f.): a profitable capture, then (in Paus., *cit.*, he tells Neopt. his wanderings are over), and in [Apld.] *Epit.* 5.11 is even among the beneficiaries in the division of the spoils; cf. *EV* 2, 193 for a summary of his prophecies before and during the fall of Troy (and vd. too Robert, 2, 3, 988 f.). In Eur. (*Andr.* 1245) he will eventually marry Andr.. V. will notice with interest (vd. *infra*, §c) that at Eur. *Andr.* 1243 ff. (perhaps as early as 429), a son (Molossus) of

Neopt. and Andromache will rule in Molossia; the Molossi were semi-barbarians whose susceptibilities required genealogical flattery in time of war (cf. Hall, *cit.*; see J. Perret in *Mél. Heurgon* (Rome 1976), 797f.). In the following century (Hammond, 412f., Erskine, 123), the neighbouring Chaonians perhaps entered the same game of prestige and the same origins were inevitably to attach to Olympias, Alexander's mother (Robert, 1469, Lane Fox, *Alexander*, 59). Rhianus' *Thessalica* are likely to have offered discussion of Neopt.'s shift from Thessaly to Epirus (Perret 1946, 20); possibly a text for V. to have read (cf. Zumbo, *EV* 4, 469f.); likewise Eratosthenes (*FGH* 241F42, Lacroix, 142). But V.'s scholarly reading here cannot be proved to have gone beyond Varro. Note that a meeting between Aen. and Andr. in Epirus appears not to be attested before V. (cf. König, 65f.); likewise the eponym Chaon (335; cf. König, 75). Possibly therefore innovations/inventions, though neither would surprise at an earlier stage.

(b) Homeric and tragic sources. It has often been noted (Grimm, 152, Knauer, 203, n.2, etc.) that Aen.'s speech (359ff.) begins at the precise mid-point of the book (so too in *G.4*, at 282: see e.g. my intro. to A. Biotti's *G.4* (Bologna 1994), 23); true, but, given three half-lines in the Buthrotum scenes, perforce irrelevant in an evidently incomplete text. But the setting of Helenus's long prophecy (374–462) in a 'frame' of two speeches from Andromache (321–43, 486–91), set in sequences of shorter dialogue, is clearly a permanent arrangement, reflected in a marked and studied change of tone (deep pathos from Andr.; 'long-winded repetitiousness' from Helenus, Williams, *TI*, 265; cf. 274f., and, better, Grimm, *cit.*). The distinction between 'frame' and 'centrepiece' goes a good deal further, in that Helenus' speech is essentially Homeric in character and content, while the matter and manner of the frame are predominantly Euripidean, with elements of the Hom. Hector and Andromache (start from 295, 309, 310, 311, 317, 324, 343). Compare (as seems not to have been done) the Homeric Aristaeus and the Neoteric Orpheus. Cf., for a start, *Companion*, 239–44, A.M. Crabbe, *PVS* 17 (1978–80), 10–31. All these sequences are naturally much enriched by further, 'extraneous' elements (aetiology and Pindar, e.g., in *G.4*), but here the debt to epic in particular is multiple (for it includes AR, in addition to both *Il.* and *Od.*) and complex, revealing techniques developed since the time of *G.4*.

(i) Homer and AR. Helenus is routinely 'dismissed' as colourless and worse; given his role as mouthpiece of Apollo, warm human interest might indeed have been a major obstacle; cf. J.N. Bremmer, *NP* 5, 282

and in R. Hägg, *Role of religion in the early Greek polis* (Stockholm 1996), 100, T. Ganschow, *LIMC* 8, 613. His literary ancestry derives first from Tiresias and Circe: Tiresias (*Od.* 11. 100–37) will suggest the **signa** to be offered to Aen. (389) and the need to appease Juno's anger (*infra*); in addition, he will refer to the island of Trinacria before Circe does (*infra*). Circe's sailing instructions to Od., not so much *Od.* 10.504–40 as 12.37–110, 116–41, were lately used for the Harpies' cattle and now contribute the voyage round Trinacria (384), the motif of Juno's anger, not yet (but *vd.* 2.612) disclosed to Aen. in the voyage-narrative (380, 435–8), the danger of Scylla and Charybdis (420–32) and the necessity of passing them by (410–3), and finally the consultation of the Sibyl (441–60). The thematic tears of 344 are Iliadic (König, 53, after Knauer), just as Andr. herself was, in origin. AR's Phineus (recently a key element in the Harpies episode), first heir to Hom.'s Circe and Tiresias, will also contribute to Helenus here (*vd.* Nelis): cf. 377 **pauca tibi e multis** (cf. 461), 380, 435–8 (Juno's hatred; need for sacrifices), 384, (Trinacria), 410–3 (Symplegades).

(ii) Euripides (on whom König's discussion remains indispensable). After Polyd., this is V.'s second extended reworking of a tragic sequence (Dido and Allecto are to follow): the *Andr.* is set in Phthia and is 'about' an altogether earlier stage in Andr.'s story, but serves nonetheless as an invaluable source for the tone and detail of the tragic sequence by which the widow Andr. reaches Epirus; note her Euripidean nameless son at 327 (in Eur., named only in the list of characters, Hall, 181). Beyond *Andr.*, V. has in mind briefly both *Hec.* (König, 75f., on 339–41), already much used for Polyd., and *Tro.* (König, 52–62, on 488–91); were our understanding of Enn. *Andr.* clearer, the nexus of tragic sources might emerge as yet more complex.

(c) Helenus and Andromache in V.. Since Bright (1981), it has been widely and too readily assumed that Buthrotum is (Bright, 45) 'a land of the dead', with much consequent misunderstanding. It was claimed that B. was 'near' (and thus somehow associated with; cf. Bright, 44) the oracle of the dead at Ephyra/Cichyrus: the distance is 44 miles, in a straight line over several ranges of mountains (for such 'arguments', cf. *Aen.* 7, p.97). Death, though, is crucial to the context, for Aen. at the outset chances (**forte**, 301) upon Andromache while she honours Hector's cenotaph. From the grave, the Homeric Hector dominates *Aen.*: the echo of Andr. (343) by Aen. at 12.440 is fundamental, for thus Hector as model will prevail long after Aen.'s own death (cf. Knauer, 352); note how the Naevian Hector passes into Rom. proverbial lan-

guage in Cic.'s day, Tosi, n<sup>o</sup> 1333. Of course Hector's widow, despite unions with Neoptolemus and now with his own brother Helenus, still reveres him (she is after all *coniunx Hectorea*, still, 488). So do we, thanks to *Il.*; Hector's standing in *Aen.* is moral, military—and literary. Troy, likewise: V. refers to **falsi Simoentis** (302), to **simulata...Pergama** (349f.) and to **effigiem Xanthi** (497). We recall that *Aen.* has already attempted to found **Aeneadae** (18) and **Pergama** (133); more important, Helenus' last words to Aen. are **ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam**: in Aen.'s hands, Troy is a living inheritance, and the heirs of Aen. will recognise kinship with those of Helenus and Andromache (500–5; note that for Eur. too, Andr.'s singular situation is politically significant: of her son by Neoptolemus, the kings of Molossia will be the descendants, *Andr.*1246ff.). 'Troy' therefore is not only a 'dead' memorial for the Buthrotum exiles (still enviable, for Aen., 493–9) but a symbol for the future too, in Chaonia as in Rome (86, 1.206, Wlosok, *EV* 1, 168, after H. Oppermann, in *Wege zu Vergil*, 155–8; cf. 498f. for the explicit polyvalence). **Quies** (495) is clearly touched by the sense of death (cf. n. on 7.598), but if we read the story of Andr. and Hel. with a minimum of alert humanity, the wonder is that they exist at all: Andr. was not quite convinced that Aen. was alive (311f.), but after Troy's last night, Aen. was (294) every bit as surprised to see Andr. This 'land of the dead' is unexpectedly alive when studied with due attention to detail, but no energetic concentration upon future greatness is to be expected of the few survivors at Buthrotum; Andr. intuits that there may be a future for the Aeneadae (339), while the seer Helenus well knows that the future lies with Aen., in Italy. Discussion has been complicated by a failure to discern multiple, changing viewpoints: Helenus urges Aen. (462) **uade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam**, Juno calls for Troy's definitive death (12.828), and indeed Troy dies by absorption into Latium (cf. Horsfall 1989, 22ff.), but of course Troy, like Rome, thrives on defeat (n. on 7.295) and survives vigorously in Julian ideology (*RMM*, 24, *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 9ff. for summaries). No defeat therefore has been definitive, and Aen.'s devotion to the name of Troy in distant lands is both commendable and justifiable. Cf. further, on evocative Trojan names, 302. Bibliography: Anderson, 39–43, M.J. Anderson, *The fall of Troy in early Greek poetry and art* (Oxford 1997), 133–55, A.M. Biraschi, *Ann.Fac.Lett.Fil. Perugia* 19(1981–2), 279–91, M. Bettini, *Class.Ant.* 16 (1997), 8–33, Block, 236–9, D. Bright, *Vergilius* 27 (1981), 40–7, D. Canavero, *Acme* 55 (2002), 151–64, Cartault, 245–52, 284–91, Cova, xlv–lviii and in *EV* s.v.

*Eleno*, 2, 193–5, Di Cesare, 67–71, Duckworth, 84–6, Erskine, 121–4, M. Fernandelli, *Tragico e tragedia nell' episodio cartaginese dell' Eneide* (diss. Torino 1993), 230–65, R.E. Grimm, *AJP* 88 (1967), 151–62 (of notable quality), E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford 1991), 180f., Hammond (292), 385–9, 412–4, Heinze, 107–9, Herzog (102), 102f., R. Hexter in *Reading Vergil's Aeneid* ed. C. Perkell (Norman, Okl. 1999), 74–7, Klingner, 426–31, Knauer, 196–209, König, 52–79 (with Wigodsky, 92f.), L. Lacroix, *Ant. Class.* 62 (1993), 139–45, Lana, 116–21, L. Moscati Castelnuevo, *RFil.* 114 (1986), 411–24, Nelis, 38–44, O'Hara, *DOP*, 26–31, M. Paschalis, *Phil.* 130 (1986), 52f., Perret, 63ff. and *REA* 48 (1946), 5–28, Pomathios, 38, 165, Putnam, 56–9, Quinn, 128–31, Quint, 58–60, Robert, 2.3, 1457–69, C.F. Saylor, *Vergilius* 16 (1970), 26–8, O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *LIMC* 6.1, 774f., Unte, 220–6, G.S. West, *AJP* 104 (1983), 257–67, S.F. Wiltshire, *Public and private in Vergil's Aeneid* (Amherst 1989), 43–7, 75f., Williams, *TI*, 274f., A. Wlosok, *EV* s.v. *Andromaca*, 1, 166–8. Woldemar Görler has kindly driven me to clarify my thoughts.

**294 hic** Of place rather than time, given the strong local emphasis of what precedes.

**incredibilis rerum fama** Adj. of a type much favoured by V. (cf. *implacabilis*, *immedicabile*, etc., *EV* 1, 53; cf. Cordier, 186); **i.** common in com. and prose (Varr., Cic., Caes., Lyne, *WP*, 126) and perhaps brought to V.'s notice by Livy, 4.17.4, 36.3, 5.11.7. If we are right in thinking that Aen.'s meeting with both Andr. and Helenus in Epirus is indeed an innovation (supra, §a, *ad fin.*), then this use of *fama* is to be added to those cases of *f.* applied to innovations which are discussed at *Alambicco*, 126ff., after *PLLS* 6 (1990), 55ff.. But the reference in **i.f.** is clearly wider than just that, for the incredulity is both ours and Aen.'s, who had had no reason to suppose that he would here encounter not one, but two distinguished members of the royal house of Troy, alive and well. Serv. remarks *incredibilium rerum fama*; the enallage is correctly identified, but hardly striking, for it is clearly the incredible content that renders the story incredible; cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.1037.53.

**occupat auris** Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.2.94f. *das aliquid famaē, quae carmine gratior aurem/ occupet humanam?*: Apparently of no interest to the Hor. commentators; *Serm.* 2 is a contemporary text and it seems perfectly likely that Hor. permits himself a witty echo of his friend, with complete alteration of sense. The expression of a familiar type: cf.

Cic.*Sull.*12 *sed uix ad auris meas istius suspicionis fama peruenit*, Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.220.24f., *Aen.*7.166, 437, with notes.

**295 Priamiden Helenum** The patronymic repeated at **346**, then used of Deiphobus at 6.494 and 509. Here a precise echo of *Il.*6.76 Πριαμίδης "Ελενος (and conserving the Hom. prosody of the initial i). So too of Deiphobus, 13.157. We have read *Aen.*2, Dido has heard it, *Aen.* has lived through *Aen.*2; it matters little that V. has probably not yet written it, for the patronymic (*EV* 3, 1031) is a strongly phrased genealogical signal, lending explicitly to Helenus (and Andr.) that distillation of tragic emotion which surrounds Priam and Hecuba and passes thence to their descendants and kin.

**Graias ... per urbis** The paradox (*infra*) not simply of Trojans, after the city's fall, reigning over Greeks, but of calling Greek a realm that in historic times was often enough defined as barbarian, *Thuc.*2.80.5, 81.3, with Hall, 180f., *Strab.*7.7.10, invoking Hom.; not, however, a clear-cut or unchallenged classification (cf. *Hdt.*2.56, 6.127).

**regnare** The (multiple, complex) paradox begins: Trojan rule on Greek soil (TCD, in some detail, Cozzoli, *EV* 2, 800; cf. **288**). Cf. (e.g.) 6.97 (salvation, *quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe*). *Aen.* and Antenor are allowed to escape, or manage to slip away (Horsfall, *RMM*, 14); Helenus, in many versions (Robert, 2.4.3, 988f., Cartault, 246, n.4, Erskine, 138), betrays city and family, for love of Helen, but here there is no implication that his rule *in Molossis* is dishonourably bought. Note that King Pyrrhus named his youngest son Helenus (*Plut. Pyrrh.*9.4).

**296 coniugio ... sceptrisque** Cf. n. on 11.270 and V. Ferraro's good discussion, *EV* 1, 380 for the use of abstr. *coniugium* for concr. *coniunx* (also see Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.325.16ff., 'metonymice de ipsis coniugibus'). **S.** common synecdoche for *regnum*, n. on 7.422, LHS, 748.

**Aeacidae Pyrrhi** Majestic balance of significant patronymics (cf. *EV* 3, 1029f.): **A.** is not only Homeric (*Il.*2.874, etc.) and Apollonian, but, famously, Ennian, *Ann.*167 *aio te, Aeacida, Romanos uincere posse*, addressed to king Pyrrhus; used by V. also of Achilles (1.99, 6.58) and Perseus, king of Macedon, 6.839f. (Pydna as vengeance for fall of Troy). V. seems to alternate the names Pyrrhus and Neoptolemus at will (cf. *EV* 4, 121); **P.** (of his hair, Robert, 2.4.3, 1219) is Cyclic, not Homeric (*Cypria*: Paus. 10.26.4; cf. Austin on 2.469). Of Priam's murderer, V. has no good to say; vd. E.J. Kenney, in (ed. T. Woodman, D. West) *Creative imitation ...* (Cambridge 1979), 103–20 and Austin's comm. on 2.469–505.



**potitum** S.v. *de animantibus, corpore*, Gatti, *TLL* 10.2.330.51f., citing Plaut.*Asin.* 916, Ter.*Phorm.*830, Ov.*Ars* 385 (and often in Ov.). No explanation of just how and why Helenus has been blessed with a kingdom and a noble wife will be offered; stories elsewhere of (near-) treasonous help offered to the Greeks are eschewed by V. and ignored by Aen., who seems satisfied to meet his cousin again in unexplained prosperity. Cf. 295, Cartault, 246, n.4.

**297 et patrio ... marito** 'Native'; cf. 11.246f. *ille urbem Argyripam patriae cognomine gentis/* [Diomedes] ... *condebat* (with Serv.: *quam patriae suae nomine appellauit*), G.1.52 *patrios cultus habitusque locorum*, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.763.38. From the first, Andr. entirely devoted to (not her own homeland, Thebe, but) Hector's city of Troy, *iuncta ergo Hectori facta Troiana est*, as Serv. puts it, admirably; cf. Bettini, 9f.

**Andromachen ... cessisse** Serv. comments *nam et 'cessisse' de iuris est; cedi enim hereditas dicitur*; cf. **333f. regnorum reddita cessit/ pars Heleno**, 11.321 *cedat amicitiae Teucrorum*, and 12.17 *cedat Lavinia coniunx* (Serv. *cedat Lavinia coniunx ut 'cedat amicitiae Teucrorum', id est in praemium uictoriae concedat*; vd. Bannier, *TLL* 3.730.64); cf. too 12.183 *cesserit Ausonio si fors uictoria Turno*. 'Common in legal contexts', remark NR on Hor.*C.*3.20.7. True enough, but too common a vb. to be distinctively legal; there is indeed another frequent use which is surely relevant here, *cedere* of booty passing to A. or B, Liv.23.33.12, 26.26.3, 27.1.2, 31.27.4, 43.19.12, Hor.*cit.*, Tac.*Ann.*13.39; cf. too *in praedam cedere*, Oakley on Liv.6.14.13, etc., Bannier, *TLL* 3.730.60f., 731.20ff.: Andr. had passed as booty to Neopt.(Robert, 2+3, 1275 ff.) and now she passes a second time [sc. still as a piece of booty, or at least as former booty to be handed on, once Neopt.'s affections are transferred to Hermione; cf. 327], to Helenus, a compatriot, indeed, and Hector's brother to boot, but the beneficiary of a disposition in which Andr. is the passive object. Bettini(10) is hardly right to speak of 'a rather unusual verb' and to assume that V. too is talking about an inheritance. Serv.'s passing remarks on supposed technical terms we have learned to view with some suspicion, here apparently confirmed.

**iterum** Hector was of course the first.

**298 obstipui** Cf. 48.

**miroque ... amore** Cf. 7.56f. *quem regia coniunx/ adiungi generum miro properabat amore* (with n.); Cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.1071.42, citing Cic.*pro Oppio* fr.6 (Quint.9.2.51) *o amorem mirum, o beniuolentiam singularem*. An

exceptional expression: this strong desire (particularly timely and explicable between exiles, perhaps) confirms that for Aen., even in retrospect, Helenus was not a traitor: V. avoids the question of how he left Troy and we are not invited to raise it.

**incensum pectus** Cf. 7.392 *accensas pectora*, with n.(there my text should read *pectora*, not *pectore*, in keeping with the argument in the n.). *Amor* (normally in a more conventionally amatory sense) in the *pectus* from Plaut.(Gatti, *TLL* 10.1.914. 59ff., Negri, 206); fire of various kinds likewise, from *Merc.*600; cf. *Cat.*61.170 *pectore urit in intimo*, n. on 7.356, etc.. Between this desire and its fulfilment there now follow two brisk, flat lines of movement, barely noticeable.

**299 compellare uirum** The vb. Ennian, Catullan: vd. n. on 11.534. Inf. dependent on noun, Görler, *EV* 2, 271.

**casus ... tantos** A sequence of three paired alliterations starts here, **casus compellare, progredior portu, litora linquens**. Indeed, to achieve allit., he eschews the 'normal' order, *tantos ... casus* (adj. at caes., noun at l.-end).

**cognoscere** Cf. 2.10 *casus cognoscere nostros*. Note *Lucr.*5.1185 *quibus id fieret cognoscere causis*.

**300 progredior portu** The vb. used in com., Acc.(*trag.*129), prose, but in V.'s time not specially common in poetry; *sexies* in V., *bis* in Ov., not in Hor., Tib., Prop..

**classis et litora** Not a stock pairing; fleet and shore hardly to be considered zeugma. Rather, a sort of hendiadys, or compound idea broken down into loose component parts, 'the fleet moored along the shore' (vd. next n.).

**linquens** Cf. 1.517 *classem quo litore linqunt*. Serv. lays down a rule here, in haste and rather misleadingly: *finitum esse uersum participio, quod rarum apud Latinos esse, apud Graecos uitiosissimum*. Vd. Wagner, exc.iv<sup>t</sup> to *Aen.*12(*bene*) for the details: as we might expect, partic. in nom. are avoided at v.-end, before a strong pause.

**301 sollemnis ... dapes** Serv. glosses *legitimas, anniversarias*. Compare on 2.202 *anniuersario sacrificio religiosas* (for objections, not decisive, cf. Heinze, 18, n.1); Bailey well cites 5.53 **annua uota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas** and Salvatore acutely adds *Buc.*5.74f. *haec tibi semper erunt et cum sollemnia uota/ reddemus Nymphis et cum lustrabimus agros*, a yearly ritual. So too 8.102, *infra*, 185, 6.380 (yearly funerary honours,

apparently), 5.605 *dum uariis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis* (assuming the annual recurrence, v.46, still applies). Fest.p.384.36f. refers to an etymological link (possibly correct) with *annus, quod omnibus annis praestari debet*; less clear at p.466.27 *sollemnia sacra dicuntur, quae certis temporibus annisque fieri solent* and on the phrase *stata sacrificia*, (*ib.*, 22ff.) he cites Cato, *orat.*, fr.72 *sacra stata, sollempnia* (having settled that *stata* means ‘on a fixed day’; note Cic.*TD* 1.113 *ad sollemne et statu[tu]m sacrificium*. ‘Yearly and on a fixed day’). However, the *sollemnis ... pompas* of G.3.22 could, but (*pace* Bailey) need not, refer to an annual ritual. So too 9.626 *ipse tibi ad tua templa feram sollemnia dona*, where Serv. comments only *quae fieri solerent* (though a yearly funerary/heroic honour seems rather likely). At 12.193, though, apparently a synonym for *solitum*. In V.’s usage, it does appear that the implication of ‘annual’ prevails (at least if Serv. is right about how the word was to be understood) and certainly here if so understood would increase the sense of strong coincidence. Anniversary honours to the dead (on the date of death) altogether comprehensible to the Roman reader: 5.49ff., Cic. *Leg.*2.48, *ILS* 139.17 *quodannis*, 140.25, with Boyancé, 147, W. Warde Fowler, *Roman festivals*, 308, H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and ceremonies*, 75, J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and leisure*, 66; cf. *Companion*, 5, n.35 for posthumous cult of the birthday too. Here, cf. Grimm, 153f. with n.9, Bettini, 12, *EV*, 4, 929 (A. Salvatore), Bailey, 78f. At 5.92 *libauitque daptes*, the subj. is *serpens*; here, the verb (**303 libabat**) is common of both liquid and solid offerings (here vd. Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1338.66ff., citing *Cat.Agr.*134.4, *Varr.LL* 5.106, Cic.*Leg.* 2.19, *Ov.F.*2.663, etc..) and there is no zeugma (not that it would matter if there were). V. may just refer to ‘the simple meal offered to sustain the dead’(Bailey, 291); for details, cf. Latte, 98, Bömer on *Ov.F.*2.538f.. Homeric usage (*Il.*23.218–21) is, comfortably, not incompatible.

**cum forte** Cf. n. on 7.494: useful coincidence. Compare closely Aen.’s arrival at the site of Rome, 8.102f. *forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem/... ferebat*.

**et tristia dona** Cf. 6.223 *triste ministerium*, *EV* 5\*, 271, and note the use of *maestus* thus (grieving because funerary or commemorative) in the funerals in bk.11(n. on 11.26, Fo, well, at *EV* 3, 308). The precise sense will not become clearer until **303. D.** of offerings common enough: **439**, 4.63, *EV* 2, 131. Adj. and noun in homoeoteleuton at l-end not rare(see e.g. 1.139, 201, 430, 432, 436, 537, 678, 680), even if we require them to occupy 5th. and 6th. feet, as here, cf. *Buc.*1.51, 80, 2.28, 44, 3.60, 4.30, 35, 7.56, 8.37, 65: Austin on 4.96, Williams on 5.277, Norden, 406.

**302 ante urbem** Used likewise for ritual at 8.102 *ante urbem in luco* (no parallelism of Rome and Buthrotum claimed; convenient re-use of appropriate formulae); for sport; vd. n. on 7.162; hostile encampment of besiegers, 11.915 (vd. n.); tombs, vd. J. Patterson in *Ancient Rome* ed. J. Coulston, H. Dodge (Oxford 2000), 265, N. Purcell in *Römische Gräberstrassen* (München 1987), 25ff., E. Champlin, *AJAH* 7.2 (1982), 101.

**in luco** Vd. previous n.; on the Lat. terminology of extra-urban sanctuaries (normally, *lucus*), vd. n. on 7.778, after F. Castagnoli.

**falsi Simoentis** Cf. **349f. simulataque magnis/ Pergama**. Hoffmann compares (*TLL* 6.1.195.82f.) *Buc.* 6.48 *Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros* (and adds 'boves se credentes'); in *Ov. Met.* predictably common, 4.404, 5.11, 6.125, 569. 'A fake', rasps Putnam 56, 'false and empty' snaps Quint, 58 of this Troy (= *CJ* 78(1982–3), 32; more moderately, Saylor, *cit.*). Would not just the same critique apply to the US Congress because Capitol Hill is not in fact in Rome? Or to Harvard, because Cambridge, Mass. is not in the Fen country? It is claimed that Helenus' *parua Troia* 'constitutes a truly singular invention, for which it is difficult to find parallels in ancient literature' (Bettini, 17). However, for ancient traditions of evocative nomenclature, cf. W. Görler in *Pratum Saraviense. Festgabe für Peter Steinmetz* (Stuttgart 1990), 169–83 (esp. 175f.), D. Musti, *Arch. Class.* 33 (1981), 1–26, Horsfall (1989), 18, n.78. Evocative ('sentimental') naming is typical of Greek colonists (Horsfall, *cit.*, citing Cumae, Locri, etc.; note Serv. on 10.60 *nouimus enim hanc fuisse consuetudinem, ut aduenae patriae suae imaginem sibi redderent*). Görler, 176 draws attention to Mommsen, *StR.* 3.1, 114: at Ariminum and Pisidian Antioch, colonists named quarters of their cities 'Cermalus', 'Velabrus', 'Tuscus', 'Aventinus', etc.; compare the Seven Hills of Constantinople (Carcopino, 672). See e.g. Hesychius Illustrius, *Patria Constantinopoleos* 41bis, Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* 497.20. On *Jos. BJ* 1.33, etc., cf. Bettini, 19. We have seen that Varro claimed he had seen the evocative names of Buthrotum and neighbourhood (294–505, §a), while Musti well (3) draws attention to Strab. 13.1.53: Trojan colonists who reach W. Sicily and name the rivers by Segesta Scamander and Simois (cf. too Bérard, 360). Trojan names were not just thick on the ground in Epirus (294–505, §a), but have often been traced round the Mediterranean's shores in connexion with Aeneas' travels: cf. 294–505, §c, n. on 7.157, Musti, 1ff. on Lyc. 984 (Siris, 'a city like Troy'), Carcopino, 672ff., citing 5.633f., 755ff., etc. Horsfall (1989), 18, n.77 (Trojan names and the spread of

the legend). For the 'real' Trojan Simois, cf. n. on 11.257. Bettini(12f.) is much struck by Aeneas' ability to say all unprompted that the first river he sees is 'the false Simois'. But he is told at the very outset(294–6) that Helenus and Andr. live here, and it would therefore be singular and unexpected, in terms of what exiles and colonists *did* in such circumstances, only if they did *not* call their settlement Troy and its stream Simois. Eng. 'false' may be too severe a rendering of **falsi**, apparently applicable to any kind of evocative or sentimental re-naming, and 'pretend' or 'substitute' might answer better.

**ad undam** A clausula used by V. from *G.4.355* on; cf. too 509, 1.618, 9.22, etc..

**303 libabat ... Andromache** For the vb., cf. **301 sollemnis ... dapes**, *ad fin.*. The offerings to Anch. and to Gaius and Lucius Caesar minutely discussed by Scheid(62). That Aen.'s first sight of Andr. is as she honours Hector's ashes at his cenotaph, in a grove outside the city, which to the mind's eye of a Roman would be surrounded by tombs, sets the tone precisely and naturally for what follows, Grimm, 153f..

**cineri** Cf. 4.34 *cinerem aut manis*, 427 *cinerem manisue*, 10.828f. *teque parentum/ manibus et cineri ... remitto*; see n. on 11.29–99 for epic cremation/inhumation. V. refers here to a cenotaph, as we learn at once. The word **c.** itself is tricky (*EV* 1, 923f. not satisfactory; for the details, cf., still, Saunders, 121–8), for clearly it does not always refer simply to the state of flesh and bones after exposure to fire (*OLD* s.v., §4), as at 2.431, 5.787, 10.828: just as *ossa* can refer to ashes(6.228, with Saunders, 127; literal bones not very welcome at 7.3, indeed), so **c.** often (as here) indicates by synecdoche the entirety of the deceased, ashes and/or bones, plus spirit. Hoppe, *TLL* 3.1073.9ff.(at l.31) rather under-nuanced.

**manisque uocabat** Cf. **63** for *m.* of the spirit of the individual(and note too Lattimore, 91f., Bailey, 260, Onians, 264–9, esp.265, n.2, *ad fin.*, *EV* 3, 339f., Boyancé, 148). Cf. 5.98 *animamque uocabat*, 6.506 *magna manis ter uoce uocauit*, 12. 176, 780, etc.. It could be that Andr. in the yearly commemoration called ('*salve*') upon her husband *ter*, just as in the original funeral (vd. 6.231, n. on **68**); other editors claim a sense of 'invite to partake of the offerings', not to be excluded. Apparently, incautious readers (translating 'evoke') have taken V. to refer to necromancy here(cf. **312**): not in keeping with V.'s usage, or with the religious character of the passage, not to mention the rites of *Buthrotum*.

**304 Hectoreum ad tumulum** A fine instance of the more exalted force of the adj. (*sexies* in *Aen.*; apparently first here: see Cordier, 208; gen. used by Eur., *Tro.* 1132f.), in comparison with mere *Hectoris*: see nn. on 7.1, 723. Cf. nn. on 7.6 and, more fully, 11.103 for V's use of **t.** in various memorial/commemorative contexts.

**uiridi ... caespite** 'A mound made from green straw' opines Edgeworth (166). Cf. 11.566 (with n.), Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.111.9 for the common sense of 'turf', perhaps rather more appropriate to the context. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.62 (Teutoburgerwald) *primum extruendo tumulo caespitem Caesar posuit*, Suet. *Cal.* 59 *levi caespite obrutum*, Apul. *Met.* 7.10 *aramque cespitem uirenti*, Amm. Marc. 14.8.3 *caespitem Punico tecti manes*.

**inanem** Of a cenotaph, also at 6.505 (cf. O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.822.33; often in Ov., as *Met.* 6.568); note also 9.215, Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.152 (Sychaeus), 6.378 (Palinurus). For cenotaphs (employed either when the body was not available, or as a manifestation of hero-cult), cf. Lersch, 266f., E. Cuq, DS 2.2.1396, C. Höcker, *NP* 6, 411. Hector had been duly buried, so the cenotaph here does not form part of the Rom. rites followed by one *qui mortuo iusta non fecisset*, Paul. exc. Fest. p. 250.12f. (cf. Wissova, 193, H. Blümner, *Röm. Privataltertümer*, 488). Rather, one erected from love and/or to honour: cf. Thuc. 2.34. 3 (with Paus. 1.29.4 and N. Loraux, *Invention of Athens* (Eng. tr., Cambridge, Mass. 1986), 31); so in literature, though not frequent in hist. texts (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 6.4.9, Demetr. Phal. fr. 136 Wehrli, App. *Mithr.* 443; cf. Hdt. 9.85, DL 1.96, Marcellinus, *Vit. Thuc.* 31, Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 8.31), clearly linked to widespread fear of remaining unburied: cf. GP on *HE* 956f., 3018ff., NH on Hor. *C.* 1.28.23, Tac. *Ann.* 1.62 (*supra*); for Gaius and Lucius Caesar, vd. the Pisan decrees, for Germanicus, DC 55.2.3 (cf. 77.13.7), and Drusus, Suet. *Claud.* 1.3 (cf. Schoonhoven on *Epic. Drusi* 170); Marcianus, *Dig.* 1.8.6.5 cites V. for a *cenotaphium* being a *locus religiosus*. Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 273.12 for Paris' cenotaph (and vd. too Eur. *Hel.* 1060, 1546, *IT* 702); cf. Schol. Lyc. 365, 1030, 1047, 1181, Arist. *fr.* 640, nos. 20, 28 for other mythol. instances. The notion that this tomb might equally be vain or futile (cf. n. on 7.4 for the motif) is peculiarly unwelcome here; such a comment by the poet (a 'further voice') would at least here be a coarse and tactless intrusion.

**305 geminas ... aras** Cf. *Buc.* 5.65f. *en quattuor aras, / ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo*; the case of bk. 5 is also perhaps comparable, for though the number of altars is not—cf. *EV* 1, 120; better, vd. Zorzetti, *ib.*, 3, 786—specified (48 *maestasque sacrauimus aras*), there is

systematic gemination of offerings (77f.) and victims(96f.). An old problem: after e.g. Lersch, 161, W. Warde Fowler, *CR* 31 (1917), 163–7, cf. Bailey, 291–301, *EV* 1, *cit.*. Serv. here remarks *inferi pari gaudent numero, ut [Buc.5.66] ecce duas tibi, Daphni, superi uero impari, ut [Buc.8.75] numero deus impari gaudet*. The same doctrine *ad Buc.5.66, 8.75, Censor.20.4, Paul.exc.Fest.p.97. 6f.L*; discussed in detail, X.F.M.G. Wolters, *Notes on antique folklore* (Amsterdam 1935), 36ff.. Two altars therefore might seem to be a sign simply that Hector was, like Anchises and Daphnis, dead. Unfortunately, though, it is not at all clear that Serv.'s doctrine here, though widely attested, and (*vd. supra*) not technically incorrect, is quite pertinent to this passage. Thus, the Pisan decrees(63) *ILS* 139.17, 27, 29, often closely comparable to *Aen.5*, refer only to a single *ara* (Scheid, 197) in commemoration of the dead Gaius and Lucius(for other differences, cf. Scheid (63), 194), while two *altaria* are offered to Phoebus at *Buc.5.66*, and four *arae* to Neptune at 5.639. Serv.Dan. on *Buc. 5.66* reports *Varro dis superis altaria, terrestribus aras, inferis focos dicari adfirmat* (fr. 412GRF); at *Aen.2.515* Serv. offers *superorum et arae sunt et altaria, inferorum tantum arae* (so too later, *vd. Funaioli on Varr.cit.*). These two definitions are plainly incompatible and V.'s actual usage (*EV, cit.*) seems to take account of neither. Greek usage is not germane(though Andr. does honour Hector's tomb at *Eur.Tro.1132f.*, König, 62). Commentators clutch at guesses—Hector and Astyanax(after Serv.), Dis and Proserpina, after the manner of *Liv.40.22.7*. It might even be that two altars indicate more veneration than one(the logic of 4.200). At least the suggestion of hero-cult will have been clear enough to contemporary readers: Daphnis and Anch. are clear signs of the new movement of religious thinking at Rome (cf. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, 290f.) into a territory between human and divine (Boyancé, 144–51) and if Hector were here thought or implied to be associated with a manifestation of hero-cult, that would hardly be disproportionate.

**causam lacrimis** Cf. 12.567ff. *urbem hodie, causam belli ... eruam*. The dat. thus also at 4.290, *Tac.Hist.2.1 causasque imperio*, *Ann.2.64 causas bello*, Antoine, 107, LHS 99, Meister, *TLL* 3.675.48ff.; Petr. modifies to *sepulchrum ... causam lacrimarum*, 117.6. For such apposition in V.(with typical enclosing word-order and avoidance of subordination), cf. *EV* 2, 276(Görler), 1, 241, Lunelli-Kroll, 35f., Watson on *Hor.Epd.14.7*, with p.456, and nn. 33, 34, Williams, *TORP*, 727, A. Perutelli in *Companion*, 50, Clausen on *Buc.1.57*.

**sacrauerat** Cf. 5.48 *maestasque sacrauimus aras*. The vb. at *Sall.Hist.1.*

*fr.* 47, 2.86, 110, Liv.1.10.7, 21.3, 21.5, 55.4, 2.8.2, etc. But also *trag.inc.* 60,219; not therefore distinctively historical in flavour.

**306 ut** Temporal, *EV* 3, 994, 5\*, 406; cf. 1.486f., etc..

**me ... uenientem** Separated by the vb. as Trojan armour will be by the advb.; studied emphasis on 'me' and 'Trojan'. Cf. **651 f. classem/ conspexi uenientem**, 9.817, 12.510, 595.

**conspexit** A lofty quasi-synonym for *uidit* (with which the sense is taken up in the next line; here 'looked at', there 'saw': A. Traina, *Forma e suono*<sub>2</sub> (Bologna 1999), 33, n.68): *ter* in Cat.64, *ter* in Lucr., *semel* Pacuv., *bis* Acc. and already *Enn.Ann.*66, 90.

**Troia .../ 307 arma** Cf. 1.248, **3.596f.**, 9.180, 11.769. Despite the 'unity of the epic world', V. not infrequently shows awareness of the Trojans' diversity (sometimes spelt out as oriental, exotic, even degenerate): vd. full nn. on 7. 167f., 11.769.

**circum** At the altar, Andr. beholds all round her arms and armour such as she had not seen since the day Troy fell, and warriors who can only be Trojan; the presence of **circum** excludes a ref. to Aen.'s armour alone (vd. Williams); Matthew Carter well remarks the plur. **suos** (347). An altogether extraordinary spectacle: it emerges that she had no idea that Aen. had escaped, with a substantial following. Aen. has at least had a minimum of warning that he was about to encounter Trojans again(294).

**307 amens uidit** Assonance with **arma**; cf. (probably just later) 2.314 *arma amens capio*; *arma amens fremit* (7.460) turns out to be very different.

**magnis ... monstis** 'She does not think they are men, these Trojans, but *magna ... monstra*'(Bettini, 13; cf. 'monstral', Putnam, 56). Cf. 5.659 *attonitae monstis*, 7.81 *sollicitus monstis*, 376 *ingentibus excita monstis*, 780 *monstis pauidi ... marinis*. 'De imaginibus mortuorum aut subito apparentium', Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1451.18; cf. Serv.Dan. *quod tunc aduenerat Aeneas cum illa manes inuocaret, et eum crederet esse defunctum*, TCD *monstrum fuit ut quo tempore Hectoris manes uocabantur ad tumulum Aeneas insperatus apparuisset quasi et ipse defunctus*. Since a ghost has the lineaments of a living person (cf. A. Stramaglia, *Res inauditae, incredulae* (Bari 1999), 42ff.), Andr. is represented as mistaking the living Aen., whom she sees, for a ghost(cf. Bettini, 13f.), as her first words will confirm (Grimm, 154f., Bright, 43). The cenotaph, like a tomb, is by good Roman usage *ante urbem*; the 'place of death'(Quint(1982/3), 32; 'habitation', *id.*(1993), 58) is naturally *fuori le mura* and detached, distinct from the



city proper, an entirely proper and reasonable place for Andr. to fall into a panic delusion of direct contact with the living dead. So Serv. on **302 luco** *nam in ipsis habitant manes piorum, qui lares uiales sunt*. Cf. Wissowa, 170 with n.2, Latte, 93f.

**exterrita** A favourite word, n. on 11.806, Ennian, Lucretian and already used *quater* in *G.*; Kornhardt, *TLL* 5.2.2027.32.

**308 deriguit** Cf. n. on **30 coit**: the effect of cold; this is a standard ancient view of the physiology of fear (cf. **259f. ... deriguit**; there is already a certain efficient reworking of near-formulaic material). ‘Her reaction is like dying’ (Bright, 43); cf. n. on 11.824: that is true of any conventional Greco-Roman description of fainting (cf. Pease on Dido herself, 4.391), though particularly so here, where Andr. understandably considers herself not only surrounded by an inexplicable, incomprehensible army, but for now in conversation with a ghost. Aen.’s narrative to Dido enters deeply into Andr.’s emotions and symptoms.

**uisu in medio** Cf. *G.*3.519 *opere in medio*, *Aen.*2.67, 12.213 *conspectu in medio*, 12.732 *frangitur in medioque ardentem deserit ictu*. Note 2.382 *uisu tremefactus*, 5.90 *obstipuit uisu*, 6.710 *horrescit uisu subito*, 8.109 *terrentur uisu subito*.

**calor ossa reliquit** Repeated, 9.475; it is (Hardie) Andr.’s grief in *Il.*22(437–515) that is V.’s general model for the grief of Euryalus’ mother. At 57, V. has already written **pauor ossa reliquit**. The heat in the bones is not that familiar fire of the emotions and passions (cf. nn. on 7.355, 11.338f., Onians, 150ff.) but rather, the contrary, of the chill of fear or death (nn. on 11.21, 818f., Onians, 47, 120, n.4), that is, the warmth of life (Onians, 95, n. on 11.698).

**309 labitur** Cf. 2.430, 11.818 *labitur exsanguis* (with n.) and e.g. *G.*3.498 for collapsing from disease, Flury, *TLL* 7.2.782.44f. (‘de exanimato’). Hom.’s Andr., on hearing the news of Hector’s death (*infra*) likewise reeled, τῆς ἐλελιχθη γυῖα (*Il.*22.448). It is suggested (vd. Forbiger, Paratore) that Aen. holds the falling Andr. and that this support convinces her he is indeed alive. If this were true, then Andr.’s complex confusion in what follows would be incomprehensible. She falls in the first foot (cf. κάππεσεν) and slowly comes round amid the spondees thereafter (cf. Cartault, 245, König, 52 for correct accounts).

**longo ... tempore** Cf. *Buc.*1.29, 67, *G.*3.565f., *Aen.*6.409; cf. too *G.*2.80 *nec longum tempus* where Erren cites Cic. *Rep.*2.59 *non longis temporibus ante*. See von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1636.80ff.

**uix tandem ... fatur** Cf. 2.128 (Calchas at last driven by Ulysses to condemn Sinon), 5.178 (Menoetes returns at last to the surface), 11.151 (speech at last after grief). Cartault draws attention to the  $\delta\eta\nu$  of *Od.*4.704 and the  $\delta\psi\acute{\epsilon}$  of 706, possibly in V.'s thoughts here. The brief speech that follows, of high artistry and emotional level, subtle thought and distinguished ancestry, is inexplicably neglected in the comms. and periodical literature. TCD, who often observes well, sometimes even acutely, thought Andr. was here defending herself against the charge of loose morals(1.310.13ff., etc., Hightet, 6).

**310 uerane ... facies** Real, as against ghostly, it soon emerges: **uiuo equidem**, as Aen. soon says, ... **nam uera uides**. Compare too the *ueris ... umbris* of 6.894, *EV* 5\*, 512. Oddly, Williams renders 'self' and Goold 'form'; Aen. has, rather, the exterior, or appearance, or aspect of Aeneas; Andr. only wants to know whether this appearance is deceitful. Cf. **407**, 5.722, 7.19, etc., Hey, *TLL* 6.1.45.41, *EV* 2, 454. The predicate is in nom., not acc.: cf. 1.314, 2.388 (where vd. Page), 6.879f.; perfectly logical, as Page explains, for the true face simply reveals itself a true face. Bell (321, a rich and provocative discussion, which lumps together reflexive and non-reflexive instances) defines the (common) phenomenon as a kind of hypallage, a shift of the epithet from obj. to subj..

**te ... mihi ... adfers** Cf. **3.345f.**, 8.477, Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 496.

**uerus ... nuntius** Anxiety reflected in anaphora. Cf. (of Fama) 4.188 *nuntia ueri*, 6.456f. *uerus mihi nuntius ergo/ uenerat*. Andr. most poignantly quotes Homer, of herself: as yet, the wife of Hector knew nothing, οὐ γὰρ οἱ τις ἐπήτυμος ἄγγελος ἐλθῶν/ ἤγγειλ' the news of Hector's death(*Il.*22.438f., Knauer, 276, 336). Here, then, if a ghost, Aen. might bring a true message about Hector (Heyne's 'tamquam *uerus nuntius tui*' is not pertinent), but would not, even in the eyes of the living Andr., be a true messenger; Serv.Dan. paraphrases *uerus* as *uiuus*, while TCD spells out Andr.'s process of thought, and the 'logic' of her uncertainty: Aen. is armed(though there are arms—real ones, apparently—in V.'s Elysium, as at 6.651f.), and it is daytime; therefore Aen. is not a ghost. But he is there at the cenotaph and she is present for *parentatio*, so he could so well be a visitor from the other world (cf. Nicastrì, *EV* 3, 798, Bettini, 14, Grimm, 155). On Aen.'s answer will depend the crucial question of what he can tell her of Hector.

**311 nate dea?** It is not from mere courtesy or sweetness of nature that Andr. opens with the one aspect (maternal lineage) in which Aen. does indeed outrank Hector; the epithet 11 times, seven in this *sedes* (Moskalew, 82; *ter* in bks.3 and 5, *bis* in 1, *semel* in 2, 4 and 8; διογενής). A small and subtle point of argument: the line of thought goes back to *Il.*16.431–61, Zeus and his son Sarpedon and with contrary outcome, 20.290–317, Hera and Aen. himself. Vd. too *Hyg.Fab.*251 *qui licentia Parcarum ab inferis redierunt*. The point seems to have been quite neglected. Aen. will list to the Sibyl (6.119 *si potuit* to 123) those who were able to go down to Hades and return, in particular Theseus (vd. *Alambicco*, 49, 95), Pollux and Hercules—for **et mi genus ab Ioue summo**. The Sibyl then sharpens the argument: *sate sanguine diuum ... dis geniti potuere*. So, at least for us, with foreknowledge of *Aen.*6 (though the category of illustrious *revenant* is not itself new), Andr. seems for an instant to realise, further to complicate a legitimate confusion of mind, that Aen. may, on account of his descent, be one of those few allowed to return from the Underworld, though not himself a ghost.

**uiuisne?** Not precisely epic nor tragic, apparently, though V. may have in mind *Od.*11.92–4 and, even more, Anticleia at 155–6 τέκνον ἐμόν, πῶς ἦλθεε ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα/ ζῶδὸς ἐών; But a wonderful question from Andr., perhaps even no longer quite sure that she is herself alive, given her surroundings and activity(303), as Serv. points out with notable acuteness. Cf. Bright, 43.

**aut, si** Cf. 11.368.

**lux alma** Cf. 1.306, 5.64, 8.455, *Buc.*8.17, *Hor.C.* 4.7.7f., von Mess, *TLL* 1.1704.41 ff.; Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1911.7 by comparison unilluminating. The language is that of (e.g.) 11.182f. (where vd. n.; cf. also *EV* 1, 117): formulaic for V. (and appealing to composers of hymns in English), but not Homeric; here, if the kindly light of day (and it was hardly kindly to Andr.) has gone, Aen. at least has had a chance to meet Hector. After **uiuisne**, **lux alma** of course refers to Aen.'s light of life(for discussion, cf. D.A. West, *Vergilius* 40 (1994), 35f.). Andr. hardly supposes that she is herself dead; after her swoon, though, she does not vigorously reject the idea. Of course *almus* can often carry a sense of 'nurturing', but that, *pace* Williams, is hardly germane here; of day, in opposition to the antecedent gloom (see e.g. Clausen on *Buc.*8.17–60).

**recessit** Cf. the **Fortuna recessit** of 53 and the *uita recessit* of 4.705; n. on 11.70 (the use Lucretian).

**312 Hector ubi est** Williams (apparently followed by Quint, 59= (1982–3), 33) refers to Andr.'s invocations(*sic*) of Hector at **303** and therefore supposes her to be surprised here that he has not come with Aen., but there is no oracle of the dead at V.'s Buthrotum, whether in the poem or in geogr./antiquarian reality, nor have there been any invocations; a clear hint at *parentatio* (cf. Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.* 5.99, 100, Bailey, 282, etc.) and/or hero-cult is clearly quite another matter, and no confusion between such very different rituals is to be contemplated. Andr. simply asks Aen. why, if he is indeed dead(as we have seen he might reasonably be in her eyes), he has not come in the company of Hector. Serv. comments *hoc ad Aeneae pertinet gloriam, ut ab Hectore numquam discessisse uideatur*. For the aphaeresis after short i, cf. *Buc.*8.33.

**dixit** Cf. n. on 11.561; formulaic.

**lacrimasque effudit** Cf. Lucr. 1.91, 125, *Aen.*10.465; the *simplex* at *CLE* 59.13(? late repub.); presumably tragic in tone and origin. See Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.216.83ff..

**omnem/ 313 ... locum** Cf. 5.441 f. and variously in plur. as 4.386. This line and the next run on in expression of Andr.'s disorderly, uncontrolled emotions.

**impleuit clamore** So already the Proetides, *Buc.*6.48 *implerunt falsis mugitibus agros*, the Dryads, *G.*4.460f. *clamore supremos/ implerunt montis*, not to mention Philomela, 515 *late loca questibus implet* and soon Aen. looking for Creusa, 2.769 *impleui clamore uias*. Cf. Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.629.76ff..There is more (e.g. 2.679, 8.216, 9.480, 11.274); scene and language both evidently of profound appeal to V.. 'Whatever be the reason, Andr. plainly has hysterics' (Grimm, 155), brought on, G. acutely suggests, by the mention of Hector's name.

**uix** Adj and advb. reinforce each other

**pauca .../ 314 ... subicio** 'To interpose, put in(a remark)', *OLD* s.v., §9, far enough from 'suggest, whisper, as a prompter does', *LSJ* s.v. ὑποβάλλω, III, with which *subicere* is too often compared (after Forbiger, e.g. *EV* 4, 1050). *OLD* cites Varr. *RR* 1.7.2, Sall.*orat.Macr.*55. Add e.g. Ter.*Phorm.*387, Apul.*Met.*2.12, 20. A verb used of the interplay of individuals is swift and lively dialogue: we note that Aen. here reacts in the face of grief and hysterics with deep grief of his own, that reduces him to virtual silence, and already tells Dido as much; *tacet* Feeney, *ORVA*, 181, an excellent discussion(note Aen.'s 'appalled and resourceless silences before scenes of great pity or terror', 183).

**furenti Insolabiliter et impatienter dolenti** Serv., well(cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1. 1627.47f.). So Aen.'s *dolor* at the loss of Creusa(2.771), and note the

*furit* of the *cetera turba* at Amata's death(12.607); see Farron, *EV* 2, 622. A passionate reaction altogether in keeping with the (future) *forma mentis* of Aen.'s immediate audience; V. might also have thought of Andr. as *μαινάς*, *Il.*22.460.

**raris ... uocibus** *Cum ob aliquam causam continua uerba esse non possunt* TCD. For **u.** as 'words'(common, e.g. 1.671, 2.280), cf. *EV* 5\*, 634; **r.** only here in V. of rarity in time, not space(though such a sense is old and common), *EV* 4, 403.

**turbatus** R. Strati, *EV* 5\*, 319 writes of inhibiting emotions that block action, 'e nelle forme parossistiche indeboliscono la facoltà di parola', comparing above all 12.599.

**hisco** To open the mouth to speak(independently of actual speech): TCD *perturbatione mentis hiabam potius quam loquebar*; Kroeker, *TLL* 6.3.2832.20 compares *Cat.*98.5f. *si nos omnino vis omnes perdere, Vetti./ hiscas: omnino quod cupis efficies*; cf. too *G.*2.508, *Aen.*6.493, *Ov.Met.*11.566f., Hastrup, *TLL* 6.3.2813.6f.; *hisco* an inceptive form of *hio*.

**315 uiuo equidem** Cf. (e.g.) 7.205, 311, 11.111, 302, 348, for **e.** used with a first-person verb in the (false) 'etymological' sense of *ego quidem*; 'I do live', answering at once the question(311) **uiuisne?**. As though she were saying, remarks Serv., '*si tamen uita est infeliciter uiuere*'.

**uitamque ... duco** Cf. 2.637 *uitam producere*, 641, 4.340 *ducere uitam*, after *Lucret.*(2.997 *ducunt uitam*, 3.1087); vd. too *Hor.Epd.*17.63 *uita ducenda*, *Lucil.*663, Hey, *TLL* 5.1.2152.30f.

**extrema per omnia** Cf. Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.2007.63, comparing *Sall.Cat.*26.5 *extrema omnia* and *Liv.*3.15.9 *omnia extrema temptaturum*, so possibly an expression faintly suggestive of the historians The idiom of adj. used as noun, itself qualified by adj., and subordinate to a prepos. is good and traditional: cf. *Buc.*6.31 *magnum per inane*, after *Lucret.*(cf. n. on 7.562 *supera ardua*). 'His mind turns first to himself, and to his own *extrema*'(Grimm, 155); he has after all lost home and wife, and is sailing towards a distant unknown goal, so we might wonder not so much at any disproportion in suffering as at the promptitude with which Aen. dwells upon himself. 'His language implies that his life is wrapped in death'(Bright, 43) is to misunderstand the tone: Aen. has a vastly longer, harder journey than Andr., however untimely we may find a reference to his own labours here. He is indeed present, massively; at 6.410–6 his earthly reality is agreeably light in tone, while here his words (perhaps ever reinforced by gesture) briskly disabuse his interlocutor. As yet no word of the deep difference in their destinies which perhaps reduces

the possible levels of sympathy and understanding between them. Cf. 294–505,(b)(ii).

**316 ne dubita** Clearly an answer to Andr.'s doubt (311) whether Aen. is alive or dead. V.'s imper. the epic equivalent of Plautine *quid dubitas*; Bulhart, *TLL* 5.1.2100.58ff.. The use of **ne** archaic, nn. on 7.96, 438, J.H.W. Penney, in *ALLP*, 253.

**nam uera uides** A firm, specific answer to **310 uerane te facies, uerus mihi nuntius ...?**; Andr. has no longer any reason to doubt that the two of them are indubitably alive. The half-line(cf. Günther, 51, Sparrow, 43, Berres, *VH*, 123f.), in mid-speech, has attracted little attention, though when it was still suspected that half-lines might be deliberate, speculation was offered(Grimm, 156). There will be another half-line at **340** and we may compare **640+661**. The character of the context seems not to have to been taken into account: this is a passage of exceptionally subtle thought and simply moving writing(not therefore a passage where general rewriting was required), but it might be worth noting that the speech ends most brusquely with **seruas, 319** and we might suspect that V. at least considered an altogether ampler speech of consolation, which would clearly have altered our reactions almost of disbelief, as we consider just how Aen., in the current text, prefigures his graver failure in communication in bk.4. My thanks to Denis Feeney for discussion.

**317 heu** Cf. nn. on 7.293, 594.

**quis ... casus** Cf. 9.211, 12.321. For V.'s use of *qui* and *quis* interrog., cf. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 2, 79–96 (Virgil at 86f.): as adjs., *quis* preferred to *qui* 30x to 5; cf. also Norden on 6.560f., Wagner, *QV* xxii. Here, *qui* would have been corrected by editors. Short measure and misinformation at *EV* 4, 315.

**te .../ 318 excipit** Cf. *G.*4.206f. *ergo ipsas quamuis angusti terminus aeu/ excipiat*, Liv.3.47.6; *tacet TLL*. The expression reversed in Gk., Eur.*Tro.*471 ἔταν τις ἡμῶν δυοτυχῆ λάβη τύχην. Vd. next n..

**deiectam** Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.400.43f. glosses *priuatum*, comparing Tac.*Ann.*11.29, *largitione ac promissis et uxore deiecta*. But is that quite right? *OLD* settles (§9a) for a sense of 'remove, depose'(e.g. *Caes.Gall.* 7.63.8 *se deuectos principatu*), but the passage from Priam's palace to the lagoons of Albania may imply rather a more literal 'cast down from'(compare e.g. Cic.*Orator* 129 *magno semper usi impetu saepe aduersarios de statu omni deiecimus*). **Excipit** suits well such a more concrete **deiectam**: for-

tune takes Andr. up protectively (cf. 7.233 *gremio excepisse*) when she has been cast down; perhaps even a lost metaphor from boxing or wrestling; a variation on the sequence 5.468–71; cf. too Ov.*Met.*11.784f. *Tethys miserata cadentem / molliter excepit*. Hector had after all said to Andr. (*Il.*6.462f.) that *οὐδ' αὖ νέον ἔσεται ἄλγος / χήτει τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἀμύνειν δούλιον ἦμαρ*.

**coniuge tanto** I have tried to explain something of Hector's extraordinary moral standing in *Aen.*; n. on 11.289 summarises much earlier work. *Aen.* knows better than to name Andr.'s matchless husband just here; cf. n. on **313 impleuit clamore**. The theme of appalling change of fortune and measureless loss at the fall of Troy both rigidified into convention and still able to move and shock; cf. n. on 11.259 *uel Priamo*, S. Farron, *Vergil's Aeneid: a poem of grief and love* (Leiden 1993), 40.

**318 quae digna satis fortuna** The advb. commonly enough used thus, *Buc.*1.47, *Aen.* 2.377, 7.311, 10.675f.= 12.883f. *aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat / terra mihi?* The notion of an appropriate—to her standing and virtues, we imagine—fortune (*Serv. congrua et priori conueniens*) apparently not so expressed elsewhere until V.'s imitators, Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.1144.13, Hey, *ib.* 6.1.1186.35f.. *Aen.*'s optimism might seem naive (like Hecuba's πότμος εὐτυχής at *Eur.Tro.*244; *Tro.* makes it clear that the fortunate are dead), though it will emerge that Andr. has indeed enjoyed good fortune of a kind (by which she is unmoved, Heinze, 108), even if her deserts hardly enter into that strange and brutal tale (321–36).

**reuisit** Cf. 11.426f. *multos alterna reuisens / lusit ... Fortuna*, with n..

**319 Hectoris Andromache? Andromachen F<sub>1</sub>**, abc, and known to *Serv. si Andromache, sequentibus iunge, si Andromachen, superioribus*. Neatly put, though the voc. also connects well with what precedes (so indeed in most modern edd.); but we should perhaps prefer the excellent, if brutal, rhet. force if the question (near-juxtaposition of opposed proper names) about Pyrrhus is actually addressed to Hector's widow (so TCD; 'jarring collision', Henry); the gamonym (singular in verse and thus clearly in some way significant) otherwise not employed to good effect and indeed hard to explain. The acc. printed only by Geymonat, without explanation. The nom./voc. supported by *Serv.* (on 1.41, 73), TCD, grammarians, capital mss. and the reference to Andr. spread over a vast hyperbaton (**te ... Andromachen**) is ponderous, powerful

and clumsy(alien, in short to the context), given the more natural second person before and after. Equally lacking in appeal **A.** in the abl. dependent on **digna** (vd. Paratore, after Sabbadini). V.'s use of the gamonym (so used by M. Kajava, *Roman female praenomina* (Roma 1994), 21, 24; cf. H. Solin, *Analecta epigraphica* (Roma 1998), 26, 29: I am much obliged to Heikki Solin for swift and generous answers to my questions) is more interesting; note also 6.36 *Deiphobe Glauci*. Cf. Plin.*Nat.*28.183 *Poppaea Neronis principis*, Plin.*Epist.*2.20.2 *Verania Pisonis*, Suet. *Caes.*50 *Postumiam Serui Sulpici*, *Otho* 10.2 *Messalina Neronis*, Quint.6.3.73 *Fabia Dolabellae*, Tac.*Ann.*4.11 *Apicatam Seiani*, KS 1, 414 (such genitives used of many other relationships, too), Pease on Cic. *Div.*1.104, Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*, 17. These women had previously borne the names of their fathers; what they retain is only their gentile name. Andr. is therefore presented here, altogether appropriately, as a traditional Roman wife. Her unions with Pyrrhus and Helenus have minimal significance; she remains Hector's.

**Pyrrhin conubia** The **n** preserved by the correctors of **M** and **P**, by Serv., TCD and Priscian. Cf. 12.797 *mortalin decuit*, 10.668 *tanton me*, 12.503 *tanton placuit*, and the more complex *uiden* 6.779 (vd. Austin); the **e** drops out in speech(syncope), as in e.g. *fac*, Leumann, 92, Lindsay, *Latin language*, 204. Here a passing flash of spoken usage(hardly 'colloquial', Harrison on 10, *cit.*). For the prosody of **e.**, cf. nn. on 7.253, 555; it should not be thought that formal nuptials had occurred after the division of the Trojan booty(Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.815.39ff.'latiore sensu i.q. matrimonium, coniugium, concubitus').

**seruas** *Tenes* glosses Serv., comparing 7.3 *et nunc seruat honos sedem tuus* (vd. n.); cf. too 2.789 *nati serua communis amorem*, Hor.*Epist.*1.10.6 *nidum seruas*, Apul.*Met.* 9.24 *seruati pudoris ... femina* and indeed *fidem seruare*. Not a stock phrase here. Serious thought has been given to the apparent superfluity of the question after **296–7**, but Aen. might very reasonably want confirmation of this bizarre (but, as we know true) news. Also, a neutral way of asking just how Andr. had managed to get rid of her revered father-in-law's murderer. Cf. also **316** for the brusque (and arguably incomplete) ending: the speech visibly not in its final state, but what there is, in exalted sentiment and inventive language, fully a match for Andr.'s.

**320 deiecit uultum** Marked physical characterisation before the speech begins(cf. n. on 7.194, in detail). Cf. 6.862 *sed frons laeta parum et deiecto lumina uultu*, 11.480 *oculos deiecta decoros*; there see n. for gazing



downwards in maidenly modesty. Here, the indelicacy that Andr. has to face is clearly the need to explain how Hector's wife, with no decline in her devotion to H. or in her deep modesty, is engaged upon her third union. No need *dicenda tacenda loqui*; the subject-matter (hardly *de concubitu*, Serv.Dan.; *de conubio* will do) is tricky enough, through no fault of Andr.'s. **318 deiectam** in a quite different sense; this sort of repetition long recognised as a peculiarly Virgilian tic or mannerism (Austin on 2.505 and some expansion at 7.554).

**demissa uoce** For *uoce locutus/-ta*, cf. 5.245, 345, 6.506, 619, 7.544, 10.873, 12.482f., 580: usually with *magna*. **D.** (and note the ponderous gloom of **de... de...**): SDan offers *humili, tenui, et uerecunde quia de Pyrrho dictura est*; an elusive idiom; cf. Gell.1.5.3, 4.1.13 (expanding V. here) *uoce molli atque demissa*, Kieckers, *TLL* 5.1.494.26f.. The implication may be simply that Andr. expresses a single emotional state in both tone and expression.

**locuta est** With *uoce*, only here in V.; *ore locutus*, etc., commoner.

**321–343 Andromache** This wonderful speech (with which Andr., *Il.*22.477ff. has been compared, not closely) has attracted altogether insufficient attention; ‘incompleteness’ was never reason enough for neglect and may not even be quite the right term to use (**340**). The slightly banal questions of **337 f.** may stand there not as the lonely relic of some earlier or later redaction, but rather as a means briefly to lower the emotional temperature. Readers convinced that Buthrotum is some sort of moral and emotional death-trap for Aen. have ignored a marked development (even in Andr.) of tone from the opening *laudes mortis* to the closing expression of interest in Asc.'s virtues: if Asc. indeed lives up to his uncle Hector then indeed Hector's memory is in good hands and there is hope for the future—for Aen. and Asc. if not for Andr. herself. See König, 55–79, Highet, 310, n.14 (not sufficient), Bettini, 14f., West, 260f., Grimm, 156f., Cartault, 245–6.

**321 o felix** Cf. **480 o felix nati pietate**, *Buc.*5.65 *sis bonus o felixque tuis* (and we recall 4.657 *felix, heu nimium felix, si litora ...*), Ammann, *TLL* 5.1.444.48ff.; cf. Mynors on G.2.490, Watson on *Hor.Epd.*2.1–8 (after a majestic note by Norden, *Agn.Theos*, 100, n.1), West on *Hes.Erga* 826 for the *makarismos*. The black benediction (so to speak), as here, is a familiar variation: in V., vd. 1.94ff. *o terque quaterque beati/ quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis/ contigit oppetere*, 5.623f. ‘*o miserae, quas non manus*’ inquit *‘Achaica bello/ traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus*’ and

its origins too are very old: cf. *Od.*5.306f. τρις μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις, οἳ τότε ὄλοντο/ Τροίη ἐν εὐρείῃ χάριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι φέροντες. Cf. Knauer, 321, König, 56. But into an Hom. frame of thought is inserted a tragic sentiment, most explicitly: cf. Eur. *Tro.*630f. (Andr. speaks, referring to Polyxena) ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐμοῦ/ ζώσης γ' ὄλωλεν εὐτυχετέρῳ πότμῳ, a line of thought then greatly expanded, 634–43 (including 636 τὸ μὴ γένεσθαι τῷ θανεῖν ἴσον λέγω). So too Polyxena to Hecuba, *Hec.*214; even if clearly not by Eur., presumably known to V. as Eur.. Note n. on 7.360 for the additional emotive force conveyed by *o*.

**una ante alias** Cf. 11.537 and 820ff. *Accam ex aequalibus unam/ adloquitur, fida ante alias quae sola Camillae/ quicum partiri curas* (where vd. nn.), 4.141 *ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis*, 7.55 *ante alios pulcherrimus omnis* (with n.), 1.347 *ante alios immanior omnis*, with Austin's wide-ranging n. on the pleonasm. Also in prose: Liv.1.9.12 *unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem*. A common epic or tragic antecedent? Cf. Hey, *TLL* 2.136.11 ff.

**Priameia uirgo** Will be used at 2.403 of Cassandra. High epic periphrasis (cf. n. on 7.479 *Cocytia uirgo*); the adj. apparently not Gk in origin (vd. n. on 7.252). Polyxena and her d. Cyclic (vd. next n.), and her story also Sophoclean. Eurip.'s version emerges amply from *Hec.* and also from *Tro.*: Achilles' ghost requested the offering of P. at his tomb, that he might drink the blood (*Hec.* 391 ff., 535 ff.); P., though (347), declares that she will die willingly, in time, indeed (374), αἰχρῶν μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν τυχεῖν. Later, a riot of romantic complications were introduced into the story. Polyxena ignored by the *EV*; but cf. Robert, 2,3, 1275–9, König, 55–9, C. Collard, intro. to Eur.*Hec.*, p.33, Frazer on [Apld.] *Epit.*5.23. Her virgin state an object of envy to Andr., we may sense; cf. E. Riess, *CW* 28 (1911), 223.

**322 hostilem ad tumulum** *Quia grande est mortis solacium praemissus hostis interitus* Serv.. Again adj. for gen. in the high epic manner; the unnamed *hostis par excellence*, Achilles (cf. Bell, 216); cf. nn. on 11.348, 399f., 442 for the avoidance of specially-loathed names. Suggested by Eur. *Tro.*622 τέθνηκέ σοι παῖς πρὸς τάφῳ Πολυξένη/ σφαγεῖς Ἀχιλλέως; König, 55, n.7 observes that Con. and Williams, apparently deceived by the location of Eur.*Hec.*, are in error when claiming that Eur. made Polyxena die in the Thracian Chersonese: see rather *Tro.*626f.: she died before the walls of Troy, scene of *Tro.*. Achilles' tomb firmly located at Sigeum, Robert, 2,3, 1196, from *Iliou Persis* on (last l.

of Proclus' summary); vd. *Soph.Phil.*355, *Strab.*13. 1.32, *Serv.Dan. ad Aen.*6.505, etc., P. Bleisch, *Class.Ant.*18 (1999), 194f. **T.:** cf. **304**

**Troiae sub moenibus altis** Cf. 1.95, 10.469. Formulaic (cf. 9.805 *Teucrorum m.a.*), but not of direct Hom. derivation, despite appearances (ὑψηλοῖς ὑπὸ τείχεσι Τροίης is of more recent composition). At least Polyxena dies virgin, at Ach.'s tomb *and* in her homeland (*Serv.*, notably alert to the implications of these lines).

**323 iussa mori** Eur.'s *σφαγεῖς*, *supra*, suggests König, 55. But cf. also e.g. the γνώμη of the Gk. army at *Hec.*218 (cf. 118f., 259).

**sortitus ... ullos** A formidably neat and powerful use of the abstr. n. (*EV* 1, 379; Cordier ignores): a radical solution of the need to render with elegance the notion of Polyxena's avoidance of being the victim of a drawing of lots. The terminology is familiar (*Robert*, 2.4.3, 1275, n.4) and the abstr. may already have appeared in some Trojan drama at Rome. Not an element present in *Liv.*'s (or, apparently, *Polyb.*'s; see *Walbank* on 10.16.5 for the technicalities of division) accounts of Rom. repub. rapine. For the rest, **s.** perhaps elevated to epic by *V.*

**non pertulit** Cf. *Cic.Cluent.*171 *impiorum supplicia perferre*, *Hor.Epist.* 1.2.22, rendering Hom. πάθειν. Vd. *Ramminger, TLL* 10.1.1360.49.

**324 nec ... tetigit** 'Reach'; cf. *G.*1.303(*portum*), 4.358f.(*limina*), *Aen.* 4.259(*magalia*), 657f.(*litora*), 9.135(*arua*). Hardly a 'translation'(so *EV* 5\*, 29) of Hom. ἀντίωσαν, *Il.*1.31('come to share', *Cunliffe*); slightly closer perhaps to common Hom. ἐπιβήμενα. *Serv.* suggests that *V.* avoided a vb. (e.g. *ascendit*, as at 12.144 *magnanimi Iouis ingratum ascendere cubile*) that might have suggested willing participation; unnecessary, but not clearly wrong.

**victoris eri** *Mynors* writes **heri**, apparently with no ms. or orthographical justification: cf. *Sommer, Formenlehre*, 194. The noun familiar in com.(here too in close vicinity of **captiua**; *Andr.*'s *conubium* with *Pyrrhus* purely that coerced union of slave and master; cf. *ZPE* 61 (1985), 266), but cf. also *Cat.*68B.114 (with *Friedrich, TLL* 5.2.849. 26ff.; *quinquies*, indeed, in *Cat.*), 7.490, 8.462 *erilis*, and note *era* at *Enn.Ann.*186 and *trag.*215, so no decline in level here, though e.g. *Williams* discerns contempt in the lexical choice. And *Pyrrhus* not just her slave master: he had entered into possession by conquest (note juxtaposition of **eri** and **captiua**), so *Andr.* faces multiple bereavement, *stuprum* and the bitterness of defeat as well at one and the same time.

**captiua** Standard tragic language, Eur.*Andr.*155 δούλη καὶ δορίκπητος γυνή, 932f., 1243, etc., Cartault, 246, n.2; cf. too *Tro.*660 δουλεύσω δ' ἐν ἀθηνεῶν δόμοις (the entire sequence, 643–72 compared to Andr.'s account here, König, 54, 59). The Trojan prisoners long a familiar spectacle on the Rom. tragic stage, Acc. *trag.* 157, Jocelyn, p.11, *et passim*; no less common, we might reasonably expect, in hist. epic and drama: cf. Brunt, *Fall of the Rom. Repub.*, 262–5, Harris, *War and imperialism*, 51–3, 263f., G.M. Paul, *Phoen.*36 (1982), 144ff.; Paul, 148, after Ogilvie, takes proper note of how Hellenistic historians 'Trojanised' their city-captures.

**cubile** Not *lectum*: scrupulous avoidance of detail, whether brutal and realistic or comfortingly conjugal; vd. **tetigit**, *supra*. Nothing matrimonial (or quotidian) in the phrasing (Serv.: 'V. does not refer to the *genialis lectulus*'). Cf. *Buc.*4.63, *Aen.*4.648, 8.412, 12.144 (*supra*); Lambert, *TLL* 4.1270.70f., s.v. 'significatur lectus matrimonialis', which is rather oversimplified. Cartault (246, n.2) well contrasts the wilful bluntness of Eur.*Andr.*390f. ἐκοιμήθη βίβη / εὐν δεσπότηαι; cf. *ib.*38; König, 58, n.12 does well to cite *Il.*2.354f.; 1.31 more oblique.

**325 nos ... uectae** Cf. *G.*1.206 *quibus in patriam uentosa per aequora uectis*, *Aen.*1.376 *diuersa per aequora uectos*, 6.335 *uentosa per aequora uectos*, 692 *quanta per aequora uectum*, 7.228 *uasta per aequora uecti*, after Cat.101.1 *multa per aequora uectus*, according to Bright, 44. But the extremely neat and easily varied disposition of words may in fact derive from Enn. (Kroll on Cat., *cit.*, Erren on *G.*1, *cit.*), and, I would say, from beyond Enn., from Hom.'s κύματα πείρων; a handy formula, then, at least as much as a literary signpost inserted in order to proclaim the underworld associations of V.'s Buthrotum (Bright). Would one have to argue six distinct significant allusions to Cat.101.1? And if some are not significant and others not, or less so, it will hardly be easy to determine which. Andr. laments her voyage already at Eur.*Tro.*677f. (La Cerda, König, 58, n.13, etc.).

**patria incensa** Tragic language (Cartault, 246, n.2): cf. Eur.*Andr.* 105, 400, etc.. Cf. Sall.*Cat.*52.24 *patriam incendere*, Liv.26.13.15, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.866.32; Cic.*Phil.* 11.23, etc. has *incendium patriae*. Not significantly prosaic or historical, but fully in keeping with the natural and familiar (cf. n. on 7.623) linguistic convergence of the fall of Troy and the fall of the Republic.

**diuersa per aequora** Cf. on **nos ... uectae**. For **d.**, cf. 4.

**326 stirpis Achilleae** V. finds the lofty and resonant mythol. adj. (here markedly grander than a gen. would be) very much to his taste hereabouts: **304 Hectoreum**, **321 Priameia**, **328 Ledaeam**, **Lacedaemonios**. The adj. form only here in V.; it derives (contrast **321**) from Gk.trag.(common in Soph., Eur.). *Stirps* solidly agricultural in origin ('stock of tree'), then both generalised as 'stock, descent, line'(the common sense in *Aen.*) and only here in V. rendered very specific as 'son, progeny'; so at Cat.61.68, Liv.1.1.11. Serv. notes that a dual point is thus made (deaths of not only Priam but Hector)

**fastus** Governed by *tulit*, Prop.4.5.42. The noun first attested, Cat.55.14; here, cf. Ammann, *TLL* 6.1.330.60f.. **F.** is customarily used as a (virtual) synonym for *superbia*: Serv. here glosses *superbiam* (while TCD suggests a close association of *superbia* with P's youth and strength), *Gloss.Lat.* 2.70.44, *Ov.Pont.* 4.9.16, *Plin.Nat.*9.119, *Mart.*1.70.13 *fastus limenque superbum*, *Isid.Diff.*1.260, *Etym.*9.3.6 (and numerous Christian instances in Ammann, *TLL*, s.v.). Add too perhaps *Buc.*2.15 *superba ... fastidia*. Note, however *Plin.Nat.* 11.138: while the *supercilia maxime indicant fastum*, *superbia* is born in the heart but *huc* (the eyebrows) *subit, hic pendet*; the physiological distinction (which I cannot find attested elsewhere; apparently absent from the *Physiognomicon*) is not enough, though, to unsettle the reader's natural suspicion that V. too here used the notions as synonymous.

**iuuenemque superbum** Not only in balanced contrast (*Traina*, *EV* 4, 1073) with **seruitio** (cf. 2.785f. *Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumue superbas / aspiciam aut Graeis seruitum matribus ibo*), but in complex extension (as often, 'hendiadys' perhaps best avoided, *pace* Garbugino, *EV* 2, 472) of the preceding words: Pyrrhus is **s.** (and *fastosus* to boot; clearly not, *pace* Serv., synonyms); his pride and contempt ('was nobly born/ and held the human race in scorn') derive from his unique status as son of the preeminent Achilles. The father had killed Hector, the son, chiastically, Priam; as the son's spurned concubine, Andr.'s very moderation is chilling. The easy zeugma of noun+adj. with abstr. noun(itself with a further dependent quasi-abstr.)—**f.** of course:: *iuuenem fastosum*; cf. *EV* 1, 380—attracts the eye; cf. **pestis et ira deum**, 215.

**327 seruitio** Cf. n. on **captiua**, *supra*. The δουλεία οὐ τλατᾶς of *Hec.*157.

**enixae** Cf. 7.320 with n.(Ennian; here intrans., or perhaps with 'obj. to be supplied'; cf. *Ov.F.*5.87, Groth, *TLL* 5.2.597.42ff.), **391**. Vd. *supra*

**294–505**, §(b)(ii) for this son, not here seen, named, or pitied. His earlier nameless appearance (Eur.*Andr.* 1246 ff.) is genealogical, not dramatic in significance. The **enixe** of ca has attracted unmerited attention.

**tulimus** Cf. **323 sortitus ... pertulit**. The plur. *ad excusandum pudorem*, Serv.(cf. Adams, *LSV*, 189f. on *pati*); Andr. but one of many: that could be right.

**qui ... secutus** In an erotic sense, ‘went after’, *vel sim.*, Cat.8.10 etc., R. Pichon, *Ind. verb.amat.*, 261.

**deinde** Cf. Ov.*AA* 1.424, *RA* 238; V. has Andr. use (with dry contempt) of Pyrrhus language quite appropriate to a more recent or unheroic *desultor amoris*: Eur.*Andr.* and Ov.*Her.*8 explore and exploit to the full his morals.

**328 Ledaeam Hermionen** Hermione the daughter of Menelaus and Helen, daughter of Leda (whence **L.**: vd. n. on 7.364 for the use of the matronym and for the genealogy). For the conflicting accounts of H.’s unions with Orestes and Pyrrhus, vd. Robert, 2.3, 1340, 1461 ff., Frazer on [Apld.]*Epit.*6.13, König, 75 ff., M. Lloyd, ed. Eur.*Andr.*, p.1 f., P.T. Stevens ed. *id.*, pp.1–6, *EV* 4, 122, Zwicker, PW 8.841.66 ff.. It is not quite clear whose version (or versions, whether Gk. or Lat.) V. followed; it is not even clear whether he went beyond Eur.*Andr.*(but vd. **331 f.**): note **hymenaeos** here (Pyrrhus and H.) and **331 coniugis** (Orestes and H.): the latter can perfectly well refer to an engagement, or a mere expectation, not to a marriage (n. on 7.189). On H. in general, see too R.E. Harder, *NP* 5, 438, Weiszäcker, Ro.1.2433.1 ff., L. Kahil, *LIMC* 5.1, 388.

**Lacedaemoniosque hymenaeos** For the Hellenising, Catullan, Callimachean quadrisyll. at l.-end, cf. nn. on 7.344, 555. Cf. Enn.*trag.* 49 *Lacedaemonia mulier*, for the adj. used of Helen, after tragic usage (vd. Jocelyn’s n.). The words have a strong Gk. flavour, but paired thus are not found in extant Gk.(*ita TLG*). V. then suggests that Pyrrhus leaves Andr. to go after Hermione, who was perhaps betrothed to him while he and her parents were at Troy, and regardless of her engagement/marriage to Orestes in the mean time. *Cum ingenti felle ac si diceret: infelices maritis semper, ut Paridi et Deiphobo* Serv., who could perfectly well have added Menelaus.

**329 me famulo famulamque Heleno** Both partners until Pyrrhus’ death his slave captives(Henry well cites Eur.*Andr.*64 κύνδουλε) and the polyptoton reinforces or sense of their shared status(cf. Treggiari, *Rom.*

marriage, 52ff. for slave *contubernium*); union further expressed by the ABBA word order. Note V.'s use of polypt. in expressing relationships: Wills(213) compares 1.684, 5.569, 9.327, 11.294. Wagner collected many passages where *et/-que* connect two words which could stand comfortably without it, but as here gain (vd. Page) a certain weight from its presence (*QV* xxxiv, §2): so 5.447f. *ipse grauis grauiterque .../ concidit*, 12.305 *Alsum pastorem primaque acie per tela ruentem*, 7.706f. *magnum/ agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar*, etc.. Cf. also n. on 11.673 *praecipites pariterque ruunt*. **F.** used by Enn., Acc., Lucr., Cat.; V. has *serua* twice, *seruus* never and much prefers **f.**: lofty, poetic, imported (sensed as Oscan), not specially common in inscr. and thus clearly with less of a whiff of the quotidian. Cf. Jachmann, *TLL* 6.1.266.13ff.

**transmisit habendam** The predic. use of the gerundive thus markedly prosy: in Aug. poetry, cf. *Ov.Pont.*3.1.49, LHS, 372. Hector's widow reacts with complete indifference; her loyalty and affections remain unswervingly with Hector: paradoxically, perhaps, a great *uivira*. Cf. West, 261. *Erii uoluntate non lege coniugii*, Serv.. *Habere* can indeed be understood sexually (Adams, *LSV*, 187), but does not have to be here; though Bulhart doggedly classifies this passage s.v. keeping a servant, *TLL* 6.3.2399.8, it belongs as much at 2408.56ff., along with 9.594 *germanam nuper thalamo sociatus habebat*. She was *kept* as a concubine.

**330 ast** Cf. nn. on 7.308, 395: weighty and archaic.

**illum ...// 332 excipit** S.v. *per insidias capere*, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1254.70; cf. *Buc.*3.18, *Aen.*10.387, *Cels.*1 praef.43 *gladiatorem in harena uel militem in acie uel uiatorem a latronibus exceptum*, *EV* 1, 654. Not distinctively of hunting (so, many edd., at least from la Cerda). A prodigious hyperbaton in honour of the dramatic moment in which Orestes at last eliminates the odious Pyrrhus, of whom TCD pungently remarks (1.312.6f.) *natura malus, aetatis ratione deterior, condicione fortunae intolerabilis*.

**ereptae .../ 331 coniugis** So at 2.413, 7.388 (where vd. n. for 'proleptic' use). *EV* 4, 401 unsatisfactory; vd. Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.791.78.

**magno ... amore** So too 1.171, 344, 675, 4.395, 5.5, 9.197: a standard expression one would not wish to dismiss as 'stock' or 'formulaic'.

**flammatus** The vb. in Cat.64(291), Lucr.(1.73, 2.672), Cic.*de cons.* fr.2.1, 21, 45, Prop.4.4.77. At 1.50 V. has *flammato ... corde*; cf. too G.3.433 *flammanitia lumina*. Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.874.4ff. oddly ignores this passage entirely, though it is by a long way the earliest metaph. use. **Inflammatus M**, but the *simplex* is quite satisfactory.

**331 scelerum furiis** Cf. Cic.*Phil.*11.4 *quem ultae uidentur furiae debitorum*, Verr.2.5.114 *innocentium Poenas scelerumque Furias* (if that is what Cic.wrote), Pis.91 *o Poena et Furia sociorum*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1614.20f., 82f., *EV* 2, 621, *Companion*, 213, and, more amply, n. on 7.392. The phrasing is admirably polyvalent (as sensed already by Williams; cf. Lyne, *WP*, 28): Orestes is in some senses hounded by the Furies, as on the Roman stage (cf. 4.471, *Alambicco*, 105), with its love for extravagant special effects, after the manner of Accius' *Clytemnestra*, selected for revival at the baptism of Pompey's theatre (for his Furies, cf. Jocelyn, p.218f.). But these furies are also the torments of the mind or conscience (Henry cites 1.41, 10.68, 8.494, sufficiently; vd. n. on 7.392); their goads are not primarily physical; cf. in detail n. on 7.405, Lyne, *WP*, 28, M. Fernandelli, *Quad.Dip.Fil .... Trieste NS1* (2002), 164ff.

**agitatus Orestes** The phrasing and ideas stayed with V.: 4.471 *Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes*, 12.668 *furiis agitatus amor*. *EV* 1, 56 confused. The vb. natural of Furies, whether personified or intellectualised; cf. Cic.*Sex.Rosc.*66, Hey, *TLL* 1.1331.12ff.

**332 incautum** Favourite Virgilian usage, *G.*4.488, *Aen.*1.350, 4.70, 10.386, 11.781 (with n.), etc., O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.851.29ff.(but as 'defenceless, cf. 1.350; cf. Wlosok, *RHRD*, 334, n.40). Here rather a symptom of the folly of prolonged success than the more usual anticipation of the victim's end. V. may have in mind Eur.*Andr.*1119 *κεντούς' ἀτευχῆ παῖδ' Ἀχιλλέως λάθρα*; cf. Paschalis, 53. Henry well compares too Sall.*Cat.*28 *domi suae inparatum confodere*. Sychaeus' murder is then written up in a way that echoes Pyrrhus' death (1.348–51, Paschalis, *ib.*).

**patriasque ... ad aras** A problem at least since Serv., who cites a multitude of unhelpful flailings and much speculation, helpfully disentangled in *EV* 3, 881f., 4, 122f.. Pyrrhus was after all killed in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, Robert, 2,3, 1459f., Frazer on [Apld.] *Epit.*6.14, V. Machaira, *LIMC* 7.1.74f., O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *ib.*, 6.1.774f., and the details passed into the lore of erudite tourism; they do vary a good deal in the circumstances, but the *ubicazione* does not. Here, though Delphi is not named, and we are not free to suppose V. has shifted the story (*pace* Robert, 1467). By not locating it, rather, V. facilitates the Trojan allusion. So in what sense then are these *arae* to be considered *patriae*? Part of the answer lies in the significant echo at 2.663 *natum* [Polites] *ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras*: either V. later revises the (earlier in order of composition) d. of Pyrrhus with



those of Priam and Polites in mind, or (more probably) here wittingly anticipates the planned, even sketched, Polites-scene: the Pindaric antecedent(*infra*) reinforces this account. Clearly, the death at Delphi is to be recognised as retribution for those at Troy. This causal link appears already to be present at Pindar, *Paean* 6.112ff. ὤ[μο]σε [γὰρ θε]ός./ γέ[ρον]θ ὅτι Πρίαμον/ π[ρ]ὸς ἔρκειον ἦναρε βωμὸν ἐ[π-/εν]θορόντα, μὴ νιν εὖφρον' ἐκ οἴ[κ]ον/ μήτ' ἐπὶ γῆρασ ἰξέ-/μεν βίου, a text known in Aug. Rome(Fraenkel, *Horace*, 401) and the story passed into Gk. proverbial language, Paus.4.17.4. We are as yet, though, little nearer the 'plain sense' of **patrias ... aras**. Part of the solution may lie in admitting a further sense of *patrius*, 'national'(illustrated at **297 patrio ... marito**; cf., here, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.762.43ff.) as well as (or indeed, rather than) 'ancestral' (note Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*11.374): Pyrrhus had killed Priam at the most sacred spot of the city of Troy(cf. Austin on 2.506–58); Orestes kills Pyrrhus likewise at the altar—sc. of Apollo at Delphi—and Priam is avenged, alongside honour: Agamemnon's son, at the religious heart of Greece(cf. Heuzé, 147), kills Achilles' son and thereby assuages the pain of one of the worst outrages of the fall of Troy; the working out of the Greek-Trojan opposition becomes more complex with time (vd. **288, 295, 613**). The Greeks will suffer more through victory than the Trojans through defeat(Feeney, *Gods*, 143). Serv.'s story of Achilles killed in the temple of Thymbraean Apollo and Pyrrhus building an altar to his father in the precinct of Delphic Apollo, at which he is himself now killed looks rather too much like an elaboration to explain what was perceived to be V.'s sense here, *pace* Heyne, König. Cf. *Alambicco*, 45, n.98, Heyne, exc.xii to *Aen.*3, Paschalis, 52f., G. Annibaldis, *EV* 4, 122f., König, 74f. with nn.18, 21, Cartault, 246, n.3, Quint, 59f.=(1982–3), 33, S.C. Smith, *TAPA* 129 (1999), 251 f.. See also Burkert, *Homo necans* (Eng.tr.), 119f.

**obtruncat** Cf. **55** ('a rare and markedly violent synonym for 'kill').

**333 morte Neoptolemi** Abl. either causal(Antoine, 189ff.), or perhaps of time, as used by V. with words not themselves of any temporal force; cf. **629**, 1.672 *tanto cardine rerum*, 4.502 *aut grauiora timet quam morte Sychaei*, Antoine, 232f.. Four lines of low-key elaboration of narrative details follow, perhaps calculated relief before the return to tragic heights in the (?)unfinished section, **337–43**.

**regnorum .../ 334 pars** Users of Cabanes(**292**) and of Hammond (**294–505**) will realise that 'Epirus' is a portmanteau term, within which may be distinguished Molossia, Chaonia, Thesprotia, etc.. Note 4.374

*regni demens in parte locaui*, but here no appalling anticipation of future tragedy may reasonably be sensed(contrast 314)..

**reddita cessit/ 334 ... Heleno Cedere** used in the common legal sense of ‘pass by inheritance’ (vd. n. on 297). **R.** ‘pass as due’; cf. nn. on 7.134, 11.103, 594.

**334 qui .../ 335 ... dixit** The right of the king, or settler, or colonist to name; a frequent motif (cf. 18, 166 and Horsfall (1989), 18, with n.75).

**Chaonios ... campos** No plains in Epirus, worries Serv.Dan.; for the phrasing, cf. 400 **Sallentinus ... campos**. No doubt about the plain sense of V’s text; Serv.Dan.’s King Campus might seem deserving of mirth and irreverence, for he adorns this personage with the orb and sceptre of erudition, the *Schwindelautoren* Alexarchus (*FGH* 829) and Aristonicus (of Tarentum, *FGH*57F3(‘zweifelhaftes’), and vd. *FHG*, 4, 337; not Aristonicus ‘of Alexandria’, *Alambicco*, 41), more familiar from Ptol. Chennus. Omit Hyg.*Astr.*2.34, who cites probably Aristomachus, from the discussion. However Serv.Dan. goes on to cite Varro (fr.384*GRF*), who knew the area intimately(cf. too his n. on 10.145). O’Hara (*TN*, 142f.) suspects a latent *metonomasia* from Campania to Chaonia (beguiled by Serv.Dan.’s next note); it is perhaps preferable to dismiss the two notes in Serv.Dan. as gloriously irrelevant to V., whose sense and language here are perspicuous.

**cognomine** ‘Naming constructions as etymological signposts’, O’Hara, *TN*, 75f. with n. 330, 18, 133, 210, 693, 7.3, 412, 671, 777, 11.246, 542f. with notes.

**335 Chaoniamque omnem** ‘Modification involving triads of significant nouns and adjectives’(Wills, 288; cf. 241 for adj.-noun repetition), comparing 7.219f.. More closely, vd. 1.276f. *Romulus ... Romanos*, 5.121, 8.422 *Volcani ... Volcania*, O’Hara, *cit.*(previous n.).

**Troiano a Chaone** For Chaonia, cf. 292f.; of interest to Rhi-anus(fr.32Powell), Euphorion(fr.48Powell) and Lyc.(1046, 1320). Cf. König, 75; *EV* s.v. speculative. It is not clear how old the Trojan associations of Chaonia might be (Hammond, 412f., Biraschi, 286f., Moscatti Castelnovo, 418, n.6, 294–505,§a); the area flourished (Strab.7.7.5) both before and after the heyday of Molossia. But V. might here be repeating no more than a recent elaboration, even some Varronian notice conceived solely to give pleasure to a local Roman landowner. Hammond, 505 oversimplifies. The eponym may be an invention of

V.'s; promoted to being a brother or friend (n. on 334) of Helenus by Serv.Dan..

**336 Pergamaque** Cf. n. on 7.322; the citadel of Troy. For the Trojan names in Epirus and Varro's explicit interest, cf. 294–505, §a.

**Iliacamque ... hanc ... arcem** Interwoven order of the Trojan citadel (naturally called **Pergama**; note theme and variation) fitting snugly on the hilltop. With the order, cf. 4.429 (as *Buc.*8.60), 435 *extremam hanc oro ueniam*, 5.314 *Argolica hac galea*, 9.654f.. For the placing of the second *-que*, cf. Wills, 375.

**iugis ... addidit** Cf. 8.480 (settlement *iugis ... Etruscis*), *G.*2.161 *Lucrinoque addita claustra*, *Aen.*5.761 *a lucus ... sacer* added(*additus*) to Anch.'s *tumulus*, *Prop.*4.4.35 *montibus addita Roma*, Kempf, *TLL*1.581.41 ff.. Cf. too 6.774 *imponent montibus arces*.

**337 sed tibi ... cursum ... dedere** Cf. *G.*1.40 *da facilem cursum*, *Aen.* 4.653, 10.870, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1678.69f.(for V.'s many phrases compounded with *dare*, cf. *EV* 2, 116). Contrast 460. Page rightly draws attention to the heavy emphasis placed on the pronoun, and its importance in the articulation of the speech.

**qui ... uenti, quae fata** The parallel questions, with repeated interrogatives(Wills, 85 ff.; note here the continuation, **quisnam ... quid**), neatly pose to the reader the challenge of three alternative explanations. Compare 395 **fata uiam inuenient, aderitque uocatus Apollo**, 4.440, 519, 651 *fata deusque*, 8.574f., 9.135 *sat fatis Venerique datum*, 12.677. Alternative, but not neatly opposed, and indeed capable of one smoothly harmonised all-embracing version, did one wish, given the multiple patterns of explanation present in V.(*Companion*, 138 ff., Feeney, 180 ff., Bailey, 217, 220 ff., Pomathios, 337; for **fata**, cf. n. on 7.584, and n. on 7 *supra*). We recall that at 130 a wind helps the Trojans on a course apparently recommended by Apollo and his oracle (*fata*). V. is not a theologian and often shows no great love for order and system. Cf. Hardie, 90 ff. for juxtaposed myth and science in V.'s image of the winds; we might compare 1.29 with 524. Here Andr.'s open phrasing invites Aen. to explain rather more fully, as indeed he now does once more to Dido. Note the comparable choices 6.532f. defective pilotage or divine admonition, 7.199, tempest or navigational error.

**338 aut quisnam ... deus Q.** only here in V.; *tacent* Cordier, *EV* ss.vv. *Hapax, Pronomi*, Axelson. 'Just which'(comedy and prose); the suf-

fix intensifies. Markedly rare in Aug. poetry (*ter* in Hor.*Serm.*2, *semel*, Prop.2, *bis* Prop.3, though I have not checked all the oblique cases); here a discreet marker of the plain intensity of Andr.'s questioning. Cf. KS 1, 656, Ernout-Thomas, 157, LHS 584, n.1. Serv. compares the use of *deus* at 715.

**nostris ... oris** Cf. 1.538, 3.715 *uestris ... oris*, and 7.1 *litoribus nostris*.

**ignarum** Of the area, of the Trojan presence, of the future, of all three. Specificity would be unwelcome. This ignorance a familiar, repeated motif, nn. on 3.7, 7.149.

**appulit** Common of causing ships to put in, and apparently a technical, nautical term(a real, authentic, indisputable one), as should have been made clear, n. on 7.39: cf. Caes.*Civ.*2.3.2, 23.3, 43.2, Liv.23.40. 7, etc., Lehnert, *TLL* 2.275.61 ff.. Hom. ἐνθάδε κάββαλε δαίμων (*Od.*6.172).

**339 quid puer Ascanius** The interrog. 'what about?' some 60x. in V, *EV* 2,1000. Heyne remarks with impeccable perception: 'de Ascanio sollicita est, ex tacita Astyanacti sui memoria'. **P.A.**: *Sexies* in *Aen.*, first here: formulaic, Homerising. Asc.'s age is an elusive and inessential issue (Scarcia, *EV* 2, 396, Pomathios, 231; *tacet EV* s.v. *Ascanio*), varying more according to the needs of the context than the appearance of the passage of time in the narrative. Priam, Hector and Astyanax are all dead, while Anchises, Aeneas—and Asc. too are all alive and at Buthrotum; a further twist of the knife in Andr.'s wounds. Cf. Heinze, 108, Grimm, 157f., Quint, 59=(1982–3), 33, Bettini, 15. "The chief importance of the Homeric Aeneas is that he survives" I wrote(*RMM*, 12); the same applies to Asc., for *his* survival unleashes Aen.-legend and indeed *Aeneid*. Quint compares (not close enough for Knauer) Agam. asking Od. if he has heard news of Orestes, and Achilles seeking likewise news of Pyrrhus(*Od.*11.388–91, 492–3). Orestes has just killed Pyrrhus in V.(332, Quint, *cit.*), which suggests that V. *does* have the Hom. passages in mind..

**superatne** So Hecuba of Polydorus (König, 47, 78), *Hec.*988 εἰ ζῆ. Serv. oddly remarks *et caret exemplo, ut pauca in Vergilio*; commentators have hastened to cite instances, such as Caes.*Gall.*6.19.2, *Buc.*9.27, *Aen.*2.597.

**et uescitur aura** An entirely appropriate touch of Lucretian solemnity, 5.857 *uesci uitalibus auris*. On 1.546, Serv.Dan. comments (Is this a joke, in *Seruius*? Actually, a few do emerge; cf. 220) that since we do not live off air, the verb means something like *fruitur*; vd. Flobert, *EV* 5\*,

514.

**340 quem tibi iam Troia Omnia fere ... hemistichia absoluto perfectoque sunt sensu, praeter illud 'q.t.i.T.'**VSD 41. The aposiopesis at 1.135 is not comparable, and the same complaint made against 1.636 (vd. Serv.Dan.) reflects perverse misreading. Ancient (and later) supplements to several half-lines are preserved (*EV*, 2.287, Suerbaum, 982, Sparrow, 46ff., Berres, *VH*, 72; vd. further, **661**), but the mediaeval (and later) supplements proposed here are deeply uninspiring. The suggestion that the line breaks off because Andr. cannot bear to go on I record with no less dissatisfaction (Sparrow, 43, Grimm, 157f., L.H. Feldman, *CJ* 53(1957–8), 362, W.F. Witton, *GR* 7 (1960), 171); it is a matter for deep regret that the idea of deliberate half-lines still lingers (e.g., Geymonat in *Companion*, 296::*EV*, *cit.*). Is the whole scene really 'besonders lückenhaft'(Günther, *cit.*)? Sparrow, as usual, offers a handful of captious pseudo-problems; the 'awkward repetition' **344–348** is considered *ad loc.*. Even Heinze writes as though slightly stunned by his reading of dogged c.19 *obtrectatores*, here determined to work out the poet's *modus operandi*. There is indeed another half-line at **316**, but in between we find writing of remarkable quality and finish. Could this have been the passage V. was working on when death struck (Berres, *VH*, 124)? It is not at clear why these elusive four words were preserved and left to stand in the text. If they were absent(and it is worth looking at the text with care, as though they were), then Andr. would pass from the question 'is Asc. alive?' to the inevitable 'does he miss Creusa?': no leap of thought at all, if one supposed (fairly enough) Aen. to nod, or (e.g.) indicate the boy's height at this point (latent gestures I have suspected elsewhere, e.g. at 11.389 and 390; here vd. index s.v. *deixis*). If this guess were right, then perhaps we might prefer to say that **340** is *not* an incomplete hemistich at all, but rather a marginal scrap which has crept into the text, not by the poet's decease, but by his editor's oversight, and not necessarily at quite the right spot; Heyne indeed suspects interpolation, and actually denies Virgilian authorship. The next step would logically be to relegate the words to honourable retirement in the apparatus as Virgilian, but misplaced. See *Companion*, 23f., *EV* 2, 287, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 70f., Heinze, 109, n.37, Sparrow, 43, Günther, 51, W. Suerbaum, *Studien ... S. Lauffer* 3 (Roma 1986), 981, Berres, *VH*, 124–6.

**341 ecqua .../ 342 ecquid** ‘Interrogatifs d’impatience ou d’insistence appartenant à la langue parlée’ (*EM* s.v. *ecce*; cf. LHS, 464, KS 1, 656); for the repet., cf. Plaut. *Amph.*1020, *Bacch.* 581f., *Capt.*830, *Most.*899f., etc., but also quite common in Cic.(e.g. *Verr.*2.3.64; cf. too *Att.*9.14.2), and repet. *ecquando* used by ‘Cornelia’, Nep.fr.59 (not unedited c.2BC Latin. Vd. *Athen.*65 (1987), 231 ff.). This peculiarly vigorous idiom, then, adopted from spoken language by oratory, and then by V.(Lucr.5.1212f. repet., but not interrog.) in this scene of intense insistence. The neut. advbl..

**cura** At 11.3 *cura* suggests, nearly enough, *dolor*, and so too here (cf. *EV* 1, 962) but a hint of ‘care for the funeral rites due from a son’ should perhaps not be excluded (cf. Liv.2.2.1, 6.41.10, 9.43.24, etc. for the *cura* of relig. duties: S. Dixon, *Roman family* (Baltimore 1992), 109, E. Eyben, *Restless youth* (London 1993), 213f., etc.). Gudeman, *TLL* 4.1455.24 unilluminating. Again V. has in mind the same passage Eur.*Hec.*: 992 εἰ τῆς τεκούσης τῆςδε μέμνηται τί πον; cf. too (Henry) Soph. *Trach.*56f..

**tamen** V. does not explain how Andr. knows of Creusa’s d. (and we do best not to ask), nor (Heinze) does he give Aen.’s answers (which we all know perfectly well) to all these questions. The precise force of **t.** naturally depends on the view taken of **340**; we should also bear in mind that **t.** can refer to what follows (Clausen on *Buc.*6.9, after Housman, *Juv.*pref. 1, 2,98, *OLD* s.v., §4 Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, 115, with further refs.; see too *Buc.*9.62, 10.31, *G.*2.49, *Aen.* **3.478**): a question expressing the hope that, for all his immaturity, Asc. already shows a proper grief (and relig. concern) for his dead mother would be extremely appropriate.

**puero est** Cf. **339**. The tender years are underlined.

**amissae ... parentis** Is this non-naming (cf. **313**, **317**) again great delicacy? Hector dominates this scene (he is, indeed, the last word); a long discussion of Creusa as well would not have done at all. Cf. 2.741 *amissam respexi*, 5.814, 11.272, 868.

**342 in antiquam uirtutem** Note studied antithesis between the ‘manliness’ of *uirtus* and **341 puero**; cf. 9.311 *ante annos animumque gerens curamque uirilem*, 641 *macte noua uirtute*, *puer* and 12.435 *disce puer, uirtutem ex me*, with O’Hara, *TN*, 107. There is also strong, etymologising paronomasia with *uirilis*, *ib.*, 127, 143. **A.** ‘ancestral’ for Évrard, *EV* 1, 196; even, we might sense, with some hint of ‘in the good days before Hector’s death’; perhaps a suggestion of ‘before the Fall of Troy’, when

the Trojans still won (some) battles. No exact parallels, but in keeping with the word's usual connotations in V. 'Once more in the past' grumbles Grimm, 258; but that is just where the power of genealogical protreptic (*infra*) lies. On *uir*, *uirtus* vd. R. Laurenti's useful remarks, *EV* 5\*, 549ff.

**animosque uirilīs** On 9.311 (*supra*), Dingel collects (after E. Curtius, *European literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Engtr., London 1953, etc.), 98f.) a fine range of attestations for the *topos* of 'virtues beyond years', starting from *Od.* 4.204f. (Menelaus to Telemachus); vd. in particular *Cic. Phil.* 14.28 Caesar *uirtute superauit aetatem* and cf. n. on 11.27 for the paradox of under-age *uirtus*. Cartault, 246, n.6 thinks Asc. still altogether too much an infant, but from the toddler of bk.2 to the under-age hero of bk.9 we are only offered sketches, advancing a good deal more swiftly than the tedious time-charts of the poet's modern critics. At 5.363 note the coupling *uirtus animosque in pectore praesens*; the plur. very common in the sense of 'high spirit, courage'; cf. 6.261, 11.291, Isnardi Parente, *EV* 1, 176, Negri, 139.

**343 et ... et** Cf. 12.439f. *et te animo repentem exempla tuorum/ et pater Aeneas et auunculus excitat Hector*: a particularly significant echo, as we have seen, 294–505 (c); cf. 317, n. on 11.289 for Hector's massive moral, exemplary presence in *Aen.*. The line raises *Aen.* at least to stylistic parity with H..

**pater Aeneas** In the context, Asc.'s father; on a wider reading, also *pater patriae*.

**auunculus ... Hector** Creusa a daughter of Priam, and Hector therefore mother's brother to Asc.: cf. Austin on 2.795, DH 3.31.4, *App. Bas.* 1.3, *Apud.* 3.12.5, *Hyg. fab.* 90, Robert, 2, 3, 999, n.1. Serv. Dan. remarks *quidam 'auunculus' humiliter in heroico carmine dictum accipiunt*; because, presumably, it looked like, indeed was, a diminutive (Axelson, *Unp. Wörter*, 38ff., Hofmann-Ricottilli, 297ff., Zucchelli, *EV* 2, 75ff., M. Bettini, *Anthropology and Roman culture* (Engtr., Baltimore 1991), 58), many of which were regarded as beneath epic dignity. Would Enn. really have eschewed the word, though? Unlikely. Maternal uncles and grandfathers of particular moral and social significance in Gk., Roman and, more generally, IE myth and society: cf. J.N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 50 (1983), 173ff. (comparing, after Gernet, e.g. the education of Pyrrhus in the household of Lycomedes), Bettini, 46ff.; vd. Horsfall, *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 17. P's archaic **auunculus** not welcome.

**excitat** With predictably wide range of constructions, *OLD* s.v., §5a; cf. *Caes. Gall.* 6.14.5, *Liv.*2.13.2 *feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae*, *Rehm, TLL* 5.2. 1262.65f. A key passage for the explicit application of genealogical protreptic in *Aen.*(cf. *Buc.*4.26f., *Aen.*6.718, 756ff., 889, 12.440, *supra*), sufficiently discussed (for V. and in wider Rom. usage) at *Companion*, 145, after *Prudentia* 8 (1976), 82ff.. Add. H. Flower, *Ancestor masks ...* (Oxford 1996), 221. So someone will say one day of Astyanax as he returns from war *πατρός γ' ὄδε πολλὸν ἀμείνων*, *Il.*6.479, *Knauer*, 352.

**344 talia fundebat .../ 345 ... cum F.** of words here (*Robbert, TLL* 6.1.1566.76); also of musical sounds, and avian cries(11.482 with n.); in *Cat.*64(125, 321), *Cic.Arat.*(4.2, 5.3), *Cons.*(2.29), and *carm.*(*Aesch.*2.14), *Lucret.*(1.40, 413, etc.). Inverted **cum**. For **f.** of tears, cf. **348**. *Aen.* thus has no opportunity to answer *Andr.*, *Lyne, FV*, 146: *Serv.Dan.* notes here, very well, *et bene uerba Heleno post Andromacham non dedit, ne frigeret*. Contrasting roles and tones of husband and wife(though their union is significantly suppressed in the narrative): they are now separated by a minor scene of welcome and ritual.

**lacrimans** The repetition **344–348** a good deal criticised (vd. **340**), imperceptively. *Andr.* returns to tears at the end of her speech, clearly provoked by her ref. to the dead *Hector's* exemplary status. Four lines later, *Helenus* begins with tears, but tears mingled with joy, at the 'return to life' of at least *some* more Trojans: an evident variation. Cf. 1.459, 462, 470, for example; ancient readers, we have long known(cf. full n. on 7.554), had stronger stomachs for this sort of repetition. No clear proof at all of haste, inattention, incompleteness. *Serv.*(on *G.*3.517, *Aen.*12.10) and *TCD* on 2.680 read **lacrimas**. Much confusion in *EV* 3, 95f.(*Viparelli Santangelo*).

**longosque ciebat/ 345 ... fletus** 'Protracted tears' apparently unparalleled, until *Tac.Ann.*16.31, *Gudeman, TLL* 6.1.904.24f., von *Kamptz, ib.*7.2.1637.19. **C.** good poet. idiom: cf. *Acc.trag.*553, *Lucret.* 5.1060 *dissimilis soleant uoces uariasque ciere*, *Cat.*64.131 *frigidulos udo singultus ore cientem*, 262, *G.*1.109f., 4.64, *EV* 1, 781, *Spelthahn, TLL* 3.1055.37.

**345 incassum** For the (Lucretian) advb., cf. n. on 7.421.

**sese a moenibus .../ 346 ... adfert** Cf. n. on 7.217 *adferimur, EV* 2, 496, and note too **3.310**, 8.477. Standard usage.

**heros** Apart from *Aen.*(naturally) and *Helenus*, used of *Acestes*,



Entellus, Misenus, Evander and Turnus: neither the spread, nor the contexts, nor the curious fact of the absence of **h.** from bks. 2, 7, 9, and 11 suggest anything other than the rather random deployment of a non-significant word.

**346 Priamides ... Helenus** Cf. 295; neither here nor elsewhere a word of explanation or exculpation; H. has done well for himself, perhaps appropriately in a dead end, and that is enough. **Helenus multis P**, badly.

**multis ... comitantibus** Cf. 2.40, 370, 4.48, 5.76, 11.498, useful, neat (almost formulaic) use of standard Lat. vb.; cf. *Carm.bell.Act.59*, Bannier, *TLL* 3.1811.9f..

**347 agnoscitque suos** Cf. 5.576 *ueterumque agnoscunt ora parentum*, 3.82; the act of recognition (in, moreover, a strange land, and after the extraordinary events of sack and flight) of peculiar force. Note *Od.11.91*.

**laetusque** Predictably, the compulsive objectors (so e.g. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 72) register what is seen as an inconsistency with the tears of Andr. and Helenus; that suggests, alas, a range of human experience to which the coexistence of joy and sorrow is alien. Aeschylus, amongst others, knew better, *Agam.270*; even TCD lets on that he knows it to be possible. Here the joy of rediscovery and the grief of bereavement (which are both entirely natural in the circumstances for conversation and the exchange of news as they enter Buthrotum are presupposed, without awkwardness) are tersely commingled: cf. 5.49f. with 58 (anniversary of Anch.'s death), 11.807 with n.(joy and fear), not to mention the matchless *Il.6.484*.

**ad limina ducit** Cf. 10.117, *simplex pro composito*; there Serv. sees a Rom. *deductio* (vd. Harrison); so too here: cf. the *aduentus*-ceremony on 7.812, with detailed n. (vd. too on *Nep.Att.4.5*), 'casting events in a familiar mode'(cf. n. on 11.501): the *aduentus* of a prominent figure is honoured with a *deductio*, or escort.

**348 et multum** Cf. 10.839 (likewise w. temp. force; = 'saepe', Serv.), *EV* 3, 617. 'Its use here strange' Williams, inexplicably, as though 'with' noun rather than vb..

**lacrimas ... fundit** Hom. δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων or δ.λείβων. Cf. 312, and note *Cat.66.17*. **P** reads **lacrimans**, rejected with proper indignation by Serv..

**uerba inter singula** The adj. *bis* in *G.*, *sexies* in *Aen.*; note *G.*3.285, *Aen.*1.453, 6.723, in positions of prominence. Standard Latin, *quinquies* in *Lucr.*, *bis* in *Cat.*, *eleg.* The picture seems to have no Gk. antecedent. But could V. just possibly be thinking of Lat. *singultus*?

**349 procedo** Standard Lat., so perhaps not to be sensed as ‘Ennian’, though *bis* in *Ann.*(also *Acc.trag.*312); *quater*, *Buc.*, *undecies*, *Aen.*.

**paruam Troiam** Cf. n. on **302 falsi Simoentis**. For *p.* used of the littleness of a settlement, cf. **276**, **402**, 6.811 *Curibus paruis*, 8.554. Clearly both dimensions and consequence involved.

**simulataque magnis** Cf. n. on 7.602 for *m.* so used and see Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10. 1.565.1ff. for the stock antithesis of adjs.. Recent critics have seen a grave moral flaw in Helenus’ ‘fake’ settlement; see, however, n. on **302** for opposed considerations. Lopez, *EV* 4, 867 compares *Cic.Att.9.8.2 Homeri illam Mineruam simulatam Mentori*; this sense of *s.* is Lucretian, perhaps distinctively so (1.687, 4.363). We have seen (**302**) that evocative naming, etc. is a common feature of colonial settlements and should not ask (cf. Bettini, 12) just how names and identities are so obvious to *Aen.*; if the question be pressed, though, enough to remember that *Aen.* is walking in Helenus’ company(**347**). Cf. further Bettini, 16f.

**350 Pergama** Cf. n. on 7.322; here evidently enough used in the restricted sense of ‘Troy’s citadel’. Its ancient, Homeric majesty lent further weight by the run-over position.

**arentem ... riuum** *Arentes ripae*, *G.*3.555 (but during the pestilence), Oertel, *TLL* 2.504.71f.; there is pretty clearly (del Chicca, *EV* 1, 304, Bettini, 16) a studied contrast with Hom. *δινήεις*, etc., but it is less clear that this is occurs precisely *because* the stream itself is only an imitation. ‘Wadi’(Arab.), ‘fiumara’(S. Ital.), ‘donga’(S. Afr.); possibly, an indication that V. wishes us to think of the scene as occurring in the dry season between late Spring and late Summer. A symbol of sterility, for Hexter in Perkell, 76.

**Xanthi cognomine** The river called Scamander by mortals, and *X.* by the gods (cf. Kirk on *Il.*1.403f., Janko on 14.290f., Heubeck on *Od.*10.305). Discussion of the rivers of the Troad, from Strabo to J.M. Cook, neatly summarised, Bonamente, *EV* 4, 871f.; add Lazenby and Hope Simpson(**15**), 179, Seymour, 528ff., Hainsworth on *Il.*11.497, Janko on 13.675. Given that Hom.’s own account of the rivers of the Troj. plain is not perspicuous, or consistent(Janko,

*cit.*), that their courses were known even in antiquity (Strab.13.1.34) to have changed, and that modern experts are not in agreement on a solution to the problem(s), we are reduced to remarking that, for V., the name was strongly Iliadic, evoking the corpse-choked water-courses of Homer's Trojan plain (cf. further, 7.797, O'Hara, *TN*, 184, Watson on Hor.*Epd.*13.13, though his undefended *prau*i in the sense of 'winding', however neat, seems quite unparalleled in a literal sense and [Sall.]*Rep.*1.5.6 is no help). The use of **c.** distinguished from the 'naming constructions' of O'Hara, *TN*, 74ff. by the absence of any 'naming verb': **133**, 1.367, 6.70 are all comparable, if not exactly so. Note Hahn 1969, 122 for careful discussion of the gen., comparing(n.411) 11.246 *urbem Argyripam patriae cognomine gentis*.

**351 agnosco** Cf. Kraggerud, *EV* 3, 766: nothing else in V. exactly comparable, though cf. 4.23 *agnosco ueteris uestigia flammae*.

**Scaetaeque ... portae** In plur., 2.612 (so already, *Il.*3.145 (where vd. Kirk's n.), 149, etc.); cf. Plaut.*Ba.*955 *cum portae Phrygiae limen superum scinderetur*, *Aen.*2.242 the Troj. horse came to a halt *quater ipso in limine portae* (explained, Serv. *ad loc.*, Faraone(148), 3, with n.7, in the context of the 'dooms' of Troy, Fraenkel, *Elementi plautini*, 66f., Austin on 2.612). Cf. *EV* 4, 695ff., S. Antoni, *NP* 11, 606.

**amplector** Aen.'s gesture ignored by Ricottilli (2000), Corbeill (2004) and, nearly, by Lobe (176f.), 154(*non satis*). Compare *Aen.*2.490 *amplexaeque tenent postis atque oscula figunt* (prior to death/exile), Val.Max. 2.10.2 (veneration), Tib.1.2.86 *et dare sacratis oscula liminibus*, Liv.45.44.20 (Prusias at Rome in veneration, as though the senators were gods, *summisisse se et osculo limen curiae contigisse*), Stat.*Silv.*5.1. 163f., Juv.6. 47f. (vd. Courtney), Arnob. 1.49; part of a wider complex of gestures, including statues and altars embraced, on departure(Rut.Nam.1.43 *crebra relinquendis infigimus oscula portis*; cf. Eur.*Alc.*183, AR 4.26, Medea and her bed, *Aen.*4.659, with Pease's n.), or in supplication (cf. 2.517, Walbank on Plb.2.56.7, Sittl, 179–184, Appel, 193, 198).

**limina** For the varied emotive associations of **l.**, cf. n. on 7.598. Bell(424) attempts to match language and architecture, charmingly: how exactly *do* you embrace a threshold or lintel? With 2.490 in mind, he suggests acutely that **l.** is used for the gate in general, and in practice the *postes*. We did not learn Aen.'s reaction to Andr.'s speech; here, we might feel, he is shown as feeling safer in the release of his feelings, though, to be fair, it is *pietas erga patriam* that he reveals, with admirable enthusiasm. Cf. Grimm, 158, Mackie, 70.

**352 nec non et** Cf. n. on 7.521 ('popular accumulation of particles ... introduced ... into high poetry by V.').

**Teucri** Simply Aen.'s *socii*, long neglected in the narrative. *EV* 5\*, 291. Helenus here is the *socius*; cf. Heinze, 109, n.1.

**socia ... urbe** Cf. *EV* 4, 912; Helenus (a traitor of sorts, in many versions) rules by gift of Pyrrhus on (nearly enough) Greek soil; that breaking-down of barriers which leads to *uia prima salutis*, / *quod minime reris*, *Graia pandetur ab urbe* has begun.

**simul** Along with me, their leader? Or along with Helenus and *his* settlers? Did one have to decide, perhaps the former, but we are not required to be so specific.

**fruuntur** Cf. *G.1.300*, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1.1425.33.

**353 illos** A slow ritual scene, self-contained spondaic first foot(nn. on 7.80, 406, Winbolt, 107ff.), subj. in centre of the verse, noun at caes. and adj. at l.-end(inversion of the common sequence—**351**, **357**—for greater effect).

**porticibus ... in amplis** Cf. 2.310f.(*a.domus*; *regiae magnitudinis* comments Serv.); **p. quinques** in *Aen.*: these exiles have not been slow to erect (or take over, on Neopt.'s departure) a magnificent palace in their remote Troy, with one or more arcaded central courtyards (cf. 2.528, 12.476, Scagliarini Corlàita, *EV* 4, 222).

**rex** Until **345–6** Helenus is held back from the narrative, but he does now go down to meet the Trojans; contrast Latinus, who will send for Ilioneus and then Aeneas.

**accipiebat** Cf. *Ter.Eun.1082*, 8.178 *accipit Aenean*, Hey, *TLL* 1.311.13f., Bartalucci, *EV* 1, 654 who suggests that Serv.'s odd gloss, *pascibat*, may derive from **355 dapibus**. Hom. ἐξείνικα, *Il.3.207*

**354 aulai medio** Cf. n. on 7.563 *Italiae medio*. With **a.**, cf. *G.2.504*, 4.90, 202, *Aen.1.* 140, 4.328, a Gk. hall or Rom. atrium. V. wisely eschews detail. The archaic form of the gen. adds solemnity: present also only at 6.747, 7.464 (vd.n.), 9.26 (see Leumann, 418, Görler, *EV* 2, 263, Bettini, *ib.*, 1, 288, R.G.G. Coleman, *ALLP*, 42, Puccioni, 92). The middle of the hall and with a golden cup too, Peleus at *Il.11.774*.

**libabant** Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1340.36 was ill-advised to classify this instance s.v. *de cibo vel potu sumendo*'(as at *Buc.5.26*, *G.4.54*, *Aen.5.92*), given the decisive paratactic presence of the ritual *paterae* (cf. **67**) and a suitable moment for libations (at least by Hom. usage, Seymour,

511) if not by Roman (libations at the *secundae mensae*, Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*, 326f.), with the dishes already laid out for the feast (Lersch, 187ff., Bailey, 52f.). The sense of 'pour'(of a drink-offering) is perfectly easy for 1.: G.2.192 (*laticem*), *Aen.*4.207 (*Lenaeum ... honorem*), *TLL cit.*,1338.20ff..

**pocula Bacchi** Cf. *Hor.C.*1.1.19 *ueteris pocula Massici*; for the metonymy, cf. *Aen.*7, index, s.v.

**355 impositis ... dapibus** Hofmann, *cit.(infra)* quotes nothing exactly similar, but the vb.'s wide range means that there is nothing surprising here in its application to heaped plates or dishes. **D.** in the common sense of 'sacrificial meal', Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.38.4ff., *OLD* s.v., §1, Bailey, 51 ff.; cf. **223**.

**auro** For the synecdoche of material for object, cf. n. on 7.245, 278f.; 'placed on a golden table or altar', remarks Bailey, 52, very oddly, for V. must refer to tableware (cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.652.82, 'sc. aureis patinis'); cf. the cup at 7.245, the *crateres* of 2.765, the *pat-era* of 1.728f., and 739 (and G.2.192); note too the generalising *auro* of 1.640 and *EV* 1, 419. Golden cups Homeric, Seymour, 302, citing *Od.*1.142. So too in tragedy and among rich classical Greeks, M. Vickers, *JHS* 105 (1985), 113ff.; unsurprisingly at Rome too, Marquardt-Mau, *cit.*, 699f.. Perhaps here as a sign of the special honour owed the gods.

**paterasque tenebant** Cf. **67**, 5.775 *pateram tenet*, 8.640 *paterasque tenentes*. Easy parataxis.

**356 iamque** Cf. n. on 7.25; here, there is no temporal clause to come but **iamque ... et** followed by parataxis formally sets the time for *Aen.*'s enquiry to Helenus.

**dies alterque dies** At *TLL* 5.1.1052.42f., Pflugbeil cites no exact analogy; no more does Wills, 191, but cf. *Hor.C.*2.18.15 *truditur dies die* (with NH). A neat and isolated way of saying 'a couple of days'(not necessarily two, of course) in high epic language(VF 5.276 imitates, Hey, *TLL* 1.1734.45); similarly, AR 1.861f. ἀμβολίη δ' εἰς ἡμαρ ἀεὶ ἐξ ἡματός ἦεν/ ναυτιλίης. V. does not set the passage of time in terms of months, seasons, or years at this stage. See further, *infra*.

**processit** Ennian(*Ann.*348), though perhaps not distinctively so; cf. *Eleg.Maec.*1.128, Terkelsen, *TLL* 10.2.1502.59.

**et aurae/ 357 uela uocant** Cf. **70**, **269** for the idiom; see too L. Zurli, *Philol.*128 (1984), 105ff.(convinced of V.'s nautical expertise):

particularly if this is the favouring wind of **473**, then we begin to acquire a strong sense that this halt is very brief despite its informative and emotional importance; cf. **294–505**, §a.

**tumidoque ... Austro** After the Trojans' short sail N. to the latitude of the shortest crossing to Italy, the *A.* will blow ahead of the port quarter as they sail just S. of W. across the Adriatic (that entails perfectly simple tacking: contrast the headwind, **285**); cf. S.L. Mohler, *TAPA* 79 (1948), 56f., Casson, 273f.. Epithet shifted from sail to wind (Mancini, *EV* 5\*, 313; there just might also be a suggestion of clouds swollen with wind and rain): enallage, imitated by Ov., *Am.* 1.9.13 and heavy weather for Zurli and Cova. Cf. *OLD* s.v. *tumidus*, §1b. Cf. *Il.* 1.481 ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πῆρσεν μέγαν ἰστίον.

**inflatur** Cat.64.243 *inflati ... lintea ueli*, Schmeck, *TLL* 7.1.1465. 83ff..

**carbasus** Material (flax, WH, EM) for thing (sail); not Ennian (cf. Skutsch on *Ann.* spur.3), but prominently Catullan, 64.227. Cf. 11.776 for details.

**358 his ... dictis** Cf. variously **153**, 7.373, 11.342, 827 and often in speech-formulae.

**uatem** Cf. **294–505**, §a for Helenus as seer.

**adgredior** Here not assimilated; -dg- often *is* (Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 399) but assimilation not to be imposed in the teeth of the capital mss.. Cf. 4.92, 476, 6.387 (where vd. Austin): the vb. does not of itself convey a tone of 'verbal aggression': vd. Zimmern, *TLL* 1.1316.10ff..

**talìa quaeso** The desiderative of *quaero* (Enn., Lucr.), only *ter* in *Aen.*, to lend linguistic interest to a solemn enquiry (and mysteriously associated with the archaisms to follow, *EV* 4, 364).

**359–368** No appeal to kinship, but all respect for H.'s mantic powers (some thought still of Phineus, Nelis, 40); a long build-up (H.'s powers, Aen.'s justification) before a brief question (Hight, 113). Aen.'s situation curiously modern, for Celaeno has 'undercut' (so O'Hara, *DOP*, *passim*) his belief in a prosperous voyage and he seeks (cf. Kühn, 57) comfort and clarification (for the initial discouragement of the seeker after prophecy, vd. O'Hara, *DOP*, 54).

**359 Troiugena** Only *ter* in *Aen.*, always in dir. speech; Cat.64.355, Lucr.1.465. **Graiugena** (**550**) is in Pacuv. and *Troiugena* likewise looks to be older than Lucr./Cat. (but the '*carm. Marciana*', Liv.25.12.5 prove

nothing); appropriate to the gravity of the moment. *EV* 5\*, 292 (Zaffagno) and Cordier (10, n.1, etc.) unsatisfactory.

**interpres diuum** Cf. 4.356, 378 (Mercury; *tacet* Pease), 10.175 (where Harrison compares the lists of mantic powers, Aesch.*Sept.*24ff., Soph.*OT* 300f.), **474 interpres Phoebi**, etc.. The noun used by Matius, *fr.*2, by Cic.(*ND* 2.12, etc.), by Hor. of Orpheus (*Ars* 391); Kühnen, *TLL* 7.1.2251.25. The origin of *-pres* not clear(EM).

**qui ... / 360 qui ... qui** Compare the *cui ... cui* used of Asilas, 10.176; cf. n. on 7.235: V. uses *Gebetstil* (here, cf. NH, Hor.C.1, p.127 for the relative clauses) in appeals to humans too.

**numina Phoebi** So of inspiration: vd. (paratactic) Apollo and *numina*, G.4.7. Cf. n. on 251 for Apollo and seers in general.

**360 tripodas ... et laurus** A Lucretian pairing, 1.739, 5.112; vd. Unte, 221. We have seen(81, 85–9) that V.'s Delos was a semi-learned construct, rich in imported, conventional detail. Here he returns gratefully and effortlessly to the same body of material: laurel(81) and tripod (on which the cauldron(92) rested) juxtaposed gave a peculiarly Delphic impression: for the latter, cf. Eur. *Orest.*956, Call.*H.*4.90, Paus.10.13 *passim*, etc., Parke(92, 1985), 74f., Parke and Wormell(*ib.*), 1, 24ff., Burkert, 116, Paschalis(69–120), 55. One tripod, rather than several(poetic plural), but not provably so.

**Clarii** Claros a major, oracular cult-site of Apollo(here 'the Clarian'), a mile N. of Colophon (we are NW of Ephesus). Cf. Bremmer(20–1), 33, n.40 (with further bibl.), Parke (81), 112ff., Adler, PW 11.548. 18ff., L. Robert, *PECS*, 226. Rash to claim such an epithet as 'ornamental' (Rocca, *EV* 1, 810): like *Gryneus* (4.345; cf. xxx), C. serves to make clear to the reader the deep-rooted association of the Trojans with the cults of their native Asia Minor. Most of the c.9 mss., and  $\gamma_1$ , read **Clarii**; **Clari** MP and the grammarians, Serv.Dan. *ad* 260, TCD. Serv. comments, well, *sane quaeritur utrum 'Clarii' geminandum sit 'i'. et sciendum aliter non procedere; nam 'cla' brevis inuenitur*, citing Stat.*Theb.*8.199. No doubt about the prosody or the form to be read; a suspicion that scribes were confused by the prosody of adj. *clarus*. **Clarii et recentiores** and edd. from Heyne (though Mackail prefers both **tripoda ac** (so too Goold), uneconomical, but palaeographically attractive enough, and (unnecessarily) **lauros**, with some c.9 codd.: vd. NW 1, 768). The indispensable copula perhaps mislaid during the confusion over **Cla-**. M. Geymonat further remarks that Nic.*Alex.*11 refers to τριπόδεςσι παρὰ Κλαρίοις (*Acme* 23 (1970),

137), which is quite close to V. and perhaps adds a very little more weight to the (anyway unanswerable) case for the copula here. Why Rocca, *EV*, *cit.*, refers to two textual ‘problemi’ in this verse is not clear.

**sidera** Given V.’s frequent tendency to attribute to characters in the *Aen.* modern attitudes and states of mind (*EV* 1, 153, *Alambicco*, 139f.; ‘anachronisms’ of a sort), it is no surprise to find Helenus here competent in post-epic astrology, like his Etruscan colleague Asilas, 10.176(*caeli cui sidera parent*). Astrology very well-known to V.’s contemporaries, Unte, 221 with n.38, T. Barton, *Ancient astrology* (London 1994), 32ff., Elizabeth Rawson, *Intellectual life*, 306ff.

**sentis** The allit.(cf. Cordier, *Allit.*, 86) comparable with 6.338 *sidera seruat*, *Enn.Ann.* 74f.. Helenus in some extrasensory, prophetic manner comprehends the movements of the stars and their meaning (*EV* 4, 778). The vb. is not ideally suited to any of its objects; a sort of multiple zeugma, Bell, 312.

**361 et uolucrum linguas** Cf. Pacuv.*trag.*83f. *nam isti qui linguam auium intellegunt/ plusque ex alieno iecore sapiunt quam ex suo ...*, Gell.10.12.7 *earum auium confuso sanguine gigni serpentem; eum si quis ederit, linguas auium et conloquia interpretaturum*. Again, within Asilas’ competence, 10.177; V. naturally re-uses relevant material. We may recall not only Hom. ornithomancy, (Seymour, 521ff., J.N. Bremmer, *Numen* 40 (1993), 154; for the class. period, Burkert, 112), but behind V.’s attention to the calls of ravens (*G.*1.388) and owls(402) there lie also Cic.*Arat.frr.* 3, 4, and Arat. himself, *Phaen.*953(950), etc.. But that is by no means all, for V. was clearly (vd. Asilas) familiar with Etr. ornithomancy as well (Wisowa, 530, n.3, Boyancé, 97f. Catalano, *EV* 1, 402): for bird-cries, cf. Plin.*Nat.*10.26, 33, 34, etc., C. Thulin, *Die etr. Disziplin* 3(Göteborg 1909), 106ff., Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.120 and 1.14, p.82f.. Helenus is after all οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ’ ἄριστος, *Il.*6.76, and by V.’s time, that means varied expertise.

**praepetis ... pennae** So 6.15, Cic.*Marius* fr.3.9 *praepetibus pinnis* (here the reference is clearly enough to interpretation of the *flight* of birds; no metonymy; Morano, *TLL* 10.2.764.33ff.); possibly stock/traditional language is likelier than actual citation(but see Wigodsky, 112f.). *Praepes* part of augural language, as Gell.7.6.3 makes clear; a word also favoured by Enn.. Ov. distinguishes neatly *nunc pinna ueras, nunc datis ore notas* (*F.*1.448; cf. *Trist.*1.9.50, etc., Schwind, *TLL* 10.1.1087.53ff.). ‘The flight of omen-yelling fowls’ wrote Housman,



conflating the two spheres of omen-giving, from (flight) *alites/praeepetes* and (song) *oscines* (vd. Wissowa, *cit.* and Serv. here). **Praepitis M** (not actually wrong).

**omina** So Cic.*Marius* fr.3.13 *aquilae ... omen*. On omens from flight, cf. Wissowa, *cit.*, Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.120.

**362 fare age** So too at 6.531 *age fare*, 389 *fare age*; the low Charon is vigorously characterised linguistically (vd. Norden there); unsurprisingly, *age* 153x in Plaut.(cf. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 149) and distinctively a colloquialism there. So too, note the energy of conversation at 6.531. On *heia age* 4.569, vd. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 131 and on *en age*, G.3.42, *ib.*, 146. Contrast, however n. on 7.37 *nunc age* (the tone of Hellen. didactic).

**namque** Cf. n. on 7.765. Here V. opens an ample parenthesis which does not close until mid-line, **367 obscenamque famem**, as signalled there by the completed sense directly before the new question **quae prima ...**

**omnis .../ 363 religio** So P, TCD; **omnem M**ωγ<sub>1</sub>. Serv. remarks (on the lemma **omnem**) *hypallage est; nam non omnem cursum prospera dixit religio, sed omnis religio dixit prosperum cursum*. The acc. would be easy (facile, even) and more obvious, while the nom., **prospera ... religio**, does of course *also* indicate, by evident implication, the prosperity of the Trojans' *cursum*; the nom. creates a double hyperbaton and lends singular force to the predicative adj.. Edd. compare 5.800 *fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis*. 'Almost in the sense of "oracles"' remarks Bailey of r.. rightly enough(71f.; cf. *EV* 4, 425. Let us not exclude portents. Con. compares Phaedr.4.11.4 *repente uocem sancta misit religio*); it is not clear why 12.182 has been cited in explication of this isolated sense, which is rendered perspicuous enough by what follows; indeed, note theme **omnis ... religio** and variation **cuncti ... diui**. We are invited (Sabbadini, Paratore) to worry about a contradiction with the uncertainty of v.7, but that is to ignore the way in which the Trojans' viewpoint has changed entirely since then, as is typical of such stories (in detail, xxx-xxxii).

**prospera** Cf. Naev.*BP* fr.34Strz. *auspicat auspicium/ prosperum*, Cic. *Rep.*6.17.

**cursum mihi ... dixit** In the sense of *praedixit*, but hardly to be taken as *simplex pro composito*; *EV* 2, 46 (Salemme) well compares 6.850 *surgentia sidera dicent*. C.: cf. 146, 200, 253 etc.

**363 et cuncti ... diui** Venial hyperbole(cf. 12.28; specifically, Apollo, Penates, Harpies), extended to an entire resonant line, to summarise economically all the portents and oracles the Trojans have received since resolving to leave Troy.

**suaserunt** Cf. 161, 1.357.

**numine** Bailey(69) compares 2.336f. *talibus Othryadae dictis et numine diuum/ in flammis et in arma feror*. Here 'will' shades into 'inspiration' and even 'oracle'. Cf. Pötscher, 101

**364 Italiam petere Cf. 253 Italiam cursu petitis.**

**terras ... repostas** Hardly 'stored away' like Horace's Caecuban or V's judgement of Paris; cf. rather (with the same necessary syncope) 6.59f. *penitusque repostas/ Massylum gentes*; OLD compares Sen.*Brev. Vit.* 18.2, Sil.3.325, Apul.*Met.*8.15. *EV* 4, 201 *male*. For the syncope, cf. Austin on 6.24, Görler, *EV* 2, 264, NW 3, 528ff. at 533, and, fully, Bonaria, *EV* 4, 872f.

**temptare** Cf. 146 **temptare auxilium** ('try to find'); here the vb. alliterative and used in a slightly unusual, inventive way: cf. 520 **temptamusque uiam**, 8.113, 231.

**365 sola** Qualifying **363 cuncti**; cf. 12.314f..

**nouum** Cf. Hor.C.1.2.6 *noua monstra*, *Aen.*3.240 **noua proelia**, 591 **ignoti noua forma uiri**, Nosarti, *EV* 3, 769.

**dictuque nefas .../ 366 prodigium** Exceptionally, **n.** appears to be used in an adj. sense (i.e. *nefandum, quod nefas est*, LHS, 427, Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen* 2, 251); Williams' suggestion (after Wagner) that the expression is parenthetical is peculiarly unconvincing, for **-que** plainly links **nouum** and **nefas**, and Wagner's attempt to separate them (followed, alas, by Williams) does credit only to his determination. Parentheses are common indeed in *Prodigiensstil* (vd. n. on 7.64 *mirabile dictu*), but that is not reason enough to do violence to the language here. Cf. Cic.*Sen.*13 *nefas esse dictu*, Ov.*Pont.*1.9.3 *nefas dictu*. Otherwise, the combination apparently not attested.(*ita* PHI5.3). Too many ancient definitions/etymologies of *prodigium*, by modern standards inaccurate and not illuminating. Cic.*Div.*1.93, *ND* 2.7 (with Pease's n.), Varr.*fr.* 440GRF(cited by Serv. here), Fest.p.254.14ff., along with modern analysis of the distinctions operating within Rom. portent-terminology (largely, after all, disruptions of the natural order as signs—negative or sometimes positive—of the gods' disposition) is not specially illuminating (see e.g. Bailey, 16ff., R. Bloch, *Les prodiges dans l'antiquité*

*classique* (Paris 1963), 83ff., Boyancé, 89ff., *EV* 4, 292ff., Grassmann-Fischer, 106ff., Latte, 203f., Levene(20), 4f., Luterbacher, *passim*, Wisowa, 538ff.). Here, the only disruption prophesied is that of the Trojans' diet, in that hunger will drive them to eat their 'tables'. That sounded terrifying(258ff.) and still unnerves here, but readers familiar with the inherited story and the story-type (material ambiguity in colonisation oracle, *Aen.*7, p.110f.) will have begun to perceive a disproportion between anxiety and outcome.

**Harpyia Celaeno** Cf. 211, 212.

**366 canit** Cf. n. on 7.79 ('foretells').

**tristis ... iras** So at *Buc.*2.14. See n. on 11.233 *ira deum*; **3.215 ira deum** in a slightly different sense. The adj. (which one would not naturally understand to be in nom., though that is in theory possible; cf. 7.408) in the sense of 'grim'(so of *pugna, bella, dicta, sidus, uoces*). The Harpies' anger will be punished by **obscenam ... famem**: the idea broken down into its paratactic parts.

**denuntiat** Good Cic. prose for 'portend', 'threaten', *Cat.*3.17, *Div.* 1.65, 75, 97, 2.32, 54. Of weather, *G.*1.453 (so not quite a prosaism here, *pace* Lyne, *WP*, 126). Not a regular term in the historians and hardly to be claimed for trad. *Prodigiensil.* Nor at all clear when it first entered poet. language. See Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.555.19ff.

**367 obscenamque famem** Cf. 241; Celaeno is in many ways a Roman portent and the hunger she predicts is well called 'ill-omened'. Kuhlmann (*TLL* 9.2.159.25) rightly compares 256 **dira fames** and *Gloss.Lat.*4.455.35 *obscenam famem: diram et immundam*. This idea was in Eurylochus' terrible advice at *Od.*12.341f.: of all forms of death, none worse than to die of hunger.

**quae prima pericula** Cf. 27 **quae prima ... arbos**, 94f. **quae .../ prima ... tellus**, 4.284, 7.481f.(but not 7.554), 8.340. Between Buthrotum and his destination in W. Italy, *Aen.* knows there will be *labores* (145), and famine: any help, warning, or advice from a kinsman and tested seer is clearly welcome. Cf. *Od.* to Circe, 12.112–4, Knauer, 197.

**uito** Indic. in delib. question: vd. 88 (and V. reverts to subjunctive in next v., though perhaps potential rather than delib., or even (Page after Con.), *condit.*, because *apod.* to the condition implicit in **q.s.**); *EV* 5\*, 595 singular.

**368 quidue sequens** Cf. 1.9 *quidue dolens*, 7.197 *cuius egentis* (with anacoluthon); G.1.354, *Aen.*6.692f. roughly comparable too. Such extreme economy in the use of interrog. and partic. would be quite unremarkable in Gk..

**tantos ... labores** Cf. 10.759, 12.177, 635, and 1.10, 7.421 with *tot*.

**possim superare** Cf. 1.244, 7.591; *s.* already at *Enn.**Ann.*195, 456.

**369 hic Helenus** A pause for ritual acts so brief as largely to escape notice (but cf. Cartault, 247, Grassmann-Fischer, 42): compare **264**, where Anch. turns immediately to offerings and prayer on hearing Celaeno's prophecy. Helenus' reaction is very similar; the threat of famine is an anomaly, to be countered by both ritual and prayer (cf. Shatzman(19), 62, with offerings in proportion to context, celebrant, occasion, Wissowa, 411f., Lersch, 182f., Burkert, 73, etc.), in order to regain the divine benevolence (*Serv.* here and *vd.* next v.), as had already been essayed at **261**. TCD thinks Helenus has his imminent answer to *Aen.* in mind, but that is not what **pacem diuum** would naturally indicate; *Serv.* on **370** sees clearly that H. must be considering the prediction of famine.

**caesis ... iuuentis** Cf. 7.87, 175; the offerings (Bailey, 47) not necessarily (*pace* Lersch, 169) to Apollo.

**primum** Offerings first to obtain the gods' benevolence; cf. **68**.

**de more** Cf. *nn.* on 7.357, 11.35, 142.

**370 exorat** The vb. only here in V: *Paul.exc.Fest.p.*253.23f. *nam impetrare est exorare*; so too *Serv.* here: *male* (cf. Beutler/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.1584.32f.), the result of a wish to distinguish too sharply between *orare* and *exorare*. Helenus prays earnestly, as was to be expected before so prolonged a revelation. An old vb., attested in com. and prose, but not obviously alien to poetry.

**pacem diuum** Cf. **261**.

**uittasque resolut** Cf. 6.48 *non comptaе mansere comae* (the Sibyl), 4.509, 518 (*vd.* Pease's n. on the hampering influence of knots in religion and magic), my n. on 7.394; Bömer on *Ov.F.*3.257, in a detailed discussion of loose hair and sympathetic magic, well cites *Petr.*44.18 *antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in cliuum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iouem aquam exorabant*. Helenus and Deiphobe alike remove a possible impediment to direct contact with Apollo's *numen*.

**371 *sacرات capitis S.*** not technically quite synonymous with *sacer* (Fugier, *EV* 4, 630), but in practice used as a weightier near-equivalent, of *sedes, arx, templa, iura, luci, uallis, pecudes*; perhaps 'employed or engaged in the service of a/the deity'. Here cf. 11.768 *sacer Cybello Chloreus*, and 7.60 *Lavinia sacra comam*.

**meque .../372 ... ducit** Cf. 347, 4.74. Swift, conventional, near-formulaic language brings us to the beginning of Helenus' prophecy.

**ad tua limina, Phoebe** At 6.115, t.1. addressed to the Sibyl, in her presence; here V. lends some variety, interest, solemnity to the occasion by an apostrophe (Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 40ff., Lunelli-Kroll, 25).

**372 ipse manu** A common collocation (Page on 4.344 'idea of personal interest or exertion', well). Page here: 'implying careful personal attention', which is notably acute: cf. n. on 11.500 for V.'s interest in marks of courtesy (here TCD remarks *apertum beniuolentiae signum*), and Corbeill(83), 21 for handshakes. We would hardly expect the chill and alarming Sibyl to take Aen. by the hand as they approach Apollo's temple, but here a gesture of affectionate reassurance from the seer would be timely, and delightful. Not, alas, susceptible of binding proof, though note the suggestive 2.723f. (students of gesture ignore Aen. giving his hand to Asc.), 8.124, 9.250f., with Heuzé, 588f. (*bene*), Ricottilli, 125, Lobe(176f.), 146ff., Sittl, 310ff..

**multo ... numine** Naturally, of the 'vaticinating god' (Henry). For the n. present at a cult-site, *EV* 3, 781f. compares 4.204. More to the point, this is the *numen* (thus, 6.50) so magnificently described at 6.77ff. that enters Aen. through his guide and through the place. Cf. further n. on 7.385, for the *numen* of Bacchus in his Maenads. Note 9.336f. *multoque iacebat/ membra deo uictus*.

**suspensum** Serv. well *si 'suspensus', ipse numinis plenus; si 'suspensum', me sollicitum et attentum*; on n., SDan adds *multa ueneratione numinis*. TCD *quod posuit numine, aut numinis ueneratione turbatum aut inde suspensum, ne contraria quam optabat audiret*. 'Servius' glosses are seldom so correctly couched as accurately to express his intended meaning', Henry. **Suspensum** codd.; -us known to Serv.. Clearly, V. wrote -um, but the linguistic point is nice (vd. Henry, Page, Bell, 425f.; *tacet EV*): cf. 2.114f. *suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi/ mittimus*, 728f. *sonus excitat omnis/ suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem*, 4.9. *quae me suspensam insomnia terrent*, 5.827f. *hic patris Anchisae suspensam blanda uicissim/ gaudia pertemptant mentem*, 6.722 *dicam equidem nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo*. Clearly present thus at Pacuv. *trag.*54. The sense of 'on tip-

toe'(7.810, where vd. n.) is not provably relevant here, but is no more to be excluded than at 2.729. If **s.** were applied to Helenus, it would suggest exaltation thanks to Apolline inspiration, rendering him *plenum deo*, as V. might have said. Of Aen. it can indicate no more than the anxious excitement of the questioner about to be given—perhaps—information bearing upon his voyage and future. That the acc. should suggest the nom., that excitement leads us to supply inspiration should not for one moment be excluded. We *expect s.* used of Helenus; when it is in fact applied to Aen., we look harder. *Tacet Mackie*. See Cartault, 247, Pötscher, 101, Unte, 222f.

**373 atque haec ... canit** Cf. 155, 366.

**deinde** After 369 **primum**, V. is at pains to develop the scene with slow-paced formality and deliberation, in keeping with the tone of what will follow. The Sibyl will let *her* hair down with greater energy(cf. Cartault, 248).

**diuino ex ore** 'Inspired', of a poet, *Buc.*5.45, etc.. *TLL* unhelpful.

**sacerdos** Cf. 80; Helenus a seer in Hom.(294–505, §a) and in that sense a **sacerdos** (priest-kings avoided before the Cycle, n. on 7.750, Seymour, 495), like the Sibyl, 6.35, etc.; *EV* 4, 631 ff. (Fugier).

**374–462** For both Hom.(Circe, Tiresias and Helenus) and AR(Phineus and Helenus), vd. 294–505 (i); Nelis' account of V.'s 'two-tier' debt is notably valuable. On 388, La Cerda also compares Prometheus' speech to Io (*PV* 700–41); note the role of Hera, the need(706) ὡς ἂν τέρμαθ' ἐκμάθηις ὁδοῦ, the importance of not drawing near to the lands of (712) the Scythians and (715) Chalybes, though the total of that is perhaps not enough to *prove* direct use. Helenus' speech does not have a tidy structure(but note 381 **principio**, 433 **praeterea**); indeed, Sabbadini tries slicing and chopping it into the remnants of various drafts. But that is to misconceive V.'s ambitions, in offering Aen. a comforting anticipation of his Italian goal and his readers an assurance that this voyage does *have* an end and purpose, ktistic, historical and national, in unfolding the two signs, long present in the Aen.-legend, that will Homerically reveal to Aen. that he has arrived in his promised land(389–94), in giving us a first taste of the Italian antiquarian erudition appropriate to a periplous that could (but will not) accompany Aen. every nautical mile of his journey to the Tiber mouth, in revealing the importance of the *ritus Romanus*, and the need to assuage Juno's wrath by prayer and offerings(403–9, 433–40), in treating the reader to an Homeric

doubling of the account of Scylla and Charybdis, in speech(410–32) and later in direct narrative, and in offering an anticipation of Aen.'s consultation of the Sibyl(441–60) that lends awe and mystery to antiquarian bricolage, while at the same time assuring Aen. both of further guidance to come and of the existence of means to overcome the obstacles that will arise. These varied themes, deriving largely from minute study of Hom. and AR are arranged, inevitably, not according to the requirements of art, but subject to the tyranny of geography. That is a complex and varied intention, though perhaps rather too much to be carried by a single speech. There seems moreover to be an identifiable desire to characterise the seer's style and language, as distinctively oracular(383); a definite verbosity (which enraged Quinn and G.W. Williams) may indeed at times slip from mantic amplitude towards vexatious repetition. R.D. Williams' comm. (vd. n. on 383) notes various 'unusual' metrical features of these vv. and the treatment of the (often self-contained) fourth foot is indeed singular, but it is not certain that this feature of rhythm would impinge upon a listener's ear and attention or that, if it did, it would be heard as distinctive and oracular. Oracular style is indeed occasionally demonstrable as such(by comparison with other oracular texts, naturally); its features are not to be established merely by modern intuition.

Much discussion of this speech(from Serv. on 379; cf. e.g. Cartault, 248, n.2, Block, 238, O'Hara, 28) has concentrated on what V. has preferred to leave out: the whole theme of Juno's anger, for a start. No word of the storm in bk.1, or of Aen.'s visit to Carthage; Heinze (98, n.1; so too e.g. O'Hara, 29, Otis, 259) thought there is a hint of the storm at 433–40, but that suggestion is not persuasive. How much more does Helenus know than he says? How much more did Aen. hear from Helenus than he tells Dido? Such questions are enough to fuel unending fruitless debate. The Aen. of Buthrotum has not yet lived the events of *Aen.*1, but we have read them, just as Aen. the narrator has survived them; Helenus' incomplete warning is therefore peculiarly rich in dramatic irony. We know that Juno will not be placated at least until bk.12, and in some sense not until the second Punic war (Feeney, in *ORVA*, 339ff.; cf. Duckworth, 86): to write of 'Aeneas' pitiable state of ignorance'(Block, 238; cf. O'Hara, 30) or to refer to the 'uselessness and deceptiveness' of Helenus' words(O'Hara, 31) risks replacing a deep and complex pattern of historical ironies(when *did* Juno finally come round?) with emotive rhetoric. No word of Polyphemus, it is said. But he will represent no immediate and awful threat

to the Trojans: Cyclopes, like Scylla and Charybdis, show Aen. quoting Hom. to his audience and V. is far too skilled to give all Aen.'s heroic adventures a double outing (prophecy *and* narrative; see, though, 554–69). No word of Anchises' death (nor consequently of the burning of the fleet and the foundation of Segesta). We cannot say whether Helenus is silent from authorial strategy, in obedience to Juno (so as to shock Aen. the more, *ad augendum inopinatum dolorem* remarks Serv., well on 379), or from compassion (so as not to depress him needlessly). Cf. 712–3: neither Helenus nor Celaeno had warned Aen. that his father would die. No word, either of Aeneas' old age and death, after the manner of *Od.*11.134–7, but the poet should be allowed to choose how much he shall reveal, and where, of events after the end of the poem. Recent analysis of the speech has been unable to deny that V. allows Helenus to tell Aen. a good deal about his goal and what will happen there (dismissed as 'insufficient and mechanical consolation for intolerable suffering' *vel sim.*). Actually, in antithesis to hostile Juno, Helenus adduces Apollo(395, 434) and Jupiter himself(375), not to mention Aen.'s own divine mother(374): Aen.'s *labores* are played out on Olympus too, and the speech offers a surprisingly fair and balanced summary of the heroic, divine and emotional conflicts present in *Aen.*1–6. See Block, 236–9, Cartault, 248–60, Di Cesare, 68–71, Duckworth, 84–6, Heinze, 98, n.1, Highet, 102, 256f., Hügi, 55, Klingner, 426–30, Knauer, 199–209, O'Hara, *DOP*, 26–31, Putnam, 57f., Quint(302), 32f., Quinn, 129–31, Sabbadini, xxiv, Unte, 223–5, Williams, *TI*, 265.

**374 nate dea** Cf. 311; the implications here are less complex than on that occasion, for here Aen.'s divine ancestry gives him (not—here at least—the power to visit Hades, but) the heavy but privileged task of sailing to the far West and there founding a living, new Troy. That a placid, negative, backwards-looking settlement like Buthrotum might have represented for Aen. an actual temptation, like Circe, Calypso, or even Nausicaa, for *Od.* is an idea (Anderson, 42) that deserved fuller consideration.

**nam** After the address, the reason is given: another instance (cf. 359f. **qui ... qui ... qui ...**) of the language of prayers (Norden, *Agn. Theos*, 153; not clear to Con., Page, Williams) and hymns transferred to appeals made to humans, or even, as here, to ordinary speech. For *nam* in *Gebetstil*, cf. NR on *Hor.C.3.11.1*. Aen. is a privileged enquirer, as H. respectfully makes plain.



**te ... ire per altum** Cf. G.1.456f. *non illa quisquam me nocte per altum/ire, Aen.*4.310, after Lucr.3.1030 *iterque dedit legionibus ire per altum*. The clausula *per altum* present at Enn.*Ann.spur.*9.

**maioribus .../ 375 auspiciis** Cf. *TLL* 8.131.34f., 142.19 (Bulhart): no significant parallel. Predictably, Serv.Dan. scents technical language (*augur loquitur auguriorum perito*): *auspicia maiora* defined as those which rank more highly than other *auspicia* (an eagle outranks a *parra*); cf. Pease on Cic.*Div.*1.124 (also, seen later, or seen by a magistrate of higher rank) and note the distinction *hostiae lactantes/ maiores*. That could have become germane here too, did the context offer any suggestion of ‘competition’ in the matter of auspices between the various Trojan exiles. As it is, though, Catalano remarks rightly (*EV* 1, 423) on the unbeatable auspices Aen. receives from Jup.(2.687ff., 7.141ff., but vd. my n. on 7.141: epic, not Roman), the careful reader should be readier to allow a less precisely technical sense (cf. Bailey, 21). Study of Serv. and Serv.Dan. shows that the exact reference here was much discussed in antiquity.

**manifesta fides** The adj. markedly Lucretian(14x.); note Liv.6.13.7 *manifesta fides publica ope Volscos hostes adiutos* (vd. Oakley; ‘clear proof that’, Austin); 2.309 *tum uero manifesta fides* not the same(‘the truth of the matter became clear’ Austin). Likely to be of epic origin. Cf. Fraenkel, *TLL* 6.1.672.65f..

**sic fata .../ 376 sortitur** ‘Shares out’, apparently; cf. 510, 634, 5.756, 8.445, 9.174: by this metaphor, Jup. apports the destinies of men (*ea quae fatur*, did we wish to spell it out) rather as a foreman shares out the jobs at the beginning of a working day(cf. Timpanaro, *NC*, 397f., Bailey, 229ff., Feeney, 139f., Boyancé, 48, Pötscher, 60, 62 for this view of Jup.’s role); related, clearly, is the mode of speaking of the individual’s destiny as ‘lot’(cf. n. on 11.165, *EV* 4, 949ff., without discussion of *sortiri*).

**deum rex** Cf. 12.851; *dium pater atque hominum rex quater* in *Aen.*, and Ennian (*Ann.*203; vd. Skutsch’s n.). Here, possibly (Traina on 12, *cit.*), that formula is abbreviated; certainly, neither final monosyll. nor shortened gen.plur. incompatible with possible Ennian origin. Cf. nn. on 7.305, 592.

**376 uoluitque uices** Traina, *EV* 5\*, 625 remarks that 1.22 *sic uoluerit Parcas* is not closely comparable (cf. Cat.64.314, G.4.348f. for the Fates’ spindles, there far more in evidence); here, he compares (? after Barchiesi, *Nevio epico*, 403) Naev.*BP* fr.36Strz. *uicissatim uolui uictoriam* (after

*Il.*6.339 νίκη δ' ἐπαμείβεται ἄνδρα, suggests Barchiesi; cf. Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 258–60, my n. on 11.425f., and the important motif in *Aen.* of the victors defeated, and the vanquished victorious, n. on 7.295); the analogy of *G.*2.402 *in se sua per uestigia uoluitur annus* is less clear. V may then here indicate tersely the vast mechanism of the rise and fall of nations and their rulers. Not clear, though, what the latent image in **uoluit** may be (note Hom. κλίνδετο, *Od.*8.81); the unrolling of a written record is present at *Enn. Ann.* 164, but not necessarily so here. Almost triple alliteration in the second half of the hexam. (on which vd. n. on 7.190).

**is uertitur ordo** Cf. 5.707 *uel quae fatorum posceret ordo* (common thus in Cic., *ND* 2.16, 43, etc.), Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.958.65f.; Lenaz, *EV*, 3, 880, well compares Cic. *Div.*1.125 *fatum id appello quod Graeci εἰμαρμένην, id est ordinem seriemque causarum* (where vd. Pease), noting that V. favours expressions which convey a universe governed by destined/divine order (vd. *series*, *catena* rendering εἰρμός, Chrysippus fr.917, 918. etc.). Cf. 5.626 *uertitur aestas*: V. chooses a vb. here that conveys the movement of some vast system; here not loudly or specifically Stoic, but as often quite in keeping with Stoic doctrine. Cf. Pomathios, 326, Wlosok, *RHRD*, 362.

**377 pauca ... e multis** The antithesis commoner in the personal form *pauca ex multis*, as at Plaut. *Pseud.*390, Liv.4.33.11; see Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1611.8, 1613.50, Gatti, *ib.*10.1.802.10ff. for further comparable instances in speech-formulae (e.g. Cic. *Fam.*11.24.1, and cf. Lucr. 6.1083). So apparently (almost) original phrasing.

**tibi ...// 379 expediam dictis** The vb. strongly Lucretian in flavour (n. on 7.40), and clearly not technical (Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1613.32); **d.**: 153, 358, etc.. The vb. much delayed, here not to achieve tension, but in the interests of a certain majesty naturally inherent in proemia (which this almost is). Note Phineus' initial explanation of the limitations upon what he may reveal (AR 2.311ff., Nelis, 40).

**quo** Cf. n. on 7.388.

**tutior** Cf. 2.620, 3.387, 5.796, 813 *tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Auerni*, *EV* 5\*, 309. Roughly the motivation offered by Circe at *Od.*12.25–7.

**hospita ... / 378 aequora** Cf. V's *unda, coniunx, terra hospita, inhospita Syrtis, i. saxa*: in the absence of an orthodox fem. of *hospes*, and given the need for an adj. form less undactylic than (*in-*)*hospitalis* (Hor. *C.*1.22.6,

etc.), both needs were filled by the poets, with encouragement from Gk. ξενὴ χθῶν, γῆ (Soph.*OC* 1256, 1705). These secondary formations first in Plaut.; *hospita* a real adj., too, as the neg. form confirms. Cf. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 2, 54f., NW 2, 34f., Leumann, 269, Lunelli-Leumann, 166, n.39, EM s.v.(erratic), Lausberg, *TLL* 6.3.3030.23, *EV* 2, 861. ‘Friendly waters’ and ‘safer voyage’ clearly complementary notions. Serv. offers *uicina*, unhelpfully and *Gloss.V* Abba HO 3 *peregrina* is no better. Lausberg, citing the (unprofitable) discussions of Con. and Henry, refers to *ambiguitas* in the Latin, but ‘friendly’ is entirely in keeping with usage at *G.3.362*, *Aen.4.41*, 5.627, 6.93 (*supra*), *Prop.3.21.17 aequoris hospes* and with the plain sense required by the context here. The **hospita terra** of 532 will have a slightly different force. No call to emend (Peerlkamp, Baehrens).

**lustres** Cf. 385 **lustrandum nauibus aequor**, and on land cf. *Buc.10.55*, *G.4.519*, *Aen.2.528*, 12.474 (flight), Clavadetscher, *TLL* 7.2.1875.78ff.. This sense of a complicated vb. previously in Lucil., Cic., prose; Cic. also works the vb. hard in *Arat.* and ‘travel over’ is present (along with ‘illuminate’) in 224 (*signa caelum lustrantia cursu*) (cf. Soubiran’s n.), as Cordier, 99 remarks. Cf. *EV* 3, 287.

**378 Ausonio ... portu A.** already at 170f. (Penates speaking of **terras ... Ausonias**); a landfall and harbour there is a very modest addition.

**possis considerare** Cf. 368 **possim superare**; apparently unconscious repetition of a harmless (and convenient) stylistic amplification. C.: cf. 162 (vd. n.).

**379 prohibent** So of the *Furiarum maxima* at 6.606 and cf. *Hor.C.2.6.9 unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae*; given the displaced particle and the postponed subject, the prohibition is given singular emphasis.

**nam** For the anastrophe, cf. n. on 7.122.

**cetera/ 380 scire** These limitations upon a seer’s capacities of complex literary origins (and V. returns to the motif with clear structural intentions at 461f.): Tiresias had been blinded (in one version) for revealing too much of the gods’ secrets to men, *Apld.Bibl.* 2.4.8, 3.6.7, Robert, 2.1, 128 and his relevance to the development of V.’s Helenus is plain, 294–505 (b)(i); AR then transformed the Hom. seer in his own Phineus(Nelis, *cit.*) and Phineus likewise was punished for his prophetic indiscretions; punished, he became, like Helenus, discreet and selective (vd. 212f., AR 2.179ff., O’Hara, *DOP*, 27f.). Note also *Hyg.Astr.2.18*

on Hippe. At *Il.*19.418 the Erinyes silence the horse Xanthus after Hera had given him speech(407). Cf. Duckworth 85f., 102f., O'Hara, *DOP*, 26f., Nelis, 39ff., de la Ville de Mirmont, 510ff.. Serv. here threw later commentators into confusion by his notion that the fates did not allow Aen. to *know*, while Juno did not allow Helenus to *speak*; clearly Helenus could not speak if he did not know, as Serv.'s codd. WN add. Fourteen pages of justifiable outrage from James Henry(the heart of the matter, admirably put, at pp.431 f.), after which no-one needed to suggest (though Williams, R.G.C. Coleman, *GR* 29 (1982), 167, n.43 and O'Hara, 26, n.35 have all done so and others could be named) that the sense of the passage was still in any doubt: Helenus did not know and could not tell (Henry cites Aesch.*Ag.*248 and Liv.*praef.*1 *nec satis scio nec, si sciam, dicere ausim* for ignorance as an obstacle to speech): H. offers weighty theme and variation, a crushing double veto(cf. 395 for a comparable pairing, with force reversed; vd. too n. on 375), from both Juno and the Fates(for the pairing, cf. too *Il.*18.119, *Il.*19, *supra*, and for V.'s typical coupling of alternative agents, vd. Henry, 432ff., Bailey, 226ff., n. on 337), and the content of the two amply and variously parallel members sufficiently related to justify the use of 'theme and variation'.

**Parcae** Used occasionally (after Cat.64.305ff.; cf. Cic.*ND* 3.44 for P. in their mythol. context) by V. as personified *fata*; cf. Bailey, 220, *EV* 3, 968ff., Pötscher, 62, 88. But also long established in Lat. cult. Cf. Robert Schilling, *EV* 1, 787ff.: on one of the cippi of Tor Tignosa (pub.1948) *Parca Maurtia* is read; further bibl., *RMM*, 17.

**380 Helenum** Cf. n. on 7.401 for the pathetic use of the speaker's own name (passably common in V., less so in Hom.).

**farique uetat** Given the vicinity of the Parcae, the infin. just might be taken as implying that Juno is here at least acting in keeping with the Fates' decrees; for *fari* and *fata* (often associated in V.), cf. O'Hara 121, 187, 217, 224.

**Saturnia Iuno** The (Ennian)formula *septiens* in *Aen.*(cf. Moskalew, 81); cf. n. on 7.560 for various explanations of the epithet's significance. Cf. 435ff.. In the narrative, Helenus is muzzled by Juno(O'Hara, *DOP*, 30, Block, 237f.), while V. is prompted by his selective source, AR(*supra*) and successful plotting suggests that partial revelation at this stage is quite sufficient. Cf. xxxv-xxxvi for the 'issue' of the reduction of Juno's role in bk.3. Here her exceptional presence seems to be suggested by Tiresias' reference to Posidon's role at *Od.*11.112f.(Nelis, 40; Knauer also draws attention to the significance of the nearby 11.106 for 381).

**381 principio** Cf. 7.342: Lucretian, and suitably solemn for the first point in a very lengthy exposition; also cf. Phineus at AR 2.317 πέτρας μὲν πάμπρωτον (but the Symplegades he describes next are near at hand—Nelis, 41—while the Trojans' ultimate goal is not). The next formal division occurs at **433 praeterea**, AR 2.347 αὐτίκα.

**Italiam** Cf. n. on 7.178 for the hist. spread of the name; used by V. here and elsewhere in the full Roman sense (though today we need to eliminate Cisalpine Gaul from our mental image of the familiar boot). V. here takes advantage of the divergence between Aen.'s perception of Ital. geography and his readers'. Two distinct objections to her Adriatic shore are here advanced: (i) it was the Tyrrhenian shore (cf. **479**) that was the Trojans' destined goal (**381–7**), in all versions and (ii) the Adriatic shore was occupied by Greeks (**396–8**). Cf. Cartault, 248, Hight, 256.

**quam tu ... rere** The seer opens the distance between his hearer's hopes and his own knowledge. For this form of the 2nd. person sing., cf. n. on 7.437.

**iam** Why should Aen. 'now' think (correctly) that Italy was getting near? Since **166** Aen. has known Italy to be his destination, but nothing in the text indicates that his goal was getting near. Is the narrator transferring his impatience to the speaker or is V. letting the knowledge of Italy's whereabouts that he shares with his readers colour Helenus' understanding of Aen.'s thoughts?

**propinquam** At **502** the propinquity of Italy (the W. shore, indeed) returns, markedly contracted by the needs of trans-Adriatic friendship.

**382 uicinosque ... portus** An expansion of the thought of **381**, resting comfortably on the parallel adjectives (for **uicinos** is as seen by one *ignarus* of the 'wider picture', as **rere propinquam** makes clear), and perhaps to be called 'parenthetic' (which is at least an improvement on the 'supply *cuius*' seen in some comms.; for the idiom, cf. Wagner, *QV* xxxiv. §4). Not strongly anchored in the logic of the sentence and not easily rendered into neat and orderly prose.

**ignare** Cf. n. on 7.425 for the voc. (not, *pace* Serv., a simple alternative for nom.); for **i.**, cf. **338**. Admonition wrapped in the nasal assonance of **ign-...ign-**.

**paras inuadere** Cf. **248**; Helenus suggests (as a result of their recent conversations, we might think) that Aen. seems to think he has but to cross one more sea to reach his goal. **I.**: cf. **240**, 6.260. Serv. there *ingredere* and here too no more than 'enter', (Mühmelt/Hiltbrunner,

*TLL* 7.2.114.77ff.); so already *Acc.trag.*192, and cf. too **209–69** (i) for a further restatement of the unfashionable suggestion that Aen.'s voyage is perhaps *not* always one of violent and calculated aggression.

**383 longa ... longis uia diuidit inuia terris** A fine complex poetic flourish at the outset: first, the adjs. **longa** and **inuia** both refer to **uia** and have no copula (formally *lepidum nouum* is asyndetic but the term is best not used here); the stileme is Ennian, discussed at length on 7.625. Secondly, **uia ... inuia** is a studied, recognisable Grecism (cf. Wills, 455, with bibl. for this oxymoron, a common type in both Gk. and Lat.; here cf. *Ov.Met.*14.113 (the Sibyl quotes V.), *Sen.HF* 567, Reichmann, *TLL* 7.2.237. 67ff.); cf. *Eur.IT* 889 δι ὁδοῦς ἀνόδοις; add *Soph.OC* 167 ἀβάτων ἀποβάς and for the disposition of ideas, cf. (Wills) *Pind.Ol.*3.44f. τὸ πόρρω δ' ἐστὶ κοφοῖς ἄβατον κἀκόφοις. Wills's account of the word's history misleads: it apparently comes to V., as to Liv.(who does not use it before 9.14.10, probably later than *Aen.*3), from *Sall.Hist.*(1.11Maurenbrecher; foolishly listed by Cordier, 145 among words first found in V.). Has the expression a neoteric ring(Wills, 227, n.14, 455, n.50)? The wanderings of Hermaphroditus (*Ov.Met.*4.294) do not make V.'s point (*ignotis errare locis*), and the influence of Calvus' *Io* is perforce hypothetical. **Longa ... uia** is echoed in closure, **714** and in Dido's dream, 4.467. **Diuidit** (cf. Bauer, *TLL* 5.1.1601. 25f.), for Wills(455, n.50, 227, n.14), echoes Gallus fr.1 *uno tellures diuidit amne duas*: the rhet. point is different and the *sedes* not comparable; actual indebtedness seems therefore fanciful. For the dactyl. word here, cf. **622**. The repet. here, we should not forget, is double(-though of contrasting types), both **longa ... longis** and **uia ... inuia**: there are more spectacular instances (*G.*2.227–9), but very few(Wills, 186: insufficient). Lastly, the repetition in this v. has long been hailed as oracular, and that is probably right: beyond *Ov.*'s Sibyl(*supra*), cf. Norden on *Aen.*6.46 (and *Agn.Theos*, 377, *Altröm. Priesterbücher*, 233, n.2), Wills, 111, *Ov.Met.*15.681 *uerba sacerdotis referunt geminata*; here an epic elaboration of a recognisable oracular stileme; Peerlkamp did not know this, and his **interuallis** is at least ingenious. Above all, compare (Cordier, *bene*) 7.69f., the *uates*' interpretation of the portent of Lavinia and the bees *partes petere agmen easdem / partibus ex isdem* (cf. Grassmann-Fischer, 70, n.33 and Cordier, *Alliteration*, 79); the parallel ought to have been cited long ago, not least in my n. on 7, *cit.*

**procul** Typically impalpable, 'at some distance'; the measure to be extrapolated by the reader from the context.

**384 ante et .../ 385 et** Possibly V. has in mind Tiresias' prophecy to Od., 11.100ff.; he may reach home, with great difficulty, thanks to Poseidon's hostility (cf. Juno, **380**), but, when his ship reaches Θρινακίη νῆσος (107; cf. **385**) he must restrain his companions from attacking the Cattle of the Sun. Cf. Nelis, 40. The **quam** follows at **387** (cf. KS 2, 366); a major convenience for dactylic poets.

**Trinacria ... in unda** Hom.'s Θρ. long thought to be Sicily, the island of the three capes (*tri—acr*; cf. Serv.Dan. on **687**); cf. Thuc.6.2.2, Strab.6.2.1, DH 1.22.2, Plin.3.86, Heubeck on *Od.*12.260–402, AR 4.291, Pfeiffer on *Call.Aet.*fr.40, Ziegler, PW2A.2462.64ff., 11A.601.60ff.. But in fact Θρ. 'might be anywhere' (Thomas and Stubbings(291), 309), though similarity of sound clearly aided the old Sicilian identification. Note 5.789 *Libycis ... in undis*. Structurally to be compared to AR 4.291 (with 994; Nelis, 44): the Argonauts will end up in the Ionian Sea, called by AR Trinacrian; cf. **211** for the distinction between Ionian and Sicilian seas.

**lentandus remus** Not, *pace* Cordier, 145, a Virgilian coinage (the case for Enn. is weak, Wigodsky, 40, but SDan cites a sentence in *Annalibus* including the word *lentati*, though that may not actually be what Enn.(if it actually is Enn.) wrote: cf. Skutsch on *Dubia* 8); Serv., like the glossators, hesitates between 'row *lente*'(thinking of the circumnavigation of all Sicily) and *flectendus*, comparing *lentum uimen* (Collassero, *TLL* 7.2.1161.14f.). No doubt here in the context: cf. AR 2.591f. ἐπεγνάμπτοντο δὲ κῶπαι/ ἤτε κάμπυλα τόξα (Hügi, 77); Sen.*Ag.*437f. confirms the sense *flectendus*: *properat iuuentus omnis, adductos simul/ lentare remos* and the oars are no more sluggish at Cat.64.183, *lentos incuruans gurgite remos* (where Fordyce renders our passage 'must be ... bent'). Cf. also n. on 7.28 *lento ... marmore* (a natural application of the adj., perhaps there to be considered as transferred). James Henry caught a crab with his first interpretation here, but at (b) in his second (2, 448f.), gets pretty near the point: the oars are curved by the pressure of the (sluggish) water. The pressure of the water does, in fact slow (**lentandus**) the passage of the blades, though neither V. nor Sen. should be supposed to know this directly. Miss Hubbard's bracing comments on the first draft of this n. reveal an experience at the rowlocks evidently and unsurprisingly wider than my own.

**385 salis Ausonii** Cf. AR 4.590 Αὐσονίης... ἄλος, *Aen.*1.35, 6.697 *stant sale Tyrrheno classes*,10.214; the use of **s.** both Homeric (ἄλος) and

Ennian (*Ann.*378); the synecdoche, 7.245. **A.**: vd. **171**. Given that **salis** and **aequor** are synonyms, the gen is *genitiuus inhaerentiae*: cf. n. on 7.352.

**lustrandum nauibus aequor** In successive lines topogr. adj. before the caesura and gerundive directly after; a sonorous ('oracular', perhaps) effect is sought. **A.** an old, routine, high word: n. on 7.228, and nn. on **191**, **325**, *supra*. **V.** has just written (**377f.**) **quo tutior hospita lustres/ aequora** and the phrasing lies ready to hand in his short-term memory.

**386 infernique lacus** Cf. Liv.8.24.3 *stagna inferna*, Tib.2.6.40 *uenit ad infernos ... lacus*, Prop.2.28.40, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1372.7, van Wees, *TLL* 7.2.862.52. No surprise to discover that *Aen.*6 is already planned and localised. Avernus, primarily, is meant (**442**), a name in equilibrium between Campania and Underworld(Sbordone, *EV* 1, 431, citing Lucr.6.738ff. on **A.** as a name in widespread application to such entrances to the nether regions. Note n. on 7.91 and Austin on 6.126 for the toponym between two worlds); add e.g. the lago Lucrino (G.2.161; vd. Castagnoli(**441**), 1023ff.) and note Frederiksen(**441**), 100 for the uncertain identification of 'Acherusia'(Strab.5.4.6) in antiquity. The reference forward to the Sibyl and the stylistic amplitude in the expansion of **aequor** should have been enough to discourage attempts at deletion (Gebhardi).

**Aeaeaeque ... Circae** The whole passage markedly Apollonian in its detail(Nelis, 44, 190 on analogies of Circe and Sibyl); unsurprisingly, for Trojans and Argonauts sail the same waters; vd. **Trinacria** (**384**), Circe here and at AR 4.559, the Ausonian Sea of **385** and some scraps gathered, Nelis, *cit.*, n.113. Aea the site of Helios' palace in the far east as early as Mimn.fr.11aWest (cf. Eumelus, *Corinth*.fr.2Davies/3Bernabé); whence the name Aeetes, Helios' son and Aeaea, for Hom. the home of Helios' daughter, Circe. Circe, it seems now agreed, belonged first to the story of the Argonauts; while Hom.'s Aeaea is still eastern(12.3f.), but very vaguely so(note later Hdt.'s Colchis for Aea, 7.193), AR 'westernised' her for fun and as a lit. challenge; that location in the W. apparently dates first from the post-Hesiodic *Theog.*1011ff. (West's n. on 1016 might point to c.6). Cf. Nelis, 44, Hunter on AR 3.311–3, Heubeck on *Od.*10.135–9, I. Malkin, *Returns of Odysseus* (Berkeley 1998), 183ff.(his claim that *Theog.*1011ff. might be Hesiodic in date and authorship is not defended in detail and does not hold; cf. n. on 7.5–24, and Boas on the same vv., J. Poucet, *Origines de Rome* (Bruxelles 1985),



46), P. Draeger, *NP* 1, 306f., 6, 487ff.. For the gen. in *-ae* (standard at this period; *-es* will begin to replace it), cf. NW 1, 97f.

**insula** An extraordinary limestone outcrop, 541 metres high (n. on 7.799; cf. nn. on 7.5–24 and 10, *Enea nel Lazio*, 70ff.), which still towers over coastline and Pomptine Marshes, giving, from a distance, a strong impression of being an island; cf. of course *Od.*10.135 Αἰαίνῃ νῆσον. No longer governed by **lustrandum** (for the sense is not quite right), but by a verb of similar sense provided by zeugma (a fine discussion, Bell, 304ff.).

### 387 **quam** Completing 384 **ante**.

**tuta ... terra** Cf. 78, 377, *EV* 5\*, 309; the strong allit. of t in this verse and the next might be intended as ‘oracular’, undemonstrably

**possis** Cf. 368, 378 (possibly a ‘tic’ by now).

**urbem componere** The vb. of *leges*, *agger* (7.6, 12.315) and above all of the *genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis* which Saturn (8.322) *composuit legesque dedit*; note also Antenor, who settles and (1.249) *nunc placida compostus pace quiescit*. Cf. too Prop.2.6.5 *deletas potuit componere Thebas*, Ov.F.1.708 (temple). See Hofmann, *TLL* 3.2123.13. Here a slightly unusual expression of Aen.’s fundamental activity as coloniser and city-founder: cf. 109. I am not sure (*pace* Görler, *EV*, 2, 277) that we really need to look for the senses both of ‘found’ and of ‘order’ as simultaneously (and strikingly) present here, given that both are indeed normally inherent in the verb and do not need to be distinguished or unravelled.

**388 signa ... dicam** Cf. G.1.471 *signa dabant*, Aen.2.171 *nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstros*, 12.244f. *alto/ dat signum caelo*; here σήματα, prodigies.

**tibi ... tu** Pronoun polyptoton a discreet paratactic alternative to a rel. clause, the second persons appropriate to Helenus’ near-didactic manner(cf. 6.91, 95, 96).

**condita mente** Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.151.65ff. and Hofmann, *ib.* 8.723.30, compare Apul.*Met.*11.6 *plane memineries et penita mente conditum semper tenebis*; cf. 7.570 *quis condita Erinys*, *EV* 2, 117. Such predicative expressions also common with *tenere*: e.g. 4.331f., 6.469, 7.250.

**teneto** Repeated, 408 (significance attributed, *EV* 5\*, 100, but not specified). The so-called fut.imper.(Leumann, 571, Kühner-Holzweissig, 667f., NW 3, 213ff.) rarely used in *Aen.*(and more suited to the didactic manner of G.): 5.310, 314, 6.95 (appropriate to the solemnity of the Sibyl, both there and, clearly, here), 10.53, 12.192, 438. Hom.

κύ δὲ κύνηθεο θυμῶ (Od.15.27, etc.; cf. 17.153) and ἐν φρεσὶ βάλλεο  
 κῆρι (*passim*) close in phrasing. La Cerda (see 374–462), with Io in mind,  
 cites [Aesch.]PV 788f. κοὶ πρῶτον, 'λοῖ, πολύδονον πλάνην φράσω,  
 ἦν ἐγγράφου κύ μνήμοσιν δέλτοισ φρενῶν.

**389–393** Portent of the sow; the ‘inconsistency’ with bk.8 is discussed in some detail, xxxiii–xxxiv). **390–2** are repeated at 8.43–5; 8.46 is interpolated from **393** (cf. Günther, 26, n.43., Berres, 315 ff.) and Moskalew, 113 argues, credibly enough, that the repetition in bk.8 is quite deliberate: though the repetition is from prophecy to prophecy (cf. Sparrow, 102f.), there is a small variation of content in the two revelations, in keeping with the change in Aen.’s circumstances (introd., *cit.*) and no light is shed on the state of bk.3. The sow has usually sixteen teats (12; Plin. *Nat.* 11. 233), farrows unassisted up to twenty piglets, but in the hands of cross-breeding specialists, has reached a record of 27 (*Daily Telegraph* 10.vi.2003, p.8). Breeders were opposed to large litters (Varr. *RR* 2.4.19, Colum. 7.9.13, Pallad. 3.26.4 and cf. *Geoponica* 19.6.11). To ancient readers, a litter of thirty (so Fab. *Pict.* fr.4P and Lyc. 1253 ff., if not later than V.) was clearly a prodigy (Varr. *RR* 2.4.17 indeed lays down that piglets in excess of teats are a *portentum*; TCD here uses *monstrum*; cf. V. Dasen, *Jumeaux, jumelles* (Zürich 2005), 274) is in fact the one clearly prodigious element in V.’s version, though alongside the number (**391**), the colour (**392**) of the litter is also traditionally significant. Apparently, Varro also remarked (Serv. *Dan.* on **392** = *res hum* 2 fr.17 Mirsch; vd. Ehlers, 171, n.31) that though there were piglets of other colours, only white ones clustered around the sow’s teats; did he therefore think that the litter contained *more* than thirty? In Fabius and elsewhere (Horsfall, 1989, 13, n.38), the sow is also the animal that guides the Trojans to their new home, a story-type both Gk. and Italic (Cornell, Horsfall, *cit.*, A.S. Pease, *CPh.* 12 (1917), 8, E. Dench, *From barbarians to new men* (Oxford 1995), 185, with further bibl.), which V. finds in general (but note the doves in bk.6) insufficiently dignified (Horsfall, *cit.*, Thomas, 55f.). Ehlers, 172 draws attention to the wild boar in the *ktisis* of Ephesus, told by Creophylus, fr.1, *FHG* 4, 371, *FGH* 417F1. See T.J. Cornell, *RAC* 12 (1983), 1132, W. Ehlers, *MH* 6 (1949), 166 ff., Grassmann-Fischer, 54 ff., E.L. Harrison, *PLLS* 5 (1985), 145f., Horsfall, *ORVA*, 472, (1989), 13, *Alambicco*, 99, Perret, 323 ff., Poucet (**386**), 280f., Rehm, 47f., J. Thomas in *Mythologies du porc* ed. P. Walter (Grenoble 1999), 51 ff. (fanciful and imprecise). The industrious illustrator in **F** (vd. reproduction at *EV* 2, 225) reaches, I think, 22

piglets in the space available. The omen of the winnowing-fan, to mark to Od. that he has reached home (*Od.* 11.127–9) clearly has a structurally comparable function (Nelis 41, n.99 after Knauer, 201, 383).

**389 cum ...// 391 iacebit** There is something inescapably droll and homely about sows and piglets (cf. Columella, *supra*, on the difficulties of identifying the various possible mothers of the numerous piglets on a given farm, who should therefore be colour-coded by the farmer); V. spreads himself over a very long sentence, for even by the end of the *cum*-clause, we have not come to the main verb. Piglets, like pittas(394), are traditional elements which V. uses gladly to lighten the tone; destiny lurks round the corner of the sty and **sus** too will suggest a certain playfulness in the writing. Links (attested only from c.8 AD) between Fr. *truie*/ it. *troia* ('sow') and Lat. *Troia*, however intriguing, were not demonstrably present to V.'s mind (cf. Ehlers, 167, n.8, EM s.v. *troia*). For the fut., cf. KS 2, 334.

**tibi sollicito** Cf. 8.19, 29, 35, 40 for Aen. anxious for the threat of war, and about to be relieved by Tiberinus' dream-appearance and account, in rather different terms, of the sow-portent. Cf. n. on 7.81 for **s.** and O'Hara, *DOP*, 54 for V.'s concern with setting the recipient's mood before prophecy is uttered. The dat. 'with' both **inuenta** and **iacebit** (as though they could be distinguished); discussion in Rehm, 47, n.102, Grassmann-Fischer, 54, n.1.

**secreti ... fluminis** For **s.**, cf. 6.443, 7.774; Tiberinus' appearance to Aen. is, though beside a busy waterway, symbol of Rom. greatness, a solitary and nocturnal moment (cf. Buchheit, 181, Reeker, 51 ff.). 'Hidden' by great trees.

**ad ... undam** Cf. 6.714 *Lethaei ad fluminis undam*, 10.833 *Tiberini ad fluminis undam* and n. on 7.436 for the waves of Virgilian rivers; n. on 7.586 considers the licit poetic combinations of water, rocks, banks, streams and the like. Hom. has not only κῦμα ... ποταμοῖο, but (e.g.) ῥόον, ῥέεθρα, ῥοῖσι as well.

**390 litoreis ... sub ilicibus** The adj. also at 12.248; perhaps a coinage (cf. Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2.1514.15f. Cordier, 145) and certainly loftier than e.g. *litore* would have been; **l.** used of the banks of a river: vd. n. on 7.477. **I.**: cf. n. on 11.851.

**ingens ... sus** If V. were making a case for the sow's portentous size, he would not use tired, overworked *ingens* (Grassmann-Fischer, 56 hankers after a significant use). Cf. n. on 7.17 (with further bibl.) for

the unexpectedly massive presence of *sus* in high poetry. As final monosyll., clearly high-profile here (Grassmann-Fischer, 56, n.12, with bibl.). Hellegouarc'h (*EV* 3, 572) suggests that final *sus* in V.(also *G.3.255*, *Aen.8.43*, 83) actually echoes *Lucr.5.25 horrens Arcadius sus*. Distinguish the menacing boar (*G., cit.*) and the gross sow; here newly farrowed (Gavin Douglas, 'a grete sow *ferreit* of grysis thretty heid'); she is lent stylistic majesty, not without a smile.

**inuenta** The lengthy period unwinds slowly and (*pace* Cova), there is no special emphasis at all given to the discovery of the sow; the discovery will prove to be wonderfully, paradoxically undramatic: in V.'s version, an ample sow and a portentous litter—just lying there (**iacebit** clearly *does* bear much emphasis), and not (*supra*) trotting nimbly ahead of the Trojans.

**391 triginta** The years of Ascanius' reign at Lavinium, before the founding of Alba, *vel sim.* (Horsfall, *CQ* 24 (1974), 112f., Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 784, Ehlers, 169f.), according to *Fab.Pictor.* Or the number of the thirty Alban colonies (Lyc.(if not derived from V.)1255ff., Ehlers, 167, A. Alföldi *Early Rome and the Latin* (Ann Arbor, n.d.), 271ff., W.A. Schröder, ed. *Cat.Orig.1*, 141, R.E.A. Palmer, *Archaic community ...* (Cambridge 1970), 10f., Castagnoli(12), 95, etc.). The 'thirty colonies' reappear in connexion with the sow at *Just.20.1.12* (Ehlers, 167), though they are attested elsewhere (DH 3.34.1, Schwegler 1, 203, 346) without their aition; the 'thirty years'(and thirty piglets), on the other hand, has a vast literary progeny (Alföldi, 274, n.6, Schwegler, 1, 337, n.1). The bronze statues of sow and piglets seen by Varro at Lavinium (*RR* 2.4.17f.) are evidently those to which Lyc.1260 refers, but if this part of Lyc. is as late as Dr. West suggests (vd. 183), then Varro could easily have been among the interpolator's sources.

**capitum fetus** Cf. *TLL* 3.406.70. (Maurenbrecher), 6.1.637.69f. (Leonhardi). *Caput* standard in prose for 'individual'('head', indeed); of animals, cf. 5.61f., and already Cato, *Agr.83.1 in capita singula boum*, *Varr.RR* 2.9.7 *singula capita canum* (ancient farming idiom therefore); with **f.** as 'litter, farrow', cf. *Cic.ND* 2.128 *quae multiplices fetus procreant, ut sues, ut canes* (with Pease's n.), *EV* 2, 507.

**enixa** Cf. 327, *Colum.6.28.1 ut post tertium annum enixa fetum educet*, Groth, *TLL* 5.2.598.13f.

**392 alba ... albi** Cf. *Prop.4.1.35 et stetit Alba potens, albae suis omine nata*. The repetition alerts us to the ancient etym., *Alba-alba* (cf. O'Hara, 143,

Wills, 284, Edgeworth, 66. Note however Alpes, Albula, Albunea for the name's other links and associations), which confirms the original connexion of the story with Alba, not Lavinium. Only Lyc. 1256 differs: a black sow(an imported, Trojan sow, to boot; cf. Varr.*LL* 5.144) and Lavinium: perverse and deeply problematic, were this really our oldest version of the story; far easier to digest, however, as a later reversal of a stable, even hackneyed account. Vd. Thomas, Alföldi, *citt.*, for theories on the 'original meaning' of the sow in this story. Given that **recubans** restates **iacebit**, there was never much to be said for the comma after **alba**.

**solo recubans** The vb.(Lucretian, 1.38) of Cerberus, Cacus, and Tityrus; in V., always in pres.part..The full line of description, articulated by majestic initial anaphora, is important to the relieved and smiling tone(cf. 390).

**circum ubera** Cf. 8.631 *ubera circum*, of the wolf (and note 5.285 *geminique sub ubere nati*). If the piglets are suckling, then they are likewise *recubantes*; the anaphora attaches them lightly to the structure of the sentence and parenthesis (so Williams) should not have been invoked.

**nati** Vb. and noun of animal births/offspring, too, naturally, but their number, and naturally pullulating disorder, in this climactic position can hardly be altogether straight-faced.

**393 is ... ea** Demonstr. attracted into gender of predicate: cf. KS 1, 34f., LHS, 442, Ernout-Thomas, 131, *Aen.*1.17, 6.129.

**locus urbis erit** Any city as heir to Troy and end to the exiles' wanderings: though we might for now think of the Trojans' city-camp by the Tiber, or even of Lavinium(prior to Alba), nothing is here specified. Cova seems to misunderstand Serv.Dan.'s n.: Serv.Dan. sees that the ref. is to Lavinium and/or Alba and is worried only by their distance from the sea; far enough too from the Tiber. Only at 8.48 does V. link the sow explicitly with the foundation (after thirty years) of Alba. Cf. 109 for **l.** in this ktistic context, Tib.2.5.56 *hic magna iam locus urbis erit*, Grassmann-Fischer, 59, n.36 and **85 moenia** for the destined city.

**requies ... certa laborum** Cf. 12.241 *requiem pugnae*; objective gen. (Antoine, 84f.), as with *iactura*, rather than privative; so already Lucr.6.1177 *nec requies erat ulla mali*, G.4.484 *quies operum*, Liv.5.2.7 *omnium bellorum ... quies*. Cf. 6.673 *nulli certa domus*, 8.39 *hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne absiste) penates*. **L.:** cf. 145f., 160.

**394 nec tu ... horresce** Cf. **160, 316** for imper. in prohibitions; for **n.**, used to link a prohibition to a positive statement, cf. LHS, 338, Ernout-Thomas, 150, KS 1, 193. **H.** intrans. in Enn.; cf. n. on 7.526, and n. on 7.581 for transitivisation. It was clarification of the Harpies' prophecy that Aen. had sought above all(**365–7**). Nelis compares AR 2.420ff.(once through the Symplegades, an easier time will come).

**mensarum morsus** Strongly allit. objective gen.('rei affectae', Reichmann/Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1508.74, comparing Plin.*Nat.*15.80 *morsu ficorum crebro, hoc est avidiore pastu*). Note 7.112 *uertere morsus*. The noun far neater than a vb. would have been. Neither portent passes directly from prophecy to fulfilment: the sow is prophesied *twice* (**389–93**; note the development **389 cum tibi**, 8.42 *iamque tibi*, Grassmann-Fischer, 54, n.1) and not found until 8.81–5; the eating of the tables was prophesied at **255–7**, was put in perspective here, discussed with Anch. in recollection, not in narr.(7.123), and does not actually occur until 7.107–34; cf. on 7.107–47, §5. As though V. sought an extra chance to handle these old, linked motifs and preferred to avoid neat, linear development. The simple fact that, in *Aen.*, neither Piglets not Pittas pass simply from prophecy to fulfilment should stand as another warning against overconfidence in the face of the present state of the poem.

**futuros** To be included, were one to widen the scope of Duckworth's useful discussion of V.'s lexicon of refs. to the future(xxviii; p.9).

**395 fata uiam inuenient** Repeated 10.113 (Moskalew, 23; cf. Cova here for related metaphors) and cf. 7.297 *inuenere uiam*, 4.478; in a literal sense, Ov.*F.*3.240. Vd. van Nes/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 7.2.137.63f.. In such close proximity to the (oracular) Apollo, **fata** seems likely to have a strongly oral sense here(cf. **7**): Apollo will be present principally through the oracular counsel he gives. Cf. Bailey, 217, Pötscher, 41(*bene*), Pomathios, 277.

**aderitque ... Apollo** Thus in kletic contexts, the common *adsis* (G.1.18 (where vd. Erren, Thomas, [Tib.]3.3.33); also *adeste* (Hor.*Epd.* 5.53 with Watson's n.) etc.; see Appel, 115f., Hickson, 67ff., Bömer on Ov.*F.*1.67: *Gebetstil* (cf. NH on Hor.*C.*1.35.2, NR on 3.5.2; see too 4.14.43, Norden, *Agn.Theos.* 152f. and Clausen's good n. on *Buc.*1.41) adapted into prophecy. Nelis, 42 draws attention to AR 2.421f., Phineus, who assures Jason ἐπεὶ δαίμων ἕτερον πλόον ἡγεμονεύσει/ ἔξ Αἴης.

**uocatus** Cf. Hor.C.1.2.43, 30.2, 32.16, 2.18.40, 3.22.3, *CS* 15, *Epd.*5.5, *Aen.*1.290, **3.222**, **264**, **526**, 6.506, etc.; standard Lat. for 'call, invoke', ignored by Appel, *EV*, Hickson.

**396 has autem ... hanc** Possibly even deictic as Helenus points out to sea.

**terras ... oram** Expansion, to no specific end; V's Helenus is characterised by a degree of prolixity.

**Italique ... litoris** Cf. **389 fluminis undam**; the combination *litoris oram* (so already at G.2.44; cf. Prop.1.20.9 *Gigantei ... litoris ora*, Liv.7.25.4 *oraeque litoris Antiatis Laurensque tractus et Tiberis ostia*, Plepelits, *TLL* 7.2.1536.52) involves a *genitivus inhaerentiae* (the nouns are roughly synonymous; cf. Schol.Ver.ad *Aen.*1.1). Note also *Buc.*8.7 *oram Illyrici ... aequoris*. The lofty adj. (as against gen.) is common enough thus, e.g. 1.252, 5.703.

**397 proxima** To the N. of Buthrotum(506f.), the Adriatic narrows to 70km. in the Straits of Otranto. Cf. 1.157, 7.10.

**quae ... perfunditur** Cf. n. on 11.626 *sinu perfundit harenam*, Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.1420.62.

**nostri ... aequoris aestu** Cf. **419 angusto ... aestu**, **557 aestu miscentur harenae**, 6.296f., 10.687, 11.627, etc.; of any sort of swirling movement of liquid, usually seawater. Compare Sall.*Hist.*4fr.16 *aduerso aestu maris*, Bannier, *TLL* 1.1119.50f.. *Tacet EV. Litoribus nostris* at 7.1 (and cf. **3.338**); here we have taken a small step towards the thunders of 'mare nostrum'(Caes.*Gall.* 5.2, Tietze, *TLL* 8.388.22ff., Smith, *Dict.geogr.* 2, 57; the index to Denis Mack Smith's *Mussolini* contains eighteen references s.v. 'Mediterranean Sea as *mare nostrum*').

**398 effuge** The run-on dactyl, after the rel. clause of **397**, with following pause, gives notable prominence (details, Williams; cf. too my n. on 7.387) to the instruction to avoid Italy's E. coast. So already Polydorus, **44 heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus auarum** and note also **272**, **639**.

**cuncta ... moenia** A solemn and resonant alternative to *ubique*; Helenus' captivity has been long enough for the Greeks to settle on Italy's E. coast and for the news to reach Buthrotum, little though we are advised to consider these relative chronologies.

**malis ... Grais** A point of view shared by speaker (despite the benefits he has received from Neopt.) and hearer(cf. **550 Graiugenumque**

**domos suspectaque linquimus arua**); heavy weather at *EV* 3, 334. Cf. Rengakos(87), 117. Vd. more fully, n. on 613. Dat. of agent, Antioine, 148.

**habitantur** Cf. *G.*3.340, Tib.2.5.24. The wd. order gives pride of place to the universality of Gk. dominion, next, to their beastly disposition, and lastly, to the fact of their settlement (the unimportant main verb).

**399 hic et .../ 400 et .../ 401 ... hic** An elaborate double anaphora (*Buc.*7.49f. less complex; nothing else quite similar in V); Helenus exemplifies his generalisation about Greeks with a formidable dose of scholarly detail, anticipating Aen.'s own erudition, 551ff., etc.. The three instances of Gk. settlements that H. cites evoke Oilean Ajax, Idomeneus and Philoctetes, in random geogr. sequence; sufficient to rouse a strong sense of the apparently approaching renewal of a too-familiar and alarming conflict.

**Narycii ... Locri** Naryca(various forms are attested) a town of Epicnemidian Locri, not securely identified (vd. Smith *Dict.Geogr.* s.v., E. Mehl, *KL.P.* s.v., W.A. Oldfather, PW 16.1772.59ff., Giovanna Davverio Rocchi, *NP* 7, 421f., Barrington map 55, D3), but probably just N. of Mt. Cnemis towards its western end, and 8 miles WSW of Daphnous. Oilean Ajax born there, Strab.9.4.2, Steph.Byz. p.470.5 (mentioned also, Lyc. 1148). Where, indeed, AR *Arg.* ends(4.1780). Cf. Kirk on *Il.*2.527–35; the name used then for the colony and its products, *G.*2.438 (cf. Oebalian Tarentum, Euboean shores of Cumae, the Argives of Ardea, 7.794). These Locrians held to have settled at Locri Epizephyrii, rather over 2 miles SW of mod. Locri on the E. slopes of Aspromonte in southern Calabria: V. follows Varr. *Res Hum.*3, fr.30 Mirsch =Ps.Prob. *ad Buc.*6.31 (who has them collaborate with Idomeneus, Federico, 374ff.), Th.-H.3.2.337.4ff.(*ab eo* [sc. Idomeneus] *accepta manu cum Locrensibus plerique profugis in mari coniunctus per similem causam amicitiaque sociatis Locros appulit*), Bérard. 430, Robert, 2.4.3, 1453, 1499, W.A. Oldfather, PW 13.1312.43ff., M. Labrousse, *PECS*, 523f., Russi, *EV* 3, 242ff., with ample bibl.. Cf. n. on 11.265 for the Locrians' settlement in N. Africa and on *ib.* 259f. for Ajax' death.

**posuerunt moenia** Cf. 1.264 *moenia ponet*; Greeks and Trojans are bound by a common activity as colonists (cf. 17, 85, 132, 159f., 255, 336 for the motif of city-foundation).



**400 Sallentinos ... campos** Cf. **334, 701**, 7.294, 10.335 for the (standard) use of **c.** with a topogr. adj. (conveniently, *OLD* s.v., §1b; amply, Hey, *TLL* 3.219.15ff.); on the torrid plains of the Salento there are welcome signs of local improvement in quality in the face of traditional overproduction of high-alcohol, low-quality wine, much used for making aperitifs. A native name (Strab.6.3.1) for the inhabitants of Iapygia ("Terra d'Otranto", 'Heel of Italy'), attested from Plb.34.15.4 (vd. Walbank's n.). Some of the Trojans landed there, DH 1.51.3; Varro (*cit.*) concludes his account of the Cretan-Locrian wanderings with *in tres partes diuisa copia in populos duodecim. Salentini dicti, quod in salo amicitiam fecerint*. The area also mentioned, DS 25.19.1, DC 15.2.3, *quater* in Strab., *ter* in Ptolemy; the name common in Lat. texts from Cic. on. Cf. Philipp, PW 1A.1907.1ff., Bérard, 420, 430, M. Lombardo, *NP* 10.1252, Russi, *EV* 4, 656ff., Federico, 384ff.

**obsedit milite** Cf. 11.516 *ut biuias armato obsidam milite fauces*, where vd. note: a use of **o.** dear to V. (note also 2.332, 441, 450, 802, 9.159) and to Livy (cf. Lossau, *TLL* 9.2.222.12ff.; note also Tib.2.3.41 *praedator cupit immensos obsidere campos*). For the collective sing., cf. Austin on 2.20.

**401 Lyctius Idomeneus** Cf. Strab.6.3.5 τοὺς δὲ Καλεντινοὺς Κρητῶν ἀποίκους φασι. Bérard, *supra*, well compares Plut. *Thes.*16.3 (with *Quaest. Graec.*298F), after Aristotle, fr.485Rose), Varr. *cit.* (**399**). Lyctus a major city of central Crete (*Il.*2.647), 25km. SE of mod. Heraklion (Lazenby and Hope Simpson (**15**), 113, Bürchner, PW 14.76.3ff.), over which Idom. ruled in the Catalogue of Ships and which he and his men sacked on their return from Troy, in the course of Idom.'s war against Leucus (**121**); Schol. Venet. B *Il.*2.649 (=Heracl. Pont. fr.171 Wehrli) and *Od.* 19. 174, Robert, 2.4.3, 1498, Federico 324, 327ff., *EV* 3, 234f. (Fo).

**illa ... / 402 parua ... Petelia Petilia P** (and later mss., Serv., TCD; also Sil.12.431, Val. Max.9.8.3.ext.1, Front. *Strat.*4.5.18, Solin. 2.10); rather better, though, **-e- M**, given *-e- ter* in Livy, Plin. *Nat.* 3.96, Mela 2.68, *ILS* 6468–70 (though Russi notes *CIL* 10.115 for *-i-*), Ptol. *Geogr.*3.1.66 (though Russi notes one codex has *i*), Plb.7.1.3, Strabo 6.1.3, *quater* in App. *Hannib.*, SByz.p.519.15(*bis*); no good case for backing **P** against so widely diffused a spelling of the name, reinforced by the evidence of the Gk. orthography. In the end, the *-i-* spelling may well be not so much an alternative orthography as a shift in the pronunciation of Gk. eta, P.C. Costas, *An outline of the history of the Greek language* (Chicago 1997), 59(a ref. for which I am most grateful to Prof. E. Dickey). Located 12 miles NNW of Croton, just E. of mod.

Strongoli(details, Russi, *cit.*, H. Philipp, PW 19.1125.68ff., M. Lombardo, *NP* 9.661 f.). Since Turnebus, scholars have toyed with **parua** as a gloss on an etym. link with Lat. *petilus* (= *tenuis*, *exilis*, Non.p.149.5), but *petilus* is rather rare and the case for a Lat. etymology for the name of a Gk. colony in S. Italy is not attractive, except as a (rather weak) link by mere association of sound. See O'Hara, 143f., Bartelink, 53. It has, though, been noticed (cf. Bartelink, 53) that the Thessalian town of Olizon also attracted explicit etymologising, SByz.489.18, citing Demosthenes Epicus *FGH*699F10. Olizon ('Little') was for Hom. one of Philoct.'s cities, in the same line as Meliboea, indeed, and that is perhaps the only argument in favour of an etymological play here. In Hom., Philoctetes got safely home (*Od.*3.190); Euphorion's work on his further wanderings is uncertain (fr.45 Powell), but they do interest Lyc.(911ff.), the author of Ps.Arist.*mir.ausc.* 107 (=840a16), the grammarian Apollodorus(*FGH*244F167 'On the Catalogue of Ships'), and Strabo 6.1.3. It is therefore no surprise to find P.'s Italian foundations in Cato (*Orig.*fr.70P) and Trogus(Just.20.1.16) too. If our fragment of Varr.*res hum.* were longer, it would come as no surprise if we discovered that V. had derived Petelia from the same source as his Cretans and Locrians. On Philoctetes as colonist, cf. Malkin(386), 214ff., Bérard, 343–6, Robert, 2.4.3, 1499ff., *EV*, 2, 524 f.(Scarsi), 4, 48ff.(Russi).

**ducis Meliboei/ 402 ... Philoctetae** P. in Hom. ruled over Meliboea, *Il.*2.717 (on the coast (or at least very near), Hdt.7.188; between Pelion and Ossa, Strab.9.5.22; vd. Smith, *Dict. Geogr.*, s.v. *bene*, Kirk on *Il.*, *cit.*, Stählin, PW 15.511.15ff., E. Meyer, *KL.P.*, s.v., Lazenby and Hope Simpson(15), 138f., H. Kramolisch, *NP* 7, 1183f.: not, however, securely identified).With the adj. form(guaranteed by SByz.p.442.7f.), cf. *Auernus*, *Sychaeus*, *Lyaeus*, *Sirius* (but Harrison on 10.273 seems to miss the point), *Lenaeus* (and *Romula*, *Lauinia*); cf. Conway on 1.686, Pease on 4.58, 207, 552. The poet in need of a (metrically convenient) adjectival form will unblushingly filch a noun suited to his purpose. **Philoctetae** to be taken with **Petelia** and/or **muro**; best with both.

**402 subnixa ... muro** Cato(*cit.*) recorded that the city preexisted Philoct., who only built the wall. Compare Cael.Ant.fr.53P: Serv.Dan. here, after citing Cato, goes on *alii 'subnixam' ideo accipiunt, quia imposita est excelso muro, ut Coelius historicus ait*; there was clearly a point to be made about Petelia's wall(Strab.6.1.3 says ἐρυμνή), and it may be that V. too is writing about that (lost) point of reference; the valour displayed

against Himilcar at Liv.23.30 might also be germane. **S.**: also at 1.506. The adj. used by Quadrig. fr.13P, *ter* in Cic., *quater* in Liv.(from 4.42.5 on). Not in Sall., and it is not clear that Cordier(64) should have classed it as an archaism. Of course if Enn. too has used it as an alternative for *fidens*, we should not be at all surprised. Ignored by *EV* s.v. *nitor*. The gens. clearly apply to both town and wall; Russi offers a long and depressing doxography of those who once preferred to plump for town, or wall; were there any actual pressure to choose, then we might have expected some clue or indication and its very absence suggests we do well not to decide.

**403 quin** ‘Vigorously asseverative’, n. on 7.321, *OLD*, s.v., §2a, Hofmann-Ricottilli, 192.

**ubi ... steterint** Cf. **277 stant litore puppes**, 6.901, 6.697 *stant sale Tyrreno classes*, 10.223 *aeratae steterant ad litora prorae*, *EV* 4, 1027 (Bartalucci). So too, Plaut.*Men.* 344, Caes.*Civ.* 2.25.6, *Bell.Afr.*53, Liv.25.27.10, etc.: not ‘a nautical term’(Williams), so much as ‘a very common verb often used of ships’. A completely literal translation (‘stand’, as against ‘float’) should not seem odd, given Eng. ‘lie’ and indeed sometimes ‘stand’; Miss Hubbard draws attention to Arist.*Poet.* 1457b10 νηῦc... ἤδ’ ἔcτηκεν (an example of metaphor).

**transmissae ... trans aequora** Cf. *Rhet.Her.*4.31. *trans Oceanum Macedonum transvolasse(n)t*, Cic.*Quinct.*12 *et trans Alpīs usque transfertur*. Similarly in *Rhet. Her.* sub- compounds +*sub*, 3.7, 4.12, 24, 60 (so too e.g. Plaut.*Amph.*215, 294, 984, *Curc.*297, *Most.*357; *MG* 468, with *trans*). The anaphoric sequence of preverb+ prepos. does seem therefore slightly archaic in flavour, a suspicion reinforced by the character of **classes**. *Tacet EV*.

**classes** As ‘ships’, cf. 2.30, **3.602**, 6.697, *Acc.trag.*522 *Achiuis classibus ductor*, Norden on 6.334 (rightly claiming archaic usage). *Tacet EV*; cf. Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.1283.69ff., citing e.g. Cic.*carm.Hom.*1.6 *Argolicis ... classibus*.

**404 positis aris** Cf.4.200 *centum aras posuit*, *Ov.Her.*21.157, *F.* 4.823, 6.394.

**iam uota ... solues** Cf. G.1.436 *uotaque seruati soluent in litore nautae*. The counterpart to sacrifice on departure(120): vows (vd. n. on 11.4) made before or during the voyage and performed on arrival. Cf. 12.769 *uotas suspendere uestes*, with NH on *Hor.C.*1.5.14, Cic.*ND* 3.89 (with Pease’s good n.), *Ov.Her.*1.25, *F.*3.594, 6.193 (with Bömer’s n.), Brink

on Hor.*AP* 20f., Watson on Hor.*Epd.*10.24, after Wachsmuth (120), 123ff., L. Casson, *Travel in the ancient world* (London 1974), pl.6 (with p.157). Contrast the unnervingly godless voyager in Hes. *Erga*.

**in litore** After G.1.436 *supra*.

**405 purpureo ... amictu A.** *quater* in Cat.64, after Laevius fr.24; G.3.563 and 11x in *Aen.*, but of no interest to Cordier or *EV.*. The colour refers above all to the purple band of the priestly *toga praetexta*, D. Porte, *Les donneurs du sacré* (Paris 1989), 82, Wissowa, *RKR*, 498, Mommsen, *StR* 1<sub>3</sub>, 420, Bömer on Ov.*F.*6.375, Edgeworth 52, 151, n. on 7.251f.; Bender(174) disappoints. Note Varr.*LL* 5.132 *et quod amictui habet purpuram circum*.

**uelare comas** Cf. 174; the standard vb.; here typically medio-passive (Ernout-Thomas, 202, LHS, 288f., Flobert, 382ff.); the regular pass. imper.(as Serv. eventually works out). It really will not do (as Serv. realises) to claim that V. has used, in the Gk. manner, infin. for imper.; entirely alien to Augustan usage, LHS, 366f..

**adopertus** Cf.Liv.1.26.13 *capite adoperto*. not so much an issue of indebtedness (cf.xxvi–xxvii; Liv. perhaps began just earlier than V.) as the likelier dependence of both poets upon earlier ritual language (not in this case extant). After all, parts of *uelare* could not be used without expansion or variation on every single occasion the act was mentioned, and V here describes ancient usage, the *ritus Romanus* or veiling of the head in sacrifice, here, as normally, with a fold of the (e.g.) *toga*: see 174. The theme is important, for this ritual is specially dear to Juno, and its observance a key to her goodwill, as repetition at short distance of H.'s language and themes by Anch. makes very clear: cf. 545–7 (and 437, 12.836f., Heinze, 97f., Buchheit, 135, Kühn, 54, Cairns, 204. Note Block, 238, on Aeneas' 'pitiable state of ignorance', and O'Hara, *DOP*, 25ff. who remarks(30) on this v. 'vain admonition'). The Trojans will heed Helenus, but will not for a great while yet secure Juno's goodwill. But—and in the long term, more important—it is here that they begin to behave specifically like Romans, and that in the long historical perspective is, despite their sufferings, what matters most. The setting also deserves comment: a usage to be followed by Aen. in the context of his arrival among the wicked Greeks, to avoid the sight of an enemy during the rites he celebrates (vd. further on 613). Cf. nn. on 7.410, 794; the reconciliations with Greece and with Juno are interwoven. Cf. D.C. Feeney, *ORVA*, 339ff..

**406 ne qua .../ 407 hostilis facies** A lofty, adjectival, allusive phrase (without obvious analogies, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.47.81), for whose sense we have to wait for the whole of **406**: V. refers to the familiar aetiological story discussed at **407**, and the informed reader will have recalled here the dangerous and ill-omened role played by Ulysses and/or Diomedes.

**inter sanctos ignis** Contrast the flames round Asc.'s head, 2.686 *sanctos ... ignis*. Nothing exactly parallel, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.292.21. **I.** in a temporal sense, 'during', as 11.648, 12.318, Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.2129.82ff.. Cf. n. on 7.71–80, and **407** for ominous variants of the altar flame.

**in honore deorum** Cf. *G.*3.486 *in honore deum medio*, Mehmel, *TLL* 6.3.2922.21. Note Fo's useful account of *h.* in the sense of 'ritual' in V., *EV* 2, 854f. and see too F. Klose, *Die Bedeutung von honos und honestus* (diss. Breslau 1933), 77. Contrast 6.589 *dium ... honorem*. **In** similarly in a temporal sense: Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1. 779.65ff.; so *in nuptiis, alea, poculo* and the like.

**407 occurrat** S.v. 'animo adverso', Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.392.42f.; cf. *Hor.Epd.*5.92.

**et omina turbet** So 12.633 of *foedera*. For this aetiological explanation of the *ritus Rom.*, Appel, 190 compares DH 12.16.1, *OGR* 12.2 (where vd. Richard's nn.), *Plut.Aet.Rom.*10, p.266C, *Serv.Dan.* here and *Fest.p.*432.2ff.(add *Serv.Dan.* on **545**): the narrative context of these accounts involves Aen.(in Latium for *OGR*, during the sacrifice of the sow, or at Avernus, for DH) not seeing Diom., or Ulysses, or one of the Achaeans. Perhaps this very sacrificial scene(or some part of it) is represented on the Ara Pacis(**174**; cf. Castagnoli, *infra*, 115). Note also the dress of Aen. sacrificing to the Penates on an Antonine medalion, Castagnoli(**12**), 81. Cf. Grassmann-Fischer, 70, Kleinknecht(**47**), 474=101 f., Wissowa, 417, Latte, 386f. for some of the (many and varied) events of ill-omen that might occur in the course of a Rom. sacrifice. **Omnia M**<sub>1</sub>.

**408 hunc ... hunc** Simple anaphora underlines the unanimity between Aen. and Trojans in their commitment to the maintenance of the *ritus Romanus*.

**socii ... ipse** Cf. **12**. As *pater* and *pius*, Aen. will teach his followers the proper worship of the gods, even (and in particular) of Juno

**morem sacrorum** Cf. 12.836 *morem ritusque sacrorum*. For other such perdurable *mores* in *Aen.*, cf. 7.601 ff.(with nn.), 5.596 ff.; cf. *Lucr.*1.96

*sollemni more sacrorum*, 2.610 *antiquo more sacrorum*, Ov.F.1.465, 5.728, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1523.74f. *EV* 3, 602. In honour of Juno, and confirmed by Jup., 12.840 *nec gens ulla tuos aequae celebrabit honores* (cf. Cairns, *cit.*), though Juno's benevolence (1.279ff.) will not be manifest for centuries; vd. D.C. Feeney in *ORVA*, 341 *et passim*.

**409 hac ... in religione** While *EV* 4, 425 compares *G.* 1.269 *riuos deducere nulla/ religio uetuit* for *r.* in the same sense of priestly prescription or instruction, Bailey, differing in little more than means of expression (71), renders 'a religious rite', and adduces 2.151, 188. So Serv.Dan. in *obseruatione perpetua*.

**casti maneant ... nepotes** *Pii* Serv., comparing 6.563 *nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen*; add 6.661, 8.665, Hor.CS 42 (of Aen.), *EV* 1, 696, n. on 7.71. *N.* very dear to *V.* in prophetic contexts, 7.99 with n., **3.158, 505 maneant nostros ea cura nepotes**, 2.194 *et nostros ea fata manere nepotes*, 6.757 *qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes*. Most handily, then, the expression can be either trans. or intrans.. *In fide, officio, societate manere*: the weighty and uplifting phrasing here could be Cic.'s, Tietze, *TLL* 8.289.53.

**410 ast ubi** Cf. **330**, n. on 7.308 for 'grand and archaic' *a.*

**digressum ... te** The vb. at Cat.64.116, *G.*3.300; here the partic., subordinated, enables Helenus to move forward unobtrusively from the Salento and Bruttium to the Strait of Messina.

**Siculae ... orae** Cf. **117**. The adj. *Buc.*2.21, 10.51; this form in Theocr.(1.125, etc.). Dat. of goal, Antoine, 149ff., etc..

**admouerit .../ 411 uentus** Cf. 12.171 *admouitque pecus flagrantibus aris*; compare **3.117 tertia lux classem Cretaeis sistet in oris**, 1.755f. *nam te iam septima portat/...aestas*, 2.668 *uocat lux ultima uictos*. Cf. **269** for further discussion of this useful variation(inanimate subj. and personal obj.).

**et angusti ... claustra Pelori P.** (several alternative forms exist) the north-easternmost point of Sicily, mod. Capo Peloro, off which whirls Charybdis(**420**). Vd. Ziegler, *PW* 19.397.30ff., *EV* 4, 11f.. Cf. *trag.inc.*107 *quasi Helles pontum et claustra*, Priscian *Perieg.* 480 (Hey, *TLL* 3.1321.69f.). Adj.(cf. Liv.24.49.6 *cum quibus in Hispaniam angusto diremptam freto traiceret*) and noun in mutual reinforcement; the strait 3km. wide at Pelorus (Henry's 'barrier', at the entrance to the strait) and 16 km. wide at its southern end(Capo d'Ali to Punta Pellaro). The plain etymological play, between **angusti** and, *e contrario* (for the

technique, cf., amply, O'Hara, *TN*, 66), *πελώριος*, vast, suggested to O'Hara, 291.

**rarescent** The development of a Lucretian usage, 'thin out' (4.892, 6.214; cf. 1.648); here then 'open out'. To a sailor off Rhegium, Cape Pelorus blocks off any view of the open sea to N.; just N. of Messina, the Tyrrhenian at last appears. The strait does not itself open, but appears to the viewer to do so: cf. Görler (1982), 73 for these illusions in Latin optical terminology. Henry cites pertinently both VF 1.284 *gemina discedere Sestus Abydo* and Justin 4.1.18 *ea est enim procul insipientibus natura loci, ut sinum maris, non transitum putes, quo cum accesseris, discedere ac seiungi promuntoria, quae ante iuncta fuerint, arbitrare*; cf. also Tac. *Germ.* 30.1 *durant siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt*. Serv. remarks well *rarescent autem ideo, quia uenientibus de Ionio propter curuaturam litorum clausae uidentur angustiae, quae paulatim propinquantibus aperiri uidentur*; his remarks usefully developed by Henry and Pinotti, *EV* 4, 403. Heyne treats us to a splendid panorama of such expressions in Latin.

**412 laeua ... tellus et ... laeua ... / 413 aequora** Anaphora perhaps suggestive of Helenus gesturing vigorously to port. Taken up, in detail, **563f. contorsit laeuas proram Palinurus ad undas; / laeuam cuncta cohors remis uentisque petiuit.**

**tibi ... petantur** V. mindful of Phineus, AR 2.347f.: steer to starboard on entering the Black Sea (Nelis, 41, 212). Cf. 5.212, 7.362, 8.691, 9.81, Dubielzig, *TLL* 10.1.1954.61f. Perhaps a slightly greater gravity or solemnity from putting the prohibition in the passive. T. perhaps better not as of agent but 'ethic' in the sense almost of 'in your best interest'.

**longo ... / 413 ... circuitu** The noun dear to Caesar (cf. *Gall.* 7.45.3 *longo circuitu easdem omnes iubet petere regiones*) and to Livy likewise (thus 9.27.3 *deinde Samnites per aperta loca breui circuitu in loca plana agmen demittunt*). A natural way of putting it, but perhaps identifiably prosy and historiographical. Cf. Bannier, *TLL* 3.1104.81. The abl. perhaps 'of means' or possibly 'of extension'.

**dextrum ... litus et undas** The conjunction of nouns perhaps surprisingly unique: at Punta Pellaro, or sooner, the Trojans are *not* to keep following the coast to starboard; that way, coast (Scylla) and waters (Charybdis) alike spell extreme danger. Cf. G. Monaco in *Itinerari*, 165f..

**fuge** Cf. *G.* 1.277, 3.385, *Aen.* 3.44, etc.; the plain imper. thus, 'flee', absent from Hom. and AR. For Hom., no man, no ship may escape

Scylla and Charybdis, *Od.* 12.66, 99, etc., with the exception of Argo, *ib.*, 69f.

**414 haec loca** V. seems not to distinguish between abstr. and concr. senses in his use of *loci* and *loca*, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1576.16. As here, *G.2.140*, *Aen.5.756*.

**ui ... et uasta ... ruina** The adj. used of Charybdis(421) and Cyclops(431); here (cf. n. on 11.208) suggestive (cf. Pinotti, *EV* 5\*, 455f.) both of extent and devastation. A strongly alliterative upheaval and the complex idea 'devastated by some vast and violent upheaval' broken down into 'hendiadys'(ui and ruina); r. given dignity by *Lucr.*(11x).

**quondam** The separation of Sicily from the mainland by a vast earthquake (not considered by Hardie, *CI*) an Aeschylean(fr.402Radt) idea, for *Strab.*(6.1.6); cf. *Acilius*, *FGH* 813F3=fr.4Beck-Walter(with Clarke(97), 176), *Sall.Hist.4fr.27Maur.* quoted by *Serv.* here(on which, cf. *Gasparotto*(420–8), 78–80), *DS* 4.85.3, *DH* 19.2.2, *Ov.Met.15.290ff.*, *Sen.NQ* 6.30.1ff., *Luc.2.435ff.*, *Plin.2.204* (*rerum natura ... auelit*; vd. *Beaujeu's* good comm.; possible knowledge of *Posidonius'* text, or theories, *Reeker*, 158f.), 3.86 *mox interfuso mari auulsa*, *VF* 1.589f., *Sil.14.11ff.*, *Mela* 2.115 *Sicilia, aliquando ut ferunt continens et agro Bruttio adnexa, post freto maris Siculi abscissa est*, *Justin* 4.1.1 *Siciliam ferunt angustiis quondam faucibus Italiae adhaesisse diruptamque ...*, *ib.7* (the etym.), *Tert.Pall.2.3*(*CSEL* 76.108.35ff.); the moderns would not differ that much(though with rather less emphasis upon the etymology of Rhegium—since Sicily was 'broken' off, *vel sim.*—implicit in V's text, *Henry*, 2, 457(*bene*), but no word in *O'Hara*), *Abel*, *Kl.P.* 5.164.3ff.; cf. *Reeker*, 158f., *Thomson*, *Hist.anc.geogr.*, 105f., *Bunbury* in *Smith, Dict.Geogr.*, 2, 975, *K. Ziegler*, *PW* 4A.2466.68ff., *O. Gilbert*, *Die meteorologische Theorien ...* (Leipzig 1897), 294f., *E. Renna*, *Vesuvius mons* (Napoli 1992), 52f., *A. Mayor*, *The first fossil hunters* (Princeton 2000), 63f.. Messina, after all, has been destroyed repeatedly by earthquakes, most recently in 1908. The hint at the etym. of Rhegium is particularly interesting, given the use *Lucr.* made of *Call.*, precisely on Rhegium(fr.618), in his account of the straits (1.722), so closely studied by V.(*infra*).

**conuulsa** See 24 (the vb. Ennian and Lucretian), *Wulff*, *TLL* 4.819.15.

**415 tantum ... mutare** T. advbl. and the infin. intrans., probably: cf. *Lucr.5.588* *perparuum quiddam interdum mutare uidetur*, *Liv.3.10.6 nihil ...*



*mutaret*, 29.3.10 *tantum fortunam mutasse*, 39.51.10 *mores ... quantum mutauerint*, Tessmer, *TLL* 8.1728.38ff.

**ualet** As variation on *potest*, Cordier 158, Vinchesi, *EV* 5\*, 420; the allit. continued discreetly into this v.

**aeui longinqua ... uetustas** Thus already *Lucret.* 2.69 *longinquo fluere omnia cernimus aeuo* and indeed *Enn.* *Ann.* 406 *postremo longinqua dies* [gen.] *confecerit aetas*, Kemper, *TLL* 7.2.1625.69ff.; the abstract noun too is Ennian (*Ann.* 282). *Serv.* *Dan.* comments that **a**, is used for ‘*tempus*’ and **l**. as though qualifying it, though the epithet is hardly to be thought of as transferred. **L**. used in the sense of ‘at a distance’, in the same relationship as *prope* and *propinquus* (EM). The line exclamatory, parenthetical and elaborate: TCD explains patiently *multorum enim locorum situs et facies longorum temporum uetustate mutantur et recedente natura in alias formas repente uertuntur*. It is not age that changed Sicily into an island by a slow erosion (the idea, in human terms, present at e.g. *Soph.* *OC* 609); rather, in the course of a lengthy period of time, there has occurred the cataclysmic separation. Cf. 10.792 *si qua fidem tanto est operi latura uetustas* (‘passage of time’), 12.686 *aut annis soluit sublapsa uetustas*, where Traina renders ‘il lungo passare degli anni’, citing this v.

**416 dissiluisse** A distinctively Lucretian vb. (*septies*; cf. Cordier, 114), then used at *G.* 3.363; cf. Bauer, *TLL* 5.1.1470.29ff.

**ferunt** Cf. n. on **414 quondam**: a certain instance of **V**. using **f**. to refer to solidly traditional and familiar material; see *Alambicco*, 123 = *PLLS* 6 (1990), 53, n. on 7.409. At the same time, though (cf. **578** for details), **V**. distances himself from confident assertion of what happened a very long time ago. Mackail (so also Williams) proposed a semi-colon here, and not at **foret**, harming the climactic effects of **417–8**.

**cum ... / 417 ... foret** **F**. an alternative, perhaps slightly archaic in flavour, to *esset*, when used, as here, without a conjoined participle, *LHS*, 312, *KS* 1, 167, Riemann, *Synt. de Tite-Live*, 226ff., Austin on 2.439, *NW* 3, 610; first used here in a temporal sentence, according to H. Blase in Landgraf, *Hist. Grammatik* 1 (Leipzig 1903), 280, if the force of the conjunction indeed refers to **dissiluisse**, ‘leaped apart, when’. Many commentators have preferred an adversative sense for **cum**, ‘whereas’, or the like, but that requires us to supply e.g. *quondam*.

**protinus** Cf. n. on 7.408, ‘straight on’, ‘right on’.

**utraque tellus** Cf. 1.34 *Siculae telluris*. At 7.225, used of islands in Oceanus.

**417 una** Strongly placed directly before the vb., as first word of the line and run on. In contrast too with **utraque**; cf. *septemque una* 6.783..

**uenit ... ui pontus P.** Ennian and Grecising, n. on 7.300; **u.:** cf. G.1.322 *uenit agmen aquarum*, 2.519. The allit. monosyllable used (adverbially, as often) to very good effect; the subj. comes last, with, unexpectedly, **ui** directly before it: the monosyll. here different in effect from the unit *magna/multa ui* and different too from e.g. *ui corripit* (same *sedes*, but placed directly before the vb. it reinforces): cf. G.3.107 *uolat ui feruidus axis* and less closely **454** below. In the second member, **undis ... abscidit**, the vb., by contrast, held back conventionally to the end, stands as a self-contained fourth-foot dactyl (extra coincidence of ictus and accent, though not specially rare, **451**, **514**, **543**; bucol. diaeresis follows) and **undis** balances **ui**. V. is moved to this elaboration by the stimulus of a direct challenge to Lucr., who had written (1.720f.) of the *aequor angustoque fretu rapidum mare dividit undis/ Aeoliae terrarum oras a finibus eius./ hic est vasta Charybdis; abscidit* (Sall.Hist.4fr.26 has *scissum*; hardly a significant echo here) a studied improvement on *diuidit*.

**medio** Cf. 4.184 *uolat caeli medio terraeque*, 6.131, 9.230, Bulhart, *TLL* 8.587.60f., who (after Serv.) takes **m.** as dat., presumably of goal after **uenit**, though a case could be made for abl., local, or perhaps better 'of extension'. Cf. **354**, Antoine, 218: cf. *caeli medio terraeque, castrorum et campi medio, fugae medio*; no gen. here because **u.t.** precedes directly.

**undis/ 418 ... abscidit** Cf. Hor.C.1.3.21ff. *nequiquam deus abscidit/ prudens oceano dissociabili/ terras* (with NH): the vb. hitherto prose and Hor.*Serm.*, *Epd.*, promoted simultaneously to higher genres; just possibly a gloss on the etym. of Rhegium, *supra.* By comparison with **ui**, **undis** does not work very hard, but it is a bow to Lucr.(same form, same *sedes*), where it is likewise superfluous.

**Hesperium Siculo latus** Cf. 8.416 *insula Sicanium iuxta latus*, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1029.2ff.; sc. *latere*, of course (Bell, 223, comparing e.g. Hor.C.2.6.14ff.). For *Hesperia*, cf. **163** and n. on 7.543; *EV* 2, 390f. notably inadequate. The adj. (cf. 6.6 *litus in Hesperium*, 7.601 *Hesperio in Latio*) used here specifically in the sense of 'Italian' as against 'Sicilian'. Direct opposition of proper names(cf. index s.v. juxtaposition), visibly neater than Lucr.'s formulation.

**aruaque et urbes** Cf. 7.45, with n..

**419 litore diductas** Cf. Lucr.2.316 *spatio diducta locorum*, Sen.*Ira* 1.8.3 *separatas ... sedes suas diductasque* and vd. too Sil..1.198f. *Herculeo dirimente fretu, diducta propinquis/ Europes uidet arua iugis*. Cf. Rubenbauer,

*TLL* 5.1.1020.32f. When Sen. quotes our verse (*NQ* 6.30.1), he writes *aequore diductas* and his faulty memory has been viewed as textual acumen (vd. Nettleship, and note Timpanaro, *NC*, 311 with n.28); *litora* was also proposed (vd. Henry, *ad fin.*), not to mention Baehrens' neat and unhelpful *limite*. However, *litora scripta manent*. Page, after Henry remarks that cities once adjoining and inland are now far apart and coastal; they are separated in respect of shore(one for two). Or '*litore. mari, iam disiunctas*' Heyne; so too *mari irrumpente disiunctas*, Forbiger. To write 'shore' for 'sea' here is not odd, by V.'s standards (and shore presupposes water as much as it does land); the only oddity is that it is not discussed by Bell (but vd. 67ff. on the use of sing. for plur., n. on 7.667). Here Page quotes well **677 adstantis lumine toruo** of the Cyclopes; see too 8.153, Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen* 1<sub>2</sub>, 92, and Egil Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 876, comparing (875) e.g. *Buc.*7.32 *coturno*). Add e.g. *G.*1.11 *pedem*, *Aen.*5.403 *manum*, 5.547 *aurem*, *Hor.*C.4.3.22 *digito ... praetereuntium* (one finger, many passers-by).

**angusto ... aestu** The adj. Lucretian(417), who writes *fretu*; at *G.*2.164 V. had written *Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Auernis*, but **a.** is further sharpened here, given the eddies, whirlpools and currents of the strait (on which vd. TCI, *Sicilia*; p.427 in the 1968 ed., Hanoteau, *infra*, 392f.; cf. F. Buffière *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris 1973), 223ff., 236 for scientific interpretations of Charybdis and the tides). Sallust's *aestum relidit* (*Hist.*4fr.26) not a significant antecedent, but cf. Gasparotto(*infra*), 79f. for a weak case, overstated.

**interluit** Cf. n. on 7.717.

**420–8 Charybdis and Scylla** Cf. **558–69**: prophecy followed by narrative gives V., after Hom. (*Od.*12.73ff., 222ff., Knauer, 188, Reeker, 97) the chance for doubled set-pieces (at least of Charybdis; the elimination of a second description of Scylla is wise and perhaps a sign of developing good sense or taste); here (and only here, Knauer, 197) Helenus follows Circe (*Od.*12.73–100, Scylla; 101–10, Charybdis), while V. abbreviates notably, replaces the fabulous (in a stretch of water familiar to many readers) with touches of hyperbole, and enriches Hom. with Lucr., and, strikingly, Sallust. Here monsters are miniaturised; despite touches of hyperbolic extravagance, these lines are dense and terse. Bibliography: *EV* 1, 663f., 4, 724ff. (Pinotti), B. Frischer, *Shifting paradigms* (Atlanta 1991), 68ff. (Scylla in art; see too R. Cappelli, *Atti del convegno [Oraziano] di Licenza* (Venosa 1994), 121ff.), G. Gasparotto, *Atti Acad. Patav.* 83(1970–1), 67ff., C. Hanoteau, *Ant. Class.* 8 (1939), 383ff.,

Hardie, *CI*, 259ff., Knauer, 189, 197, G. Monaco in *Itinerari*, 168, Nelis, 41, 47, *NP* 2.1111 (Dräger), 11.642f.(Harder), *PW* 3.2194.23ff.(Waser), 3A.647.7ff.(J. Schmidt), Robert, 2.4.3, 1367ff.

**420 dextrum ... latus, laeuum** Cf. 9.579, *Hor.C.3.26.5*; the polarity of sides extremely common, n. on 11.528.

**implacata** A Virgilian coinage that he uses only here(cf. Salemme, *EV* 2, 832, Cordier, 144), alongside *implacabilis*, from *Cic.carm.Soph.1.3*, *bis* in bk.12, and ignored by Cordier(cf., though, n. on 7.764).

**421 obsidet** Cf. nn. on 7.66, 343.

**atque imo ... gurgite** *Charybdis, mare uerticosum, quod forte illata nauigia* [or *naufragia*] **sorbens gurgitibus occultis ... ad litora trahit**: so *Sall.Hist.4.fr.28*, a text V. later reads with minute attention (*Companion*, 190, *SCI* 21 (2002), 79ff., n. on 11.336–75); here, the double lexical echo seems to confirm indebtedness to a recent best-seller(cf. *EV* 4, 658ff., and Gasparotto, cit., criticising Maurenbrecher's order and arrangement of the Sallustian fr.). **G.** in the sense of 'whirlpool' at *Buc.6.76*; note also 6.296, 741, Marchetta, *EV* 2, 821, G. Meyer, *TLL* 6.2.2360.17ff.. The adj. regularly thus, *G.3.240*, *Aen.1.84*, 125, 2.419, 5.239, 9.120.

**barathri** Cf. *Lucr.3.966*, 6.606, *Cat.68.108* *aestus in abruptum detulerat barathrum*, after *Od.12.94* βερέθρου (on which **abruptum** has been taken, rather fancifully, as a gloss, O'Hara, *TN*, 144), and 117, Ihm, *TLL* 2.1723.56. Perhaps to be taken as a *genitiuus inhaerentiae*, **b.** being nearly enough synonymous with **g.** here.

**ter** *EV cit.* compares *Sall.Hist 3fr.55 triplici fluctu*, quoted by *Serv.Dan.* on 1.116f. *ast illam ter fluctus ibidem/ torquet agens circum et rapidus uorat aequore uertex*, with (*bene*) a reference to *Gk. τρικυμία*; *Zorzetti, EV* 3, 783 compares further the **ter ... ter** of **566–7** and *Od.12.105* (*Charybdis thrice belches out water and thrice sucks it down per diem*; cf. **566f.**). Here, then, *Sall.* is *not* a significant antecedent and V. follows *Hom.* (despite rationalist criticism from *Plb.34.3.9ff.*, cited by *Strab.1.2.16*. But *Hom.* wrote *τρίς*, not *δίς*).

**uastos/ 422 ... fluctus** Cf. 1.86, 333, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.946.43. Cf. n. on 7.302 *uasta Charybdis* (from *Lucr.* and *Cat.64*), *EV* 5\*, 455. **Vastos M; uasto P**, *Serv.Dan. ad Aen.* 1.118.

**422 sorbet** *Sallustian(supra, 421*; note then of *Charybdis*, *Sen.Cons. Marc.17.2*), in place of *Cat.*'s *detulerat*; precise and vigorous ('sucks'),

where the earlier poet is almost flat. Hom. however, as Sall. and V. knew, had written (*Od.*12.104) τῶ δ' ὑπὸ δῖα Χάρυβδις ἀναρροιβδεῖ μέλαν ὕδωρ; *Ar.Nub.*407 confirms the word's onomatopoeic origin and use of ἐκροιβδεῖν too suggests that Hom.'s Charybdis slurps (*Theotisce* 'schluckt') or gulps up water and ships; V. follows, with typical attention to decorum (but vd. 576), in the same direction. A good deal of s-allit., well suited to water under pressure, follows.

**in abruptum** From Cat., but with his noun used already and here neatly suppressed (cf. 12.687 and see n. on 7.86 *in dubiis*).

**rursusque** Ingurgitating was the first time; now, regurgitating is the second. Not strictly logical (cf. n. on 7.767), but perfectly clear.

**sub auras** Cf. n. on 7.768; V. edges towards the mixing of sea and sky found in such more hyperbolic expressions as 1.103, 5.790f. (with Hardie, *CI*, 109, 262, n.71, 299). Noise reaches the skies more easily than does the sea, *Aen.*11, index, s.v. *hyperbole*; see too 3.574, 576, of volcanic material. *AR* 2.322f. (*Symplegades*) eschews hyperbole.

**423 erigit** Cf. *Lucil.*998f. *simul ac paulo uehementius aura/ inflarit, fluctus erexerit* extuleritque, *Rehm, TLL* 5.2.782.1, *Aen.*7.529f. *et altius undas/ erigit* (vd.n.) and **3.575f. auulsaque uiscera montis/ erigit eructans** of Etna. *AR* 4.923 ἀναβλύζουσα. Never would V. have preferred to write *exspuit* (*Cat.*64.155, *Tert.cit.* (414 **quondam**) *exspuentis naufragia*, *Ov. reuomit, Met.*13.731); decorously, he leads into **sidera ....** Cf. de Jong, 304.

**alternos** *Serv.Dan.* tries first *singulos, non omnes simul*, then offers, much better, 'uicissim', *quia accipit ut uomat, rursus uomit ut accipiat* (cf. *Sen.Cons.Helv.*10.3 for this formulation applied to human appetites). **A.** seems to render, nearly and neatly enough, Gk. ἄλλοτε ... ἄλλοτε; cf. Austin on 6.121 (alternation of brothers), *Buc.*3.59, 7.19 (of speakers), 11.624 (of water advancing and retreating over a beach; vd. n.), *Hor.C.*1.4.7 (of dancing feet).

**sidera uerberat unda** At 567 **rorantia uidimus astra**, again climactic, V. deploys yet bolder hyperbole, to his critics' confusion and dismay. *Verberare* used freely by V. of the action of hooves, fists, rain, hulls, wings (cf. *EV* 5\*, 501). Note the same image at *Il.*20.171 (lion's tail), *Aesch.Supp.*466 (action of speech on heart), *Lyc.*740 (thunderbolt; cf. Gigante Lanzara on *ib.*979), *Meleager, GP, HE*, 4042 and *Musaeus*, 295ff.(winds), *Paul.Silent, AP* 5.254.7 (love): it seems to be more freely used in Lat. and here is employed in vigorous expansion of **sub auras**. This hyperbole absent from Hom., as from *AR.*

**424 at Scyllam** Cf. 7.789 *at leuem clipeum* ..., introducing the second ekphrasis of Turnus' armour, contrasting in 'tone, character and significance'(n. *ad loc.*).

**caecis ... latebris** Reworked from **232 caecisque latebris**.

**cohibet** Alliterative; cf. 9.738 *nec muris cohibet patriis media Ardea Turnum*, Hor.C.1.28.1 ff. *Tē maris et terrae numeroque carentis harenae/ mensorum cohibent, Archyta,/ pulueris exigui prope litus parua Matinum/ munera*, Ep.2.1.255 *claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum* (cf. my n. on 7.609), Lambertz, *TLL* 3.1546.77.

**spelunca** Hom. has two cliffs at the strait(*Od.*12.73); in one (80) there is a cave, κπέος ήεροιδέκ (cf. 84 κοῖλον), where dwells Scylla. Standard accomodation for Circe, Proteus, Calypso, Cyclopes, etc..

**425 ora exsertantem** A notoriously rare vb., but no coinage (*pace* some comms.. See Oellacher, *TLL* 5.2.1860.37), for it had been used previously in a renowned passage of Quadrigarius, fr.10b: the Gaul in combat with T. Manlius, *linguam exsertare*. Not an echo, though, and not a vb. palpably archaic in form and tone. The action suggested by *Od.*12.93f.: Scylla, up to her middle, is hidden in her cave ξξω δ' έξίσχει κεφαλάς δεινοῖο βερέθρου. Cf. n. on 7.5 for the orthogr. point.

**et naus in saxa trahentem** Serv.Dan. here writes *Sallustius 'quo forte inlata naufragia sorbens gurgitibus occultis milia sexaginta Tauromenitana ad litora trahit* (Sall.*Hist.* 4fr.28Maur.): t. claimed by Gasparotto (71, etc.) as further proof of V.'s use of Sall., but such analogies are not impressive, when the word in question is so very common. Cf. 1.108 *in saxa latentia torquet*. For coupled pres. partics., usually disposed thus, cf. n. on 7.16 (gen.plur.); in the acc. sing., with change of conjugation, there seem to be about 20 instances in V., in plur. a handful only.

**426 prima .../ 427 ... postrema** Cf. Lucr.5.905 *prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa Chimaera* after *Il.*6.181 πρόθε ... ὀπιθεν ... μέσση. The antithesis common enough, (Buchwald, *TLL* 10.2.213.29ff., 215.24ff.) and nowhere else so elegant or memorable.

**hominis facies** Cf. 8.194 *semihominis Caci facies*, 7.19 *hominum ex facie* (before transformation into wolves); unsurprisingly at Lucr.4.452, 6.812 and vd. also *EV* 1, 900, 2, 454.

**et pulchro pectore uirgo** Inverted, as a sign of youthful male beauty, Serv. on 11.40 (where vd. n.); otherwise the neat alliterative clausula, in either order, oddly unparalleled (so PHI); cf. Gatti, *TLL* 10.1.910.68. The abl. of description, not dependent on an adj., like

*pinguem taedis et robore secto*, at e.g. **618**, 2.333, 475, 5.77, 372, 401, 609, n. on 7.747 (add Antoine, 188f.). Self-contained spondaic fourth foot: vd. *Aen.*7, index, s.v., **374–462**, *ad fin.*.

**427 pube tenus** ‘There is only one possible reference to the sexual organs in the *Aeneid*, at 3.427 ... where presumably *pubes* refers to the pubic area of Scylla’ (*usque ad inguina* TCD), J.N. Adams, *BICS* 27 (1980), 51; Page had rendered ‘waist’ (and so still Williams). V. after all could have written *uentre* (cf. Adams, 54 for *u.* in epic), but did not, for Scylla was allegorised into shamelessness, ἀναίθεια, Heracl. *Alleg. Hom.* 70.11, Buffière, 379f., and V.’s knowledge of this line of Homeric interpretation has long been beyond doubt: cf. n. on 7.16. And he had himself already written, *Buc.*6.75 *succinctam latrantibus inguina monstros* (cf. *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 34 for the two Scyllas). Here then, we may suspect that V. uses an atypically coarse word of Scylla to hint at her familiar allegorised meaning. *Tenus quater* in Lucr., *semel* in Hor. *C.*, Cic. *car.*., *ter*, V. has *semel G.*, and *septies*, *Aen.*; here perhaps with Cat.64.18 (Nymphs) *nutricum tenus exstantes e gurgite cano* in mind.

**pistrix** Strictly speaking, probably the Gk. and Lat. name of the sawfish (D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary*, 219), but often used for marine monsters in general, mythological or fancied (*TLL* 10.2.1382.76ff., Marchionni). Clearly in the less specific sense at 10.211, the figurehead of Ocnus’ ship Triton, and 5.116, where *P.* is the name of Mnesteus’ ship. *P.* also the name (both Gk. and Lat.) of a ship-type, Casson, 127. Marchionni 1383.33ff., citing e.g. Plb.18.1.1, Liv.35.26.1. Cf. too Courtney on Albinovanus Pedo, v.6f., P. Hardie in *Homo viator ... Essays ... Bramble* (Bristol 1987), 165. Strong p-allit., and perhaps also synaloepha at caesura to convey the overall continuity of Scylla’s form. The distinction between *pistrix* (monster) and *pristis* (ship) in Serv. is half right (*pistrix* not used of ships); V. though, to express ‘monster’, uses both forms (Marchionni, 1382.53ff.); so too *pristis* of a monster at 10.211.

**immani corpore** Cf. 5.372, 8.330; part of a ‘cluster’ of formulaic expressions (cf. n. on 7.783 *praestanti corpore*), which go back to *G.*4 and indeed Lucr. (5.33 *immani corpore serpens*; vd. Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.440.56). For this near-periphrastic use of *corpus*, vd. n. on 7.650.

**428 delphinum caudas** At *Od.*12.96 Scylla fishes for dolphins and dogfish (D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary*, 136 on *Od.*, *cit.*). The marine tail is typical of an ample range of mythol. figures: cf. Brink on

Hor.*Ars* 4 (with p.85), who refers to Scylla here and to the Triton of 10.210f.

**utero ... luporum** Not, as often (Adams(427), 54), belly for womb, but (internal) womb for (external)belly; the anatomical arrangements (cf. 10.211 *in pristim desinit aluus*, Hor.*Ars* 4 *desinat in piscem*, Frischer, *cit.*) are clear in depictions of S.(e.g. *EV* 4, 725, a c.5 Agrigentine tetradrachm; Cappelli, 123, 'Horace's villa'). Pinotti, 725 rightly compares the familiar tripartition of the Chimaera (*Il.*6.181, Lucr. 5.905); Hom.'s many heads and more feet have become rather too exotic. S.'s wolves are the offspring of the etymological link with κύλαξ, κύλλειν, etc.(*Od.*12.85f.; cf. Robert, 243, 1369, Pfeiffer on Call.*Hecale*.fr.288 (and Hollis on *Hec.*fr.90), O'Hara, 144f. Hom.'s dogfish can hardly be irrelevant). Mere dogs at (e.g.) Lucr.5.892, *Buc.*6.77; cf. *Cat.* 60.2 *latrans*. Actual wolves (if V. is here writing about some part of normal terrestrial wolves; cf. Lanciotti, *TLL* 7.2.1852.75ff., J. Schmidt, PW 5A.654.29ff.) seem a further aspect of Virgilian hyperbole. At 6.286 *Scyllaeque bifformes* represent a regression to pre-baroque restraint.

**commissa** The Grecism of a retained accus. of a part of the body, Courtney(47), 429, Harrison, *Aen.*10, 290f.('type iii'). *Ov.Met.*12.478 *qua uir equo commissus erat* easier.

**429 praestat ...// 431 quam** Lucretian; note e.g.4.502f. (with *quam* following); cf. Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.908.52f..

**Trinacrii ... Pachyni** For T., cf. 384. Cape Pachynus, clearly—given the precise indications of Pachynus' orientation available—the mod. Capo Pássero (pointing SE; the very southernmost point of the island is named Capo delle Correnti); the spelling Passaro, found in British naval histories, even good ones, seems unfounded. The name Pachino now borne by a town NW of the cape and in general use for a quite outstanding very small tomato grown locally. *EV* 3, 916f.(Panessa), TCI *Sicilia*, 676, E.H. Bunbury in Smith, s.v..

**metas lustrare M.** of promontories a bold Virgilian development, not followed (but see Sol.2.24, Dittmann, *TLL* 8.865.79f.); a cone, whence the cone that marks the turning point in the circus, whence V. here. The vb.(here vd. Clavadetscher, *TLL* 7.2.1875.23f., rightly under the sense of 'pass round', comparing Liv.Andr. *trag.*6, *Aen.*5.578, 7.391, where vd. n.) very much in the forefront of V.'s short-term memory, 377, 385.



**430 cessantem.** *Inmorantem, quod sequentia indicant* Serv.; cf. n. on 11.288.

**longos ... cursus** Cf. **116 nec longo distant cursu**. At 5.131 V. reworks the line, *et longos ubi circumflectere cursus* (with *metam* in the previous line in the more conventional racetrack sense, Moskalew, 124).

**circumflectere** Apparently a Virgilian coinage (Probst, *TLL* 3. 1144.3f., Cordier, 144; perhaps with Hom. περιγνάμπτοντα in mind, *Od.* 9.80, then used at *AR* 2.364); cf. n. on 7.588 for V.'s *circum-* compounds.

**431 semel** So *Od.* 12.350, better to die at sea, once and for all, than wither away on some deserted island.

**informem .../ 432 Scyllam** Szantyr (*TLL* 7.1.1476.36f. quotes Serv.'s *confusae ... formae* and adduces *Gloss.* 4.446.40 *horridam*. V. had used *i.* of bears, *G.* 3.247, where Serv. acutely remarks *uel magni. uel qui tempore, quo nascuntur, forma carent*. Note 6.416 *informi limo* (and *G.* 3.354, land under snow); more closely **658** (the Cyclops), 8.264 (Cacus' body), and 12.603 *nodum informis leti*. At *Buc.* 2.25 *nec sum adeo informis*, the sense is plain; mud and snow suggest lack of any shape (cf. bear cubs); monsters, who have strange and numerous shapes, are *informes* for a quite different reason and 12.603 because death by hanging was deemed specially ugly (vd. Traina's n., Y. Gris , *Le suicide ...* (Paris 1982), 107ff.).

**uasto ... sub antro** And then **617**, 1.52, 8.217, 424; formulaic, therefore, and suggestive of both size and horror. Pinotti (*EV* 5\*, 455; *bene*) compares Enn.'s *inferum uastos specus* (*trag.* 152) and, further, Hom.'s ἀν' εὐρυπυλῆς Ἄϊδος δῶ.

**uidisse** 'Set eyes on': the emotional primacy of sight in epic narrative: cf. nn. on 11.43, 243 and **26, 90** above.

**432 caeruleis canibus** Vd. **428** for the 'dogs'; the epithet applied generally to the sea and all that therein is, Edgeworth, 107ff., Andr , 165f.

**resonantia saxa** Cf. *G.* 1.358f. *resonantia longe/ litora* (simply of waves; cf. *Il.* 4.422), *Aen.* 6.551 *torquetque sonantia saxa*, 1.200f. *Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis/ accestis scopulos*, Roiron, 179, 237ff., 367ff., A. Traina, *EV* 4, 942; the sea-dogs barked at *Buc.* 6.75 and now, typically, the cliffs echo to their clamour. Cf. the πέτρας πολυχηεας of *AR* 4.963.

**433 praeterea** Lucretian and tragic; cf. n. on 7.71.

**si qua est ... 434 si qua ... si** Nothing else quite comparable in V; cf. *Buc.*6.9 *si quis ... si quis*, *Aen.*9.210f., 4.327f. (*si qua ... si quis*), 1.603 (*si qua ... si quid*), 5.687f. (*si ... si quid*), 6.367 (*si qua ... si quam*), 11.373f. (*si qua ... si ... quid*), 9.406f. (*si qua ... si qua*), 4.317ff. (*si ... si quis*). The point of this tedious catalogue is to show that nowhere else does V. unleash quite so ample a sequence of this highly pathetic idiom; Helenus, the giver of advice here essential to the Trojans' survival, is thus amply characterised by lofty prolixity. For the force and implications of *si qua*, cf. n. on 7.4. There is ms. evidence for punctuation after **prudencia** (**uati** therefore understood with **fides**): not attractive.

**Heleno ... uati** The speaker refers to himself in the third person, using his own name: cf. nn. on **45**, **380**; another idiom of high pathos. Cf. **358** for Helenus as *uates*.

**prudencia** I.e. *providentia*, *Cic.Div.*1.11 (where vd. Pease for further instances), *G.*1.416. Cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 145.

**434 fides** Fraenkel (*TLL* 6.1.684.73ff.) compares *Cic.Fam.*6.6.7 *debebit habere fidem nostra praedictio* (with *auctoritatem* as synonym), *Prop.*4.1.92 *nempe meam firmant nunc duo busta fidem*.

**animinum** θυμόν; here, cf. **89 animis inlabere nostris**.

**ueris implet** Cf. 7.475 *dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet* (with n.), 11.448 *urbem terroribus implet*, *TLL* 7.1.631.83f. (Labhardt). **V.:** cf. 2.149, 161, *Hor.Serm.*2. 3.305.

**Apollo** Cf. **251 f.** (with **359**) for Apollo as inspirer of Cassandra.

**435 unum illud ... unum** The line elegantly framed (Wills, 427, 429; cited indeed by Julius Rufinianus as an instance of epanadiplosis, *Rhet.Lat.Min.*p.50.26Halm); an exceptionally rare gemination, Wills, 74 and 11.352 with my n..

**proque omnibus** The idiom familiar in *Cic.*: *Dom.*30 *me unum pro omnibus*, *Sest.*46, *Att.*11.9.3 (and less closely, *Aen.*12.229 *pro cunctis talibus*, *Cic.Att.*2.5.1 *unus est pro centum milibus*, which SB (as at *ib.*16.11.1) identifies as deriving (of people) from Heraclitus fr.49DK; for other formulations, Otto, *Sprichwörter*, 222).

**tibi, nate dea** *Aen.* is far more present to Helenus than Dido is to *Aen.*. At **374** the specific point of **nate dea** seemed clear enough (as it very much was at **311**); here, therefore, perhaps best not dismissed as merely formulaic and possibly to be taken as a reference to Venus' necessary assistance in the face of Juno's reluctance to bow to the long

campaign to win her support. The theme's extreme importance is made yet clearer by the echo at 546 (so 545 looks back to the ritual prescribed at 403–8). Vd. 374–462, Buchheit, 73, 133f..

**436 praedicam** Cf. 252.

**et repetens iterumque iterumque** This sense of **r.** perhaps only here in V.(*EV* 4, 52), but old and standard (*OLD* s.v., §4a). The gemination also at 2.770, *Epic.Drusi* 219, etc.(Szantyr, *TLL* 7.2.558.67 ff., Wills, 116 with n.69). H. is certainly not characterised as brisk or laconic; later vatic utterances in *Aen.* share some of his stylistic mannerisms(383), but not this tendency to use at least two words when one would do; to portray an individual as a windbag, individually, or by professional type, is, though, a tricky enterprise, which has recently earned the poet unmerited opprobrium (376–462). Buchheit draws attention to the exceptional (wordy, if you must) emphasis given here by Helenus(134, n.563; cf. Cairns, 99); crucial to the dram. irony of his error(Juno will in fact intervene furiously against the Trojans before they reach Italy, and will not be won over within the time-span of the poem's action).

**monebo** Cf. 188, 461, 684, 712, 2.183, 4.557, 6.620, 7.110, a favourite word of authoritative, often divine admonition(*EV* 3, 563).

**437 Iunonis .../ 438 Iunoni** The anaphora at the beginning of successive vv. lends great weight to H.'s words (*tacet* Wills). Tiberinus, at 8.60f. addresses Aen. anew: *Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque/ supplicibus supera uotis* (Morelli, *TLL* 10.2.1220.20f.); the echo is underestimated (but see Moskalew, 123): it will indeed be to Juno (*maxima*, 8.84) that Aen. finally sacrifices the sow; the foundation-prodigy and the reconciliation with Juno are therefore intertwined motifs. Helenus enjoins *pietas* upon Aen.; sacrifice a less important motif to Tiresias (but cf. *Od.*11.127ff.). Note also the importance of Aphrodite in Phineus' instructions (2.423f.; Nelis, 42, Knauer, 201).

**magnae** Bulhart, *TLL* 8.134.82 quotes no parallels; a purely formal, literary epithet (of wide application, Bulhart, 134.74ff.).

**primum** In order and in importance. Actually (J. Dingel, *Gymn.*107 (2000), 284, n.13), the Trojans first pray to Minerva, 543f..

**prece numen adora** **N.** in the familiar sense of the power or majesty of a deity (an elevated restatement of the simple name): Bailey, 65, Pötscher, 100. The vb. neither old, nor specially common before V., nor here used as a religious t.t. (*EV* 1, 29f., Hickson, 45f., Appel, 65); note *Laev.fr.*26.1 *Venerem igitur alnum adorans.*

**438 cane uota** Lersch(184) well compares 6.51 *cessas in uota precesque*, 2.17, 11.4 (where vd. my n. for the use of vows). Cf. the songs of the Salii, Liv.1.20.4 (with Ov.F.3.388); not the same as the prophetic song of **373**, **444** etc.. Serv.Dan. refers to the hymn to Juno written by Livius Andronicus in 207BC: (Liv.27.37.7 *decreuere item pontifices ut uirgines ter nouenae per urbem euntes carmen canerent*), a key moment in Latin literature and in the long historical process of winning Juno's favour (Buchheit, 145, n.620, D.C. Feeney in Harrison, *ORVA*, 361, etc.; *tacet* Parroni, *EV* 1, 168f.), and, given the oddity of *uota canere* as an expression, Serv.Dan.'s remark might be taken as rather helpful: a faint, passing allusion in the text, no more; when Hor. writes *poscit opem chorus* (*Epist.*2.1.134), Brink glosses well "the young choristers plead with the gods on behalf of the community". Not so here, though; in practice *uota* and choral hymns (Norden, *Altröm. Priesterbücher*, 249, n.1 for the Roman evidence) belong to non-overlapping worlds and we may suspect a non-technical, imprecise use of the verb. So Poeschel, *TLL* 3.266.68, comparing e.g. 6.657, 7.398, *Hor.Ars* 277.

**libens** Standard in votive expressions of thanksgiving (Hickson, 101, Buchwald, *TLL* 7.2.1326.71 ff.) and here incorporated unobtrusively in an unfamiliar context; V. uses *uoti reus*, *laetus* as synonyms, Bailey, 48, Hickson, 100f..

**dominamque potentem** Not a regular epithet of Juno(Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.2.281.36f.; note 2.296 *p.* used of Vesta); **d.** likewise (of Cybele, normal, Cat.35.14, etc., n. on **113**; of Diana, Cat.34.9): of Juno at Prop.2.5.17. V. has already learned not to tire the reader with long stretches of conventional religious language.

**439 supplicibus ... donis** The gifts which Aen. as suppliant will offer; Caesar writes of *supplices manus*, *Civ.*2.11.4. Gifts and hands are an integral part of the supplication (cf. Hor.C.3.14.8 *supplice uitta*, Ov.'s repeated *uerba*, *uox*) and this is hardly an unorthodox enallage. Gk. ἱκτῆριος used similarly.

**supera ... uictor** The words do not represent a rarity of prayer language (both absent in this sense from Appel), but are rather an exceptional doubled metaphorical reference to the effectiveness of prayer. The metaphor familiar, but not precisely so, in both Gk. and Latin: cf. δίκην νικάω, Eur.*Electr.*955; in a lawsuit, also, *Od.*11.544f.. In Lat., cf.(e.g.) *G.*2.389, Cic.*de orat.* 3.129, *OLD* s.v.*uinco*, §4, s.v. *supero*, §4b (vd. e.g. Cic.*Brut.*166, *Cluent.*149). Quite misunderstood, Moskalew, 20.

**sic denique D.:** ‘finally, in the end’, not until the Trojans reach the Tiber mouth, but we can see how (our, at least) mental map of the Trojans’ goal is filling out(cf. 384–7).

**440 Trinacria ... relictā** Cf. 384 for this handy name for Sicily; for the vb., cf. 10.

**finis Italos** Cf. 7.334, with n.; possibly of old epic origin. Attention focused on the safe passage from Sicily to Italy, precisely the point where Juno will unleash the tempest of bk.1 (whence as necessary consequence the emotional tempest of bk.4). Aen. has lived through that when he narrates Helenus’s speech to Dido (and *we* have read bk.1); only the Aen. of bk.3 is (though much encouraged) innocently misled by an underinformed seer (cf. 374–462).

**mittere** Classified under *prosequi* (Fleischer, *TLL* 8.1187.19ff., citing 4.243 *alias sub Tartara tristia mittit*, 11.27, Liv.2.49.7; add e.g. 6.543); slightly tricky, to judge by *EV* 3, 553, unduly impressed (and confused) by the inclination of editors to impose an unsubstantiated sense on the poet in their paraphrases. Heyne remarks ‘est Graecum πέμπεθαι de navigatione’; altogether Homeric (*Od.*4.560, etc.); the senses ‘cause to go, convey, escort’(Cunliffe) predominantly used in active; pass. not then a mere synonym for ‘go’. Williams sees in the passive (as against vb. of motion) a reference to divine guidance, which might be right (cf. *fertur* of unwilling motion). ‘Conveyed’ might be sufficiently opaque.

**441–60** Vs account of the Cumaean Sibyl(cf. J.H. Waszink, *Mnem.*4.1 (1948), 43ff., = *Opuscula selecta* (Leiden 1979), 147ff., Parke(85–9), 71ff., Rzach, *PW* 4A.2091.9ff. and Norden on 6.77–80) is the earliest we have from his pen of an Italian cult-site and its usages(compare Delos, 78ff.); it appears that the familiar technique of scissors-and-paste antiquarianism (call it erudite bricolage, if you will) is already worked out and fully in use for the creation of learned constructs. A list of the constituent elements so far identified may help, so long as its order is not taken as implying any hierarchy of significance; just what it was that *first* roused V.’s imagination remains perforce unclear. An ancient oracle at Avernus(*EV* 1, 430ff.) is attested by DS 4.22.1f., very possibly after Timaeus(cf. *FGH* 566F89); Ephorus (*FGH*70 F134a = Strab. 5.4.5) located Hom.’s Cimmerians here and Strab., *cit.*, refers to old accounts of oracles of the dead in the neighbourhood (Castagnoli (421), 1035, Parke(85–9), 72f.). The reference to the Sibyl’s cave at Lyc. 1279f.(446) is not beyond doubt pre-Virgilian (cf. n. on 392, Waszink,

155f.). Soph.fr. 748 Pearson/ Radt refers to an oracle of the dead at Cumae (Castagnoli, 1035, Parke, 92, Bremmer (446), 73); for Aesch. *Psychagogi*, vd. Radt on fr.273, Bremmer, *cit.*, Parke, 95, n.5). So too probably (there or nearby) Naevius, *BP* fr.12 Strz., Parke(85–9), 72ff., Sbordone, *EV* 1, 431, S. Mariotti, *Il BP e l'arte di Nevio* (Roma 1955), 40ff., Barchiesi, *Nevio epico*, 278f. The woods all around are altogether conventional (442). The oracular cave (home not to any single prophetic method) is likewise a stock element (446), as is (though less securely) the oracle couched in hexameters(445). That the Sibyl used palm-leaves to record her oracles is derived from Varro(444); her filing system may be indebted to accounts of collections of oracles, Pisistratid and Capitoline(445). The rushing mighty wind has not been enough to arouse the commentators' curiosity: in the Gk. analogues and antecedents of the leaves-simile, 6.309ff., the autumn wind causes them to fall, *Il*.6.147 φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, Bacch.*Epin*.5.65ff. οἷά τε φύλλ' ἄνεμος/.../ ...δονεῖ (cf. R. Thomas in *Studies ... Clausen* (14), 111ff.). Think too of the significant whispering of the leaves of Zeus' oaks at Dodona(*Od*.14.328, etc., Gruppe 1, 355, n.5). Doors also conventionally fly open at the advent of a deity (vd. the full n. on 7.620), and V.'s **tenuis ... uentus** might well in origin have been not a harmless domestic draught but the gale of Apollo's coming to inspire his priestess. Readers of these vv. have been more concerned with the apparently crucial fact that it is in practice Anchises who conveys the information here reserved to the Sibyl(cf. also 6.86–97, Günther, 38f.): when this happens, at 6.890f., V. has in mind **458** and at 6.892, **459**. This double echo shows (as if there were room for serious doubt, xxxv–xxxix, at xxxix) that V. cares very little if at all: any reader with a passable memory is encouraged clearly enough to recall the earlier 'inconsistent' passage. Aen. meets his father again thanks to the Sibyl, which might help to mitigate the clash (thus e.g. Cova, here). More important to consider that V. offers, alongside the double echo, versions that diverge between prophecy and fulfilment: there is nothing to prove that this divergence did matter or would ever have been corrected (vd. introd., *cit.*): cf. (e.g.) Cartault, 250, n.2, Heinze, 440, M.M. Crump, *Growth of the Aeneid* (Oxford 1920), 22, O'Hara, *DOP*, 27 (with some older bibl.). O'Hara more subtly suggests(28) that Helenus cannot assign the source of the information 'correctly' because that would entail telling Aen. of his father's death; however, that is part(374–462) of a more general over-privileging of that one prophetic moment, and V. could anyway have said, unnervingly

enough (and with no mention of his father), 'it will be explained to you in Hades'. Further detail present not here but in V.'s account of the Cumaean Sibyl in *Aen.* 6 is discussed in similar terms in Appendix 1, 495–7.

The Sibyl's role and advice have likewise complex and prominent literary antecedents: *Aen.* is not warned, either here or at 6.83–97, that he will be visiting Anch. in the underworld; that he learns from Anch. (5.731–3), while a reader with the lit./relig. associations of Cumae and the structure of *Od.* in mind may by now suspect that that visit is coming. Circe's instructions (*Od.* 10.490–3) point directly to Hades, while Phineus advises Jason that in Mariandynian territory he will land at an entrance to Acheron (2.353–6). Hom.'s Circe prophesies to *Od.* both before (10.480–540) and after (12.37–110) his visit to Hades; V. chooses the placing of the first speech and some of the content (notably Scylla and Charybdis) of the second, though note Circe's reference to the further advice which will be had from Tiresias (10.539f.) Cf. Knauer, 202–4, Nelis, 42.

**441 huc ubi delatus** Cf. **154, 219 huc ubi delati**, with nn. (Williams writes inexplicably 'nautical'; **d.** indeed used of sea-voyages, but equally of travel e.g. by litter); the formulae of travel handily and inevitably repeated.

**Cumaeam ... urbem** Cf. 7.678 *Praenestinae ... urbis* for this familiar, exalted form of expression. Founded from Cumae in Euboea, traditionally in 1050BC; in *Aen.* 6 understood as a sacred acropolis (250 ft. above sea level), and still remote and indeed numinous forty years ago: 6km. W. of Pozzuoli, and directly over the west-facing shore that leads S. to the peninsula of Cape Misenum. To the bibl. collected by de Franciscis, *EV* 1, 954, add the splendid synthesis by F. Castagnoli repr. in *Topografia antica* 2 (Roma 1993), 1005ff., from *I Campi Flegrei ...*, *Atti conv. Lincei*, 33, 1977, 41ff., M. Gigante in *Il destino della Sibilla* (ed. P. Amalfitano, Napoli 1986), 70ff. and see M.W. Frederiksen, *Campania* (Rome 1984), *passim*, H. Comfort, *PECS*, 250ff., J. Weiss, *PW* 11.2475.5ff., A. Muggia, *NP* 6, 966f..

**accesseris** *Enn. Ann.* 379, 550; standard Latin. Nelis compares *AR* 2.351ff. (arrival at Mariandynian Acheron; vd. *infra*).

**442 diunosque lacus** Cf. **386 infernique lacus**. Here 'haunted' has slunk into too many translations and commentaries, when 'sacred', 'inhabited by the gods', is much more to the point: cf. *G.* 1.168 *diuini* ...

*ruris*; of Delos, Cic. *Verr.*5.185. The area is shared out, if you will, or contested, between Apollo and Jupiter at Cumae and the gods of the Underworld at Avernus. A real plural, which involves Lucrine and Avernus (*infra*); the second part of the compound expression specifies and limits.

**Auerna** This sort of heteroclit plural common in toponyms, both Gk. and Lat., NW 1, 722f. (cf. Tartara, Maenala, Ismara ...). A volcanic crater; the lake just over half a square km., directly inland from the Lago Lucrino, and 800m. from the sea. See *EV* 1, 430ff., Castagnoli(421), *cit.*, Frederiksen(441), 76f., C.G. Hardie in R.G. Austin, *Aen.*6, p.279ff.. The etym. 'A-ornos' is a red herring (cf. *Aen.*7, p.xxx), though the name Aornos is attested (Paus.9.30.6) in Thesprotia in a nekyomantic context (Castagnoli (421), 1035, n.127); the name Avernus is itself of a familiar type, locally and over a wider area (cf. Litternum, Falernum, Salernum, Kupelternum (=Cubulteria; vd. N. Purcell, gazetteer to Barrington Map 44), Privernum, Tifernum).

**sonantia siluis** Cf. *G.*4.364 *speluncisque lacus clausos lucosque sonantis*, Roiron, 239f. (primarily, the wind in the branches). With the woods of 6.238, cf. 7.83, 565f. (with notes): altogether conventional in plutoneion-descriptions. Their presence at AR 2.742 (vd. *supra*, 440) is therefore not specially significant.

**443 insanam uatem** Cic., in illustration of *non enim sunt ii aut scientia aut arte diuini sed superstitiosi uates impudentesque harioli* (*Div.*1.132) cites Enn. (*trag.*266) *aut inertes aut insani aut quibus egestas imperat*. Cf. *Div.*2.110, 112 on the *insania* of the seer and Pease on *Div.*1.1, etc. for vatic *furor* (after the old association of mantic and manic, Plat. *Phaedr.*244B, Pease, *cit.*, Dodds, *Greeks and the irrational*, 70, n.37); cf. Burkert, *Gk. relig.*, 116, Dodds, *cit.*, 68ff. E. Rohde, *Psyche* 2<sub>7/8</sub> (Tübingen 1921), 63f. on what prophetic possession entailed (the Gk. term is *ἔνθεοι*; vd. e.g. Arist. *Probl.*954a36, Dodds, 88, n.45, Burkert, 109ff., Rohde, 64, n.1) and how it was described by often uncomprehending and polemical writers. It is hard for the hostile to allow the existence of a state not excited, not manic, not hysterical, but truly to be described as possessed after the manner of a medium (Dodds, 87, n.41). For a deep and most illuminating fictional (but admirably informed) account, cf. William Golding's extraordinarily intelligent posthumous novel (about the Pythia) 'The double tongue' (1995), for which I am indebted to Dr. Maria Plaza (Göteborg). Note 187, 246, 358 for other seers hereabouts in the text. Cf. further, Appendix 1, §3.



**aspicies** ‘Set eyes on’(cf. nn. on 11.56 (with 53), 374). Cf. **431** for the primacy of sight.

**quae .../ 444 ... mandat** Compare the reminiscence 6.74 **foliis tantum ne carmina manda** (so then Juv.8.126), Bulhart, *TLL* 8.261.82ff., adduces [Tib.]3.13.7, Sisenna fr.127P, Cic.*Brut.*26.

**rupe sub ima** For *sub* as ‘deep in’, cf. n. on 7.82f.. Cf. 4.24 *tellus ... ima*, 10.675f.= 12.883f. *o quae satis ima dehiscat/ terra mihi* and note above all 6.42 *excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum*, to which C.G. Hardie used to refer, in despair at the ongoing frenzied debate on Cumaean topography, as ‘the great tantrum’.

**444 fata canit** Cf. 8.499, 10.417 and already Cic.*Sest.*47, *Div.*2.98, altogether in keeping with the strongly ‘oral’ sense of *fatum* often present in V.: vd. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.364.81ff., Bailey, 205f., Pomathios, 334f., Pötscher, 68ff.

**foliisque** Kapp (*TLL* 6.1.1012.68ff.) compares Varro(*GRF*, fr.297); cf. Varr. cited by Serv. here(=*res div.*fr.58Cardauns) and at 6.74; also, after Varro, Suet.p.133.11 Reiff.. The Sibyl used to write down her utterances in *foliis palmarum*; cf. Varr. ap. Plin.*Nat.* 13.69, Norden on 6.74 (also used for responses in the magical papyri; cf. Chirassi Colombo, *EV* 3, 867, Parke(85–9), 82f., 97, n.23, T. Birt, *Ant. Buchwesen* (Berlin 1882), 51, n.3, *id.*, *Kritik u. Hermeneutik ...* (München 1913), 252, perhaps to be compared with Italic usage (lots on oak tablets at Praeneste; cf. discussion, SHA *Coll.Maceratense* (Bari 1995), 175f., J. Champeaux, *MEFR(A)* 102.1 (1990), 271ff.. Also vd. Symm.*Epist.* 4.34.3: the *carmina Marciana* written on *caducis corticibus*). The leaves in the ‘oracle’ cited by Phlegon of Tralles, *Mirab.*39 (*FHG* 3, 621, *FGH* 257F36),=10, p.136, v.8 Westermann = *Mirab.* 10. 2b.40 Giannini) are not necessarily independent or reliable evidence for Sibylline usage. The detail appears not to be widespread antiquarian common knowledge and it does seem likely that it is to be counted as a Varronian contribution to V.’s text. Greek use of oracular sortition has been undervalued: note the etym. of Claros from κληρος, Paus.8.53.9, and cf. Burkert, 116, Pease on Cic. *Div.*1.12, n. on 7.254. Between (1)the *libri Sibyllini* consulted by the *Quindecimviri*, (2)the palm-leaves of Varro and Phlegon, and (3)the inspired prophetess of *Aen.*6 there is clearly some divergence of method; no guarantee that either *Aen.*3 or *Aen.*6 offers any specific and precise account of ‘what happened’ at Cumae.

**notas et nomina** Cf. Cic.*Div.*2.85 *itaque perfracto saxo sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis*, used of conventional let-

ters, shorthand, hieroglyphs. So too *nomina*, 'words, expressions': cf. Cic.*Div.*2.19 *anile sane et plenum superstitionis fati nomen ipsum* ('la parola stessa', Timpanaro). Noted as an alliterative noun-pair by E. Wölfflin, *Ausgew.Schr.*, 268, without, however, the fascinating confirmation, *G.*3.158 *notas et nomina gentis*, branded on cattle; Frayn and (even) White (not to mention Mynors) omissive on the detail; cf., though, C.P. Jones, *JRS* 77 (1987), 151). 'Words' paraphrased suggestively, even significantly; a match, almost, for *σήματα λυγρά*.

**445 quaecumque** Cf. *EV* 4, 316; the noun delayed and the Sibyl's activity portrayed with a certain amplitude.

**in foliis descripsit carmina** Repeated *folia* dispensable, but perhaps calculated solemnity in the repetition; certainly grander than *ita* or *sic*. The vb. familiar from *Buc.*5.13f. *in uiridi nuper quae cortice fagi/carina descripsi* and used also of diagrams, *Buc.*3.41, *Aen.*6.850; cf. Vetter, *TLL* 5.1.657.65f.. *Aen.* will beg the Sibyl *foliis tantum ne carmina manda/./ipsa canas oro* (6.74ff.). The 'Sibylline books' preserved on the Capitol were Greek and apparently hexametric (Wissowa, 536); hexametric, and Latin, the spurious *sortes Praenestinae* (TSK 1, 310, *CLE* 331, Schanz-Hosius 1, 24f., Petersmann in Herzog-Schmidt 1, 46f.); the hexam. tendencies of the '*carmina Marciana*' a strong argument against their alleged date, Petersmann, 47ff.. Here, then, *c.* does not, alone, *prove* that *V.* thought the Sibyl spoke in dactylic verse, but it makes it, in the context, very likely. Cf. too Burkert, 117f., D. Steiner, *The tyrant's writ* (Princeton 1994), 81 for Gk. collections of oracular material; in particular, note those assembled in Pisistratid Athens, Parke(85-9), 77, Steiner, 80ff., Hdt.5.90.2.

**uirgo** Of the Cumaean Sibyl, 6.45, 104, etc.; cf. the Pythia (Burkert, 116; both Sibyls and Pythia have some form of sexual relationship with the deity, *ib.*; cf. Appendix 1, §2(b)).

**446 digerit in numerum** Cf. *Ps.Quint.decl.mai.*4.14 *digessit in partis* (the creation); *Serv.Dan.* here remarks *in ordinem, ut continuatio carminum fiat*, comparing, badly, *Buc.*9.45: Zorzetti (*EV* 3, 794) also refers injudiciously to the metrical composition of the oracles (metrical we have just learned that they were, and we do not need to be told again), but the vb. leaves no room for serious doubt: cf. Cic.*Verr.*2.1.60 *tabulas omnis, quas diligentissime legi atque digessi*, *Plin.Nat.*16.149 (a kind of ivy) *tenuiora folia et in ordinem digesta densioraque*; note too *G.*2.54 (*arbos*) *uacuos si sit digesta per agros* (cf. 267, 'planted out'). 'Arranged', therefore, or

'sorted' here(cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.1118.60ff.); 2.182 *ita digerit omnia Calchas* (where Serv.Dan. is justifiably perplexed; Gk. ἐξηγεῖται. Vd. Vinchiesi, *EV* 2, 714). Cf. nn. on the difficult *aequati numero* (7.698) and the hardly easier 11.599 *compositi numero in turmas. In numerum* is markedly flexible: (a) 'to fill the tally', Mynors on *G.4.227*; (b) 'rhythmically' Cic. *Verr.2.4.20*, *Lucr.2.631*, *Buc.6.27*, *G.4.175*, *Aen.8.453*; (c) here Serv. rightly 'in ordinem', as **447 ordine** makes clear (*bene*, Heyne). Perhaps simply 'by groups' (cf. *OLD* s.v., §10); Cic. *Phil.2.33 tu vero ascribe me talem in numerum* with *Inv.1.16*, *Opt.Gen.17*, *Liv.10.8.6 Attium Clausum ... illi antiqui patricii in suum numerum acceperunt*. Gudeman, *cit.*, compares *Ps.Quint.decl.mai.4.3 inspecta totius ratione caeli, digestis sideribus in numeros*. The singular is hardly troublesome (cf. Bell, 69, 71), any more than the absence of an exact parallel. Filing by subject-matter an advance on mere epic literacy, **287f.** Predictably, a difficulty ignored by the commentators.

**atque antro seclusa** 'Shut up apart', *OLD* s.v., §2; *semel* in *Lucr.* (5.753). For the Sibyl's cave at Cumae, vd. 6.42, etc.: the precise relationship between V.'s description and the remains visible at Cumae is hotly contested(cf. **443**) and unlikely—given V.'s deep and consistent disdain for Ital. geography and remains; vd. intro. to 7.641–817 for a summary—to be of direct importance to our understanding of the text; see Castagnoli(**421**), 919ff., 1033ff. for two deeply sceptical summaries. Some recent bibliogr. A.G. McKay, *Vergilius* 43 (1997), 88; note e.g. F. Zevi in Amalfitano(**441**), 21ff., R.J. Clark, *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 60ff., R.C. Monti, *ib.*40 (1994), 19ff., Parke(**85–9**), 71ff.. Far more interesting are the literary associations of oracular caves (not necessarily Sibylline; Parke, 83ff., 89ff.) for V.: for the Cumaean Sibyl's very own, with *Virg.*, cf. *PsJust.Cohort.35A*(with Parke(**85–9**), 84f.), *Lyc.1280*, [*Arist.*]*Mir. Ausc.* (c.3, Susemihl, 1, 478) 838a5 and perhaps Ephorus, *FGH70F134a*(with Parke, 73f., 92); for Delphi, cf. n. on **92 adytis ... reclusis**, Parke, 83; for Claros, cf. *Tac.Ann.2.54*, *Plin.Nat.2.232*, Parke, 85; Erythrae probably irrelevant, Parke, 89f.. But such caves are revealed as commonplace, or conventional, once you start to look at (e.g.) the evidence for oracles of the dead, or incubation-oracles (vd. nn. on 7.81–106 and on 91 *Acheronta*; also J.N. Bremmer, *Rise and fall of the afterlife* (London 2002), 75).

**relinquit** Often thus with predic. partic./adj.; cf. n. on 11.845.

**447 illa manent immota locis** Cf. *G.2.294 immota manet*, *Aen.1.257 f. manent immota tuorum/ fata tibi*, **3.77 immotamque coli**, 4.15 *animo*

*fixum immotumque sederet*, 449 *mens immota manet*, 7.314 *immota manet fatis* (with n.), 10.696 *ipsa immota manens*, 770f., *EV* 3, 337(*vix*). See Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.497.63ff., Tietze, *ib.* 8.284.18, 287.27, etc. (the predic. use of an adj. with *manere* very common). **L.**: ‘in their places’: cf. G.4.367, with Mynors’ n., *Aen.*8.311 *capiturque locis*.

**neque ab ordine cedunt** Cf. *Lucr.*3.737 *traiciuntur enim partis atque ordine migrant*, *Aen.*11.240f. *responsa reposcit/ ordine cuncta suo*. The apparently similar milit. idiom *loco cedere* (7.332f.; vd. n.) not germane here.

**448 uerum** Strongly adversative(n. on 7.591), though we are still (450f.) focused on the Sibyl.

**eadem ... cum .../ 449 impulit** The run-over dactylic vb., almost as energetic as at 7.620f. (*caelo delapsa morantis/ impulit ipsa manu portas*); cf. *Cat.*66.53 *impellens nutantibus aera pennis* (Zephyrus), *Ov.AA* 3.693f. *lenibus impulsae zephyris auraque salubri/ tot generum frondes*. So of winds or oars churning the surface of the sea, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.537.69ff., W. Görler, *ALLP*, 282f.. If **eadem** referred to the Sibyl, and not to her *carmina*, the change would be slight; the issue is not significant and the ambiguity itself of little moment.

**uerso ... cardine** Cf. n. on 7.621 *cardine uerso*.

**tenuis ... uentus** Even a faint breeze is enough to open the doors and wreak chaos in the neat heaps (no longer do they **manent immota**), for the leaves are themselves **teneras**; cf. *Cat.*51.9 *tenuis ... flamma*, 64.262 *tenuis tinnitus*. This allit. of t- clearly suggests little more than a rustle.

**449 teneras ... frondes** For the adj., cf. n. on 7.809 *nec teneras cursu laeisset aristas*. An alternative to *folia* readily available.

**turbauit 449** restates the thought of **448**; not hendiadys(Bell, 263) and perhaps ‘theme and variation’ would suffice here too. The door is said (‘mannered’ grumble those few commentators who notice the unexpected subject) to do what is ‘really’ the wind’s work. Perhaps to be claimed as hypallage. Note *turbata* (sc. *carmina*) 6.75, *EV* 5\*, 318.

**ianua** Cf. *Ov.Met.*11.608, *F.*2.456, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 7.1.136.77.

**450 numquam deinde** Cf. *Liv.*1.16.1 *nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit* (‘thereafter’).

**cauo ... saxo** Cf. 566 *caua saxa*, 641 **cauo ... antro** (with 229 **rupe cauata**); likewise ships, Trojan horse, cupped hands. *Tacet EV*.

**uolitantia prendere** Cf. *Ov.Her.*18.181 *fugientia prendere poma*, Fron-

to p.217. 12 vdH<sub>2</sub> *nec Fumum prehendere nec solem queas*, Suter, *TLL* 10.2. 1164.39f.. Cf. 7.89 *multa modis simulacra uidet uolitantia miris*, where vd. may n. for the Ennian vb..

**451 nec ... aut** The poets permit themselves a good deal of freedom in the use of disjunctives, Hand, 1, 543f., LHS, 522, *Aen.*2.778f., 4.338f., 501f., etc..

**reuocare situs** 'Recover their places', Goold; 'und ihnen ihren ursprünglichen Ort wiederzugeben', Binder; 'riprodurre le posizioni' (Canali in Paratore); others prefer paraphrase, or silence. Perhaps a military usage, to bring back into order troops that had been dispersed, scattered or broken, *Caes.Gall.*5.11.1, *Civ.*1.27.6, 80.4, *Liv.*2. 59. 9, 3.60.7, etc.. It is not the 'obvious' leaves that are recalled, but rather their positions (cf. **446**, 7); 'heaps', or 'piles', we might think. 'Reorganise their classification': V. might even be tickled (grasping the leaves as they flutter is already droll enough) by the notion of the Sibyl as her own archivist. *Tacet EV*.

**iungere carmina** Ps.Ov.'s *iungam carmina neruis* quite different (*Ep. Sapph.*13; vd. von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.661.4); if V. thinks of one line on each leaf, then the sequence of the leaves consulted or uttered to the enquirer is clearly significant.

**curat** In the poet. lexicon from Enn. and used with varied constr.; here 'bother, take the trouble'; cf. *Enn.trag.*265 *nam si curent* [sc. *di*], *bene bonis sit, male malis*, *Hor.C.* 3.29.26, *Ars* 460. *Tacet EV*.

**452 inconsulti** The adj. old (comedy and prose), in senses both passive and active; the former in Plaut., *Liv.*(36.36.2 *inconsulto senatu*, etc.); the latter 'without taking advice', = *inscius/ temerarius/ improuidus/sim*. So e.g. *Hor.Ep.*1.5.14f. *potare et spargere flores/ incipiam patiarque uel inconsultus haberi*, *Gratt.*3f. *nuda silvas uirtute mouebant/ inconsulti homines uitaque erat error in omni* after [Aesch.] *PV* 456 ἄτερ γνώμης τὸ πᾶν ἔπρασσον, *Bauer, TLL* 7.1.1013.54ff.. Here *audacius* (*Bauer*, 70, comparing *Athen.* 3.98C καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἡμῶν ἐταῖρον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ ἄχρηστον). Much interest among the schoolmasters, *Non.* p.125.24 *quibus consulentibus religio nihil diceret*, *Serv. inscii rerum, ignari, sine consilio*, *Serv.Dan.* *sine responso, quibus consultum non esset*, *Isid.Etym.*10.144 *sine consilio et inscius rerum atque ignarus*.

**abeunt** Cf. 7.733 *indictus abibis*, 11.366 *pulsus abi* with nn., *G.3.225 uictus abit*. The synaloepha of long i before short a is not that unusual; *Buc.*3.48, 6.59, *G.1.55*, etc..

**sedemque ... Sibyllae** An element of hissing disapprobation (vd. next n.); cf. 2.437, 742, 760, 7.324, 454, 8.347.

**odere** Contemptuous disappointment, Vinchesi, *EV* 3, 820; cf. (not closely) 7.327, 12.431.

**453 hic Vd. 441 f.**

**tibi** V. passes from the generally antiquarian to the specifically relevant.

**ne qua morae ... dispendia** D. in both Enn. (*Ann.*7) and Lucr. (2.1127); only here in V.; *tacet* Cordier. For **m.** thus, cf. Apul. *Apol.* 84 *praecipitasti et nulla[m] impertita mora subneruisti*, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1. 1397.16f.; for the notion of 'worth the delay', cf. also 9.232 *pretium-que morae*. I render this rather obscure v. 'let no expenditure of time be so precious to you'.

**fuertint ... tanti** Cf. Prop. 1.6.13, 2.16.55, etc.: this gen. of value not rare in elegy, and uncommon in V. not because stylistically 'low' but because somehow conceptually alien to the subject-matter of *Aen.*; *Ov. Met.* quite another matter (2.424, 6.386, etc.). *Tacet* Antoine. The sequence of thought is clear enough, and TCD puts it quite well *noli, inquit, anxius esse de mora; licet enim clamitent socii, licet elementa suffragentur, ne nauiga prius quam Sibyllam consulas*.

**454 quamuis** Cf. Bartalucci, *EV* 3, 993.

**increpitent** Cf. *trag. inc.* 234, Liv. 1.7.2; semel, *G., quater, Aen.* (most closely, perhaps, 1.738 *Bitiae dedit increpitans*). Vd. Buchwald, *TLL* 7.1. 1050.53ff., who slightly prefers the sense of 'encourage', rather than 'reprove' (as e.g. 10.810). Pomathios, 110 offers 'murmurent', with no reference (anywhere, indeed) to a possibly illuminating analogy, 4.418 *et laeti nautae imposuere coronas*; at Carthage Aen.'s honest tars are delighted to be leaving, while here Helenus envisages that they will, surely, grouse at the delay imposed by consulting 'some old woman'. In both passages, it seems that they are all for unreflective haste, though clearly they will *also* be making a sound moral point when in Africa.

**socii** Cf. 12.

**et ui cursus .../ 455 uela uocet** As at 7.23 *infra* the wind puffs alliteratively. For the more conventional form of expression, cf. 253 **Italiam cursu petitis uentisque uocatis**, 269 **qua cursum uentusque gubernatorque uocabat** (similarly 70 **lenis crepitans uocat Auster in altum**, 356f. **aurae/ uela uocant**, 4.417 *uocat iam carbasus auras*, 5.764 *rursus uocat Auster in altum* and see with caution Zurli,

*EV* 5\*, 636). Here, though, the wind is no longer, at least formally, the moving force; Zurli paraphrases *cursus* with *uentus secundus*, but that is not in keeping with V.'s usage elsewhere; the reader of bk.3 has already learned a good deal of the 'normal' use of *cursus* (116, 146, 200, 253, 269, 337, 362, 430), close indeed to that of Eng. 'course'. Here V. is toying familiarly with the language: cf. W. Görler, *ALLP*, 269f., *id.*(1982), 66 (of this passage, 'either a very bold personification or an inversion'), Catrein, 87, *EV* 2, 269. Cf. 410f. for a comparable idiom(an inversion, clearly; over twenty years, our understanding of Virgilian syntax has become more confident). Note **uocet M<sub>1</sub>P<sub>1</sub>; uocent P<sub>2</sub>M<sub>2</sub>**. D.A. Slater(CR 27 (1913), 160) corrected to *Volturnus*, less elegantly than Wakefield's *Caurus* or *rursus*. **Vi** as so often lends energy (and further allit.) to the action.

**in altum** Cf. 11, 70.

455 **possisque** Cf. 378, 387; 'have the chance to' might convey the implication.

**sinus ... secundos** Alliterative enallage; cf., for the more conventional form of expression 683 **uentis intendere uela secundis**, 7.23 *infra*, 8.682, *EV* 4, 747.

**implere** Cf. 7.23 *Neptunus uentis impleuit uela secundis*, with n..

456 **quin** After **ne ... fuerint ... tanti** (i.e. *nihil impediuerint*). Cf. KS 2, 268.

**adeas uatem** Cf. 7.82 with n. for the use of *adire*; **u.**: vd. 443.

**precibusque ... poscas** Cf. Pers.2.3, Scheible, *TLL* 10.2.70.69; the language is compatible with that of *Gebetstil* (for *poscere*, cf. Hickson, 51, for *preces*, Appel, 69), enough to give an aura of formality. Nothing in class. Lat. exactly like the parataxis (Scheible, 81.52f.); a stop(however heavy) after **poscas** is no significant improvement and in any case V. is markedly free with his use of jussives, Görler, *EV* 2, 273 (citing e.g. 5.796, 10.525), Horsfall, *Companion*, 231, Sidgwick, index, 494: **poscas ... canat** is striking, not startling. Aen. is here required to ask (i)for oracles, and (ii)for Deiphobe to sing them, so the question of which verb or verbs govern(s) **oracula** is itself essentially superfluous.

**oracula** Serv.Dan. glosses *fata, responsa*. Note G.4.449, Baer, *TLL* 9.2.874.48, *EV* 3, 866f.(Chirassi Colombo)..

457 **ipsa canat** The regular language of Virgilian prophecy, 155; direct speech (**ipsa**) preferable to disordered foliage.

**uocemque ... et ora resoluat** Mouth and voice thus linked, Cic. *Phil.* 11.7, etc., Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1074.42f. Cf. *G.* 4.452 *sic fatis ora resoluti*: Erren refers to a metaphor of words released from a prison, but neither he, nor *EV* s.v. *solvo*, nor comms. (here and on *G.*, *cit.*) suggest the phrase's likely origin as a development of Hom. metaphor, φύγεν ἔρκος ὀδόντων.

**uolens** Because the Sibyl is an inspired mouthpiece of Apollo she is referred to in language appropriate to a deity (as in the familiar formula *uolens propitius*: Appel, 122, Hickson, 61 f., etc.), of whom benevolence is desired or expected. Also alliterative.

**458 illa tibi** The familiar tendency of pronouns to juxtaposed contrast, n. on 7.427. At 6.890f. an ample reworking of the theme (vd. **441–60**), *exim bella uiro memorat quae deinde gerenda / Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini* (with my remarks, *EV* 3, 141, n. on 7.716).

**Italiae populos** Cf. n. on 7.725 for V.'s use of *populus* when writing of Italy.

**uenturaque bella** Cf. **158, 186**; from 1.22, **u.** oddly not present in Duckworth's list of words—like *moriturus*—used by V. to refer to a character's future and/or unhappiness (10f.); cf. also 2.194, etc..

**459 et quo quemque modo ... laborem** Cf. (clearly in the manner of Lucr., 1.155 *et quo quaeque modo*, 2.774, 3.1068, etc.) *G.* 2.226 *nunc quo quamque modo possis cognoscere dicam*, 270 *quo quaeque modo steterit*, 4.120, 284, *Aen.* 6.892 *quo quemque modo* (vd. *infra*; cf. Sparrow, 101, Moskalew, 114 and, for the interaction of Anchises and Sibyl, **441–60**, xxxix). For **1.**, cf. next n..

**fugiasque ferasque** Alliterative verb-pair (cf. *fundere fugare, frondere florere*, etc.), but not listed by Wölfflin presumably because an *ad hoc* poetic construct. Whereas the task *laborem ferre* stands near the weighty Stoic heart of Virgilian ideology (1.10, 5.617 *pelagi perferre laborem*, 769, 6.437, 8.291 ff. (*pertulerit*), 12.177, 635; vd. n. on 7.117f.), *laborem fugere* is legitimate behaviour for *Aen.* too (cf., after all, the use of φεύγειν in *Od.*). To *Aen.*'s question at **368**, Helenus gives no answer, save to indicate who will eventually give the answer requested. The formulation here (lightly reworked, 6.892 *fugiatque feratque laborem*; vd. **441–60**) is apparently unique: cf. *TLL* 6.1.535.30 (Hey), 1489.14 (Rubenbauer). The particles *to* be understood, as often, disjunctively; cf. Wagner, *QV* xxxiv.1.



**460 expedit** Cf. **379**. The thought of the verse is similar to that of Phineus' opening words, AR 2.421 f.(Nelis).

**cursusque ... secundos** Cf. **455**, EV 4, 747: a natural application of the adj., given its frequent use of winds, waves, currents. C.: **454**. Poet and seer have begun to repeat themselves, not quite for the first time; the adj. re-used so soon at v.-end bothers V. not at all; modern aesthetic reactions are altogether irrelevant; vd. n. on 7.554.

**dabit** 'Grant'; cf. **85**, **159**, EV 2, 115 f.(de Rosalia).

**uenerata** An old verb of prayer (e.g. Enn.*Ann.*100), used in the lit. versions of ancient supplications(Macr.3.9.7, Liv.8.9.7 (where vd. Oakley), Hickson, 50); cf. Appel, 97 for *uenerandus*, *uenerabilis*. The partic., as often in later Lat., used in pass. sense, though the vb. is deponent, Flobert, 360, citing e.g. Hor.*Serm.*2.2.124.

**461 haec sunt quae ... te ... moneri** The construction with double acc.(one a neut.pron. or adj. or sometimes a noun, one a person) very common; cf. Ov.*Met.*10.427 *scit se non falsa moneri*, *Trist.*5.14.43 *nec te credideris ... ista moneri*. Cf. Buchwald, *TLL* 8. 1408.33. V. perhaps uses pass. infin. to avoid the homoeoteleuton, **-ce...re** (Norden, 407, LHS, 353).

**nostra ... uoce** Rather grander than *a me*: cf. 11.343 *nostrae nec uocis egentem*.

**liceat** Perhaps subj. because to be understood as 'generic'(5.291, 486, LHS, 562, Ernout-Thomas, 339), though 'potential' has also been proposed; H. refers back to his explanation at **379f.** V. has in mind(Nelis, 43) AR 2.425 *καὶ δέ με μηκέτι τῶνδε παροιτέρω ἔξερέεσθε*; neither Helenus nor Phineus had been free to tell all(**377**).

**462 uade age** Cf. 4.223 (where Pease compares Hom. βάσκη' ἴθι), 5.548: while **age** belongs to the spoken language(Hofmann-Ricottilli, 149), and is used often in intensification of impers.(**169**, **362**); *uadere* Ennian (*Ann.*253, 466) and tragic (Acc.*trag.*289, 499). A notable combination, then, of high language and pop. intensifier. The 'enumerative' sequence of imperatives (**et ... fer** is to follow) is an idiom anchored in spoken usage (*ibo et pultabo ianuam*, LHS 783 f.). EV 5\*, 415 deplorable.

**et ingentem ... Troiam** I. not an adj. normally applied to cities: vd. F. Castagnoli in G. Lugli, *Font.topogr.urb.Rom.*1 (Roma 1952), 109 ff., *tacet TLL* (Szantyr; oddly uninterested in the finer points of usage); mountains(**579**), rivers(*G.*3.14 f.), and (*Aen.*2.325 f.) the *glory* of cities are different(cf. EV 2, 968). A proleptic (vd. TCD *infra*) and pointed sense becomes therefore much likelier: we need to recall that the speaker is

Helenus, for whom Troy is both his old city and his new; the latter is (349) specifically **parua** and on his lips an appeal to Aen. to exalt Troy to greatness becomes peculiarly appropriate: Helenus himself acknowledges that the city Aen. will founds will be essentially different from his own.

**factis** Compare *famam extendere factis* (10.468), *uirtutem extendere factis* (6.806), which confirm that here **f.** is abl. of agent with perhaps both **fer ad aethera** and **ingentem**. Many comms. that cater primarily to the needs of the translator plunge unwisely for just one application or the other of **f.**. Not crucial to the sense, but adds weight and allit. force.

**fer ad aethera** TCD: *fac inquit ingentem Troiam pro merito tuo*. Cf. 158 **tollemus ad astra**, 422, 423 (with comm. *ad locc.*), 7.98f. *qui sanguine nostrum/ nomen in astra ferant* (with n.), 1.259f. *sublimemque ferēs ad sidera caeli/ magnanimum Aenean*, TLL 6.1.545.3 (Hey). Hyperbole entirely appropriate in the rhet. context; the whole v. a grandly studied conclusion to the speech, revealing to seer and hero (did they but know it) something of the greatness of the new Troy(Aug.'s even more than Aen.'s) to come.

463–505 The Trojans' departure contains wonderful writing, high sentiment and a touch of wry humour; it balances Aeneas' first encounter with Andromache(295–345) in level(the eloquence of Henry 2, 468f.(quoted, 484), like Paratore's on 487, is timely and appropriate) and in Euripidean origins, framing the stylistically and thematically diverse speech of Helenus, a technique already familiar to V. on a large scale in G.4 (cf. *Companion*, 86–9, 239ff.). A 'typical' epic departure scene, with gifts, AR 2.529f., de Jong on *Od.*2.382ff., Knauer, 202, n.1, who points to the significance of Od.'s departure from Phaeacia here, 13.1–80 (gifts, 10–14; for gifts of clothing, cf. de Jong on 14.122–32. Gold, naturally, in both passages).

463 **quae ... sic ... effatus ... est** *Sic fatus* common, *sic effatus* less so; this ample expansion without parallel in V.(or, apparently, Hom./AR).

**postquam** Taken up by **dehinc**, 464 (q.v.).

**uates** Cf. 358.

**ore ... amico** Cf. Enn.*Ann.*304f. *suauiloquenti/ ore*, Lucr.6.6. *ueridico ... ex ore*, 373.

**diuino ex ore**, 7.194 *placido ... ore*; vd. note there for this means of signalling the tone of the speech to follow: here note that the 'formula' follows the speech and is thus an authorial(or even Aen.'s) com-

ment on the tone of what precedes, *pace* some recent interpretations (374–462).

**464 dona ... auro gravia** Cf. 1.728f. *grauem gemmis auroque ... / ... pateram*, Bräuninger, *TLL* 6.2.2276.13ff.; an echo at Tac.*Hist.*3.33, *dum pecuniam vel gravia auro templorum dona sibi quisque trahunt*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.2022.51. Serv. enquires whether the gifts are primarily golden, or whether their weight derives from the addition of gold. Chryselephantine, in one way, or another; a throne, even, rather than a sceptre, one might think (Lersch, 14; cf. Seymour, 304).

**dehinc** Cf. **192ff. postquam ... tum**, 6.888f. *postquam ... exim*, Hand, 2, 231f., LHS, 800f.. Disyll. coexists with (rarer and probably more popular, in origin) synzesis: Austin on 1.131, Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 879.

**ac secto elephanto Grauia secto elephanto GMP**, *Pap.Fuad*, 1.86ff.(=Cavenaile, *CPL*, p.22), Serv. ‘*a*’ *finalitatis ratione producitur, sed satis aspere, id., Comm.Don., Gramm.Lat.*4.424.27, Sergius *de syllaba, Gramm.Lat.* 4.479.10, Pompeius, *Comm. Don., Gramm.Lat.*5.118.22. **Grauia a sectoque** Lachmann(Lucr., 76); **grauia ac secto elephanto** Schaper (but Deuticke strangely reverts to the paradosis). Hom.’s *πριςτοῦ* (or *νεοπριςτου*, *Od.*8.404) *ἐλέφαντος* (*Od.*8.404, 18.196) has often been cited and makes it very likely (certain, indeed) that V. wrote **secto elephanto**; Housman (*Coll. pap.*3, 1124) explains how **ac** will have been absorbed into **grauia** and then replaced by **-que**, the work of scribes who saw a connective was necessary but not what connective was called for. In apparent defence of the produced **-a** at caes. of the paradosis, Geymonat, after Sabbadini, cites *G.*1.279, *Aen.*3.91, 12.363. That is deplorable: these passages illustrate the use of *-que ...-que* with prosodic variation, after the Homeric manner (cf. Fordyce’s n., and mine, on 7.186). While Enn.(*Ann.* 139) has *et densis aquila peninis obnixa uolabat* (cf. Skutsch, p.58, correctly noting Schaper’s elimination of the anomaly here); 12.648, printed by Mynors, etc. as *sancta ad uos anima atque istius inscia culpae*, was the only parallel that might usefully have been cited (vd. Nettleship 3, p.491, n.1, Maguinness, *ad loc.*), though there Housman (*ib.*) removes the anomaly by a transposition of exceptional elegance (*sancta atque istius ad uos anima inscia culpae*). Winbolt, 203 also adduces **702 immanisque Gela fluuii cognomine dicta**, but (vd. Williams, and, rather, NW 1, 84f.) poetic usage in respect of Greek names is no guide to practice elsewhere. In short, the lengthening of open final a *in arsi* at caes. in an August-

tan poet is not defensible on the basis of unchallenged evidence. Cf. G. Scarpat in *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi ... Della Corte* 2 (Urbino 1988), 481 ff. on the old (vd. Forbiger, *EV* 4, 744), nice question (no less present in the Gk.) of whether the ivory is 'merely' cut into blocks ('glaebas' writes Pliny) or slices (for ivory proper, Plin. *Nat.* 16.232 *dentes secari*, 36.50, Lucian *Quom. hist.* 50. For marble *lamnae, crustae*, vd. Hor. *C.* 2.18.17 *secanda marmora* with NH, Sen. *Ben.* 4.6.2), or actually incised (not normal usage of *s.*, but cf. 5.658, 12.368; *secare* absent from Blümner's detailed account and the normal vbs. for incision, rather than sawing, are *scalpere, incidere*, Blümner (*infra*), 2, 175). Cf. n. on 11.333, Seymour, *cit.*, NH on Hor. *C.* 2.18.1, H. Blümner, PW 5.2359.1 ff., *id.*, *Technologie u. Terminologie* 2, 361 ff., A. Jacob, DS 2, 445, J. Kollwitz, *RAC* 4, 1106 f. The v.-end altogether normal, with such a Gk. polysyll. word, long present in high Lat. poetry (Enn. *Ann.*, Lucr.), Norden, p. 438; the animal used for the material, as at *G.* 3.26, *Aen.* 6.895: for this form of metonymy, cf. the use of *χέλυς* for 'lyre', *lotos* for 'flute', *abies* for 'tablet' (Maurach, *Enchiridion*, 83, = *Dichtersprache*, 141).

**465 imperat** Cf. the ἐπιέμενος of *Od.* 13.7 and V.'s use of *iubet* of Latinus' gifts being prepared at 7.276 (with n.).

**ad nauis ferri** So *Aen.* at 5.359 *et clipeum efferrī iussit*, 6.142 f. *ferri ... / instituit*; V. is writing in the terse, stiff manner appropriate to the more mechanical activities of epic.

**stipatque carinis** 'Pack in' (cf. of honey, *G.* 4.164, *Aen.* 1.433); the ppp. *septies* in Lucr., then *novies* in V., with varied constructions. C.: cf. n. on 7.431. Corresponding to the Phaeacians' help with packing the gifts, *Od.* 13.19–22. Serv. explains that the Romans called *stipatores* what we call 'stevedores' (the same word, via *Medit. lingua franca*).

**466 ingens argentum** Cf. 355 **impositis auro dapibus**; in plur., *aera* regularly 'things made of *aes*', KS 1, 73 f., Riemann (416), 50 ff., NW 1, 600 ff. At 1.640 *ingens argentum* refers explicitly to tableware (where Austin well draws out the weight of the expression rendering that of the silver; this is common Latin usage, Prinz, *TLL* 2.526.27 ff.). Here it seems inevitable (Bell, 258 f.) that the massy silver refers to the *lebetas*, here used apparently as though synonymous with *crater*; cf. *Ov. Met.* 12.243 (the fight of Lapiths and Centaurs, Hübner, *TLL* 7.2.1079.25 f., comparing *Sid. Epist.* 9.13.5, v.58); cauldrons of silver less practicable.

**Dodonaeosque lebetas** Serv. comments *ollas aereas. Graece dixit* (Serv.Dan.—*infra* -senses a reference to offerings in the temple of Dodonaean Zeus); TCD refers to *poculorum*, unhappily. Ps.Asc. *Div.Caec.* p.188.1 writes of *more Dodonaei Iouis aut Apollinis Delphici, in quorum delubris lebetes tripodisque uisuntur* (cf. Hübner, *TLL* 7.2. 1079.18). The Greek word first here in extant Lat. (but presumably once in e.g. lists of booty or dedications; cf. W.V. Clausen, *CQ* 13 (1963), 85 ff.). *L.* were objects of value from Hom. on (Seymour, 207, Walbank on Plb.5.88.5), Presents (*Od.*13.13), offerings (cf. the golden crater of Liv.5.25.10, 28.2 and see Paus.10.16.1, Burkert, *Gk. relig.*, 68 ff.) and also considered as a currency reserve. DH 1.51. 1 relates that the Trojans dedicated bronze craters at Dodona (ὄν τινας ἔτι περιείκιν indeed) and Serv.Dan. here notes (correctly) that the ringing of *uasa aenea* had a role in the actual oracle (cf. Men. *Arrhephorus*, fr.60.3Sandb., Strab.7a.1.3, Gruppe, 1, 355, n.7, etc.). Given that Varro wrote about Dodona(294–505, *ad init.*) it does seem that V. refers directly enough to the famed oracular cauldrons of Dodona and also hints economically(cf. 292, 294–505) at the presence of (familiar but rejected) Dodonaean elements in other versions of the Helenus-story. He may also have considered the Delphic, mantic associations of the *cortina* (Parke and Wormell, 1, 24 ff.), given all we have seen of the clear importance of Delphi in the *bricolage* of Virgilian oracles, 81, 92, 360, 446.

**467 lorica** For Virgilian breastplates, which might, in the Rom. manner, now be of chainmail, cf. n. on 7.640.

**consertam hamis** *Hamis concertam* at 5.259; cf. **594 concertum tegimen spinis** (bits of rag held together by thorns), Sil.5.140f. *loricam induitur: tortos huic nexilis hamos/ ferro squama rudi permixtoque asperat auro.* Cf. Jacobsohn, *TLL* 4.416.65 ff.. Serv.'s n. here is no more help than TCD's paraphrase at 5.260 (*pace* Brandt, *TLL* 6.3.2524.1 ff.) and only the lucid exposition offered me by Dr.Brian Gilmour(nn. on 11, *cit.*, *infra*), an expert in the surviving examples, gives me confidence. It may help to distinguish the reality of ancient chainmail (here corselets of linked scales over a leather backing are meant; the Sarmatian cavalry on Trajan's column wear full suits of something very similar, as do their horses) from the cumbrous and misleading metaphorical language in which it is described: **trilicem** suggests loops(misleadingly) and belongs to the language of weaving; the hooks (three per scale, not four, for flexibility) are (as though that mattered) true to the military reality, but

have misled many into thinking that the scales are somehow secured to the leather backing.

**auroque trilicem** At 5.259 and 7.639 V. makes use of the phrase again, an attractive pseudo-technical formula, ripe for re-use once worked out; cf. the full note on 7, *cit.* and nn. on 11.770, 771 for the technology of ancient chainmail, attributed to Homer, part of the armour of the 'Polybian' legion(6.23.15 with Walbank's n.), and brought sharply to the Romans' notice by Sall.*Hist.*(the Tigranocerta campaign, n. on 11.*cit.*).

**468 et conum insignis galeae** Cf. 5.367 *insignem galeam*, 10.539 *insignibus armis* (??), Alt, *TLL* 7.1.1904.11, Leumann, 6.1.1674.34. The adj., as TCD realises, means 'plumed' and the gen. might seem defining or appositional; cf. 5.504 *arbore mali*, 6.408f. *donum fatalis uirgae*, 8.429 *imbris torti radios*, Antoine, 76f. and the useful collection at Sidgwick, 2, 490. However, Serv. remarks *nam conus est curuatura quae in galea prominet, super quam cristae sunt*, and this definition is supported by Ov.*Met.*3.108 *tegmina mox capitum picto nutantia cono*. At Sil.2.398 the *cristae uibrant quae uertice conis*, and cf. 4.13, 10.102, 179, 16.556, Stat.*Ach.*1.437 *galeasque attollere conis*, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.890.20ff.; vd. (*bene*) GP on HE 2115 (Leonidas) and see too Malavolta *Miscell.Graec.Rom* 20 (1996), 141, *id.*, EV 2, 208, OLD s.v., §2a. At Plin.*Nat.* 10.2 (ostrich feathers) *conosque bellicos et galeas adornantes pinnae*, the *galea* is treated as a synonym of the *conus*, but Plin. may well be juxtaposing part and whole. In Sil. too *pars* can be used for *totum* (1.628; perhaps holder for plume; vd. *supra*). The tr.('and a fine helmet with plume-holder and flowing crest') includes all the elements which may be present in this obscure phrase.

**cristasque comantis** For helmet-crests cf. n. on 7.185 and for plumes, a full n. on 7.785; the adj. used of plants in *G.*(apparently first there, but cf. already Cat.4.11, *comata silua*), and again of a helmet at Aen. 2.391. Marked allit., perhaps of the clashing armour.

**469 arma Neoptolemi** Apparently left behind when N. went off after Hermione(328); Aen. is invited to wear the kit of a notorious war-criminal(cf. 332). Aen. will, though, also thus wear the arms of a victorious Greek (TCD). Also, perhaps, a step towards eventual reconciliation of Gks. and Trojans(E. Henry, 117; cf. 613). Such transference of ownership is often enough of ill omen in V., when the arms/armour are booty(cf. Camilla and Chloreus, Turnus and Pallas, Euryalus and Caedicus' grandson, 2.396, 9.374, etc.. Roman and heroic attitudes to

the re-use of armour were not identical (*Companion*, 176, 205, n. on 11.778; the distinction ignored by Heinze, Harrison, Dingel, Hornsby, etc.), and it seems rather as though Aen. is here presented (perhaps recognisably enough) as benefiting from Homeric, not Rom. usage; the abandoned, disused arms of a former foe are anyway palpably anomalous. The issue of inherent ill-fortune is one perhaps best not raised here, given that V. makes nothing of it. Cf. E. Henry, 33 ff., comm. on 7.248, 11.72–7: the critical dogmata applied (perhaps not always justifiably; cf. comm. on 11, *cit.*) to presents made by Dido are hardly relevant here, where Helenus may also be suspected of practical generosity, even of compensating (Heinze, 109, n.1 *ad fin*) Aen. for his own defeat and the Trojans' losses at the hands of Ach. and his son.

**sunt et sua dona** Taking up **464 dona**: **sua** refers back (and this is standard prose and verse usage) to the most important word in the sentence, dat. **parenti**. The phrasing is quite familiar: alongside 9.136f. *sunt et mea contra / fata mihi*, cf. 1.461 *sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi*, 5.54 *strueremque suis altaria donis*, 832, 6.233, G.4.190, KS 1, 603f., LHS, 175, Ernout-Thomas, 183f.

**parenti** Gifts to honour Anch., leading into his dialogue with Helenus. Cf. **58**, **169**, etc. for the use of **p.** If the description of Aeneas' presents is full, that is good reason for abbreviating those to Anch., or *vice versa* (*pace* Sparrow, 32).

**470 addit equos** An odd gift just here (*infra*), though Epirus was famed for horses, G.1.59. The vb. thus at 5.249.

**additque duces** Not (Serv.Dan.) *agasones* (grooms; cf. *equos cum ductoribus suis* TCD, Hey, *TLL* 5.2.2324.76 ff.), but pilots, apparently (because to cross the Adriatic signified a leap into the unknown?). Cf. the ἡγεμόνας... τῆς ναυτιλίας to which DH refers here (1.51.2): Patron (cf. Horsfall in *ORVA*, 470) and his followers. Cf. 6.194, 263, *EV* 2, 148, Pomathios, 154. Critics nourished on the long and even exciting hunt for 'inconsistencies' find singular grounds for their cavils here (Günther, 52, Sparrow, *cit.*, Berres, 162 ff., Heinze, 109, n.1, Cartault, 251, n.3): arms and reinforcements (e.g.) should have been offered sooner and not at the moment of departure, as though such practical considerations mattered a scrap, in an explicitly abbreviated (**355f.**) and even stylised episode. We are not compelled to suppose that **470** begins, or ends, an insertion and the gifts of **469** stand comfortably alongside the verbal honour of **474**. **471**, like **470**, refers to gifts made neither to Aen., nor to Anch., but to the expedition as a whole. Possibly V. thought **471**

insufficient on its own. It is odd that no comment seems to have been passed upon the *content* of **470**: the Trojans have no cavalry and in practical terms might have found the unexpected gift of horses unwelcome directly before crossing the Adriatic; it is even suggested (Cartault, *cit.*) that Aen. carries (via Carthage, indeed) all the horses used in the *lusus Troiae*, as though Sicily were unable to provide enough. Latinus' 300 horses are (given numbers and location) another matter; cf. n. on 7.274.

**471 remigium supplet R.** so used by Hor., *Epist.*1.6.63. Cf. V.'s use of *coniugium*, *praesidium*, *comitatus*, *concursum*, *consessus*, V. Ferraro, *EV* 1, 380. Cordier repeatedly calls the term 'naval', but the noun (basically 'complement of oars') belongs to high literature, Cat.64.13, Lucr.6.743, Hor.C.1.14.4, G.1.202, then *sexies* in *Aen.*, and is hardly a technical term of seafarers, though its point of reference is evidently nautical. Cf. 5.298 and perhaps 12.518 for other reinforcements the Trojans received *en route*; this perhaps counterbalances the losses on Crete (**137**) and was a regular motif in colonisation stories; cf. Hdt.1.146.1, 166.1, etc., Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 16. The vb. exactly the term used by orators and historians (though cf. too *Buc.*7.36) of bringing a unit or force up to strength: cf. Serv. here, *OLD* s.v., §2b, citing e.g. Liv.2.21.7 *suppleto numero colonorum*. Note in particular (so most comms.) Liv.26.47.3 *ceteram multitudinem incolarum iuuenum ac ualidorum seruorum in classem ad supplementum remigum dedit*.

**socios** Cf. **13**; standard for Aen.'s men.

**simul** A certain urgency(cf. **355f.**, **472**): human reinforcements provided along with needful supplies for the Trojan armoury, not yet recovered from the Sack.

**instruit armis** At 8.80 V. writes *remigioque aptat* [the vb. perhaps suggested by **472 aptare**], *socios simul instruit armis*; V. later found this economically phrased passage (cf. **467**) a useful quarry when required to furnish credible but banal details for the routine business of epic narrative. Sparrow, 32 and Berres, 163 with nn. view V.'s commitment to such passages less pragmatically. The vb. used exactly thus by Liv.(10.16.8, 24.24.8. 29.1.3, von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.1.2018.49f.).

**472 interea** Cf. 7.572; simultaneous actions a further indication of (cf. *supra*) haste, in the actions of the Trojans and their hosts.

**classem uelis aptare** Serv.Dan. well compares **9 Anchises dare fatis uela iubebat**. TCD cannily avoids the specific: *parare nauis et aptare nauigationi necessaria*, while Garbugino paraphrases 'preparare la



flotta issando le vele'(EV 1, 243; 'alare le vele alla flotta' Scarcia), incompatibly with ancient nautical usage. V. does not employ some pallid, neutral, unspecific phrase, and it is singular how very little attention has been paid to his words, given our quite satisfactory knowledge of how V. thought a Trojan ship sailed (207): V.'s language is tolerably specific and the reader is indeed invited to visualise what happens. The Trojans do not leave until 506; it is therefore too soon to set sail. But it is time to hoist the yards, to which the sails are all ready brailed, with actual departure clearly near at hand. The vb. is all-purpose (and dat. may be exchanged with acc.): cf. G.1.171 f., *Aen.*7.731, etc..

**iubebat/ 473 Anchises** Aen., as the destined survivor, is the proper audience for Helenus' vision of the future; in the present, Anch. still shares the command: cf. 9, etc., Lloyd 1957b, 47 f., Pomathios, 236, Cova, cxvi. G.W. Williams(*TI*, 276 f.) curiously assigns references to Anch.'s role in command as belonging to a different phase of composition.

**fieret ... mora ne qua** Cf. 5.639, 12.565, Hor.C.2.14.2, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1469.66. Con. well compares *Buc.*10.11 *moram fecere* (and this is common idiom, Buchwald, 1470.28 ff., citing Plaut.*Epid.*691, *Most.*75, Cic.*Sest.*74, Prop.4.1b.100); here, the Trojans are to create no delay in the path of a favourable wind but the Latin is enviably economical. Marked anastrophe of **ne**; cf. nn. on 7.71, 11.509 f.: heavy stress laid upon **mora**.

**uento ferenti** Serv. *flanti*; 4.430 *uentosque ferentis* (with Pease's n.). So already Caes.*Gall.*3.15.3 *quo uentus ferebat*, and note Hor.C. 3.29.64 *aura feret*. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 6.1.533.31 f.. Edd. have compared unhelpfully winds that bring this, or that (so e.g. *Od.*3. 300) to the sailor and have claimed the expression as 'nautical'(Williams, again). Forbiger usefully notes Gk. φωρός, 'favouring', of wind.

**474 quem ... compellat** The vb. *septies* in *Aen.*, always in this form; Ennian (*Ann.*43, 286); cf. also Cat.64.24. *Tacent* Cordier, *EV*.

**Phoebi interpes** Cf. n. on 359 **interpres diuum**.

**multo honore** The sense of 'respect' common enough (cf. n. on 7.635, Fo, *EV* 2, 854), but the noun apparently not used elsewhere in this way, to characterise a speech (Mehmel, *TLL* 6.3.2918.25).

**475–81** Not *just* a departure speech, for Helenus, in seven lines, draws attention to Anch.'s union with Venus, to Aen.'s extraordinary *pietas* and to Apollo's revelation of Aen.'s future. Between Helenus' earlier

prolixity and Andr.'s high emotion, an emotional buffer was called for, and occasion was provided by the Trojans' shared command. There was no *need* to address Anch., but the courtesy reinforces our sense of his importance (to which V. will return repeatedly in the coming vv., to heighten, it is said, the shock of his imminent death) and Helenus in non-prophetic mode raises the tone. Highet, 115, 256f., Lloyd (1957b), 47, Cartault, 251.

**475 coniugio ... Veneris ... superbo** It has been suggested (R.B. Lloyd, *AJP* 93 (1972), 125ff. that in V., *superbus* carries (necessarily) the anticipation of ruin: thus here we are invited to recall Aphrodite's threat (*HHAphr.*286ff.) that if Anch. boast of their union, he will be punished with a thunderbolt. Very properly rejected by A. Traina, *EV* 4, 1073: not only is Anch. 'thought worthy' of this union, **dignate**, but he is about to be addressed as **cura deum**, and as one saved from two sacks of Troy (**476**); Anch.'s union is also the key to Aen.'s remarkable status as *natus dea* (**311**). The magnificence of the phrasing (the line embraced by noun and adj., and Venus central) likewise renders it most unlikely that V. is here reading us a moral lesson, not least since he writes **coniugio** when he could fairly have used *concupitu*.

**Anchisa** For the first-decl. forms (from Naev.) of this name, cf. n. on 7.152. **Anchisae** **MP**<sub>2</sub>, Consentius, *Gramm.Lat.*6.401.5, **Anchise** **P**, Priscian, *ib.*, 2.288.4, Arusianus, *ib.* 7.463.26, **Anchisa** **M**<sub>1</sub>, Serv., TCD but also with ample support in the grammatical tradition, Gell.15.13. 10, Non.p.281.3, Serv.*ad Aen.*1.135, Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*11.169.

**dignate** The pass. thus at Acc.*trag.* 231, 474, Lucr.5.51, Flobert, 108, Bögel, *TLL* 5.1.1140.63 (so Serv., Non., glossators: Bögel, 1140. 35ff.); *tacet EV.* Anch.'s union high-prestige, in mythol. terms(cf. **311**), cast in language of appropriate splendour and resonance.

**476 cura deum** Cf. Cic.*Mil.*85 *non est humano consilio, ne mediocri quidem, iudices, deorum immortalium cura res illa perfecta*, Liv.4.43.9 *desertam omissamque ab hominibus rem publicam, deorum providentia curaque exceptam memorabat*, Ov.*Met.* 1.48 *cura dei*, corresponding on Olympus to the Good King's *cura* for his people (Cairns, 20, Hellegouarc'h, 252f., etc., *G.*1.26, n. on 7.365); compare Venus' *cura* for Aen., 1.261, 2.595, 599 (all divine but also maternal), 4.379(a clear ref. to Epic. anti-theological polemic; vd. Pease for Dido's Epic. position), 521, 5.804, 10.132 (a proud grandmother. Harrison is hardly right to say that *cura* thus is in origin amatory). *EV* 1, 962 unhelpful, and Gudeman classifies the present passage

s.v. *deliciae*, *is a quo quis delectatur*, *TLL* 4.1466.57 ff.; *TLL*, however, has at times discouraged the thoughtful study of a word's context. Here, then, cf. rather *ib.* 1452.44 ff..

**bis** Cf. **109** for the sack by Hercules, and n. on 7.295 for Troy's historical sufferings. That sack (actually, the second of three; for the first, by Neptune, cf. 2.625, 5.810f., 9.144f.), at least with its narrative penumbra included, was still, explicitly, present in the memory of old men: cf. 1.619, 8.157–9, 291.

**Pergameis ... ruinis** The occasion calls for lofty adjectival **P**.; see **110. R.** a favourite wd.(cf. **414**); cf. 2.290 **ruit** *alto a culmine Troia*, 1.238 *occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas*, 12.610 *urbisque ruina*.

**erepte** Cf. **330** (Creusa; cf. 2.738), **711** (Anch. snatched from danger), 6.111 (rescue of Anch.), 1.647 *munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis* (of no interest to Moskalew or Sparrow, but further evidence for material from bk.3 put to good use in 1; cf. xxxix). *EV* 4, 401 not helpful; cf. Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.795.22. The vb. standard Latin, but much to V.'s taste; *ter* in Lucr., and a marked favourite (*decies*) with Cat., often used with marked weight.

**477 ecce tibi** Deixis was suspected at **396**; now Helenus is certainly pointing out to sea (the dat. 'ethic'); the idiom cited from Cic.*Att.* and Varr.*Men.*(Hofmann-Ricottilli, 293, 380, LHS, 93); cf. Liv.'s *en tibi*, 2.12.13 (LHS's 'oft bei Liv.' oddly wrong; cf. though *en uobis* 5.18.5).

**Ausoniae tellus** A bulkier phrase than *Oenotria tellus*, *Saturnia tellus*, etc., thanks to the gen. of apposition. Rather different 2.781 *terram Hesperiam*, **3.170f. terras .../ Ausonias**; closely comparable, **673f. tellus/ Italiae**.

**hanc arripe uelis** Cf. 10.298 *arrepta tellure semel*, 11.531 *arripuitque locum*, with n.. The (not very) long crossing of open sea to be undertaken with a favourable wind.

**478 et tamen** Helenus has told Aen. all this, and quite recently (**381–7**); Aen. is in consequence distressed and perhaps annoyed. Since Aen. reacts to this repetition, it is characterisation, not oversight.

**hanc pelago praeterlabare** Serv.Dan *praeternauiques*; **M<sub>1</sub>praeterlabere** and so too *Gloss.Lat.*4.155.20, with Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.1041.40 ff., Friis-Jensen, *ib.* 1029. 15 ff.. The vb. also at 6.874; found once in Cic. and apparently promoted to high poetry by V. here. The abl. 'of extension'; cf. **204 erramus pelago**, Malosti 28, 80f.. The reference in **hanc arripe uelis** is perspicuous and reflects the gesture of **477**,

the land of Ausonia. Can the **hanc** of 478 now have a different reference (i.e. forwards, sc. **partem**)? The contrast with **pars illa** is plain, but punctuation varies notably between edd., and commentators, and translators supply usually 'shore', or the like, with 478 **hanc**, without offering detailed argument. It may be that with 477 in mind, we think in 478 of *Ausonia*, but when we reach 479 we correct it to *Ausoniae pars*; if 477 ends with a semi-colon, and 478 with a colon, that may only reflect the absence of a mark slightly heavier than a comma, but not requiring us to pause or draw breath.

**neesse est** Thus with paratactic subjunc. common enough, LHS, 531, KS 2, 237. Cf. Cat.12.16, Lucr.1.539; *OLD* notably helpful.

**479 Ausoniae pars illa procul** The repet. of **A.** has no rhetorical function and **V.** could as well have written *telluris*; 'of it' is all that needs to be conveyed, and the rather ponderous structure and repetition achieves this end altogether in keeping with the earlier styl. characterisation of Helenus. Unobtrusive ellipse of *est* (n. on 11.378). Note *G.4.2. hanc ... partem*

**quam pandit Apollo** Cf. Cat.64.325, 3.252 **Furiarum ego maxima pando**, 6.723, Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.199.38. Not 'that *I* have told you'; this is the mouthpiece of Apollo. The strong but simple allit. claimed unverifiably as 'oracular'.

**480 uade** Cf. 462

**ait** Cf. detailed discussion at 11.24.

**o felix nati pietate** Cf. 321, E. Henry, *VP*, 53 for the *makarismos*; it is almost out of character for the prolix and even tedious Helenus to express himself with such lapidary simplicity; here he could be rephrased in the idiom of the Scipionic elogia (*filium genuit quouis pietate fretus* ...). For the pause at 5tr.(24x in *Aen.*, according to Norden and liked by Lucr., though not by Cat.), cf. Norden, p.389, Austin on 4.28, Winbolt, 50f., Williams on 5.678, whose 'most unusual' here simply misstates the matter; **p.** fits snugly here, but some prominence is conferred by the pause.

**quid ultra/ 481 prouehor** In act., **p.** used by Cic. of persons carried to a certain stage by enthusiasms, etc., *Har.resp.*43 *longius quam uoluit popularis aura prouexit*, *Sest.* 123 *quoniam huc me prouexit oratio*; the middle use here apparently a Virgilian innovation; cf. *OLD* s.v., 3a, *EV* 5\*, 470. For **u.**, cf. n. on 11.411.

**fando** Energetic synonym for *uerbis* in **V.**'s ampler manner.

**surgentis ... Austros** Cf. 357 for the S. wind and *ib.* for sailing with wind on the quarter. **S.:** cf. 130.

**demoror** Cf. n. on 11.175 (first here in high poetry); here in the sense of ‘create a delay to [the effect of]’; vd. Stöger, *TLL* 5.1.510.12f.. Such a question, as so long-winded a speaker falls silent, can hardly fail to amuse the irreverent reader, and may even have been intended as a small touch of wry characterisation.

**482 nec minus Andromache** Andr.’s two entrances and two speeches wonderfully comparable in tone and quality: ring-composition, achieving balance and contrast. **N. m.** Lucretian, n. on 7.572.

**digressu ... supremo** Re-used at 8.583f.: *haec genitor digressu dicta supremo/ fundebat*. **D.** occasional in Ciceronian prose(cf. *EV* 1, 379) and here promoted(Rubensbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1155.51 ff.). The adj. (cf. 68, 11.25) of strongly funerary associations; here then, ‘last parting sc. in this life’.

**maesta** Cf. 64; in the funerals of bk.11 a tired workhorse of Virgilian grief, but here not yet pallid from overuse.

**483 fert** Cf. 1.501, 4.378, etc.; a weighty little word in a measured, dignified line.

**picturatas ... uestis P.** apparently a coinage (Cordier, 145); not perceptibly distinct from *pictus*, as used at e.g. 11.777 *pictus acu tunicas* (vd. n. there and Franco Serpa, *EV* 4, 112); the four instances in Stat. offer no clue to how he understood V. here, and other post-V. dactylic poetry avoids the word.

**auri subtemine** Cf. 11.75 for the issue (irresoluble, though 484 may offer a clue) of embroidery vs. gold thread in the weave; conventionally ‘weft’(Ov.*Met.*6.56. Varr.*LL.*5.113). [Tib.]3.7.121 *fulgentem Tyrio subtegmine vestem* is equally opaque. *Tessuti* lacking in *EV* and Simon, *ib.* 1, 342 lists only obvious embroideries. **-temine M<sub>2</sub>P;** **-tegmine GM<sub>1</sub>.** The orthography **-g-** is interesting, even learned(n. on 7.703) but clearly out of place in a text of V.. It may be that the article is but one cloak, the very same as that described variously in the next two lines, with variation of terminology and number; so Henry(followed by Grimm), comparing well 7.248, 251 f.(one purple cloak, as my n. there should have considered).

**484 et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem C.** a cloak (5.250, *auratam*, 9.582 the son of Arcens wears an embroidered *c.*, *pictus acu*, 11.775, the

Phrygian eunuch Chloereus wears an ample *c.* of yellow linen and his tunic(777) is embroidered, *pictus acu* again: vd. discussion there), while Lat. *phrygio* = ‘embroiderer’ (vd. Serv. here and on 9.611, Non.p.3.14, Holmes, *TLL* 10.1.2058. 43ff.): the present is, that is to say, not necessarily ‘just’ a cloak from Troy(Seymour, 155f. for Hom. cloaks), but, specifically, an *embroidered* cloak from ‘home’. The alternatives (no less present after we have read Andr.’s speech; vd.E. Henry, 39) impeccably seen by Serv.. Goold’s ‘scarf’ inexplicable. For Aen., Neoptolemus’ armour, treasure and supplies for the fleet; for Anch., **sua dona** (469) and a reverent farewell, confirming Apollo’s support and guidance, and for Asc., both specified gifts and an unspecified precious memento of the beloved homeland: a massively balanced farewell, at the very last possible moment before the Trojans pass from the old world to the new. ‘One of the most highly finished and pathetic passages bequeathed to an admiring posterity by perhaps the most pathetic of all poets’, Henry, 2, 469.

**nec cedit honore Phy; honori GMΩγ1**, Serv.(explaining, *tanta dat munera, quanta merebatur Ascanius*), TCD, Gloss.Ansil.. Serv. adds *Scaurus uero honore legit et intellegit ‘honore non cedit Heleno’, qui patri eius uel auo donauerat multa. Ne cedat* Baehrens, indecisively and unnecessarily. On Scaurus(Hadrianic and perhaps only here significant for the text of V), cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 171ff., Zetzl, 268, n.3, Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 130, n.3, *Virgilianisti*, 107. Scaurus chose well (or explained well the one reading known to him): Andr. gives only to Asc., so far omitted, and in her gift, **honore**, does not yield(i.e. take second place) to her husband Helenus. Timpanaro rightly suspects that -**i** was the product of a scribe who ‘knew’ that *cedere* ‘took the dative’(and ‘come second to her husband’s gift’ yields a sort of sense); abl. is harder and more ‘interesting’. Mehmel, *TLL* 6.3.2929.59f. suggests that the *chlamys* adds distinction to Asc.’s outfit and juxtaposes 7.815; there ‘mark of honour’ might serve, while here, ‘honorific gift’ is in keeping with context and usage; comms. correctly note that this is how Sil.12.411ff. understands the passage: *resonare docebit/ hic Latiis Heliconia modis nec cedit honore/ Ascræo famaue seni*. For **h.** as ‘gift’, cf. Henry, *Twelve years’ voyage, ad loc.*, Fo, *EV* 2, 855, citing 1.253, 8.617, 11.76; at 2923.31ff. Mehmel cites 8.617, 11.23 s.v. *instrumentum, quo aliquis utitur ad aliquem distinguendum*. S.v. *cedo*, Bannier (*ib.*3.730.16f.) takes the same view, firmly. James Henry barks up quite the wrong tree (*honos* as ‘oriental courtesy’), at some length but with undiminished learning and charm; such renderings (including Goold’s ‘fails in courtesy’) are slightly underfocused in a

formal context of gift-giving, where we *expect* common synonyms for ‘gift’, and do not naturally welcome so abstract and unspecific a sense of **h.** Mynors places brackets round the words (round, of course, not square), but since they are perforce a form of parenthesis, between **fert** and **onerat**, just how the parenthesis is marked matters very little. Indeed that sequence of verbs is clearly enough decisive against many older interpretations, in which the subj. of **cedit** is **chlamys**, which entails an un-signalled double change of subj..

**485 textilibusque ... donis** The adj. *ter* in Lucr., Cic.*carm.Soph.* 1.11, as simply ‘woven’; cf. n. on 7.564 for *-ilis* adjs. in a simply passive sense. The phrase, though, evidently exalted; neat and lofty use of adj..

**onerat** Perhaps both ‘heaps’ and ‘covers’; cf. Cavarzere, *EV* 3, 856; the vb. standard but a favourite (19x in V).

**ac talia fatur** Cf. 7.330 (with n.), 11.501, etc..

**486–91** A wonderful pendant to Andr.’s speech at **321–43**, of quite equal quality: Andr. appears to give Asc. an unspecified gift and to take her leave of him, but it is her own husband and son she again addresses, on any reasonably sensitive view. V. has in mind some detail of Telemachus’ exchanges with Helen and Menelaus, **486, 490**; Andr.’s actual farewell to Astyanax (Eur.*Tro.*740–79) is also present by implication (König). See Grimm, 159ff., E. Henry 39, Highet, 256f., Knauer, 264, n.1, 336, König, 59ff., Herzog(**102**), 103, and vd. also **292–405** (c).

**486 accipe et haec** At 4.611, 5.304, etc. *accipere* likewise used of words. **Et** is crucial: Scarcia ‘anche’, Binder ‘auch’, Perret ‘encore’, quite correctly, though it is curious how many(not indeed Serv. or Serv. Dan.) ignore **et**: while E. Henry, *cit.*, takes the Phrygian *chlamys* to have been work of Andr.’s hands, the particle seems rather to introduce a new (category of) gift, over and above the *chlamys*, that is, though not perhaps so valuable or colourful as the *chlamys*, specifically Andr.’s own work(see TCD, *infra*) and evocative of the similarity between Asc. and Astyanax (vd. next v.); the distinction was clear to TCD: *duas partis munerum fecit, unam quae in antiquis opibus fuisset, quaeque esset confecta manibus alienis ... alteram quae non tanti pretii fuisset, esset tamen manibus confecta largientis*. Cf. nn. on 7.248, 11.73 for weaving as work for queens. Discussion with Brian McGing clarified the issues here.

**manuum ... mearum** A subjective genitive, like *Buc.*3.37 *diuini opus Alcimedontis*, 4.49, 8.377, Antoine, 82. Cf. **498 quam uestrae fecere**

**manus.** In the strong allit., there might be sobbing. Cf. (Knauer, 264, n.1, 336) *Od.*15.126 μῆνιμ' Ἑλένης χειρῶν, a gift for Telemachus' future bride, to be kept by his mother after he reaches home. Very heavy allit. and assonance of m in this v.

**monumenta** Cf. 4.498, 5.538, 572, 6.512, 12.945, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1465.34f., adding '*textilia*', as though the list of **485** continued unbroken, but those items were not, in actual fact, specified as mementoes or memorials(on which cf. E. Henry, 37ff.). **Monumenta GM; -i-P.** See Sommer, *Formenlehre*, 106, Leumann, 89, Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 450, Buchwald, 1461.9ff.. V. was of an age to have learned **-u-** at school, and to have seen **-i-** come in in his lifetime; if he chose to write **-i-**, it will have been exposed to scribes who learned to prefer **-u-** in the archaising period. It is not even certain that the poet followed any one consistent spelling (cf. Horsfall, *SCI* 24 (2005), 227). Cassiodorus cites Cornutus (*Gramm.Lat.*7.150.13) for the **-u-** spelling as pre-Caesarian. I follow the simple weight of ms. evidence, with no clear conviction.

**tibi quae .../ 487 sint** Anastrophe of the relative(n. on 7.659) and postponement of the monosyll. vb. to the next verse(*EV* 3, 571; use of e.g. *fert, it, fit, dat, est* run on is easily studied in Warwick's concordance); subj. of purpose and the little words given greater force by slightly unusual disposition.

**puer** Cf. **339, 341.**

**longum ... amorem** Serv.: *et de praeterito et de futuro, ut agnoscas quantum te uel amauerim uel amatura sim*; so Cisseus to Anchises(5.538) *ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris*, Dido to Asc.(5.572, the same words); cf. Fedeli, *EV* 1, 143f., E. Henry, *cit.*. Andr. stands between adj. and noun; synaloepha at caes.(2S) adds to tragic effect. The gift is presumably something of intense emotive value that Astyanax would now be wearing, were he alive. And the interwoven word order, with **coniugis Hectoreae** and **amorem** juxtaposed, suggests (vd. E. Henry) that we read this **amorem** with flexibility; Andr.'s love for Hector and Astyanax are superimposed upon the 'obvious' affection for Asc., and her farewell to Asc. is necessarily but one more adieu to her husband and son (vd. König). The *longum ... amorem* of Dido for Aen.(1.749) has 'un tout autre sens'(Cartault, 251, n.7).

**Andromachae** Pathetic use of the speaker's name familiar(**433**); standard form of the gen. for an early Augustan poet: NW, 1, 98.

**testentur** *EV* 5\*, 149 unsatisfactory; the vb. standard Latin and here ('bear witness to') cf. Hor.C.2.1.30ff. *campus sepulcris inopia proelia/ testatur auditumque Medis/ Hesperiae sonitum ruinae.*



**488 coniugis Hectoreae** With this lofty, weighty expression, cf. **304 Hectoreum ad tumulum**, and for Andr. as paradoxical *univira*, cf. n. on **329**. For all the singular relationship of Hector and Aen. in both *Il.* and *Aen.*(**317**, **343**), it is not, clearly, of Asc.(Hector's nephew), his father, grandfather and the future of the Aeneadae in the West, that Andr. is thinking here. Helenus, throughout, is perfectly irrelevant.

**cape** Cf. n. on 11.590.

**dona extrema** Clearly 'parting gifts', at their *digressu supremo* (**482**), but here too we must also think of Andr.'s parting from husband and son, of the **tristia dona** of **301**, and of the repeated associations of **e.** with death in *Aen.*(cf. 1.219, 11.846, with n., 865, etc.): once more(cf. **301**), Andr. is making gifts, to the living, indeed, but in honour of her own dead.

**tuorum** Cf. 2.431 *flamma extrema meorum*, 1.257f. *manent immota tuorum/ fata tibi*.

**489 o mihi** *Ter* in *Aen.* at moments of high emotion; cf. 8.560 *o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos*, 12.646f. *o mihi manes/ este boni*.

**sola ... imago** TCD *filii mei similitudinem portas*. So Asc. as the *imago* of his father, 4.84, *OLD* s.v, §9, O. Prinz, *TLL* 7.1.411.18, who cites well Cic.*Fam.*6.6.13 *huic qui adest imagini animi et corporis tui ... filio tuo* (cf. the use of *effigies*, *Phil.*9.12, *Fin.*2.58, *Liv.*5.18.5, Tac. *Ann.*12.68 and the ample material collected by Brandt/Kapp/Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.182.65ff.); the widower A. retains father and son, the widow Andr., despite (or rather, on account of) her marriage is entirely alone but for memories, and casual encounters with distant kin, themselves triggers to images and sentiments(cf. **339**). Aen. lives, and has a future; Andr. survives, and does not. For the consolatory image, cf. 4.327ff(!), Tac.*Ann.*12.68, Auson.*Parent.*23.1ff., M. Bettini, *Portrait of the lover* (Eng.tr. Berkeley 1999), 193f.(on Sen.'s reworking of Astyanax' resemblance to Hector, *Tro.*461ff.), *id.*(**294–505**), 22f., Pease on *Aen.*4.329. Similarity as a guarantee of uxorial virtue also a common motif but not here pertinent: that motif is already Hesiodic, *Erga* 235 (where vd. a fine n. by West). Cf. further, Lattimore, 277, Fordyce on Cat.61. 217f., *Epic.Drusi* ed. Schoonhoven, p.7, Horsfall, *ZPE* 61 (1985), 271 on *CIL* 37965(=*CLE* 1988).44 *effigiem pro te teneo solacia nostri*.

**mei ... Astyanactis** Cf.(e.g.) 10.471 *Sarpedon, mea progenies* and 2.522 *meus ... Hector*; Clausen, *AHP*, 155, n.37 considers this emotive use of *meus*; cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 8.917. 58ff.. The polyptoton of pro-

noun+pronom. adj. is common, in V. and elsewhere (Wills, 241f., *Aen.*2.543, 4.28, 340, 434, 5.733, 6.691, etc.).

**super** Cf. 8.251, *OLD* s.v., §4a(=*superest*, or partic. thereof).

**490 sic ... sic ... sic** Cf. Wills, 119, n.74; 5.218f. less impressive; vd., though, *Buc.* 1.22f.. So Menelaus of the not yet identified Telemachus, *Od.*4.149f. κείνου γὰρ τοιοῖδε πόδες τοιαῖδε τε χεῖρες / ὀφθαλμῶν τε βολαὶ κεφαλῆ τ' ἐφύπερθε τε χαῖται; also compared is *Eur.Ion* 354 τοῦ αὐτῶν ἤβησ. εἶπερ ἦν, εἶχ' ἄν μέτρον.

**oculos ... manus ... ora** Cf. n. on 11.121 *oculos ... atque ora*; for pairing of *manus* and *ora*, cf. 2.681 and **3.217f.**, 6.496, 8.486. Note lastly 11.311 *ante oculos interque manus*. It is the tricolon that is unusual. The physical similiarity to be complemented by some peculiarly evocative item of clothing, to intensify yet further likeness, love, loss.

**ille ... ferebat** The change of subj. marked. Cf. 1.189 *capita alta ferentis*, 8.229 *huc ora ferebat et illuc*, 2.570, *EV* 2, 494, *OLD* s.v., §13b, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.542.56f..

**491 et nunc** Protasis (clearly, *si uiueret*) suppressed, with augmented pathos(so *Eur.*, *cit.*)..

**aequali ... aeuo** With *Asc.* and *Astyanax*, cf. *Pallas* and *Lausus*, *Asc.* and *Euryalus*, *Priam* and *Anchises*, *Entellus* and *Acestes*: for V.'s strong sense of contemporary pairs, cf., well, *Scarcia*, *EV* 2, 396, 398. *Aequalis* often used in the sense of *aequaeuus*, coeval, contemporary(cf. *G.*4.460), but here clearly, as very often, 'equal, of size'.

**tecum** So *Sall.*, *par cum*, *LHS*, 111; with adj. and vb..

**pubesceret** Used at *G.*2.390; *Lucretian*(5.673). in the vain hunt for V.'s exact sense of *Asc.*'s age(cf. **339**), of some interest for at 5.546 he is still *impubis*. The thought, noted *Heyne*, present at *Eur.Ion* 354, *supra*.

**492 hos ego** Juxtaposition of pronouns, but with no special force. At

**493 sua. nos, nos** will prove to balance with **uobis**, **495** and the sequence **sua. nos** seems to have no special significance..

**digrediens** Cf. **410**.

**lacrimis ... obortis** δάκρυ χέων. Cf. 4.30 *lacrimis ... obortis*, 11.41 *lacrimis ita fatur obortis* (the formula conveniently adapted), with n.(an apparently new sense of an *Ennian* vb.); see there and on 11.29 for *Aeneas*' tears. As often, a physical indication of the emotional level at the outset of a speech(*O'Hara*, *DOP*, 54, *Ricottilli*, 154, nn. on 7.194,

11.251 and **320** above). *Non potui abire sine pectoris morsu* remarks TCD, obvious, but neatly put.

**adfabar** Cf. n. on 7.544. Cf. προσήδα.

**493–505** Aen.'s farewell to Helenus and Andr.(Knauer compares the χαίρετε of *Od.*13.39); the high emotional tone maintained. After **499** Aen. passes to the future and to his hopes for continuity (down to the Augustan present) and for lasting affection between Epirus and Rome: Serv.Dan. remarks on **501** *quidam in honorem Augusti dictum accipiunt*, rightly(so too n. on **274**, 7.606, *Buc.*4.12, 20, 43, 9.46); see n. on **502** and *EV* 1, 152 for the contemporary reference. Vd. Bettini(**294–505**), 26f., Highet, 34, 115, 309, Mackie, 73, Cartault, 251f.; Knauer registers a loose affinity with *Od.*13.38–46 (*Od.*'s farewell to Alcinoous).

**493 uiuite felices** Another form of makarismos, taking up Andr.'s of Cassandra(**321**; Grimm, 161): cf. Lygdamus 5.31 *uiuite felices, memores et uiuite nostri*, *CE* 194.3, 2023.1. Ammann, *TLL* 6.1.444.6 well compares Liv. 8.35.6 *uiue, Q. Fabi, felicior hoc consensu ciuitatis ad tuendum te quam qua paulo ante insultabas uictoria; uiue ....* After La Cerda, Mackail punctuated between these words: a palpable abomination. *Felicitas* for Andr., after the deep sorrow of her latest speech(Grimm, 161)? In terms, though, of the substitutes, however barren, that she and Helenus have found, not a foolish or heartless wish. We might wish to consider how Dido will react to Aen.'s evident commitment to a higher and more lasting goal.

**quibus est ... peracta/ 494 iam P.** Sall.*Hist.*5fr.5, of seventy years passed, Hor. *Serm.*1.6.94 *aeuum remeare peractum* (cf. 2.4.22, *CS* 27); *TLL* 10.1.1179.24 (Peri). Cf. *G.*4.490, 506, *Aen.*1.219, 459: *iam* often an instrument of high pathos; just as **fortuna** is only completed with run-on **sua**, so, interwoven, **peracta** is only completed with a postponed adverb.

**fortuna .../ 494 ... sua** For the widespread notion of the *fortuna* of a people or city or group, cf. n. on 11.345, Pomathios, 343. This passage useful in showing how closely *fortuna* and *fatum* can converge in V. (cf. Bailey, 213f. Pötscher, 41f.). As at **469**, **sua** refers back to the most important thing or person in the sentence (*pace* Bell, 83).

**494 nos** Exceptionally forceful in contrast with **495 uobis**; cf. n. on **492 hos ego**.

**alia ex aliis in fata** Cf. *G.*4.499, *Aen.*2.716, 4.278, 7.573f., 9.658 for *ex ... in* (or the reverse). The extended personal strain inher-

ent in Aen.'s long and laborious destiny tersely conveyed by the interposition of **ex aliis** between **alia** and **in fata**; Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.804.58. Knauer well compares *Il.*19.290 *κάκον ἐκ κάκου* (add e.g. Hes. *Theog.*800, Eur. *Hec.*588, 639; La Cerda continues at length). Does V. refer to different resolutions by the gods (Pötscher, *cit.*, *EV* 2, 478) or to the long series of oracles which have directed and ordered the Trojans' voyage, or to little more than their adventures (on this weakened sense of *f.*, cf. Bailey, 210)? No actual answer required and all these senses potentially here present.

**uocamur** Cf. 5.23, 12.677, Zurli, *EV* 5\*, 637, *OLD* s.v., §7a.

**495 uobis** Antithetical force increased by position as self-contained initial spondee.

**parta quies** At 7.598 *parta quies* (where *vd. n.*) refers to the sleep of death, but here primarily to the *chemin sans issu* of their tranquil but hopeless exile, touched by the idea that it is, in contrast to Aen.'s destiny, a sort of death in life: an end, however, not in itself reprehensible; cf. 294–505 (c), Grimm, 161.

**nullum maris aequor** Cf. 2.780 *uastum maris aequor arandum*, Hor. *C.* 4.5.10 *maris aequora*, Tietze, *TLL* 8.380.27, 383.35f.. There is no difficulty (xxxvii, xxxix–xl) in Creusa quoting in bk.2 the words here used by Aen.. **A.** refers primarily to the sea as a flat expanse of water (n. on 7.811); virtually a *gen. inhaerentiae*. A possible hint that Helenus and Andr. will be able to plough more conventional furrows; not for Aen. till he reaches the *arua opima* of the Tiber valley, 2.781 f. (*a.* perhaps from 496, indeed).

**arandum** Cf. 5.158, 10.197 *sulcat* (and 5.142 *infindunt*); the evidence cited in Harrison's n. on 10.222 *fluctusque secabant* does not prove the antiquity of the image of ploughing the sea, but only of the more limited (and not clearly agricultural) picture of 'cutting' the water (*Od.*3.175). However, Con. on 2.780 well cites Aesch. *Suppl.*1006 *πολύς δὲ πόντος οὐνεκ' ἠρόθη* *δορί*. I am not sure whether Hügi was right (78) to adduce the ploughing simile of AR 2.664 ff.

**496 arua ... semper cedentia retro** The simple paradox of retreating fields (land balances sea, Hardie, *CI*, 308); Aen. reacts energetically, with a touch of vexation indeed, as has been noted (478; cf. 5.629, 6.61 Italy's shores as *fugientis*, as Serv. notes): Helenus is, inevitably, safe in port and Aen. does not have to be warned *twice* of an extra, unexpected voyage round Italy. **S:** every time Aen. hears about

them, it is to discover they have retreated. Hardly (*EV* 4, 465) a verse alternative to Liv.8.8.9 *retro cedentes* (not perforce written as a single word), but the pairing of advb. and vb. so rare that the passages just might be related. *Cedere retro* Lucretian, 2.508, 999, Bannier, *TLL* 3.720.26.

**neque Ausoniae** Cf. 171. Postponment of **n.** commoner in V, I suspect, after adj. than, as here, after noun.

**497 quaerenda** Cf. **4 desertas quaerere terras.**

**effigiem Xanthi** For **X.**, cf. 350; **e.:** cf. Brandt/Kapp/ Meyer, *TLL* 5.2.182.76f.. As Asc. is an *imago* of Astyanax, so Andr.'s city is an *effigies* ('image', 'reproduction'; a standard sense) of Troy; that status is not, it has been argued above, quite as negative and reprehensible as some recent 'readings' have loudly insisted (vd. 302). Cf., though, Grimm, 161f.

**Troiamque** For the evocative names, cf. 302 and 294–505 (c).

**uidetis** Again, the primacy of *sight*: of course Helenus and Andr. gaze on the city they built; seeing it synon. with inhabiting it. Cf. 26, 90, 431, 443.

**498 quam ... fecere** Hey, *TLL* 6.1.86.75, compares *Buc.*7.35, *G.*3.27, *Aen.*8.628, of the creation of works of art (here, a model, or reproduction, after all).

**uestrae ... manus** Cf. n. on 11.439 *factae ...mauibus*. Not obviously a Gk. idiom, except for *trag.adesp.*46.1(*TGF* 2) τί δῆτα χεῖρες οὐκ ἄν ἐργαζάτο;

**melioribus .../ 499 auspiciis** Naturally and predictably taken by Catalano, *EV* 1, 424 of the foundation prodigies of Helenus' settlement, comparing 6.781, *en huius, nate, auspiciis* ... (and, he notes(425), cf. Justinian's echo *melioribus condita est auguriis*, of Rome, *Cod.Iust.* 1.17.1.10, *ad fin.*). However, word-order suggests otherwise: given that **m....a.** are divided by **opto**, and stand not evidently linked to but after **quam uestrae fecere manus**, and parallel to **minus obuia Grais**, we had better think less in strict terms of pontifical law and more in accordance with V.'s less technical usage: cf. rather 375, 11.33, with nn.. For the comparative with **a.**, Bannier, *TLL* 2.1545.67 compares Plaut.*Men.*1149; not a conventional or formulaic expression.

**opto** Parenthetical, as at Prop.4.3.27; Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.831.2f.; vastly easier than a subordinating construction.

**499 quae fuerit G<sub>2</sub>, TCD, fuerint MP.** The c9. mss divided. Serv. registers the plur. (*alii ... legunt*) but rightly rejects it: *quod non procedit; nec enim de hoc agebatur* (and, Serv.Dan. adds, **o.** therefore is used in the sense of ‘*obnoxia*’, ‘*inimica*’, ‘*contraria*’); auspices, or perhaps, by extension, destinies, less exposed or liable to the Greeks are not specially easy here, unless their sense is watered down to the point of creating no difficulty. Paratore’s defence of the plur. a curiosity; he seems to forget that that the subj. remains *Troia*.

**minus obuia Grais O.** in a more literal, physical sense at 10.694; the wd. in Enn.*Ann.*(*pila ... obuia pilis*), *Acc.trag.*, *Cat.*(*ueniam obuius leoni*) and *Lucr.*; cf. **163** for **Grai**. Helenus’ settlement to be less exposed to the *mali Grai* than either old Troy or Aen. himself in the dangerous waters of Adriatic Italy.

**500 si quando** Cf. *G.*1.259, *LHS*, 607 (‘when’ sc. ‘at some future time’). Not common (*Cat.*84.1); for use in similes(Virgilian, not Ennian), cf. Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*332.

**Thybrim uicinaque Thybridis arva** For ‘co-ordinated polyptoton’ of place-names, cf. *Wills*, 262; note too(Nelis) *AR* 2.1116f. *καὶ νῆσον καὶ πᾶσαν ὄσσην κατενάντια νῆσου/χώρην*. We have just seen (**389**) that the Tiber(unnamed) is crucial to the prophecy of the sow, and the reader will recall what *V.* was soon (cf. xxxvii, xxxix–xl) to write: (*Creusa* speaks; 2.781f.) *et terram Hesperiam uenies, ubi Lydius arua/ inter opima uirum leni fluit agmine Thybris*. Virgilians convinced of their ability to map out the (numerous) stages of the composition of *Aen.* naturally made much of the phase (or phases) to which these apparently precise indications (but cf. xxxi–xxxii) of *Aen.*’s eventual destination belong (cf. *Gercke*, 32, *D’Anna*, *Problema*, 72f., *Paratore* on **495**); that *Aen.* is not told of the Tiber in any of the oracles in bk.3 matters not one jot; one way and another, *Aen.*’s picture of Latium is acquiring substance and detail. For the form of the name, cf. on 7.303. Both dat. and gen. ‘regular’ with **u.**: cf. *Lucr.*6.459, *Buc.*9. 28, *Liv.*27.22.12, *Antoine*, 139 for dat., and for gen., *Cic.har.resp.*32, *Col.*7.2.4, *Luc.* 9.432, *LHS*, 79.

**501 intraro** Standard Lat., used by *Lucr.*; *Aen.* must enter the Tiber *first*, so fut. perf. used with deliberation. The contracted forms often as here necessary in dactylic vv.

**gentique meae** Cf. 6.73 *meae genti* and **105**, **168**, 6.766, 7.268 for *gens nostra*, *genus nostrum*; *Aen.* here speaks with a solemn ‘public’ or ‘Roman’ voice.

**data moenia** A faintly significant ambiguity: walls bestowed by the gods and also (one day, though Aen. does not yet know this) granted by Latinus; cf. **255 datam cingetis moenibus urbem**, 4.225 *fatisque datas non respicit urbes*, nn. on **85, 255** for the theme of walls and **337, 11.112** for (positive) gifts by the fates.

**cernam** Once more V.'s phrasing reflects an insistence upon the primacy of sight, as source of evidence and comfort(cf. **497**).

**502 cognatas urbes** So Caes. *Gall.* 1.33.2, Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.72, Liv. 37.17.5; cf. 2.6.4, 25.15.7, Quint. Curt. 4.4.15, etc.. Aen.'s descendant Octavian will found Nicopolis, a classic 'victory city' (cf. Gurval, 69f., Purcell, 76ff.), where classic 'victory games'(cf. **280** and see Weinstock, 91f., C. Préaux, *Monde hellén.* 1, 246) will be held, and that constitutes the specific contemporary reference here present to the Augustan reader. Nicopolis was a Roman refoundation (vd. in particular, Purcell), as the games too were refounded(**280**); here, because of the mythical Trojan presence in Epirus, Nicopolis is promoted to historical kinship, cousinage, if you will, with Rome, That is in the familiar and recognisable language of diplomacy or public life(cf. *comparanda* above for use of *c.*), and resurfaces often enough in *Aen.*(note Horsfall *infra* and more generally vd. O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques* (Genève 1995), Erskine and now C.P. Jones, *Kinship diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). On the ideol. aspect of these lines, see West(**270–93**), 58f., Horsfall (1989), 19, Erskine, 162ff., D. Strauch, *NP* 8, 936ff., Paschalis (**276**), 57ff., Purcell(**276**), 71ff., Bowersock (**280**), *EV* 1, 443, Buchheit, 156, Stahl, 59, Gurval(**276**), 65ff., Rengakos(**87**), 117f.

**olim** Cf. 1.20, 289, 4.627, 9.99, 10.12, Hor.C.2.10.17, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.558. 18ff.(and, more illuminating, *OLD* s.v., §3) for ref. to future. 'Quandoque' Serv.

**populosque propinquos** Some readers discussed whether the propinquity was of kin or of distance (Serv.Dan.); "prophetic alliteration" again, here in expression of Aen.'s hopes or expectations(though Hight, 309 lists this speech under 'farewells'). Clearly, both senses are present. Burch, *TLL* 10.2.2023.43ff.(unilluminating). The plur. a real one: peoples joined by kin, divided by distance. Other groups of Trojan descendants were to turn up in the oddest places: vd.(for early and more restrained developments) Caes.*supra*, Luc.1.427f., E.J. Bickerman, *CP* 47 (1952), 76, Erskine, 254ff., D. Braund, *CQ* 30 (1980), 420ff.. Ulysses likewise, Norden, *Germ.Urgesch.*, 182ff., as also Teucer, Just.44.3.2, not to mention Antenor's followers, Strab.3.4.3.

**503 Epiro Hesperiam Hesperia** in four c.9 mss.(dftv) and the reading of Serv.'s lemma. Two local abls. are dull and easy, the probable result of writing abl. again after abl. and perhaps the consequence of a failed attempt to explain acc.. If V. wrote logically, we would expect two accs., explanatory of **populos**; as it is, **Epiro** looks to depend on *cognatam* and *propinquam*, extrapolated from **502** (vd. Con. and Williams).

**quibus idem .../ 504 atque idem** Cf. 4.678f., nn. on 7.69f., 321. This repet. only *ter* in V.: here to underline shared ancestry and (fall of Troy) destiny.

**Dardanus auctor** Cf. 4.365, 6.650, 8.134 (not adjacent): D. clearly their common ancestor even though Helenus and Andr. did not return to Dardanus' land of origin (*bene*, Heyne): cf. **167**.

**504 casus** Cf. 1.9, 204, 238, 623: the fall of Troy (twice, even) and the common sufferings of exile.

**unam ... utramque/ 505 Troiam** This equilibrium of 'one' and 'both' common enough in (e.g.) Cic.(*Top.*6, *Fin.*4.39, etc.), Liv.(28.9.13, 32.20.4). Contrast Liv.2.44.9 one Rome made into two and note too *unam urbem, unam rem publicam facere* (the Alban synoecism). The **urbes** of **502** taken up, with barely noticeable anacoluthon.

**faciemus** Cf. *Buc.*8.58, 10.72, *G.*1.1, etc., Hey, *TLL* 6.1.112.23ff..

**505 animis** Cf. 11.438, 491, 641 with nn., Negri, 149; as at *G.*4.132 *regum aequabat opes animis*, and the word is placed last, prominently, which here invites us to think of the heirs of Troy separated on the map, but one in spirit.

**maneant** S.v. 'de officio, munere sim. quod curandum alicui destinatum est' Tietze, *TLL* 8.292.14ff., *EV* 3, 338, *Aen.*2.194 *nostros ea fata manere nepotes*..

**nostros ... nepotes** Cf. 2.194 *nostros ea fata manere nepotes* (where vd. Ussani). Cf. **158**, **409** for this distinctively Virgilian way of referring to the future(to which, in climax, *Aen.* must look). The similarity to bk. 2 used by Paratore here in pursuit of drafts and stages of composition, but familiarity with composing hexameters suggests rather the operation of an instinctive tendency to place certain words or groups (from a memory here surely more pragmatic and lexical than emotively associative) here, or there, in the hexameter.

**ea cura** Gudeman suggests classification s.v. 'tutela, custodia, officium', *TLL* 4.1458.40f.(cf. Fedeli, *EV* 1, 961f.). So *Buc.*1.32 *cura peculi*; a common sense.



**Ea cura** = *cura eius rei*, as often (so Bell 146, Ladewig, etc.). Cf. full n. on 7.595.

**506–569** The Trojans' halts at Acroceraunia(508–20) and the *Arx Minervae* (530–47) along with their distant brush with Scylla and Charybdis(554–67, a prologue to Etna) are small episodes that give body to the swift passage from Buthrotum to Puglia and from Puglia to Sicily; there is no longer time for leisurely development of ample, heroic scenes; only Etna and Achaemenides will now stay the poet's brisker progress.

**506 prouehimur** Cf. 72 and the πλέομεν of *Od.*11.80, etc..

**pelago** Abl. of extension; vd. on 507 **undis**.

**uicina Ceraunia** For the distance, cf. n. on 511 **fessos ... artus**. A grim range of S. Albania(still the first sight of land, as you travel from from Brindisi), rising to 5300 feet 'within two miles of the sea'(NH on *Hor.C.*1.3.20) and famed for storms offshore (*Hor., cit.*, with NH, citing *Caes.Civ.*3.6.3, *Suet.Aug.*17.3, etc.); here the Argonauts pass, *AR* 4.576. Naturally, the name was derived from thunderbolts, *Eust.* on *Dion.Perieg.*389 and *Serv.* here. Cf. also Wellesley, 152, n.6, Oberhammer, *PW* 11.268.3ff., *Strauch, NP* 6.438f.. *DH* 1.51.2 has the Trojans depart from Onchesmus, or the 'harbour of Anchises', only ten miles n. of Buthrotum (vd. *Strab.*7.7.5); this is perhaps (but the matter is altogether uncertain) the same localisation as the Anchialos of *Proc.BG* 4.22.31 (cf. *Perret*, 76, n.2, *Swegler* 1, 8f., n.4, 301). Possibly V. preferred to attach Anchises more closely to the Trojans' arrival in Italy than to their departure from Epirus.

**iuxta** Regular anastrophe of disyll. prepos..

**507 unde iter Italiam** Cf. 6.542 *hac iter Elysium nobis*, G. Landgraf, *ALL* 10 (1898), 402, Antoine, 64, *LHS*, 34, C.F.W. Müller, *Synt.Nom.Akk.*, 158. Quite common, indeed, in *Cic.*(speeches and letters, *Tessmer, TLL* 7.2.540.17ff., citing e.g. *Cluent.*192 *iter Romam*): the deverbative origin of *i.* strongly felt.

**cursusque breuissimus C** by sea, 454; the adj.(cf. Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1532.46f. for later instances) perfectly correct: the *breuissimus transitus* of *Plin.Nat.*3.100 and cf. *Strab.*6.3.5. In the periplus-manner, *Reeker*, 92f.(for comparable uses of βραχύς, cf. *PsScyl.*, 107, *Peripl.Maris Magni* 298, *Marcianus, Peripl.mar.ext.*1.2.50). About 44 miles; the line theme and variation. In *DH* too, the Trojans naturally sail N. to the shortest

crossing-point(1.51.2). For a summary of trans-Adriatic routes, cf. Rougé(69), 93, Wellesley, 152, n.6.

**undis** A particularly common type of abl. of extension, Malosti, 79ff..

**508 sol ruit** Cf. in Hom. the formulaic δύκετό τ' ἥλιος; the second half of the v. here suggests strongly that the sense of **s.r.** must lie in this area. But that in turn does not quite yield a precise sense for **ruit**: Williams' helpful note ('sped', rather than 'set') not overturned by Cavazza, *EV* 4, 604 (good, but wrong). At 10.256f. *ruebat/...dies noctemque fugarat* evidently refers to dawn, while for dusk(night rising), cf. 2.250; so too 6.539 refers to night coming, and 8.369 likewise. The verb conveys, therefore, the swift motion of celestial bodies, and no more.

**interea** Cf. 2.250 *uertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox*, and in general, vd. n. on 7.572.

**et montes ... opaci** Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.657.42 well compares Liv.3.25.7 *quercus ... praetorio imminebat, cuius umbra opaca sedes erat*, and (658.57f.) Ov.*Met.*11.606f. *quarum de lacte soporem/ Nox legit et spargit per opacas umida terras*. Here, clearly, *pace* Henry, the adj. to be understood predicatively (shadowed so as to become dark). Mountains are indeed (so Williams) described as (stably or permanently) κκιόεντα (*Il.*1.157, etc.) or *umbrosi* (Hor.*C.* 1.12.5); that is immaterial, when the vb. encourages (even if it does not compel) the interpretation suggested.

**umbrantur** Hom., *passim*, κκιόωντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυαί, not to mention *Od.*5.279, etc. ὄρεα κκιόεντα. The vb. Lucretian (*bis*; also *inumbro*); note also Varr.*Men.*1271 *umbrantur somno pupulae*.

**509 sternimur** Cf. *G.*4.432 *sternunt se somno* (commoner in *Aen.* of sprawling in death), Liv.5.44.6, 22.2.8 *cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora inueniri posset*.

**optatae gremio telluris** Cf. Lucr.2.375 *telluris gremium*, Apul.*Met.* 4.35 *florentis caespitis gremio*; *EV* s.v., *male*, Häfner, *TLL* 6.2.2324.13ff., *in ipso gremio terrae matris*, Apul.*Apol.*88. Used by V. with strong affective force; cf. most closely 7.233 *nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit* and compare *ib.*303 *optato conduntur Thybridis alueo*. Cf. 132, 530 and n. on 7, *cit.* for the thematic history of **o.**; even after the modest run from Buthrotum the Trojans long for land, for a last safe repose before launching into the future; after a far greater ordeal, cf. 1.171f. *magno telluris amore/ egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena. Quae a nauigantibus semper*

*optatur* Serv.. Just possibly V. adverts to the Trojans' longing for land here to suggest that their stay at Buthrotum had weakened their mental and physical stamina.

**ad undam** Cf. 302, 10.282 *ultra occurramus ad undam*, 11.327 *iacet ... ad undam*. For the sing., cf. 202. U. at line end, 507; cf. n. on 7.554 *arma* for V.'s usage in repetition, not congenial to modern tastes.

**510 sortiti remos** Cf. 5.756 *sortiturque domos*, with Horsfall (1989), 18, Ehrenberg, PW 13.1463.54ff.; that suggests that V. here too refers to regular (Greek) sailors' practice. As indeed proves to be the case: cf. Call.*Aet.fr.*18.10 ἐκληρώσαντό τ' ἔρετμά (where vd. Pfeiffer), and in AR a repeated detail of sea travel(cf. Cartault, 252, n.5 for the different circumstances on board *Argo*), 1.358, 395 (so too Prop.3.21.12). Wonderful energy displayed by Henry, who adduces first (*Twelve years*) Rut.Nam.1. 347 (oars used as tent poles) and then (*Aeneidea*) argues for s.r. as *domini remorum*. But, to be fair (vd. Con.), there is a small problem: the crew draw lots and then go to sleep. Only after midnight do they take to their ships. If this sequence is not a mere oversight, born of instinctive aversion to precise detail, it could reflect (e.g.) Aen.'s wise order, so as to save time (as Page, naturally, realises) during an early start by anticipating this (potentially riotous and retardatory) ritual, or even some link between sortition of oars and the drawing of lots over the wine(cf. NH on Hor. C.1.4.18 for choice of symposiarch). It may also be that the very idea of sortition derives from trireme usage, when the 'thalamites' sat eighteen inches above the water, protected only by leather παραρρύειε (Casson, 48, 82ff.), and might have looked to the lot for occasional relief. *Pace* Serv., there is no distinction between who rowed, who kept watch and who managed the sheets (and indeed such a distinction here would destroy the whole balance of the expression), though that might *also* be implied as present in the procedure. Morrison and Williams (202) cite Pind.*Pyth.*4.190f., which clearly refers to Mopsus' concern for good auspices for the journey and seems irrelevant to the issue of heroic sortition. See too 634, M. Bonfanti, *MD* 20–1 (1988), 299ff., and vd. the eloquent Bell, 385.

**passimque in litore sicco** Cf. 9.316 *passim ... per herbam*. V. will remember the 'dry shore' at 6.162; so already 135 (where vd. n.). Compare *Od.*9.169; *Od.* and his companions sleep ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης.

**511 corpora curamus** Cf. *G.*4.187, *Aen.*8.607. Mynors cites also Liv.3.2.10 (for the chronology, cf. xxvi–xxvii) *tum quidem corpora cibo som-*

*noque curant* and draws attention to Serv. *si de hominibus dicamus, et cibo et lauacro intellegimus uel alterutro; si de apibus, tantum cibo accipimus*; grins in class. Familiar allit. language, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.1501.63ff.(from Lucil.115 on, but a selective account; cf. rather, *id., ib.*,1500.78ff., Skutsch on *Ann.*367); see further Liv.3.60.7, 5.28.10, 45.1, 21.31.1, 45.2, 23.35.16, etc.(21.31.1 as part of preparations *before* a march). The exact origin of this stock allit. phrase might seem perplexing: both V. (for meals on landing, cf. Mohler, 49, n.13 and my n. on 7.8 *in noctem*) and Liv. find it a neat way of referring in general terms to the banal quotidian unelevated detail (in Hom., no critical problems about the limiting requirements of τὸ πρέπον: Seymour, 305–7) of moving ships and men; an Ennian origin seems likely: at *Ann., cit.*, he had written *uino curatos somnus repente/ in campo passim mollissimus perculit acris*. Sleep, men scattered in the field, and bodily needs met suggest that here V. may well have had Enn. in mind and also (cf. Skutsch) that *corpora curare* could have passed from the camp to Parnassus via *Ann.*; Wigodsky, 120 typically contrary.

**fessos ... artus** For the adj., cf. 78 and both *ib.* and 276 for the motif of the Trojans' fatigue (here after a good rest at Buthrotum and an inshore run of just over 100 miles). Weary limbs: *G.*4.190, *Aen.*2.253, 9.814, Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1.611.43ff.. Sleep induced by wine(Skutsch); perhaps (an additional factor, indeed).

**sopor inrigat** Cf. 1.691f. *placidam per membra quietem/ inrigat*, Kortekaas, *TLL* 7.2.420.37. The verb *bis* in Lucr.(*tacet* Cordier): in particular, vd. 4.907f. *somnus per membra quietem/ inriget* after Hom. ὑπνον ἔχευεν (*Il.*24.445, *Od.*11.245, 18.188, 20.54, etc.). Note *Furius Bibac.*fr.9 *mitemque rigat per pectora somnum* (cf. Wigodsky 99, n.495). On Enn.*Ann.*499 *quom sese exsiccat somno Romana iuuentus*, Skutsch explains that for Hom. sleep is a liquid poured upon or around the sleeper (or the sleeper's eyes), while Latin authors seem to prefer an image of the body bathed in sleep—except for Enn., who associates waking with drying(cf. G.W. Williams, *TORP*, 696). Austin on *Aen.*1., *cit.* (so too Crevatin, *EV* 4, 578) well sensed that there was a specific latent image or conception behind these passages, citing 5.854f. *ramum Lethaeo rore madentem/ uique soporatum Stygia ... quassat*, Val.Fl.4.15 ff. and Fronto p.232.20 ff. vdH<sub>2</sub>. Note too Pers.5.56 *inrigo ... somno* (where Schol. cites V. here), Stat.*Theb.*2.144f., Apul.*Met.* 6.21.1 Add further 4.486 *spargens umida mella soporiferumque papauer*, 7.754 *spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat*, 12.418f. *spargitque salubris/ ambrosiae sucos et odoriferam panaceam* (whatever the means, slumber is conveyed by liquid drops). It is unsur-

prising and deplorable that those who have written on these expressions fail to cite the basic discussion of the physiology involved: Onians, 31 ff. transforms our understanding of the Homeric view of sleep as liquid by his explanation, on the basis of Hesych.Π2084.1, 2085.1(ξηρόν, ξηραίνεταί), of *Il.*14.164f.: Hera pours sleep upon the βλεφάρουσιν ἰδὲ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσιν of Zeus. On the conception of ‘wet’ (with sleep/wine), cf. Diog.Apoll.51A.19,§44DK, Onians, 32; at Caecil.com.30f. *itane Antipho inuenitur profluuia fide/ itane est immemoris, itane est madida memoria?*, the adjs. clearly reinforce each other (cf. Richter, *TLL* 8.37.71 f., Montuschi, *ib.*10.2.1731.36 ff.), within the same nexus of ideas. Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 433 for the orthogr.: **GMP** seem to offer **inr-**, which should therefore, here, be followed.

**512 necdum** I.e. *nondum*, LHS, 449. Palinurus rises early (even before midnight) not *because* the weather is good and the wind fair, but *in case* they should so prove. Parataxis, and no hint of a temporal construction.

**orbem medium** Cf. 6.536 (Aurora) *iam medium ... traiecerat axem*, 8.97 *sol medium ... conscenderat ... orbem*, *Ov.Met.*1.592. So Hom. of the sun (*Il.*8.68, etc.) μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβέβηκει. Night no celestial body, but a mere personification, whose ‘course’ is a borrowing or metaphor. *EV* s.v. *Nox* unhelpful; cf., though, *ib.* 4, 37.

**Nox Horis acta** The Hours in heaven from *Il.*5.749 on(cf. 8.393, 433, discussed by Paus.5.11.7); ‘usually the personified seasons ... particularly the seasons of life and growth’(West on Hes.*Theog.* 901; cf. V. Machaira, *LIMC* 5.1.503, Bömer on *Ov.F.* 1.125). Night’s chariot is extrapolated from (e.g.) the sun’s or dawn’s (n. on 7.26). on **acta**, Serv. *per horas decurrens, male*; Henry ‘under the command of the Hours’, *peius*; Page’s ‘night-driven’ or ‘sped by the hours’ clearly right; suggested by the Hours’ role in *Il.*(*supra*); cf. *G.*3.18 *agitabo ... currus*, *Aen.*6.837 *uictor aget currum*, *Hor.C.*1.34.8, Hey, *TLL* 1.1373.78ff.

**subibat** Cf. *Hor.C.*4.5.40, in a different sense: the vb. not a conventional part of such epic periphrases of time.

**513 haud segnis** Neg.+*senior* a common turn, n. on 7.383.

**strato surgit** Cf. 176 for bedclothes. The strong hissing alliteration in consecutive spondaic words not expected in a context where marked speed and energy is conveyed. Getting out of bed in the morning not beneath epic dignity, 8.415, 457. Tiphys gets up later, *AR* 1.519ff., 1280ff.(it is still, just, night; cf. too 2.669–71), Nelis, 222.

**Palinurus** Cf. 202. As at 5.835ff. he sails by night: at 7.8 I took the conventional view that this was unusual, but apart from here, *and* bks. 5, and (6-)7, *citt.*, cf. too 10.147; that should indicate to the attentive reader that the Trojans are in a hurry. In Hom., cf. *Od.*5.271ff., 12.279ff.. Vd. also n. on 204 (astral navigation; already in Hom., and vd. also n. on 7.215, Seymour, 306, Hainsworth on *Od.*5.272-7). Note *Od.*9.142ff., Gray, 101 for the problems of night sailing in thick weather.

**et omnis/ 514 ... uentos** Cf. *Buc.*9.57f. *et omnes, aspice, uentos ceciderunt murmuris aurae*. When Paschalis, 134 hears οὔρος, a fair wind, in the steersman's name and points to **uentos** following so closely (a 'signal', indeed), he might indeed be in harmony with ancient ways of reading (and indeed composing) the passage.

**514 explorat** Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1749.1 ff. compares *Ov.Met.* 9.592 and *Avien.Arat.* 1319. Because the obj. is plur., the sense is not that P. looks to see if there is a wind from E. or S., but rather that he listens to perceive what wind there is, or may be, from whatever quarter.

**atque auribus aera captat** Cf. *Liv.*38.7.9 *aure admota sonitum fodientium captabant*; this is regular idiom (from *Plaut.* on, *Cas.*44): *Cat.* 61.55, *Ov.Met.*4.72 (Pyramus and Thisbe) *captatus anhelitus oris*, with 3.279, *Pont.*3.4.19, Hey, *TLL* 3.376.78ff.. But cf. above all *G.*1.376(*bucula*) *captavit naribus auras* (after *Varr. Atac.* fr.14.6 *decerpsit odorem*, *Cic.Arat. progn.*fr.4.11 *naribus umiferum duxere ex aere sucum*, *Arat.*954f. (vd. Kidd), *Ps.Thphr.Signis* 15). Whereas the many discussions of the passage (even F. Leo, *Herm.*42 (1907), 44ff.=*Ausgew. kl. Schr.* 2, 79ff.; cf. too e.g. P. Wilson, *CW* 10 (1916), 24, E.S. Macartney, *ib.*, 42 (1949), 107f.) cite, at length, stories of adventure or nautical informants, V. quotes himself, as often, with peculiar care (the hero as heifer?): he has clearly in mind the common idiom of straining to catch a sound, but also recalls the weather-sign, replaces *naribus* with **auribus**, and thereby echoes *auras*. Humans can smell snow and hear shifting winds (cf. 4.562 *nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos?*), between prescience and observation; the skilled Palinurus is now elevated by echo to parity with the prescient heifer. *Tacent*, apparently, both U. Dierauer, *Tier und Mensch* (Amsterdam 1977) and S. Rocca, *Etologia virgiliana* (Genova 1983). Henry is clearly right to take the v. as theme and variation: P. listens for any change in the wind (yet to come or already effected), just as he gazes at the sky for steering marks and for hints of change in the weather; that other sailors in antiquity (at least outside V.) seem not to cock their ears in the same way is no more than the chance of observation and/or transmission.

**515 sidera cuncta** P. selects the constellations by which he will steer; vd. **517**. *Quater* Manil. will end a v. *per sidera cuncta*.

**notat** The vb. *quater* in Cic.*Arat.*, so if not technical, then suitable and traditional. Hannah(*infra*, 132) suggests that P. watches the stars all night, in keeping with his ‘augural’ reading of the passage. V. only refers to a single careful scrutiny just before midnight. Cf. Cic.*Verr.*2.5.27 *cuius* [sc. *ueris*] *initium iste non a Favonio neque ab aliquo astro notabat*.

**tacito ... caelo** Cf. 10.102 *silet arduus aether*, *EV* 5\*, 8. If the sky is silent, that suggests no strong winds, favourable, contrary, or perilous; cf. 1.164 *aequora tuta silent*. Night, moreover is ‘naturally’ silent; not even Pease on 4.527 troubles to collect instances.

**labentia** The verb a favourite with Cic. in *Arat.*(Flury, *TLL* 7.2. 786.44ff.), from *Phaen.*fr.3.1 on. This motion in harmony with the stars’ silence.

**516–7** Palinurus’ stars have been studied with some energy and to no happy outcome: cf. Mandra, 71 ff., R.D. Brown, *AJP* 111 (1990), 182 ff. R. Hannah, *ib.*114 (1993), 123 ff., Schmitt-Neuerburg, 132, n.364. They derive, first, from *Il.*18.483–9 and/or *Od.*5.271–5 (not the passage on which V. here ‘is based’(Brown, 183; ‘model’, 185, ultimately after *Macr.*5.11.10ff.), but a text that V. had in mind here but did not imitate in any detail(cf. **513**): on Achilles’ shield we find (of V.’s list) Hyades, Arctos, Orion, and Od. studies Arctos and Orion. Lists of star-names were clearly to V.’s taste: cf. already *G.*1.137f. *navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit/ Pleiadas, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton* (sailors(NB), Hyades, and Arctos, after *Hes.Erga* 615). In the context of the ample evidence at our disposition for the priority of *Aen.*3, it does not help to mock at (admittedly slow and sometimes contentious) progress in understanding the problems of composition(Brown, 185): if 1.744 simply re-uses **516**, in a passage swiftly cobbled together (*infra*), the original sources of **516** are perfectly irrelevant in bk.1. Hyades suggest foul weather by date, lit. associations and etymology as also do Arcturus and Orion by their date and associations. NH understandably commend the collection of evidence in Smith, *Dict.Ant.* s.v. *Astronomia*. In fact P. studies the sky, sees no signs of trouble (and Serv. very well notes *G.*1.395 *nam neque tum stellis acies obtunsa uidetur*; cf. *Arat.*1013–6), and none will occur, despite all that V. and his sources have read, for this one crucial night. Hannah thinks V. was influenced by augural techniques of contemplating the heavens(131 ff.), while Mandra, and

his astronomical consultant, suggest a date firmly in January(75), on grounds of visibility, uncaring of the constellations' evident origins as a literary construct. Macr. is much concerned with P.'s *ceruicis reflexiones* (5.11.11f.; cf. Hannah, 132 for the quarters in which the stars named were visible), while Hannah similarly proposes, improbably enough, that V.'s alteration and combination of his sources really does have something to do with astronomy. But did V.'s readers actually have at their fingertips the risings and settings of all the stars named(Hannah, 133f., n.22), and could the poet depend on this common fund of knowledge? They might indeed have known, near enough, which risings and settings boded foul weather, from literary sources, and will have assumed, rightly, that V.'s modest list derives (evidently) from (limited) reading. The contrast between threatening associations, and calm reality suggests a less caring or careful poet, for Palinurus orders departure and the crossing is untroubled, despite the stars seen and their associations (vd. on **circumspicit**, *infra*).

**516 Arcturum** Cf. West on Hes.*Erga*, 566, Mynors on G.1.204, *EV* 1, 915f., A. Le Boeuffe, *Les noms latins d'astres et de constellations* (Paris 1977), 95ff. 'The watcher of the Bear', so in proximity of the **Triones**, and used by Od. for astral navigation (*Od*.5.272). Both its evening rising (Plin.Nat.18.311: Sept.12) and setting(Plaut. *Rud*. 70ff.; 30 Oct., Col.11.2.78 *uentosus dies*) associated with stormy weather: Austin on 1.744, NR on Hor.C.3.1.27f., Mynors, *cit.* and above all Kidd on Arat.745..

**pluiiasque Hyadas** The adj a gloss on the noun (Gk. ὕειν; cf. Hellen., *FGH* 4F19a, Bartelink, 76f., O'Hara, *TN*, 145; cf. LHS, 794); **p** found in *XII Tab.*, then Lucr., G., Hor.(cf. Leumann, 290 for the formation). Hyades in Lat. *Suculae*, clearly with Gk. ὕειν in mind(M. Tullius Tiro, *Pandectae*, fr. 14 GRE, p.402. Cf. Le Boeuffe, 155ff., *EV* 1, 917. Tennyson's 'when/ thro' scudding drifts the rainy Hyades/ vext the dim sea'. Their association with storms (cf. NH on Hor.C.1.3.14, GP on *HE* 2856) 'confirmed' by etymology and by the calendar(their matutinal setting in late Nov.; vd further **517**).

**geminosque Triones T.**: see Varr.*LL* 7.74 *nostri eas septem stellas triviones et temonem et prope eas axem: triones enim et boues appellantur a bubulcis etiam nunc maxime cum arant terram* (vd. Mynors' engaging n. on G.3.381, Cic.*Phaen*.fr.5. Varro has in mind Naev.*trag*.62). The name of the seven stars of Ursa Major(whence 'Septentrional') came then to be applied to both Bears: Cic. *ND* 2.111 refers to the *minorem ... Septentrionem*. See West,



p.380, Le Boeuffe, 82ff.(Ursa Major), 90ff.(Ursa Minor). **516** is also found at 1.744; there, 1.745–6 are borrowed from *G.*2.481–2; the most economical explanation is that the whole passage was swiftly bodged out of preexisting materials. Cf. Sparrow, 95, and xxxix–xl *supra*; for Brown's insubstantial cavils, cf. **516–7**.

**517 armatumque auro** V. refers to the three stars of Orion's belt. Cf. 9.269f.(of Turnus) *quibus ibat in armis/ aureus* and note Hom.  $\chi\rho\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . Serv.Dan. comments *quia et balteus eius et gladius clarissimis fingitur stellis*.

**circumspicit** First cited, Pacuv.*trag.*224. 'Contemplari ... vel circummeuntem, vel res hominesve circumstantes' Elsperger, *TLL*3.1170.15ff., citing Caes.*Gall.*5.31.4. 'And a star to steer her by': P. looks out the stars by which to set his course W.; even the Pole star would have been enough to get the Trojans to Italy(Hainsworth, *cit*). V. does not *tell* us that P. is using the stars for navigation(Hannah, 130, n.13, rightly, though he seems to misunderstand the Homeric evidence), but at this point they have no other obvious function(as *G.*1.395). As weather signs (thus, Williams; cf. *G.*, *cit.*) they were all, by V.'s time, bad, including the Bears: at least from Aratus on, Arcturus too spelt storms at sea (cf., with refs., **516**; Hannah, 131 seems to oversimplify the evidence for Arcturus). Orion alone stood to the S.(Page, Hannah, 133, etc.) and perhaps alone suggests that P.'s gaze was directed to all quarters.

**Oriona** 'The matutinal setting of O .... begins in early November and lasts about a month. The period was commonly described as stormy'(n. on 7.719).Cf. also *EV* 1, 917f., Le Boeuffe, 129ff. For the Gk. name in a spondaic ending, cf. Norden, 441ff., *EV* 2, 280, Winbolt, 128ff.; O.'s prosody is helpfully flexible; vd. Bömer on *Ov.F.* 5.493.

**518 postquam** Cf. 1, 192.

**cuncta ... constare** Cf. (so *EV* 4, 1028 after Forbiger, Heyne, etc.) *Lucr.*4.460f. *severa silentia noctis/ undique cum constant*, which Burger, *TLL* 4.530.68 classes s.v. 'durare, stare', as against this v.(4.533.33f.), classed s.v. 'convenire, rectum, dispositum esse'; B. compares e.g. *Liv.*9.2.3 *ut idem omnibus sermo constat*. *OLD* s.v., §2 'remain constant, be steady'. Serv.Dan. here comments *omnia uidet habere caelum quae significant serenitatem*. 'constare' autem 'suppetere', as though the latent metaphor were financial. Better, Heyne 'composita et tranquilla esse; nihil, quod inconstantiam et varietatem caeli caeli ominetur, occurrere'.

**uidet** P.'s conclusions from **517 circumspicit**.

**caelo ... sereno** P. again, 5.851 *deceptus fraude sereni*, 870 *o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno*; note too Lucr.2.1100 *caelique serena*, 4.212f. *caelo stellante serena/ sidera*, 6.247, G.1.260, 487, *Aen.* 8.528 *caeli in regione serena*, 9.630 (after Lucr.6.99), Hor. *Epd.* 15.1 (*tacet* Watson), *EV* 4, 791f.. This is trad. language, Cic.*Arat.*104 *qui suspiciens in caelum nocte serena* (καθαρή ἐνὶ νυκτί, *Arat.*323; cf. 469), *Fam.*16.9.2, Hor.*Serm.*2.4.51. LSJ, *TLL* and *EV* unilluminating.

**519 dat clarum ... signum** Standard, ancient phrasing, Plaut.*Cas.* 3 *signum clarum date mihi*. For *signum dare*, cf. n. on 7.519f., both milit. and poet, **239**; the adj. of loud sounds, n. on 7.141, *Aen.*2.301, 705f., 5.139 *clara dedit sonitum tuba*, *EV* 1, 810, Probst, *TLL* 3.1271.41f.. The signal given by steersman, not captain, as in *Helen*, *infra*.

**e puppi** ἐν πρύμνῃ Pind.*Pyth.*4.194; cf. Eur.*Helena* 1603, *IT* 1349, Morrison and Williams, 200, 202.

**nos** The helmsman signals and the crew (here, including commander, if we press **nos**) falls to.

**castra mouemus** 'Break camp and ...', long recognised as standard paratactic military idiom 'cum motio castrorum plerumque tantum initium actionis maioris alicuius sit'. Bannier, *TLL* 3.554.67ff., citing Caes.*Gall.*1.48.1, 2.2.6, 7.18.1, *Civ.*1.23.5, 3.80.6, *Bell.Alex.* 57.6, Sall.*Cat.*57.3, Liv.21.19.1, 27.2.10, 40.12, 34.26.9. The use of **c.** for the *statio* of a fleet is perfectly normal, Bannier, 548.77ff., who confirms Serv.'s ref. to *castra nautica* by reference to Serv.Dan. *ad Aen.*4.604, 5.669, Caes.*Gall.*5.22.1, Sall.*Hist* 1, fr.124, Liv.29.35.14, Nep.*Hann.*11.6, *et saep.*

**520 temptamusque uiam** Cf. G.3.8 *temptanda uia est*, *Aen.*8.113 *ignotas temptare uias*. The sky is fair, the course known, the stars bright, and the sails in the course of being set (so the wind is fair too); the notion of 'trial' therefore perhaps implicit in setting off upon unknown, unfamiliar seas. Cf. de Jong on *Od.*2.382–426 for Hom. departure-scenes.

**uelorum ... alas** The metaphor in Sall.(*hist.*fr.inc.12, quoted by Serv. here) *et paruis modo uelorum alis demissis* (and earlier perhaps—if not, that is, oars—implicit, Enn.*Ann.*380, *trag.*111, Laev.fr.11.3; cf. further Austin on 1.224 *mare ueliuolum*); this is standard Gk. usage, West on Hes.*Erga* 628 in ample detail. Isid.*Etym.*19.3.1 offers a derivation of *uela a uolatu*. Naturally enough, *OLD* s.v., §3 refers to *a.* as a section or reef of a sail (so already TCD *spatia et angulos*), as does West, *cit.*(cf. Casson,

275f. for Gk. reefing of sails), but neither quotes ancient evidence or pertinent argument. Greek instances of such ‘wings’, when they refers to sails, not oars, do seem to refer to the entire sail (and indeed the metaphor is best conceived thus) and the plain correspondence sail::wing (and therefore *genitivus inhaerentiae*) seems applicable here too; Sall.’s sense, however, is not clear, though he may, as *Ar.Ran.*999f. more clearly does, refer to reefs(see Casson, *cit.*). Bannier in *TLL* s.v. *ala* (1.1468.30) prefers not to present the evidence for a problem’s existence.

**pandimus** So already *Naev.trag.*19(?), *Plaut.Stich.*369, *Cic.TD* 1.119, 4.9; cf. Kruse, *TLL* 10.1.194.18. Cf. Gray, 100f. for Hom. formulae of setting sail on departure. In greater detail, cf. Pindar’s account of the seer Mopsus’ actions on departure, *Pyth.*4. 192ff.. The Trojans may have cleared the beach under oars; if so, this trivial, quotidian stage in the narrative is suppressed; cf. Morrison and Williams, 200, after the full and welcome detail of Eur. *Helena* 1573ff..

**521 iamque rubescebat** Cf. 7.25f. **iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto/ Aurora...**, with discussion of V.’s dawns, 7.25–36, de Jong on *Od.*13.93–5. In 7, a reminiscence of this passage is clearly apposite: landfall in the Tiber taking up the first sighting of Italy; a lightly sketched first dawn in the new land here, taken up by a substantial elaboration in 7 (where vd. n. for Homeric and Apollonian analogues; cf. too Reeker, 76f.). Here, though, the dawn does not come as relief after a most unnerving night. Wellesley, 153, n.7 explains with evidence that half a winter’s night is (as though it mattered) a credible length for a crossing of the narrows. But he, Virgil, and I have all, inevitably, seen the long flat coastline to the N. of the landfall of **531** (Wellesley, 154; good photos, *Itinerari* (413), 143. *Tacent* Reeker, Rehm, Blonk).

**stellis ... fugatis** Cf. 5.42f. *postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat/ clara dies*, 10.257 *noctemque fugarat*, *Hor.C.*4.4.39 *fugatis ... tenebris*, *Prop.* 3.22.30, *Ov.F.*4.390 *stella fugata*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1. 1501.16f.. Cf. *Arat.*636 φοβέει (so Lyne on *Ciris* 535). The turn of phrase brought to prominence by V.(possibly after *Arat.*); inevitably, Williams cites Fitzgerald’s tiresome but memorable expansion.

**Aurora** Cf. n. on 7.26.

**522 cum Inversum, 135ff., 344f..**

**procul** Cf. 13, 206.

**obscurus collis** Not clearly visible (because far inland and not high) in the first light of dawn, D'Angelo, *EV* 3, 806; cf. 2.752 (gate at night), 6.139, 9.244(*ualles*); Kuhlmann, *TLL* 9.2.168.52 well compares the *Cimmerion ... obscuras ... arcis*, where there is no day(*Pan.Mess.*64) and the doors of Tartarus, *Ov.Ib.*80. Sailors once used the dome of Lecce cathedral as a landmark, and the Trojans see traces of the Murge on their furthest horizon.

**humilemque .../ 523 Italiam** Cf. *Serv. aut quia procul uisentibus terra humilis semper uidetur*, *Varr.RR* 1.6.4 *collibus humilibus*, *Hor.C.3.4.16 humilis Forenti*, where NR point out the contrast with loftier Acherontia and Bantia. G. Nenci, *Numismatica e anichità* 9 (1980), 193ff. suggests that the contrast *humilis-collis* might derive from periplus usage, though the contrast of ἀκτὴ and αἰγιαλός is not in practice marked(cf. *Peripl.Mar.Erythr.*15). He also suggests that **h.** might be used with Hom. χθαμαλός in mind (*Od.*9.25; so too Knauer). Unsurprisingly, Wellesley rejects any hint here at Italy's future greatness (as credibly suggested e.g. by Williams, and *EV* 2, 867), but cf. *Hor.C.3.30.12 ex humili potens* and V's repeated emphasis on Italy's humble, rustic beginnings (notably *Ev.*'s pastoral Rome): what we see and what *Aen.* saw diverge.

**uidemus** *Vd. infra*, **primus**; from the E., the Ital. coast is so flat (despite long lines of low cliffs) and unnoticeable that you can look at it from the sea for some while with no clear sense that it is land. The unromantic Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 214 reports that from the hill of Otranto, just N. of the Trojans' landing-place, you can see Corfu and Acroceraunia on a clear day (cf. *Peripl.Maris Magni* 273).

**523 Italiam ... 524 Italiam** Quite unrelated(*pace* Wills, 65) to the ancient cry *arma, arma* (discussed in detail, n. on 7.460). Wills well compares(145) 4.345f. *sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo/ Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes* (note too 1.553f. and the *Troia ... Troia* of *Cat.*68.99). The cry is triple; commentators well compare the double shout of *Xen.Anab.* 4.7.24, of fully comparable emotive force, but without V's gasping synaloepha (of a run-on word, over a strong pause). Cf. W. Nethercut in *Two worlds of the poet* (Detroit 1992), 229ff.

**primus** 'Achates the foremost' Goold. Not impossible: cf. 2.263 *primusque Machaon* with *Serv.Dan.*'s perplexed n. and Austin, Ussani, 7.107 *primique duces*; Hom. πρῶτοι, but not used of a solitary distinguished hero(Cunliffe). It might, though, be easier to take Achates as here introduced to prominence as the very first Trojan to hail (if not to spot; note plur. **uidemus**) the low coastline, not easily perceived

between sea and sky. Cf. the bonuses for lookouts in warships and whalers.

**conclamat** *Valde aut saepius clamat* Serv.Dan.; cf. n. on 7.504 for trans. and intrans uses. At Varr.Atac.fr.7.2, Cat.42.18 (common in comedy and prose), not in Hor., Prop., Tib.. Ov. *semel* in *AA*, *quinqvies*, *Met.*. Strikingly, *decies* in *Aen.*. *Tacet* Cordier, but the vb. appeals strongly to V. and seems to have been introduced to high poetry by the neoterics.

**Achates** Apparently introduced first here, in the sequence of composition. Thereafter busy but entirely unmemorable. Invented, in all probability, and not inherited. Cf. Horsfall, *GR* 34 (1987), 51, Pomathios, 116f., *EV* 1, 8f.(Speranza).

**524 laeto ... clamore** At 12.409 *tristis ... clamor*; *c.* normally qualified by e.g. *ingens* and (*bis*) *secundus* is the only other characterising adj. used. Cf. **100** for the Trojans' thematic joy. 'Connotazioni augurali', Zaffagno, *EV* 1, 808, inexplicably; the adj. does, though confer upon the *socii* a momentary 'choral' role, as they offer a quasi-independent comment upon the action.

**socii** Cf. **12** etc..

**salutant** Cf. 12.257; not a conventional reaction in Virgilian narrative (and no *comparanda* in Knauer or Nelis). *Tacet EV*.

**525 tum pater Anchises** So 6.713, 867. Cf. **9**, **263**. Here unsurprisingly again associated with cult acts, Lloyd(1957b), 48.

**magnum cratera** Cf. 7.147 *crateras laeti statuunt*, with n.. The epithet not Homeric, though one does not envisage Hom. heroes using mixing bowls that were not large.

**corona/ 526 induit** Cf. 11.83 *indutos ... truncos hostilibus armis*, Hofmann, *TLL* 7. 1. 1266.17ff.. V. here manages to take both sides in an impassioned debate among Homeric scholars, on the exact sense of ἐπεστέφαντο πότοιο. 'Garlanded the craters', or 'filled to the brim' are the contending options, and both are here covered, a tribute to V.'s erudition and ingenuity (and even perhaps to his arch and learned humour); cf. full n. on 7, *cit.*(q.v. also for the realities of both filling and garlanding). Schmitt-Neuerburg, 338f. underinformed.

**impleuitque mero** Cf. 1.729 *impleuitque mero pateram*, Liv.26.14.5 *impletae cibus uinoque uenae*, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.629.37. **M.** in V. used in the 'correct' sense of unmixed wine, Hom. ἄκρητον. See Brandt, *TLL* 8.848.77.

**diuosque uocauit** Cf. **264**, **395**, but the phr. itself is not formulaic.

**527 stans celsa in puppi** So 8.680 (Oct. at Actium), 10.261 (Aen. returns to his troops): degrees of (patriotic, Augustan) association between these passages have been explored: Binder, 46, Moskalew, 136f., Gleis, 218, Harrison on 10, *cit.*. **C.** Ennian (*Ann. bis*); also in Liv.Andr., Naev.; Harrison considers a ref. to the high sterns of Rom. warships, germane in 8, possible in 10 (a majestic, menacing passage), but rather harder here. Not to be excluded are 1.183 *celsis in puppibus*, 4.554 *Aeneas celsa in puppi iam certus eundi*, 5.12 *ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta*, 175, 841, 8.115, 10.287. The epithet is altogether conventional, like the association of stern with both steering and command. The **prima** of **P**<sub>1</sub> has no charms. However Berres, 300, thinks (quite unacceptably; vd. introd., *passim*) 3 a late book and this passage bodged together, with, moreover, echo-corruption present in the text (**celsa**); some champions (*infra*) may also be found of **prima** as a synonym of *regia* (they cite 2.256 for *r.*; Sil.15.158 and *Il.Lat.*800 prove only that *prima puppis* is Latin, not that V. could have used it here), as though that was reason sufficient for such irresponsible tinkering (so Ribbeck, Sabbadini, Geymonat). An heroic *puppis*, like it or not (and there are no rational grounds here for complaint), is *celsa*. For offerings made on board, cf. 5.775, *Od.* 2.413ff., Wachsmuth (120), 116, n.181, 168f., Braswell on Pind.*Pyth.* 4. 193ff. (stern; cf. too Morrison and Williams, 202), Thuc. 6.32.1f. (collective offerings before departure), AR 2.1271–5 (prayer for a good landing), 4.1602 (Nelis), Hor.*C.*1.14.10 (with NH), Arr.*Anab.*6. 3.1ff. (prow), App.*Civ.*5.405. It might also be relevant that the ship's tutelary image was kept at the stern (Casson, 347f.); thereafter a statue of the Virgin (and that is why the Royal Navy still salutes the quarterdeck). Cf. Sparrow, 37f., Günther, 51f., Berres, *VH*, 164 for consideration of those half-lines where V. was as yet unwilling to elaborate a conventional speech-beginning or ending. Here, the line could be excised without our suspecting its absence; cf. 340.

**528–9** Anch. still as constant in the performance of his duties as he was at vv. 9, 472f., etc.; the gods indeed heed him at once (as at 2.692, notes Cartault) and the Trojans are carried WSW to their actual landfall. Hight, 34, 120, Cartault, 252. Comparable, AR 1.422–4 (Nelis).

**528 di ... potentes** Cf. Hor.*C.*1.3.1 (where vd. NH: familiar relig. and lit. idiom), 5.15; for V., vd. *infra*.

**maris et terrae** Hardie (*CI*, 317f.) discusses the three gens. in the context of 'universal expressions' and suggests that here V. draws on

'the religious language of Rome', comparing Scipio's prayer before sailing in 204 (Liv.29.27.1) *diui diuaeque qui maria terrasque colitis* (an episode that depends on the *name* of a natural feature, not on what is first seen). Neither Liv. nor V. regularly employ unaltered elements of authentic cult-language. Here **tempestatum** is included for the present context's sake and **maris et terrae** draws on natural polarity, on Hom. and Lucr., on the language of Hellen. panegyric (Hardie, 302ff., Christ, 24ff., Watson on Hor.*Epd.*9.27, Muecke on Hor.*Serm.*2.5.63f.). 'Religious language' seems therefore overly restrictive.

**tempestatumque** Cf. 115; offerings to the Tempestates themselves of great antiquity. The vast spondaic polysyllable lends majesty to the occasion; V. here quotes himself, *G.*1.27 (of Oct.) *auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem* and will do so again (of Aeolus) 1.80 *nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem*. See G. Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.2.285.36ff.. Note *CIL* 8.2609=*ILS* 3061 *Ioui o.m. tempestatum diuinarum potenti*. Cf. Hardie, *CI*, 318: the gods of the weather naturally included in a prayer for a fair wind(as at 115, q.v.).

**529 ferte uiam Praebete** TCD; the vb. standard in appeals, 1.605, 3.145, 4.578f. *sidera caelo/dextra feras*, 9.249, etc., Hey, *TLL* 6.1.546.83f..

**uento facilem** Abl. 'of cause'; Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.60.9f. compares Sen.*Tro.*839 *quolibet uento faciles Calydnæ* and Ov.*Am.*2.16.51 *faciles curuis uallibus este uiae*. If you except 527 (incomplete), 521–31 all end with trisyll. words; 529 and 530 both end with allit. pairs of words, the second extended in the following v.. Lack of care or obscure studied effect? I do not know.

**et spirate secundi** Cf. 4.562 *nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos?*, where vd. Pease; cf. too Hickson, 60. The vb. of winds at Lucr.6.428. See 455, 460, 683 and n. on 7.23 for comparable uses of the adj..

**530 crebrescunt** Apparently a Virgilian coinage, as an inceptive of a familiar type, n. on 7.232, Cordier, 144, 174, 186.

**optatae auræ** Cf. 132, 509. It is not perfectly clear(Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.828.67f.) whether the breeze is that which the Trojans, at the start of their long southwards cabotage, need or that (far likelier, I sense) for which they have just prayed.

**portusque patescit** The vb. is Lucretian (5.614). Kruse(*TLL* 10.1.702.28) asks whether this passage is to be classified s.v. 'is open, much like a door'(cf. Tib.1.5.67 of a normal elegiac door) or s.v. 'opens to the eye', as famously at 2.483 *apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt*; the

use of *patere*, Lucr.5.375, *Aen.*6.127 is not decisive here. The analogy of **411 rarescent** does strongly suggest the second option, as does the development of the ekphrasis in terms of *visibility*, **531 apparet**. Compare too the *panditur* of 8.262. Paired inceptives uniquely in V.; a much commoner effect in Lucr.(e.g. 5.680); perhaps neither calculated effect nor lapse of attention.

**531–6** Cf. DH 1.51. 3: a traditional landing place of the Trojans; *Aen.* and some of his companions landed *κατὰ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀθήναιον* (cf. Strab.6.3.5), also(DH) called Portus Veneris(7m.p. south of Hydruntum, Otranto, *Tab.Peut.*7.2, who names *c.M.*), and the rest further S., apparently at Sta. Maria de Leuca. The identification of the *arx* with mod. Castro is not disputed (vd. further I. Edlund Berry and A. Small, in *Barrington Gazetteer* s.v.) The exact site of the landing (in some cove N. of mod. Castro) fiercely contested among local antiquaries (vd. Russi, Wellesley) and signposts to the ‘Approdo di Enea’ (so *viva voce*, Margaret Hubbard) are to be read *cum grano salis*. Given the many typical, conventional elements in the description (*infra*, **533**), the site is to be sought on Parnassus, not in Puglia/Calabria. Serv. here remarks that Idomeneus was said to have founded *hoc templum*; note too PsProb. *ad Buc.*6.31, *infra*. There, though, schol. remarks on Cretan *ktiseis* just before his long citation of Varro, who cannot therefore be claimed as source for the information: *aliquot oppida condidit, in quibus Vria et castrum Minervae nobilissimum*; cf. Federico, 398, Bérard, 430, Oldfather, PW 15.1179.45ff.. Irrespective of conventional details in V.’s account, then, it does seem as though V.’s prose sources touched amply upon the mythol. associations of this spot. Cf. O. Bianco, *Filologia e forme letterarie* 2(**464**), 423ff., Blonk, 79f., Federico, 369f., McKay, 258f., Reeker, 40ff., 95f., 127f., Rehm, 35f., Saunders, 5ff., Wellesley, 153ff., *EV* 5\*, 83, PW 3.1769.59ff. (Hülßen), Bunbury in Smith, *Dict.Geogr* s.v. *Castrum Minervae*.

**531 iam propior** Creeks, coves, low cliffs all come into sharper focus, in both depth and height, as the Trojans finally(**iam**) draw nearer; from sea level, their horizon is always limited. With the phrasing, cf. the change in the Sibyl, 6.50f. *numine ... / iam propiore dei*.

**templumque apparet** Cf. **270**, **701**: distinctively and identifiably (vd. **270**; cf. von Mess, *TLL* 2.263.36ff.) in the manner of the periplois(though ultimately after Hom.).

**in arce Mineruae** The gen. surely ‘goes with’ with both citadel and temple. The Trojans will, appropriately, worship Pallas at **544**,



even before Juno. Minerva/Athena a (venerated but inconstant) protectress of Troy(nn. on 11.259, 477, Girard, *EV* 3, 532ff., Bailey, 152ff., E. Henry, *VP*, 90ff.), who will learn to protect Rome(8.699, Binder, 245ff., Latte, 163ff.). Because V. is describing a precise site in conventional, not specific terms, the unlikeness of mod. Castro and the nearby bays to the many details of V.'s description worries traditional topographers (Wellesley, 153f.). Cf. n. on 7.61 for V.'s use of *arx*; not much more than 'town centre'. It may be that V. has in mind(Bailey, 153) Athena as *πολιοῦχος* here; cf. *Buc.*2.61f. *Pallas quas condidit arces/ ipsa colat*; cf. *Cic.Leg.*2.42 *custodem urbis*, i.e. Πολιάς (cf. Wissowa, 255).

**532 uela legunt** Cf. *G.*1.373 *umida uela legit. Hoc uerbum nautis est familiare* remarks TCD; certainly the action is, and the vb. *may* be. Cf. *uerbum est nauticum* Comm. *ad Luc.* 3.44, but all the instances cited by von Kamptz, *TLL* 7.2.1125.4ff. are poet.; our 'furl', (cf. Jal, 993, Casson, 277f.), or here, better(in view of the rig envisaged), 'brail up'(207). 10.815 uses the same vb. of spinning(cf. *Prop.* 4.4.42); a standard verb then(like *torquere*, *infra*), applied regularly and comprehensibly in various technical contexts.

**socii** Cf. 12, 71, etc..

**et proras ad litora torquent** Cf. 561f. **rudentem/ contorsit laeas proram Palinurus ad undas**, 5.165 *proram pelagi detorquet ad undas*, 177 *clauumque ad litora torquet* and see n. on 7.35. The vb. is traditional, used thus; Tartari Chersoni, *EV* 5\*, 218 quotes Titin. fr.127Ribb.2 *sapienti a gubernator nauem torquet, haud ualentia* and *Acc.trag.* 575. Hom. ἐπ' ἠπειροιο ἔρυσσαν (*Il.*1.485; cf. Tartari Chersoni, *cit.*; see too *Od.*11.20).

**533 portus** Taking up 530, but avoiding the regular styl. structure of the ekphrasis. Cf. nn. on 7.563–71, 11.522–9, *GR* 32 (1985), 199f., *PBSR* 50 (1982), 50 and Rehm, 78ff. for the notion of the set or typical ekphrasis of a place(for the 'stock' harbour, cf. *Men.Rhet.*p.351.20ff. in much specific detail, Horsfall, *cit.*, 1985, 201); it is only surprising that these vv. have not entered more prominently into the discussion (*tacet* Horsfall 1985, 200, after Buchheit, 183f., G.W. Williams, *TORP*, 637ff.; Williams draws the parallels but shrinks from the conclusion; better, Cova), as they should have done: the deep *portus* protected on both sides by natural barriers of rock on which the waves break should of course have suggested suggest 1.159ff. and behind that *G.*4.418ff.,

even *Od.*9.136ff., 10.87ff., 13.93ff., with de Jong's n.. Shortly, cf. too **570**. The more striking analogies will be indicated below. It will emerge that the picture presented on bk.1 is perceptibly fuller and clearer; here, the commentator is puzzled at several points, and it is tempting to view this passage as some form of early sketch(xxxix).

**ab euroo fluctu** Waves driven in from the SE; the lofty Gk. adj. form by analogy with *Eous* (with which it is confused), *Arctous*. Perhaps one of those Greek words invented by the Latin poet. A compressed expression (the adj. of direction applied not to the wind but to the wave it drives) that appealed to Stat.*Silv.*5.2.55 *fluctibus occiduis*. Is **ab** simply used with a non-personal agent, or does it indicate 'away from'? The first explanation would do in Lucr.(Bailey, 1, p.106), or Ov.(Bömer on *F* 2.764), even, just, in Tib. and Prop.(*ib.*), in prose(Lommatsch, *TLL* 1.28.83ff.), but not, apparently, in Virgil or Horace. Cf. LHS, 122. The Grecism of *G.*1.234 *torrida semper ab igni* is no parallel(cf. Antoine, 175). Gould accepts this *a* of a non-personal agent, but I know of no detailed defence. The alternative(accepted by Lommatsch, *cit.*, 11.58, who well remarks on the further sense of *remotus* behind *i.*) is to suppose a local sense and compare (Page) **570 portus ab accessu uentorum immotus**, Caes. *Civ.*1.84 *semoto a militibus loco*, Cic.*Verr.*3.85 (the Lipari group) *a conspectu remota, seiuncta a Sicilia*, Plin.*Nat.*5.93 *Seleucia ab mari relata*. Creditably, the old Eng. school commentaries do not hide the problem here.

**curuatus in arcum** Cf. Hor.*C.*1.33.15f. *Hadriae/ curuantis Calabros sinus*, Avien.*ora* 450 [*portus se*] *curuat alto ab aequore*, and the amply developed image of the Scythian bow, after Sall.*Hist.*3.fr.63, quoted by Serv. here, *speciem efficit Scythici arcus*, cf. Plin.*Nat.*4.76 *dein uastum mare Pontus Euxinus ... longe refugientes occupat terras magnoque litorum flexu retro curuatus in cornua ab iis utrimque porrigitur, ut sit plane arcus Scythici forma ...*, and Amm.Marc.22.8.10, Sigwart, *TLL* 4.1548.26ff.. A bow that threatens the Trojans for Paschalis, 135 and Putnam, *cit.*; as Helenus has said, twice indeed, to Aen.'s annoyance, the wrong part of Italy.

**534 obiectae ... cautes** For the Ennian noun, cf. on 11.260; the participle common of obstacles placed in the way, in Caes.(*Gall.*5.13.3, etc.), Liv.(from 2.10.1), Hor. (*C.*2.11.3); in V. from *G.*4.503 *obiectam ... paludem*. See Lumpe, *TLL* 9.2.59.5ff.. Compare, in the Tunisian harbour, 1.160f. *laterum, quibus omnis ab alto/ frangitur atque sinus scindit sese unda reductos*, after the headlands of *Od.*13.99f. αἱ τ' ἀνέμων σκεπώωσι

δυσάηων μέγα κύμα/ ἔκτοθεν. Are these rocks part of the **bracchia** of 535? V. does not tell us, but we seem to be free to think so.

**salsa ... asparagine A.** an old word (Cat.Agr.); here, cf. Ov.*Met.* 1.572. 'Salt spray' (cf. 195, Enn.*Ann.* 378 *spumat sale*, Aen.1.35 *spumas salis*, EV 4.652) not as much part of the ancient literature of the sea as readers raised on e.g. Stevenson and Masfield might assume; ἄλμη (brine) and ἄχνη (foam, *Il.* 11.307) an unexpectedly modest presence. The orthogr. supported by MP, Non.p.405.5, Velius Longus, *Gramm.Lat.* 7.75.8; cf. Prinz, *TLL* 2.817.33. Such spelling may look uncouth or incorrect, but that was what grammarians taught and copyists wrote.

**spumant** The shores foam at Cat.64.121 (cf. AR 2.570, Cic.*Progn.* fr. 3.3); cf. 567, 5.124f. *spumantia .../ litora*, 7.589f. *spumea .../ saxa*, and Giovanni Franco's good discussion, EV 4, 1003. Good allit. of the hissing spray.

**535 ipse latet** Cf. Cic.*Leg.Man.* 31 *quis enim toto mari locus ... tam fuit abditus ut lateret?*, *Leg.agr.* 2.41, Hor.*Epd.* 9.19 *portu latent puppes*, Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.996.3ff.. Corresponding thematically (or structurally) to *Od.* 10.93f., 13.100f., Aen.1.163f. (the safe, sheltered waters within). Protected, not invisible (Wagner, Williams, *bene*); though of course what the Trojans can see alters as they near the coast, the remarks of Ael.Don. and Serv. are hardly germane (vd. Paratore): I suspect that the correction (possibly, though, a reading discovered in some interesting copy) **patet** must have been tried (no comment in Timpanaro, though), to restore compatibility with 530, and was later glossed *late*. But it is odd that Serv. cites the authority of Ael.Don. to point out that *late patet* will not fit into the hexameter; that must always have been obvious.

**gemino ... muro** One on each side (so *geminae ... portae* 6.893, 7.607), and the sing. is normal (Aen.5.365, 6.203, Bell, 60, 64, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.1740.41ff., 1744.40); so the sea eats away at natural *muri*, Lucr.4.220, 6.926 (cf. Ehlers, *TLL* 8.1687.65ff., who compares 1.326 for the sense of *m.*), Caes.*Gall.* 6.10.5 [siluam] *pro natiuo muro obiectam*; of rivers, Curt.7.4.5, Amm.Marc.14.2.9.

**demittunt bracchia M; di- P** (which gives a sense here unwelcome and inappropriate). Cf. Ov.*Met.* 11.229f. *est sinus Haemoniae curuos falcatus in arcus, bracchia procurrunt*, Just.5.8.5 *si demissa in Piraeum uersus muri bracchia deicerent* Kieckers, *TLL* 5.1.488.78f.; La Cerda points to the mural 'elbows' of Hdt.1.180. The two towering rocks send down arms. *Aliter*, Wellesley, 156, determined to find a description of Otranto,

including even ancient lighthouses. As unwelcome as Henry's double wall, for which there is no call here.

**536 turriti scopuli** Cf. *Od.*13.97f. δύο δὲ προβλήτες ἐν αὐτῷ/ ἄκται ἀπορρώγες, λιμένος ποτιπεπητυῖαι (cf. the wall of rock, *Od.*10.87f.; 'constructed or formed like a tower', *OLD* s.v. ξδ, comparing, delightfully, the hair-do of *Luc.*2. 358; other instances of the adj. in *V.*(6.785, 8.693) in distinct senses (mural crown, fortified poops of warships). First in *Lucr.* of elephants with howdahs, 5.1302. There would be no sense or purpose in a fortified harbour at this spot (in the text, or on the coast, so near Hydruntum).

**refugitque ab litore** The temple clearly visible in the *arx* at 531 proves, as the Trojans draw in to shore, to be some distance inland(so *Serv. aedificia uicina litoribus longe intuenti uidentur in mari, quae accedentibus quasi recedere et retro se agere putantur*, Heyne, Henry, even Wellesley, rightly). Cf. *Col.*1.5.6. *nam praestat a mari longo potius interuallo quam breui refugisse*, *Plin.**Nat.*4.76 (*supra*, 533) and cf. the *simplex* at *Prop.*4.6.15.

**templum** Cf. 531.

**537–543** Interpreted by *Serv.*(whose text here remains unsure) in terms of the *uges auspicium, cum iunctum iumentum stercus fecit*, *Paul.exc.Fest.*p. 92.12, on which vd. Pease on *Cic.Div.*2.77 (both at once is the omen), in the context of events that can halt a Rom. magistrate in his duties(*Mommsen, StR.*1<sub>3</sub>, 87). The exegesis of these vv. in augural terms is visibly, even ludicrously, forced and unsuccessful, and it has long been plain that *V.* avoids any close adherence to such priestly minutiae. The reading that *Aen.* offers is quite in keeping with the image of early Italy and with views taken in the technical writers on the role of the horse: stock and training depend on function, but as a draught- and farm-animal the horse not significant, except as sire of mules and hinnies (cf. *K.D. White, Roman farming* (London 1970), 288ff.), for use in ceremonial or sport, and for personal transport (i.e., riding and pulling carriages): cf. *W. Riepl, Nachrichtenwesen* (repr. Hildesheim 1972), 148f., *Casson*(404), 181, *J.M.C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman life and art* (London 1973), 171 ff.. Early Italy is elsewhere variously peaceful, or warlike, as the text here suggests; vd. full discussion in n. on 7.46 and *Alambicco*, 95, and for a partial but energetic 'reading', vd. *Putnam*, 59f.. For *SHAProbus* 20.6, the horse unambiguously an animal of war; cf. too *Aen.*11, p.465f. for the role of the horse in Hom. warfare. A further, triumphal implication will emerge. In support of the ambivalence of the horse,

cf. the portent of the horse's head at the founding of Carthage, *sic nam fore bello/ egregiam et facilem uictu per saecula gentem* (1.444f.; for the various traditions, cf. E.L. Harrison *PLLS* 5 (1985), 131 ff., and in *Poetry and politics ...* ed. D. West, T. Woodman (Cambridge 1984), 113). The balance of that passage with this favours the interpretation of *facilem uictu* there as 'ready of livelihood' (Austin; Conway, likewise, who well compares 1.14 *diues opum studiisque asperrima belli*); see F. Cassola, *EV* 1, 681. Vd. Gleib 282f., Pomathios 157, 236, Buchheit 177, Cartault 253, *EV* 2, 351, E. Henry *VP*, 90, 116, Kühn, 55, Hopkinson, *Call.H.6*, p.40f.. Oroz Reta, *EV* 3, 841 is comprehensively misleading.

**537 quattuor hic ... equos ... uidi** The number of the horses is clearly significant, as is widely remarked; it corresponds to the *quadriga* of the *triumphator*, meticulously discussed, Ehlers, *PW* 13A.504.25 ff., Weinstock, 68 ff. (qq.vv.). The colour is less easy: Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.543, *Plin. Paneg.* 22.1, *Apul. Apol.* 22, and both later authors and recent studies collected by Weinstock, 71, n.4, suggest that white was standard in triumphs. White horses in the triumph were, rather, an exception and a privilege, for Caes. and Camillus, after the manner of Jupiter and Sol, *Liv.* 5.23.4: cf. *DS* 14.117.6, etc. (Weinstock, 71, n.6: Camillus), *Dio* 43.14.3 (Caesar), Weinstock, 68, 71 ff.; it has lately become easier to suppose that it was the Camillus of history, not of legend who followed Gk. histor. and mythol. models. Beyond the explanation *Aen.* will offer Dido (539–43), they might suggest to us *Aen.*'s ultimate triumph over his Latin enemies and even perhaps the triumphs of *Aen.*'s descendants, Julius Caesar and Augustus. Latinus (*Aen.* 12.162) and Aeneas were not themselves triumphators, but the omen here points clearly to *Aen.*'s triumphs.

**primum omen** The *first* sight on Ital. soil. So Serv.'s account of Idomeneus' vow to Neptune (on 3.121) with J.G. Frazer, *Apld.*, 2, p.394 ff.. So the importance of the *primus miles* in a *dilectus* having a lucky name (*Cic. Div.* 1.102). Or the importance of the vote of the *centuria praerogatiua* (*ib.* 103). Cf. Boyancé, 98.

**in gramine** Cf. *Lucr.* 2.29, *Buc.* 5.46, *G.* 2.525, *Aen.* 12.664.

**538 tondentis campum late** Cf. *G.* 1.15, *EV* 5\*, 213. Lucretian (2.317, 660). The delayed advb. suggests not so much heavy feeding as wide expanse of grassland. The spondaic rhythm somehow associated with steady munching? Possibly a thought of the grazing of the Cattle of the Sun, *Od.* 11.108.

**candore niuali C.** in high poetry from Naev.*trag.*51, Pacuv.*trag.*88; cf. 12.84, Edgeworth, 116f.. For **n.**, cf. 7.675, André, 39. The horses' dazzling white is climactic and delayed from **537** (logically expected) to **538** (surprising in the vicinity of grazing). Homer's horses are whiter, *Il.*10.437.

**539 et pater Anchises** Cf. **525**; arrival in Italy coincides with a marked increase in Anch.'s activity as the Trojans' religious leader (vd. Pomathios, Lloyd, Henry, *infra*); the effect is, however slightly, to incorporate Anch. among the prophets and guarantors of the new land.

**539–43** Anchises' interpretation of the omen(cf. Highet, 232, 311ff., O'Hara, *DOP*, 59, E. Henry, *VP*, 116f., Pomathios, 236, Cartault, 253, Lloyd 1957b, 48f.). As Duckworth, 114 remarks, some amplification of **458ff.** on the war to come in Italy.

**bellum .../ 540 bello ... bellum** There is no evidence, *pace* Wills, 65, to associate the repetition of *bellum* with the ancient cry of *arma, arma* (n. on 7.460), at which V. does most elegantly hint through the assonance of **540** (*bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur; bene*, Wills; cf. too O'Hara, *TN*, 146 for these borderlands between etym. play and assonance; note even *armenta::minantur*); for *bellum* repeated, cf. **247–8** with n..

**o terra hospita** Cf. **377f.** for the language and phrasing. Italy, the Trojans know, is the land destined as their ultimate home, whatever resonances of war there may be.

**portas** So of Fabius in his toga at Carthage, Liv.21.18.13, Flor.1. 22.7 (vd. n. on 7.338), Kruse, *TLL* 10.2.49.70. For **p.**, cf. n. on 11.281; Lenaz, *EV* 4, 224 sees this passage as a typical case of vulgarism, but, though Calvus, fr.14 uses **p.** of 'carry(in womb)', the 'pregnancy' metaphor(cf. 4.229, 10.87) is not (*pace* Lenaz) present here, for **p.** is not *distinctively* suggestive of Italy gravid with war, here or elsewhere, and the vb. had been so long current in high poetry as to blur any original colloquial character.

**540 armantur equi** Classified, drolly enough, by Vollmer, *TLL* 2.618. 53f. s.v. *de naturalibus animalium armis*. Clearly, horses are made ready for war, or military display, much like humans(cf. **517**, 7.335, 506 for uses of **a.** thus of *humans*): so, in the case of horses, 7.276ff., 11.89, 195 and the wonderfully anachronistic cataphract of 11.770.

**haec armenta** Of horses, cf. nn. on 11.494, 571. *Tacet EV.*

**minantur** Cf. Sen.*Nat.*2.34.1 *quicquid exta, quicquid aues minabuntur, secundo fulmine abolebitur*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 8.1029.5.

**541 sed tamen** *Bis* in *Buc.*, *bis* in *G.*1; both elements active, ‘but yet’ or the like; cf. LHS, 496.

**idem .../ 542 quadrupedes** For the orthogr., and pedigree, of **q.**, cf. nn. on 7.500, 11.875; **i.** not uncommon with a virtually adversative force, KS 1, 627, Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.193.7, s.v. ‘speciatim ad augendam oppositionem duarum sententiarum’.

**olim** S.v. ‘neglecta ratione temporum fere i.q. nonnumquam, interdum, aliquando’, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.560.22f.(*Serv. Dan. infiniti temporis*), comparing *G.*4.421 *deprensus olim statio tutissima nautis* and *Ov.F.*3.555.

**curru succedere** The form of the dat. standard for poetry: cf. 7.724. The vb. much as at 2.723 *succedoque oneri*.

**sueti** So too at 5.402, 414; *suesco* used by *Cic.Arat.*, *Cat.*, *Lucr.*, the partic. thus, also *Lucr.*(2.448), *Sall.Hist.*, *Hor.Serm.*1, *Liv.*5. *Simplex pro composito* for *ad-*.

**542 frena ... concordia F.** used for either reins or bits: vd. n. on 11.195, U. Leo, *TLL* 6.1.1291.19ff.(bridle), 1292.63ff.(bit). Probst, *TLL* 4.91.65 cites the imitation, *Sil.*16.380, but no analogies for the expression. Unsurprisingly, the adj. applied in discussions of the etym. *iugum-coniunx*, *Serv. ad Aen.*4.16, *Isid. Etym.* 9.7.9 (cf. *Macr.*1.12.11, *Zeno* 1.4.21) and see *Prop.*4.5.6 *concordique toro pessima semper auis*, *Ov.Met.*8.708 *concordes egimus annos*. ‘Expected’ with **iugo** therefore, and by enallage with **frena**.

**iugo ... ferre** *Et ad currum iungi et iuga portare et frena concorditer ferre* TCD; Williams and Wainwright suggest that the abl. is instrumental (the horses pull because yoked). Maybe. Or local, a little more easily perhaps if we supply *concordi*; cf. Antoine, 218ff.: in, or under the companionable, harmonious yoke. **C.** hardly to be taken with *equi*, understood(Williams), when a clear and easy enallage is present to hand.

**543 spes et pacis Pacis** the last word of the speech, as **bellum** is the first. Anch. sees war as the first interpretation of the sing (but does not specify the horse’s warlike role). At **541** he does, by contrast(**sed tamen**), specify what horses do in peace and on the basis of that offers his second (**et**) interpretation. V. avoids a regular, step-by-step development of the argument, and we note the economical phrasing,

with copula omitted. Serv. might be right to think of the eventual peace to come after the Trojans' victory.

**ait** Alone at speech-end, as *G.4.359, Aen.9.221*.

**tum** Cf. 47, etc.; simple narr. progression.

**numina sancta** So of Venus, 8.382 *sanctum mihi numen*. of Juno (*EV* 3, 781, Bailey, 77), **3.437 Iunonis magnae..numen** (with 1.48, Bailey, 65) and vd. too **359**. Cf. Pötscher, 100.

**precamur** Cf. 144.

**544 Palladis armisonae** The epithet (cf. *armipotens, horrisonus*) apparently a Virgilian coinage; Cordier (280) compares *HOrph.65.3* ὀπλόδουπος and Williams, Pind.*Ol.7.43* (of Athena) ἐγχειβρόμος. For the din of the heroic battlefield, cf. nn. on 7.685 *arma/...sonant*, 722 *scuta sonant*: perhaps no direct Hom. antecedent, but abundance of hints and not least perhaps a thought here of the aegis.

**quae prima** Cf. 27, 367.

**accepit** Cf. 79, 708: the place welcomes the Trojans, in the manner of periplus-narrative; the goddess, moreover, here receives her suppliants (as after deification, 1.290; note Liv.2.10.11), as she is regularly asked to receive their prayers (Appel, 138).

**ouantis** In a sacral context too, 11.13 (where the d. of Mez. is celebrated), *G.1. 346* (rustic festival); cf. Plepelits, *TLL* 9.2.1198.62 ff.. No more, perhaps, than 'rejoicing', but tinged with ritual. *EV* (Senis) not satisfactory.

**545 et capita ... uelamur** Cf. 174, 405: acc. denoting a part of the body following a middle verb of dressing or wearing; cf. **81 redimitus tempora lauro**, 7.669 *umeros innexus amictu*, Courtney(47), 427.

**ante aras** Lucr.1.89, Liv.1.45.6, *octies* in *Aen.*, *quinquies* in *Ov.*: apparently poet. rather than ritual. The Trojans do not, apparently, land at all, and we are not invited to ask exactly what these altars were; a non-issue discreetly raised by TCD in passing, and nervously dismissed by the commentators; 532 might suggest coming in to land under oars, or else a change of wind. **Aras M, aram P**, c.9 mss. divided, while between lemma and interp., TCD has both.

**Phrygio ... amictu** Cf. 405, in detail. 'Phrygian' may not be making a complex point of ritual; simply, the Trojans here cover their heads with **P.a.** because, since they are not yet Romans, they do not have the *toga praetexta*. 'Embroidered' here (cf. 484) seems to have much less point.



**546 praeceptisque Heleni** Standard prose idiom, e.g. *Caes.Gall.* 6.36.1 *qui omnes superiores dies praeceptis Caesaris summa diligentia milites in castris tenuerunt* and vd. Baumgartner, *TLL* 10.2.461.56ff., and Antoine, 191, 7.249, etc. for the abl. of cause. V. refers back to **405ff.**

**dederat quae maxima** For the attraction of the adj. into the rel. clause, cf. n. on 7.217. *Praecepta dare* standard idiom, *Cic.Inv.* 1.19, *Off.* 2.44, *G.* 4.398, etc., Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1688.41ff.. This familiar idiom should have discouraged the suggestion (Buchheit, 135; vd. Pascoli here), also not in harmony with the context (vd. J. Dingel, *Gymn.* 107 (2000), 284; cf., as Serv. remarks, **435**), that it was *Iuno maxima* who had given the *praecepta*. Not even a possible ambiguity.

**rite** The advb. first word of the main clause, four words before its verb (cf., for Plaut., Leo, *Ausgew.kl.Schr.* 1, 65f.), and last word of the hexam. (Norden, 400f.: ‘only’ an adverb, but here of notable moment); the sentence has developed via an elaborate polysyndeton: the Trojans (1) pray to Pallas and (2) make offerings to Juno, with (and this is expressed without subordination)—in accordance with Helenus’ orders—veiled heads, and **r.** is given exceptional prominence.

**547 Iunoni Argiuae** Cf. *Cic.ND* 1.82, Diehl, *TLL* 2.534.12. Only here in V.; her love of Argos from *Il.* 4.52 (cf. n. on *Aen.* 7.286); Ἀργείη from *Il.* 4.8. on.

**iussos ... honores** Cf. **403ff.**, **433ff.**; we saw (**403**) that Diom. interrupted a sacrif. by *Aen.* (**407**), with aetiological results, though not in V.; however, there is no visible connexion between *this* story and encounters of *Aen.* and Diom. in Calabria (Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.166) and so the mythol. role of Ital. Diomedes explains nothing here (*pace* Cartault, Della Corte, etc.); the suggestion that Minerva here alludes to the return of the Palladium by Diom. on Ital. soil (Paratore) is needlessly complex; her name here is part of a toponym, transmitted to V. by the *Aen.*-legend. Cf. **118**, **178**, **264**, etc. for **h.** in the sense of ‘offering’; **i.** as prescribed by Helenus. Heinze might well be right to suggest (98) that this offering is to be taken as symbolic of all the efforts that *Aen.* will make to obey Helenus’ instructions.

**adolemus** Cf. n. on 7.71.

**548–569** Between Andromache’s farewell and Achaemenides’ arrival speed is essential and V. displays admirable ingenuity in the organisation of his material. He has already (**399–402**) treated us to a stiff dose of periplus-erudition, and now can be severely selective in his

account of Italy's Ionian coast, inserting few names and fewer details to supplement a little those already provided. Similarly(420–32) the full-colour account of Scylla and Charybdis has likewise already been given to Helenus and now he offers only a few startlingly hyperbolic details of Charybdis. Quite possibly, the swift and explicit confirmation of Helenus' accuracy(cf. 558 *illa*) has the rhetorical effect of lending immediate veracity to the rest of his predictions(cf. TCD 1.337.10f., O'Hara, *DOP*, 58 with n.102). Cf. Rehm, 36, Blonk, 75, Reeker, 93, McKay, 259ff., Cartault, 253f. Knauer, 188f.

**548 haud mora** Cf. 207.

**continuo** Cf. 5.368 *nec mora; continuo*; for *c.*, cf. n. on 7.120.

**perfectis ... uotis** So (of Munius' intention, *uisum*, to offer a tithe of his profits; vd. Courtney, *Musa lapid.*, 212ff.; see 223), *CLE* 248.3, *Aen.*6.629 *susceptum perfice munus*, 637, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1365.58ff.. Oddly, this passage is misunderstood by Bailey, 50, who classifies it s.v. 'vague and general meaning', and ignored by *TLL*, Hickson, and *EV* s.v. *uoueo*. Not vague or general at all: sailors habitually made vows for safe voyages, and paid them on arrival, as B. well knows(48, citing *G.*1.436 *uotaque seruati soluent in litore nautae*; vd. 404 for the usage). The verbs used of paying vows vary a good deal (Bailey, 49) and *perficere* is simply another.

**ordine** Thus (=rite) already at *Naev.BP.fr.*25.2Strz.*ordine ponuntur* (cf. M. Barchiesi, *Nevio Epico*, 374); cf. 5.53 *sollemnisque ordine pompas*, 5.773(rite *peragi sacrificium* Serv.), *ILS* 6964(=*CIL* 12.6038).20, *Ov.Met.* 15.773 *aris ex ordine factis*, Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.957.53, Lenaz, *EV* 3.880.

**549 cornua ... obuertimus** Not quite *ut cursum mutaremus* (TCD); rather, the yards are set to meet the wind(Jal, 994, Mohler, 53, Casson, 274 citing 5.16 *obliquatque sinus in uentum*; to supply *pelago* here—so e.g. Williams—leaves the reader all at sea); note (the context is military, not naval) *Liv.*27.18.16 *flectere cornua* [sc. *aciei*] *et obuertere ordines*, just possibly echoing V.; cf. 5.832. A precise definition(*extremitates cornua uocantur*, *CSEL* 47.406.25) is offered by Tert. *adv. Marc.*3.18, for the cross-piece of the Cross (cf. Lambertz, *TLL* 4.970.33ff.: Gk. κέραια): V. refers to the *extremitates* (Tert.'s word), in Eng. the yardarms, to which the braces are secured(Casson, 232, 259, n.2; the Lat. term for the yards themselves is not known); not really, therefore *pars pro toto*.

**uelatarum ... antemnarum** A. are the yards of the Troj. ships (Casson, 232, glossators cited by Wölfflin, *TLL* 2.151.50ff.); a word

of fine poet. pedigree, Cat.64.234, Lucr. 2.554. The adj. explained by Serv.Dan. as *inuolutarum uelo*: not 'with sails brailed up' but simply 'bearing sails'(cf. Mohler, 53, *OLD* s.v., §4b). Norden, 446 (cf. Winbolt, 129) suggests that the remarkable rhythm echoes the heavy labour of setting the yards(and the heavy motion of the ships perhaps ought also to be considered); certainly, none of the instances of v.-end that he cites contain an equally spondaic adj. at caes., in a majestic four-word line(Winbolt, 227f.). Williams offers both 'the rhythm ... is very unusual indeed' and 'purely for variety'.

**550 Graiugenumque domos G.** also at 8.127; in Pacuv.(*trag.*364) but not Lucr. (Cordier, 235); the contracted form of the gen.plur. itself archaic; cf. n. on 7.305. See Rengakos, 117. With the exception of Achaemenides, who is harmless, the Trojans will not encounter *mali* ... *Grai* on Italian soil until they clash with Turnus and his allies of Greek origin.

**suspectaque ... arua** After Helenus' repeated admonitions; cf. 2.36 *Danaum insidias suspectaque dona*.

**linquimus** Cf. 10, 124, 289, etc.: a stock narrative element.

**551 hinc** Cf. 699, 707, 715, 8.342, 347; this is just the periphrastic-manner of AR, 2.722, 911, etc., found also in many of the periplois.

**sinus** So Mela 2.68, Plin.*Nat.*3.99; the gulf N. of a line from (roughly) Gallipoli to Metaponto.

**Herculei ... Tarenti** Vd. next n.; cf. W. Coulson, *PECS*, 879f., V.A. Sirago, in *Itinerari*, 145 ff.(agreeably illustrated).

**si uera est fama** This version perhaps not independently attested; Sol.2.10 *ab Heraclidis Tarentum*, when compared with Serv. here (Phalanthus in the eighth generation from Hercules enlarged T., founded by Taras), looks to derive from exegesis of the present passage. V may have in mind H.'s role in the foundation of Croton and Heraclea-Siris; at all events, he would appear to be using the formula to ennoble his invention, while keeping his distance from responsibility for it, in comfortable harmony with his use of the grand adjective(n. on 7.669). Cf. *PLLS* 6 (1990), 58, updated, *Alambicco*, 130. Since when, vd. Cova, *ad loc.*, *EV* s.v. *Taranto*.

**552 cernitur** The sight of distant smoke is Odyssean(205–6); what the sea-captain actually *sees* is an occasional turn in the periplois: cf. Dion.*Descr.Graec.* 130, 148 (ὀρωμεν), Dion.*Bosp.Navig.*37, 53 and n. on

**270 apparet** (Homeric, Apollonian and periploi).

**attollit se** Cf. **205**, for analogies and for the curious question of perception.

**diua** Under 'pro cella, statua, sim.', Schwering, *TLL* 5.1.1650.19ff., comparing 1.482 (statue), 505(*cella*), 12.286(*simulacra*); here equivalent, clearly, to *templum*.

Cf. **275 Apollo** (with Bell, 222).

**Lacinia** The great sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, on mod. Capo Colonna (earlier, often given as Capo Nau, clearly after Gk. *ναός*; cf. N. Douglas, *Old Calabria*, ch.36), some six miles SE of Croton. So Liv.24.3.3 *ipsa urbe nobilius ... sanctum omnibus circa populis*. According to DH 1.51.3, Aen. stopped here (and a dedicatory inscr. bearing his name was shown); possibly, though not necessarily, after Varro(Perret, 584, etc.; we no longer assume, though, that DH is Hellenised Varro hereabouts): Locri, after all, like Castrum Minervae, entered amply into Varro's account of Idomeneus' Italian wanderings, and that suggests a likely interest in Croton too: see Federico, 374ff., Bérard, 430, Oldfather, *cit.*(531–6). A halt easily and naturally eschewed by V. so soon (fifty miles, or so, if the Trojans dared sail straight across the opening of the *sinus Tarentinus*) after the closely similar Castrum Minervae (cf. Lloyd 1957c, 387, 394), where sufficient reverence to Juno was made. For further discussion of Hera Lacinia, cf. W. Coulson, *PECS*, 470f., A. Frey, *NP* 6.1070f., Hepding, *PW* 12.525.38ff., *EV* 3, 93f.(Russi), Della Corte, 73.

**contra** Cf. **692**, 5.124, 6.23, etc..

**553 Caulonisque arces** Between Punta Stilo and Monasterace Marina, far down the Ionian coast of Calabria, twenty-five miles S. of Catanzaro Marina; the identification has been certain for nearly a century, though, as *EV* notes, confusion has lingered in non-specialist accounts. Called *Aulon* by Serv.(cf. SByz.p.147.9 *Αὐλών*, ultimately after Hecataeus, *FGH*1F84, S. Timpanaro, *MD* 22 (1989), 163ff.=*NC*, 441ff. Hor.C.2.6.18 (Aulon), writing of the neighbourhood of Tarentum, may have had an effect on orthogr. here. The form is normally *Caulonia*, but Plin.Nat.3.95, 96 refers to *Caulon*. For **a.**, cf. **531**. No more than 'settlement', 'centre'. Cf. Ross Holloway, *PECS*, 443, Muggia, *NP* 6.363, Oldfather, *PW* 11.67.5ff., *EV* 1, 713f.; in Strab.'s time *ἔρημος* (6.1.10) and in Plin.'s(3.95), there were only *uestigia*.

**et nauifragum Scylaceum** The epithet apparently an archaising invention, Cordier, 46, and, *perperam*, 280. Compare Gk. *ναυηγός* in

the pass. sense at Antip.Thess., GP, GP 733; the adj. in an act. sense at AP 9.105.2. *Naufragus* pass. of course common. Hor., though, writes of *mare naufragum* (C.1.16.10), possibly borrowing gratefully from recent lines by his friend V., though *Aen.*3 *could* be later. S., in both Gk. and Lat. either Scylletium or Scylaceum (there seems to be no set form of the name), now localised at La Roccelletta, at the S. end of Catanzaro Marina (vd. Russi); home town of Cassiodorus. *Aen.* does not return to the N., but V. inverts the geogr. order of the two places mentioned in this v., perhaps just for metr. convenience; a glance at the map rules out the notion (offered in several comms.) that S. was only seen later because hidden deep in a bay. The name and epithet fairly enough bothered Serv. *periculosum nauibus. dictum Scylaceum aut a tractu* [our ‘tract of land’] *uel a periculi similitudine; nam inde Scylla longe est.* The comms., like Paschalis and O’Hara, do not illuminate, but Serv. is right to hear Scylla in Scylaceum; here the bark of whelps (for the familiar etymology, cf. n. on 428) is even louder, by a syllable, than in the Strait; after the **luporum** of 428, then, and just before the (suppressed) Scylla of 555ff., V. transfers from Scylla to Scylaceum not the ship-devouring hounds of the monster herself, but the familiar peril to sailors represented by the whirlpools of the Strait. See Bunbury in Smith, *Dict.Geogr.*, Muggia, NP 11.642, Philipp, PW 2A.920. 42ff., Russi, EV, 4, 721ff.. Polysyll. ending with Gk. name.

**554 tum** Cf. 289, 525, 543, etc..

**procul e fluctu** The advb. common and elusive, 206, 522, etc.; no obvious antecedents in Hom./AR, or analogies in V, for the expression as a whole. Not as 6.357 *prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda*; rather, **f.** used (collective sing.); vd. 400 as a spondaic synonym for *mare* (cf. 1.756 *terris et fluctibus*, Liv.24.33.9). Tacet EV; TLL unhelpful; see OLD s.v., §1b and note also *Od.*12.264 ἔτι πόντος ἔων ἐν νηϊ μελαίνῃ. Beyond Hom., there is also here AR’s account of the Argonauts at both Symplegades (2.553f.) and Planctae (4.924f.), where waves roar about rocks (Nelis, 46); Nelis draws attention to the widely-spread emphasis on *saxa* and *scopuli* in V., closer to AR than to Hom.’s Scylla and Charybdis (but see 559 for Hom.’s rocks).

**Trinacria ... Aetna** For the adj., cf. 384, 429; Etna dominates the Trojans’ first view of Sicily. See further on 571–587.

**cernitur** So too in 552; the repetition confirms that V. was a great deal less careful in such matters than his modern critics could wish (n. on 7.554); we have in the end to accept that his ear was not as ours, and

no case for careless writing can be advanced. The Trojans see Sicily on rounding Cape Spartivento, some 50 miles beyond Caulon.

**555 et gemitum ingentem pelagi** With the Trojans' arrival at the Strait, a notable increase in conventional stylistic effects: here, **audimus** has three elaborated objects in polysyndeton. For **g.**, cf. **577** (Etna; cf. *G.4.173*), 2.53, 8.420 (Cyclopes), 9.709, Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1753.12; **V.** (cf. *EV* 2, 652, Roiron, 508) tinges the realism of the sea's roaring with personification. **I.** of sounds as at 1.485, 11.37, Kapp, 1753.40ff.. In *Od.*, the lowing of the Cyclopes' cattle is heard, 12.265  $\mu\kappa\eta\theta\mu\omicron\upsilon \tau' \eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\alpha \beta\omicron\omega\upsilon\nu$ .

**pulsataque saxa** The frequentative of good poet. pedigree(n. on 11.660) and much to **V.**'s taste; cf. 4.249 *uento pulsatur et imbri*, 5.150 *pulsati colles clamore resultant*. Allit., presumably, of pounding waves. It is naturally the sea that pounds the rocks and creates a great booming; compound expression rather than 'hendiadys'. Cf. Hahn 1930, 215.

**556 audimus** Collectively, like the **uidemus** of **220**, etc.. Closely Homeric (vd. **555**).

**longe** Of sounds heard at a distance, *G.1.358*, 2.163, *Aen.5.866*, 7.516 with n..

**fractasque ad litora** Serv. compares *G.4.72 fractos sonitus imitata tubarum*, glossing *nimias*, and Serv.Dan. explains further *cum fragore uenientes*. Interpreters not alert to Virg.'s taste for enallage are put to much trouble here(so e.g. Williams, both edd.): of course waves often 'break' against the shore in Lat. too(as Williams does remark; see Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.1244.30ff., citing e.g. *Lucr.6.143*, *Aen.1.161*, 10.291. See also *Lucr.6.694f.*). Cova, though, realises **V.**'s neat and powerful turn; here, by the lightest enallage, it is the waves' roar that is, rather, said to break. D. Nelis, *REA* 97 (1995), 627ff., apparently mis-locating the Sirens, does not resolve the (very simple) issue and the same goes for the elaborations by S. Kyriakidis, *ib.*, 103 (2001), 481ff. and Papanghelis(**588–691**), 277.

**uoces** In the close neighbourhood of Scylaceum, Scylla, Charybdis it is no surprise that the waves speak loud (personification, again; cf. Roiron, 508). The absence of a real parallel usage is not troublesome; cf., though, *Ov.F.6.9f. secretus ab omni/ uoce locus, si non obstreperetur aquis*. And **V.** also has clearly in mind the lowing of the Cyclopes' cattle(**555**) and the bleating of their sheep,  $\omicron\iota\omega\upsilon\nu \tau\epsilon \beta\lambda\eta\chi\eta\eta\nu$  (12.266).

**557 exsultantque uada** For **e.**, vd. n. on 7.464 (Lucretian); **uada**: 7.24. After Cape Spartivento, the Trojans have to sail twenty miles along the S. coast of Calabria; there, at Capo dell' Armi, they are nearly at the southern end of the Strait of Messina (which, conventionally, begins three miles on, at the next cape, Punta Pellaro. Cf. **411**; Sicily is now facing them, some fourteen miles away and Etna is just under forty miles distant on their port bow. The narrows of the Strait, though, are still twenty miles away to starboard, and yet appear already audible; nevertheless, and despite all the advice they have been given, the Trojans sail N. up the Strait, only to recognise the danger and return S. Serv. sees something of the difficulty on **555**. In the interests of poetry, and in obeisance to Hom., the twenty miles of the Strait are telescoped or eliminated, a good Virgilian technique, long recognised, Austin on 6.13, B. Tilly, *Gnom.*47 (1975), 363 and cf. Monaco, *infra* (**570–87**). We might compare **548–554**: the long coastline of Calabria radically abbreviated in detail and in apparent distance (contrast Ps. Scymnus' lengthy account of these coasts).

**atque aestu miscentur harenae** Cf. 1.107 *furit aestus harenis*, 9.714 *miscent se maria et nigrae attolluntur harenae*, G.3.241, *Aen.*6.297 (the gorges of Acheron) *aestuat atque omnem Coccyto eructat harenam*, Brandt, *TLL* 6.3.2529.67, Pfligersdorffer, *ib.* 8. 1081.66; Senis, *EV* 3, 541 selective and unhelpful. *Aestus*, *aestuo* of swirling water; see nn. on 7.464, 11.627. Note the sand of the sea-bed visible at *Od.*12.242f.

**558 et pater Anchises** Cf. **263**, etc..

**558–60** Anchises' penultimate intervention in the remarkable sequence **472 ff.**, **525 ff.**, **539 ff.**, which will end at **610 ff.**. Here, we note that the intervention is *not* sacral, but still concerns the business of command, indeed the application of the prophecy given by Helenus to Aeneas. The Homeric antecedents of particular interest and elegance: we have seen(**554–6**) the analogies with Od.'s first awareness of the Cyclopes from out at sea; now we shall see V. refer(**260**) also to Od.'s order to his steersman before Scylla and Charybdis. Cf. Cartault, 254, Hightet, 232, Knauer, 193f., Lloyd(1957b), 49, Pomathios, 236.

**558 nimirum** Only here in V.: 'clearly', near enough, here(Hand, 4, 203). *Ter* in Ter., *sexies* in Hor. hexams., Prop. 3.8.9, common in prose. Entirely suitable as characterisation of energetic spoken command.

**hic .../ 559 hos ... haec** Cf. n. on 7.255 for the idiom *hic ille*

(back-reference, citation of oracle/ of prophet) and note xxvii for the application of this idiom to the problem of order of composition. Here, **hic**, though, is advbl., not pronominal; the idiom, though, develops as elsewhere, and V. expands the original *hic ille* (cf. 7.128 *haec erat illa fames*) with polyptoton of the pronoun (cf. G.2. 508, *Aen.* 8.185f.). **Hic MPdr**; **haec** unsurprisingly in some later mss..

**illa Charybdis** Referring back to 420–3. Compare *Od.* 12.264ff., where Od. recalls the words of both Tiresias and Circe, to avoid the Island of the Sun (not to mention 12.270ff. where he explains the double recollection to his men); cf. Knauer. 192f..

**559 Helenus ... canebat** The vb. standard idiom for V's seers: cf. 155. At 372 Helenus' prophecy seemed to be addressed to *Aen.*, but now the audience appears to have been wider.

**scopulos ... saxa horrenda** No rocks in Helenus' prophecy of Charybdis, observes Cartault, 254, remarking correctly that they derive rather from *Od.* 12.239, 241 (for AR, vd. 554). Or rather, V. divides his reworking of Hom. between prophecy and fulfilment, creating a more complex texture of imitation for the attentive and informed reader. The **scopulos** echo precisely Hom.'s σκοπέλοις and **saxa horrenda** recall the πέτρῃ which δεινὸν ἐβεβρύχει. Cf. 7.568 *specus horrendum*.

**560 eripite** Sc. *uos*, it is said (e.g. Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.794.26; cf. *se*, 12.917, *Liv.* 1.14.10); or else sc. *nauem/ nauis*: cf. *Hor. Serm.* 2.3.205f. *ut haerentis aduerso litore nauis/ eriperem*, or indeed (Bell, 269), *remos*. Cf. Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 97, citing *Hor. C.* 1.1.8 for the ellipse of the obj..

**o socii** Anch.'s call to the Trojan crew or crews (cf. 12, etc.) intensified by **o** (cf. n. on 7.360).

**pariterque** Cf. 5.142, 830, Baer, *TLL* 10.1.283.40.

**insurgite remis** Cf. 207.

**561 haud minus ac iussi faciunt** Cf. 236 **haud secus ac iussi faciunt** with n.. Note too *Od.* 12.222 οἱ δ' ὦκα ἑμοῖς ἐπέεσσιν πίθοντο (which Knauer does not cite at 236) and more generally the formula (both *Il.* and *Od.*) κλύον ἢ δ' ἐπίθοντο.

**primusque .../ 562 ... Palinurus** Note 513; again, an alert and energetic seaman. Williams (both eds.) suggests that Pal. has a ship that takes the lead. Not at all: he is clearly the steersman of *Aen.*'s ship, and the *cuncta cohors* follows as a matter of course: cf. 6.353f., leaving no doubt (so also Pomathios, 116).



**rudentem/ 562 ... proram** Heinsius and Bentley, no less, proposed **tridentem** (of a ram) and Hofmann **ruentem**. Serv.Dan. glosses helpfully *stridentem et sonantem ut in tempestate*. Great critics will have been shocked by V.'s use of a vb. he applies likewise to hogs(7.16); some Eng. commentators render 'bray', unhelpfully. The sound is that of ropes and timbers exposed brusquely to new forces of wind, waves and current; analogous uses of *mugire* (6.256, 12.928), *gemere* (vd. 555, 577, 2.53), *stridere* (and cognate nouns) will be found, applied both to the sea (of which Gk. *κτένειν, κτόνος* is similarly used) and to solid matter: note in particular 1.87 *stridorque rudentum*, Pacuv.*trag.*335f. *armamentum stridor ... et rudentum sibilus*, Hor.*C.*1.14.6 (with NH), 3.29.57f.(with NR), Ov.*Met.*11.495( though play between *rudere* and *rudens* is unlikely, *pace* O'Hara, *TN*, 146, Isid.*Orig.*19.4.1). Personification of the ship is possible but not necessarily relevant. Jal, 953f.

**562 contorsit** In Enn.(*Ann.*465), Pacuv.(*trag.*186); also Lucr., *Cat.*, Cic.*Arat.*. Of a ship's rudder, already Lucr.4.904(*gubernaculum contorquet*); vd. Hoppe, *TLL* 4.736.50f.

**laeuas ... ad undas** Cf. 412f. **laeua tibi tellus et longo laeua petantur aequora/ circuitu**. The Trojans do here remember that they have to turn to port, southwards down the E. coast of Sicily. The Strait is conveniently forgotten. Note that once more there is anaphora of *laeuus*. Cf. Nelis, 211f.

**563 laeuam ... petiuit** Sc. *partem*; cf. 5.163, 8.460, LHS, 154f., Montefusco, *TLL* 7.2.891.53f.; the vb. neutral, unnoticeable; cf. 253.

**cuncta cohors** Cf. Hor.*Epd.*16.60 *laboriosa nec cohors Ulixei (tacet* Watson); common in mythol. narrative, but much less so of a crew of sailors (though cf. too Stat.*Theb.*6.23), Bannier, *TLL* 3.1559.47ff.; cavalry, 11.500. But Aen.'s men, and Od.'s, were ready for anything, on sea, or land.

**remis uentisque** To break the pull of the current or whirlpool, the Trojans use the *additional* force of the oars; the experts have found other occasions on which both oars and sails are used (above all when a following wind is dangerously strong. 'Supplementary power in stormy weather', Mohler, 51). Cf. Mohler, 52, Casson, 280, Morrison and Williams, 203; for Hom., cf. Gray, 101. **M** inverts the order of the nouns. Compare (Con., Page) Cic.*TD* 3.25 *taetra enim res est, misera, detestabilis, omni contentione, uelis, ut ita dicam, remisque fugienda*, Fam.12.25.3 *atque inde uentis remis in patriam omni fest-*

*inatione properavi*, *Phil.*1.9. The pairing as old as Plaut.*Asin.*157; recorded as proverbial, Otto, 297 (Tosi, n°911, p.426f. atypically incomplete).

**564 tollimur in caelum** For the hyperbolic blending of sky and sea, cf. already **422f.**, and vd. **567**, Hardie, 261f.. Note 1.103 *fluctusque ad sidera tollit*, 7.529f. *sese tollit mare .../ ... ad aethera*.

**curuato gurgite** Cf. G.4.360f. *at illum/ curuata in montis faciem circumstetit unda*; the adj. apparently introduced to high poetry by V, perhaps after Hom. κυρτός, κυρτωθέν; **g.**, it bears repeating in this context, an old and lofty word(n. on 7.704); hereabouts, curling billows quite in place.

**et idem/ 565 ... desedimus** 'Ad augendam oppositionem duarum sententiarum', Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.192.84; cf. **541**. An old vb., used of *mores* by *Liv.praef.*9.

**565 subducta ... unda** Cf. *Lucr.*1.1106 *terraque se pedibus raptim subduc-at*. Horatian idiom for 'filch', *C.*1.3.30, etc..

**ad Manis imos** Cf. 11.181, with n.; in contrast with the sky *supra* and the stars *infra*, but to be understood as 'Underworld', literally enough, in the context of hyperbolic balance. Vd. Hardie, *cit.*, *bene* and cf. Negri, 87. The waves and troughs reminiscent of *AR* 4.943–7 (*Planctae*); the waves likewise at *AR* 2.586f., and once through the *Symplegades* the Argonauts will think themselves(2.609f.) saved from *Hades*(*Nelis*, 461).

**566 ter .../ 567 ter** Firmly Homeric(**421**): so *Od.*12.105f. τρις μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίηεν ἐπ' ἤματι, τρις δ' ἀναροιβδεῖ/ δεινόν, though what follows might seem less simply dramatic. Mountains have a voice(*Hor.C.*3.29.39), though sometimes only by transference, *Aen.*4.303. See Hoppe, *TLL* 3.1257.24ff..

**scopuli clamorem ... dedere** *Dare* common with *sonitum*, from *Enn.* on, **238**; many other analogous expression, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1687.19ff., but this particular roar seems invented by V. and outside direct imitation(*Sil.*) did not take on.

**inter caua saxa** Cf. **450**, *G.*4.49f., *Aen.*5.677f., 8.248. The interrelationship of *saxa* and *scopuli* is not clear (hollowed crags as against rocks by the sea(*Capasso, EV* 4, 733); the nouns altogether synonymous(*id., ib.*, 691). At 1.200f. *Aen.* refers to *uos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis/ accestis scopulos*: it has repeatedly seemed likely that 1 is the later

book(xxxix) and no contrary indication is present here. Nelis draws attention(48) to the κοῖλαι ...σπήλυγγες of the Symplegades, 2.568.

**567 spumam elisam** Cf. **534**; V. is delighted by foam and spume (but had not seen waterfalls blown upwards into spray by the force of a Scots wind); here note the ἄχνη of the Symplegades, AR 2.570. The vb. in Lucr. (4.296). 'To emit or cause to be emitted with violence'(OLD s.v., §3a), whereas, though he cites Serv.Dan.(*exclusam, expressam*) and Serv. here(*exclusam*), Rubenbauer classifies this passage (TLL 5.2.371.40ff.) s.v. 'de fluctibus exsuperantibus, i.q. extollere, exagitare'. It is clearly the shock of meeting the rocks that forces the spray out and up. This was how Ov. understood V.(*Met.*15.337f.) *timuit concursibus Argo/ undarum sparsas Symplegadas elisarum*, where, again most oddly, Rubenbauer glosses 'exundantium', with the further suggestion of 'compressarum'. *Tacet EV*; Heyne naturally sees, *contra mundum*, the plain sense of the word('fluctuum ad caudem allisorum'). Prop. uses the verb (4.6.73) of wine-presses; much closer to V.'s sense, Plin.*Ep.*6.31.1f. writes, decisively enough, *eminet iam et adparet saxeam dorsum impactosque fluctus in immensum elidit et tollit; uastus illic fragor canumque circa mare*.

**rorantia ... astra** 'Aqua in altum sublata roris instar guttatim destillante, probasse videtur saeculi Augustei genius. Nostris hominibus vix placeant', Heyne. Con. thought the Trojans saw the stars through a curtain of water(so too *EV* 4, 578). Indeed, or they might just as well have had (as surely they did have) water in their eyes as they gazed up(cf. Stat.*Theb.* 5.406). Hardie, *cit.* rightly, though, realises that this is high hyperbole and Sidgwick's modest n. is excellent. 11.8 very nasty and similar but less exalted and Sen. *Phaed.*1026f. *omnes undique scopuli adstrepunt; / summum cacumen rorat expulso sale*, surprisingly, more restrained. When V. permits himself such an audacious, even extravagant, expression it will not do to water him down, just so as to fetter the hyperbole, not least in view of Charybdis preceding, and the tremendous realism of Etna's eruption to follow.

**uidimus** 'We beheld(and yet survived)'; the regular primacy and evidential importance, of sight: cf. **501** and index s.v. sight, primacy of.

**568 interea** Cf. **508**, etc., and esp. n. on 7.572.

**fessos ... reliquit** The adj. thematic, **78, 85**, etc.; also here (cf. **446**) predicative (note position of adj.): the wind drops far enough off the coast to tire the Trojans with a final pull in to land.

**uentus cum sole** Zeugma, neatly: sunset, and the sea breeze fails, as does normally happen at sunset, Mohler, 50, n. on 7.27.

**569 ignarique uiae** So *G.1.41 ignarosque uiae mecum miseratus agrestis* (a Lucretian position for the didactic poet, here facing his imagined audience). The Trojans have only just emerged from the perils of the Strait; they are now confronted unexpectedly by a vast erupting volcano(over 85 miles round the base by road, as against Vesuvius' over 60) and do in fact have no exact idea of how to reach their Italian goal, beyond the general advice of **429f.** ('sail round Sicily').

**Cyclopum ... oris** Gen. as against adj., as at **131**. After the Straits, and a first sight of Etna, an encounter with the Cyclopes is geographically inevitable; the tension lies in how it is going to be managed.

**adlabimur** So **131**, etc.; formulaic(**a. oris bis, adlabitur o., semel**).

**570–87** *Sollemnem omnibus poetis locum*, remarks Sen.(*Ep.79.5*). Notably Pindar, *Pyth.1.15–28*, to judge from Favorinus, in Gellius' paraphrase (17.10. 1 ff.; cf. too Macr.5.17.11 ff., with Wigodsky, 143; on Gell. here, cf. L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius* (London 1988), 89, R. Marache, *La critique littéraire ...* (Rennes 1952), 307 f.); this passage of Pindar was also quoted in part by Posid.fr.39T (Strab.5.4.9) and recalled by Longin.35.4, Philostr.*Im.2.17.5*. This instance of V.'s indebtedness to P. I adduced at *Alambicco*, 122 f. and R. Thomas(*cit.*) offers further useful discussion. *Tacet EV* s.v. *Pindaro* while Heinze, 250 writes innocently of 'nach Pindar'. Did V. though in reality make much use of *Pyth.1* here? The metaphor of **576 eructans** shows that there *was* use (cf. further, less excitingly, **577 cum gemitu**) and V. and P. share many of the details likely to be present in any full description of an eruption. But Gellius and Macr. appear such captious critics of V. as translator and adaptor(some instances will be cited *infra*; note specially **574 globos, 575 interdum**) because in truth there is very little common ground in terms of precise verbal detail.

Ancient writing on volcanic eruptions is of remarkable interest and analogies to V.'s account will be cited quite fully; no reason why he should not have read e.g. Tim. or Posid. in addition to the poets. Thomas was clearly right to draw attention to the description's Homeric frame (cf. nn. on **570f.** and **583ff.**), but the full and correct identification of the sandwich's filling is less easy and it may be helpful to offer for now a rough index to the elements identified:

- (1) [Aesch.] *PV*: *uiscera* (575).
- (2) Pindar: *eructans* (576), *cum gemitu* (577).
- (3) Callimachus: Enceladus (578), *caminis* (580), *mutet latus* (581).
- (4) Enn.: *aethra* (585), *nox intempesta* (587).
- (5) Lucr.: Thomas, strangely, 'he avoids Lucretian language'; cf. however (though my definition may differ from T.'s), *horrificis* (571), *prorumpit* (572), *fumantem* (573), *fauilla* (573), *lambit* (574), *auulsa* (575), *liquefacta* (576), *glomerat* (577), *exaestuat* (577), *murmure*, *subtexere* (582), *causa* (584), *lucidus* (585), *nubila* (586), *aethra* (585).
- (6) Cic. *Arat.*: *horrificis* (571), *glomerat* (577), *obscuro* (586).
- (7) self-quotation: *atram ... nubem* (572), *globos flammaram* (574), *liquefactaque saxa* (576), *ruptis ... caminis* (580).
- (8) It will also be noticed that Tim. and Posid. are quoted, below, and not rarely; actual use cannot be proved, given the evident lacunae in our poetic sources, but V.'s detail is consistently in keeping with the particulars of ancient volcano-descriptions and the vigour, energy and rich detail of the prose texts cited seem to make consultation very likely. Finally, it is worth noting that modern specialists commend V.'s accuracy; there is only—most naturally—compression and acceleration of the particulars (vd. Scarth, Rizzo, 408, Reeker, 161).

We may then have (almost) lost Pindar (Heyne, *infra*, and Reeker, 162, n.417 share my scepticism), but we have gained a rich and varied patchwork of reading and singularly dense, allusive detail. This peculiarly rich and colourful writing ('lurid', Favorinus would have said) is elaborately integrated into the narrative, for language and imagery link it intimately both to the perils of the Strait and to Polyphemus (cf. 571, 572, 574, 576, 577); hyperbole too is better viewed as a bond, not a blunder. We might weigh Heyne's verdict (exc.xv) *poetam plus in ornatu verborum laborasse quam in physica subtilitate* (that we have seen to be altogether unmerited), alongside G.W. Williams' 'a piece of pure Hellenistic rococo' (*TI*, 265), and (better) Klingner's 'das Fortissimo des Gedichts' (431).

See E. Römisch in *Studien zum ant. Epos*, ed. H. Görgemanns, E.A. Schmidt (Meisenheim 1976), 208ff., A. Ardizzoni, *GIF* 30 (1978), 235ff., R. Thomas in *Studies ... Clausen* (14), 116–20 = *Reading Virgil and his texts* (Ann Arbor 1999), 283–7, *EV* 2, 407f. (Rizzo), P.Y. Forsyth, *Class.Ant.* 7 (1988), 49f., E. Cingano on Pind. *Pyth.* 1.21–8, G. Monaco in *Itinerari*, 169, Della Corte, 74–6, A. Scarth, *CW* 93 (1999–2000),

597–601 (the expert vulcanological approach), Reeker, 62–4, 159–66, Hardie, *CI*, 263–5, Heyne exc.XV to bk.3, Cartault, 255f., Horsfall, *Alambicco*, 122f.

**570 portus .../ 571 ipse: sed** The harbour is not so much specific and Sicilian as that of Od.’s landfall in the territory of the Cyclopes: *Od.*9.136 ἐν δὲ λίμην ἕσπομος; not, naturally, to be identified as a ‘real’ harbour (any more than that of Castrum Minervae) so much as a motto, signalling the Homeric frame of a significantly unHomeric description. The same contrast (Tietze, *TLL* 7.2.310.42f. not at all helpful) at *G.*4.274 *aureus ipse, sed in foliis* (cf. Wagner, *QV* xviii, §p for the sense ‘in itself’) and *Aen.*7.79f.; compare *Ov.Met.*10.615. V. opens with the contrast of still waters and troubled heavens.

**ab accessu uentorum** Compare **536 ab litore**, with n.; the abstract (common in Cic., but interestingly not Lucretian) used with notable economy and elegance, to avoid a cumbrous clause.

**immutus et ingens** The detail conventional(**533**); cf. notably 1.164 *aequora tuta silent*. The further details there (168–9) are here held back from *Od.*9.136f.; the safe anchorage is not here significant; the menacing mountain is quite another matter.

**571 horrificis ... ruinis** Cf. the *ruina* which sundered Italy and Sicily, **414** and the *ruina montis* of *Plin.*6.16.11. The adj. in *Cic.Arat.* and *Lucr.*, **225**.

**iuxta tonat** The highest point of Etna is some twelve miles from the sea; accounts insist that E. was audible and visible and spread ash over a much greater distance (*Liv.*fr.47, *Plin. Nat.*2.234, 3. 88, *Sen.Ep.*79.10, *Arist., infra*, 1.7). The mountain’s roars, groans, rumbles and the like are also widely attested, (e.g.)*Sen.NQ* 2.30.1 (*tonitrua*), *Carcinus Iun.*fr.5.8 (*TGF* 1, 214), quoted by *Tim.(infra)*=*DS* 5.5.1, *Timaeus FGH*566F164, p.649.38=*DS* 5.7.3, *Pind. Pyth.*1.24, *Aetna* 463, *Arist.Meteor.*367a4.

**Aetna** A climactic point, literary and physical; it begins to emerge how V. has adjusted his material (much of the drama of the Strait had already been disposed of on Helenus’ lips; ten lines of dryish periphrasis precede the Strait) to lead into the set-piece.

**572 interdumque** *Semel* Acc., *bis* *Lucr.*; not common in high poetry. Taken up, **575**.

**atram ... nubem** A self-quotation from *G.*2.308f. *et ruit atram/ ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem*, in the description of the fire(2.303–

14), whose analogies with this passage have often been noted; cf. also *Aen.*4.248, 5.512, 10.264, 664, *Lucr.*6.180. V. perhaps also influenced by the cloudy moonless night of Od.'s arrival here, *Od.*9.142ff.; more important, note the permanent black cloud over the crater (*Aetna* 333), the ῥόον καπνοῦ/ αἶθων' by day that the ποταμοί beneath Etna belch forth (*Pind.**Pyth.*1.22), and the famous pine-tree cloud of *Plin.**Ep.*6.16.5f., *interdum sordida et maculosa*, 20.11, *nubes atra et horrenda*, and *ib.*20.9. Darkness by day, *Sen.**NQ.*2.30.1, *Plin.**Ep.*6.20.9 and note too the sinister, murky dawns of *Plin.**Ep.* 6.20.6,18. Cf. Edgeworth, 76f.. As a rendering of Pind.'s words, clearly not satisfactory (so Favorinus on V., who allegedly *crasse et immodice congestit*), but V.'s technique here emerges as a good deal more complex, and to dismiss him as a failed translator (vd. *infra* on **globos flammorum**) reveals rather a deficient critical technique, or one that started from the erroneous presupposition of Pindar as V.'s chief source.

**prorumpit** Lucretian; cf. nn. on 7.32, 459. Stronger than the *ruit* of *G.*2.308; the transitive use perhaps after that of the *simplex*, **246** (and cf. use of Gk. ἐκρήγνυμι). Possibly a transitive active 'created' on the basis of *proruptus*; cf. A. Lunelli, *Aerius* (Roma 1969), 59f. for the transitivising effect of prefixes.

**ad aethera** Cf. **567, 619f.**: both the waters of the Strait and the imminent giant share this hyperbole (cf. further, **574 sidera lambit**). Cf. **462** and 7.530 for the expression. See Hardie, 263.

**573 turbine ... piceo** Cf. the *picea ... caligine* of the fire's black cloud, *G.*2.309, after *Lucr.* 6.691 *crassa uoluit caligine fumum*. The adj. primarily of colour, Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.2075.8ff..A 'black whirl(wind)' variously expressed, a common image in V.: cf. n. on 11.596. The expression conveys pitch darkness, as background to 'incandescent ash'(Scarth's phrase) and 'lumps of flame', along with swirling motion, in a typical Virgilian symbol of danger (Strati, *EV* 5\*, 321). The clash of colours (pitch, smoke, white heat) altogether too much for Favorinus; the mature V. (*atro lumine*) did not blush to offer ampler targets of just this kind of writing, no less vulnerable to the sort of literal-minded carping that his pedestrian critic offers here (cf. n. on 7.456f., W.R. Johnson, *Darkness visible* (Berkeley 1976), 90f. *optime*).

**fumantem** So of Vulcan's home, 8.417 *fumantibus ardua saxis*; cf. *Lucr.*6.523 *terra ... fumans*, *Dirae* 76 *praecipitent altis fumantes montibus imbres*.

This Aetnaean smoke is both (*supra*) Pindaric and (6.691) Lucretian; cf. too **582**, Sen.*Ep.*79.2, Plin.*Nat.* 2.199, 3.94, etc., Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.1539.63f.

**et candente fauilla** For the notion of ‘white heat’, present in c., cf. *Aetna* 551, *candenti ... fornace* (of a smelting-furnace), *Rhet.Her.*4.59(*taedas*), Sil.9.497, Goetz, *TLL* 3.235.63, Edgeworth, 112. **F.** is a light ash, *deserta igni scintilla*, Serv. here, Isid.*Etym.*19.6.6; used by Lucr.(2.675, 6.690), Hor.(*C.*2.6.23), Prop(4.4.69). *Quater* in *Aen.* The hot ash of Etna(Arist.*Meteor.*367a5, Lucr.6, *cit.*), or indeed Vesuvius(Plin. *Ep.*6.16.6, 14) turns in the end to fruitful soil, Strab.5.4.8(=Posid.fr.38Theiler), 6.2.3 (=Posid.fr.42T, 234E.-K., FGH87F92).

**574 attollitque** Not, for relief and variation, a specially violent or dramatic verb (though cf. 9.714); used by Pacuv.; not in Lucr., Cat., Hor.*C.*, *bis* in Prop., common in in Ov., and 30x. in V.

**globos flammaram** V. draws on *G.*1.473 *flammaramque globos liquefactaque uoluere saxa*; the second half of that v. he is about to use, **576. G.** *sexies* in Lucr.(with *globosa, globata*), *septies* in V. in varied senses. These ‘lumps’ of flame are familiar in accounts of Etna; for Favorinus, they are Pindar’s κρουνοῦς (*Pyth.*1.25, echoed Longin.35.4): here harshly and improperly (*duriter et ἀκύρωσ* *transtulit*) rendered. Actually, Pind. has three other words for ‘flow’ in vv. 21–2, but V. has something altogether different in mind, the balls or lumps that so struck observers, Ps.Arist. *Mundo* 395b23(μύδρον), Strab.6.1.6(=Pos.fr.40T; the same word used), *Aetna* 200(*moles*), Plin.*Nat.*2.234 *harenas flammaram globo eructet*, Plin.*Ep.*6.20.9 *longas flammaram figuras*. ‘Lava fountaining during a moderate spatter eruption’(Scarth, *cit.*); not to be reduced to a failed translation of a quite distinct phenomenon (lava flow).

**et sidera lambit** Again (see **572**) V. employs recently-used(**567**) hyperbole. *Vacanter hoc etiam ... accumulauit et inaniter* Favorinus. The familiar vb.(Lucr.5.1067) used likewise of the Hydaspes, Hor.*C.*1.22.8, and will recur in later hyperboles, *Epic.Drusi* 256, Hübner, *TLL* 7.2.900.53ff.. Wainwright compares ‘tongues of flame’, but in Lat. that metaphor is late antique and of biblical origin, Salvatore, *TLL* 7.2.1446.68ff.

**575 interdum** Cf. **572**: a discreet and orderly articulation of the description. The climax of Favorinus’ outburst *nec a Pindaro scriptum nec umquam fando auditum et omnium, quae monstra dicuntur, monstruosissimum est* refers to **575–6**; note however Plin.*Ep.*6.16.11 *iam pumices etiam nigrique et ambusti et fracti igne lapides*, Lucr. 6.692 *extruditque simul mirando pondere saxa*,



DS 5.7.3(=Tim., *FGH*566F164, p.649.39) λίθων διαπύρων πλήθος, *Ov.Met.*15.347 *saxaque cum saxis*, *Aetna* 470–2, with Goodyear's nn., *Pind.Pyth.*1.23 πέτρας. The mountain's entrails will emerge as vigorous but unexceptionable figurative language, and Favorinus' critique as yet again petty and unfounded.

**scopulos** Paired with **saxa** (next v.) already at 559 and 566; perhaps then here a further indication of the conceptual link between the Strait and Etna. The pious local identification of these egurgitated rocks in Sabbadini's comm. and the TCI guide, *Sicilia*, 493 or any good map. Allegedly, the Scogli dei Ciclopi or Faraglioni (between Acireale and Catania).

**auulsaque uiscera montis** So *Lucr.* of the shapes of clouds, 4.138f. *auulsaque saxa/ montibus*, *Aen.*2.608f. *disiectas moles auulsaque saxis/ saxa*, 12.685, *Ihm*, *TLL* 2. 1305.71f. These entrails suggest both a personification of the mountain, of which there is much more to come(578ff.) and just possibly a discreet nod at the Etna of the *PV*, 365ff.(torn entrails are perhaps clue enough; cf. 6.599); clearly the rocks are also part and parcel of these entrails. The figure is not rare (e.g. in mining jewels, *Plin.Nat.* 2.158; cf. *OLD* s.v., §6); even commoner (*OLD* s.v., §2b) of the state (6.833) or of a household, *Juv.*3.72. 'Hot, fluid lavas' *Scarth, cit.*

**576 erigit eructans** Spewing aloft, 423 (Charybdis, indeed); vomiting, in precise anticipation of Polyphemus, 632. The whole expression far more potent and colourful than the verbs of 574. **Eructans**: cf. *Pind.Pyth.*1.21 ἐρεύγονται, *Lucr.*3.1012, *Tartarus horriferos eructans faucibus aestus*, *Plin.Nat.*2.234 *harenas flammaram globo eructet*, *Groth, TLL* 5.2.826.57. The vb. is transitive(cf. 6.297, *Lucr., cit.*); this is normal in *Class. Latin* and *prima facie* likely to be so here too, *pace* *Groth, cit.*, 826.74, comparing *Sen.NQ* 6.8.5 (not enough). Note too *Lucr.*'s *uomat ignis* (of Etna), 1.724. Page explodes into lyrical exposition of the metr. and sound effects.

**liquefactaque saxa** The partic., *Lucr.*6.965 (cf. 5.1262, *Cat.*90.6); we have already seen(574) that V. has *G.*1.473 in mind; now he uses the second half of the verse, *liquefactaque uoluere saxa* (here with the noisily clattering sequence *-que saxa*). An irreproachable climax to V.'s account of lava fountaining; cf. *Strab.*6.2.3(=Posid. fr. 42T) τακείτης γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κρατῆρσι τῆς πέτρας, *Aetna* 553, *Scarth, cit.*. Favorinus can hardly have realised that he was tilting against Posidonius; perhaps he cared little of the reality of nature, which was rather more awesome indeed

(Posid. fr.39T= Strab. 5.4.9 is recommended) than V.'s imagination and careful reading.

**sub auras/ 577 ... glomerat** Etnaeen lava fountains of 2 or 3000 metres in height, Scarth, *cit.*. The verb *ter* in Lucr., *bis* in Cic.*car.*, 16x in V.; *globus* and *glomus* were felt to be variant forms of one word, Blatt, *TLL* 6.2.2051.7 ff., citing Prisc.*Gramm.Lat.* 2.170.2 ff. and we recall **573 globos**; no etymologising and perhaps just far enough away not to count as a further instance of deafness to repetition. Henry argues for 'throws up rapidly', as against 'forms into a ball', with unhelpful perversity.

**577 cum gemitu** Pindar's *κὺν πατάγω* (*Pyth.*1.24). Cf. **571** for ancient accounts of the acoustic effects during an eruption. Cf. **555** for the **g.** of the Strait and note G.4.173 *gemit impositis incudibus Aetnam*, 8.420 of the anvils of the Cyclopes, I. Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1762.50.

**fundoque ... imo** Cf. n. on 7.530 *imo ... fundo*, where I should have cited additionally this passage and 6.581. Pind.'s *ἐκ μυχῶν* (*Pyth.*1.21) is repeatedly quoted by way of comparison; a faint analogy in a different context (fiery matter spewed up from the hollows).

**exaestuatur** Cf. Sen.*Ep.*79.2 (Etna), Burckhardt, *TLL* 5.2.1144.44. The verb *bis* in Lucr and used of the sea at G.3.240, a passage possibly in V.'s mind here (241 the black sand thrown up into the sky: cf. **557**).

**578 fama est** Used here to assert (correctly) V.'s adherence to a traditional story (*Alambicco*, 122f.:*PLLS* 6 (1990), 53, while at the same time distancing the poet, as often, from responsibility for the details of the earliest generations of myth (*Alambicco*, 131.:*PLLS*, 59), and from events wondrous or improbable (cf. **416**, 10.565, 4.178 ff.). R. Thomas (**570–87**) points out usefully (as I should have done) that V. does not here follow Pindar's account (*Pyth.*1.15 ff., *Ol.*4.6f.; cf.(?) [Aesch.]*PV* 354), which names Typhon. Enceladus seems to derive from Call.(*Aet.*fr.1.36). Agreed(cf. my n.20, both T. and I should have cited Hügi, 125f.); actually, Enceladus is not distinctively Callimachean, for Eur. alludes to his punishment at *Her.Fur.*907 (where vd. Bond), a play V. knew well(cf. also *Ion* 209, *Cyclops* 7). The giant(s) under Lipari(8.416 ff.) are likewise Hellenistic(Hügi, *cit.*), even Callimachean(*H.*3.47). Some Giants imprisoned; others instal smithies(for the latter, 8.416 ff., Thomson, *Hist.anc.geogr.*, 41, NH on Hor.*C.*1.4.7 with full bibl.). A widespread story-type from *Il.*2.781 ff., Hes.*Theog.* 859f. and Thomas well draws attention to Hellen. scholarly discussion

on the 'correct' identity of the giant(s) imprisoned, Schol.Pind.*Ol.*4.6f. *Fama est* is therefore entirely appropriate. Hes.'s version, as West makes clear, is not, however, volcanic. The volcanic imprisonment of a giant is a widespread motif: cf. *Aen.*9.716, Gruppe, *infra*, n.2. Note in particular Briareus under Etna, Call.*H.*4.143, a passage evidently in V.'s mind here(581) and inexplicably ignored hitherto. We have seen how very little V. is following Pindar and it is perhaps also less clear that he is correcting P. specifically with the help of Call.*Aet.*. V. speaks to us; *Aen.*, and Dido, are for the moment irrelevant.

**Enceladi** Cf. Frazer on *Apld.*1.6.2, R. Bloch, NP 3.1035, F. Vian, *LIMC* 3.1.742f., Robert 1, 69f., Gruppe, 1, 434. *EV* s.v. deplorable.

**semustum fulmine corpus** The adj. used metaphorically, Liv. 22.40.3 (cf. Cordier, 270, n.3 for V.'s *semi-* compounds); not likely to be a coinage but apparently first attested here; Goold's 'scathed' rather too lofty in tone. The notion that a thunderbolt did not slay, but only scorched the Giant is essential for this ancient (Homeric, indeed) aition of earthquakes to function; the Giants must after all remain alive. Cf. 9.715f., after *Il.*2.780ff., Strab.5.4.9 (citing Pind. *Pyth.*1.16ff.), West on Hes.*Theog.*858, Gruppe, *cit.*, Hardie, *CI*, 145f., Cingano on Pind.*Pyth.* 1.18ff., with ample evidence.

**Semiustum** an, Ps.Prob. on *Buc.*6.31; Serv. here *semustum pro semiustum*; V., that is, here preferred the shorter form, though in some compounds he admitted the sinezesis, Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881. Behind the Giants, though, there are perhaps also (Nelis, 50) Apollonius' Typhaon(2.1211ff.) and Phaeton(4.597ff.), punished, buried and in their deaths affecting the Argonauts' passage.

**579 urgeri** Cf. *G.*2.352, 3.523, Prop.4.3.12: standard Latin, oddly so, in this passage. Velius Longus(*Gramm.Lat.*7.59.10; cf. Cassiodorus, *ib.*165.1) states clearly that V. wrote the vb. thus (not, that is, *urgueri*); hard to see, therefore why Geymonat prints V's **urgueri**. Cf. Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 448.

**mole hac** Cf. Prop.4.11.23 *Sisyphæ, mole, uaces* and various adaptations of the present passage, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1345.15ff..

**ingentemque ... Aetnam** Cf. 12.715 *ingenti Sila*; again flat, unremarkable language and a line of respite perhaps consciously intended. Cf. Henry, *Aeneidea* 3, 41; *EV* s.v. deplorable.

**insuper** Cf. 1.61, *TLL* 7.1.2054.72 (Gonzalez-Haba); Ennian(*Ann.* 411).

**580 impositam** Cf. 1.61 f. *molemque et montis insuper altos / imposuit* (Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.652.80f.; for Hor., vd. *infra*): Aeolus not a Giant and the mountains of bk.1 not volcanic, explicitly or implicitly; Jupiter's solution (clearly in the tradition of what was done to Typhoeus and his peers) borrowed therefore (in language too) from this passage, xxxix and cf. Reeker, 164f.

**ruptis ... caminis** Serv. remarks *fornacibus. Graece dixit* (c. though already in e.g. *Cat.Agr.*), and Hey, *TLL* 3.206.33ff. naturally compares 6.630f. *Cyclopum educta caminis / moenia conspicio*, 8.418f., *Cyclopum exesa caminis / antra Aetnae*. V. draws on himself, *G.1.472 uidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam* (after *Lucr.6.681*; cf. Cavazza, *EV* 4, 599f.). Note too *Aetna 1 ruptique cauis fornacibus ignes*. Henry splendidly sane and lucid: Etna was set down entire upon Enceladus, still flaming (as confirmed by the contemporary *Hor.C.3.4.75f. nec peredit / impositam celer ignis Aetnen*, where vd. NR; here apparently not cited in the comms.), and those flames it was that forced a way through the mountain to create channels and crater. The apparent change of subject, Enceladus-Etna-Enceladus is therefore only theoretical: Enceladus' presence *is* the volcano's motive force, as his flames burst the mountain's furnaces, creating a crater (in eruption, indeed). The attentive reader may recall Callim.'s phrasing, fr.115.11 Ἡφαίστοιο καμίνοισι, as well as *Lucr.6.391f. icti flammis ut fulguris halent / pectore perfixo*. Critics who did not follow V.'s train of thought tried emendation in the face of apparent irregularity, e.g. Meister's *Aetna ... imposita* (vd. Ladewig, Geymonat).

**flammam expire** Cf. 1.44 *expirantem transfixo pectore flammam* (Oilean Ajax), *Aetna* 73, Oellacher, *TLL* 5.2.1904.1 ff.. Cf. n. on 11.820.

**581 et fessum ... latus** Cf. *Sen. Tranq.An.2.12 uersare se et mutare nondum fessum latus* (perhaps to be classified as a sleepy echo), Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.1027.75. The noun unspecific, 'flank'; for the adj., cf. **78**; often of the body (*Lucr.4.848*, *Aen.4.522*, etc.) and its parts, *G.4.190*, *Aen.2.253*, **3.511**, Pflugbeil, *TLL* 6.1.611.40ff..

**quotiens** Cf. LHS, 606; use with subjunc. post-Virgilian and irrelevant to the textual issue here.

**mutet MPV; mutat M<sub>2</sub>P<sub>2</sub>, motet, motat** in most of the c.9 mss. The lemma in *Serv.Dan.* and *Serv.* (vd. ed.Harv.) is **mouet**. The common note continues *nam si 'mutat' legeris, 'dat refectionem labori', motat 'frequenter mouet'. quamuis alii 'mutat' pro 'mutare uult' ....* *Sen. supra* clearly read **mutet** and *Serv.* seems never to have rolled over while trying to get off to sleep. Cf. Tessmer, *TLL* 8.1726.15. **Motet** suggests drolly

Enceladus rolling over and over in brisk motion, **mutet** (which is clearly most appropriate), heaving himself round from side to side in order to find some comfort or relief. The subjunc. necessary, in view of **fama est**, though that is far enough away for the indic. to be at least a venial error, if not actually tolerable. The detail is memorably Callimachean, *H.*4.143, εἰς ἑτέραν Βριαρῆος ἐπωμίδα κινομένοιο, as seems not to have been spelt out for a very long time.

**intremere omnem/ 582 ... Trinacriam** The vb. apparently a coinage, Hugenschmidt, *TLL* 7.2.48.71, Cordier, 145. For **T.**, cf. n. on **384** and on **571 iuxta** for the geogr. range of Etna's effects. R.A. Pitcher, *Mnem.*42 (1989), 497f.(followed by Cova) takes [*Aetnam*] as the subj. of **i.** and thinks that **omnem ... T.** limits the verb in the Greek manner. But there is no reason at all to supply [*Aetnam*] here and **omnem T.** is perfectly comfortable as subj. of the intrans. verb. Synaloepha of a vowel other than *-que* at this point markedly uncommon, Norden 456; for the effect, cf. A. Traina, *Poeti latini* 3, 107f., 4.106.

**582 murmure** Cf. **571** for the sound effects. Already used by Lucr. of Etna(1.723), and vd. too *Aetna* 463 *et graue sub terra murmur denuntiat ignis*. Cf. Halter, *TLL* 8.1676.20f.. Perhaps 'rumble'.

**caelum subtexere fumo** Cf. Lucr.5.466 *subtexunt nubila caelum*, 6.482 *subtextit caerulea [the blue of the sky] nimbis*. For the smoke, cf. **573**. 'Screens the sky with smoke'.

**583 noctem illam** Initial position(cf. *Od.*9.143 **νύκτα** δι ὀρφναίην) and heavily spondaic rhythm(**n.** not placed thus elsewhere in V.) mark the passage to the next phase of the narrative and description; a deviation from Hom., where Od. and men sleep soundly on reaching the Cyclopes; see, however(Nelis, 50f.) the uneasy night of AR 4.624) on account of Phaethon's punished corpse. Perhaps also a partial reversal of expectation, for we have noted darkness by day(**572**) among the effects of an eruption, and flames etc. by night are likewise attested(Pind. *Pyth.*1.22ff., the full paradox of day and night reversed, Plin.*Nat.*2.236, Plin.*Ep.*6. 16.12f.). Here, though, V. turns to darkest night. Perhaps he had read (in e.g. Posid.) of natural darkness compounded by the effect of the volcano's successive clouds of smoke and ash, *et nox non qualis inlunis aut nubila, sed qualis in locis clausis lumine exstincto* as he explains, with admirable care(*Ep.*6.20.14). Favorinus grumbles unhelpfully(§12) at V.'s departure from Pindar, *utrumque tempus, nulla discretione*

*facta*. In fact this night, as Thomas insists, after Knauer, is Homeric, *Od.*9.143ff. (*Od.*'s arrival among the Cyclopes), and indeed exclusively Homeric, after the extremely complex details which precede, as comm. *infra* will show. Over and above the night of *Od.*9, AR 4.1694ff. has been cited here, but use is no more than possible. **Nocte illa** Serv. *ad Aen.*1.201.

**tecti siluis** Cf. Hirt. *Gall.*8.5.4 *nec siluarum praesidio tempestatibus durissimis tegi possent*; protection from night, fear and ash, etc.. Fatigue, hunger and darkness have driven the Trojans ashore.

**immania monstra** The **m.** of 7.21 entirely irrelevant (vd. n.); **m.** used of volcanic phenomena, Gratt.443, etc., Szantyr, *TLL* 8.1449.32ff. Perhaps employed here (so already Römisch, 212) by virtue of the portentous associations of volcanic eruption (as listed by Livy and Obsequens): cf. Thomas, Mynors on *G.*1.471–3, P.L. Schmidt, *Iulus Obsequens und das Problem der Livius-Epitome*, *Abh.Akad.Mainz*, 1968.5, 21. Not often present in surviving prodigy-lists, but some of the sights there claimed as seen in the heavens (Luterbacher, 21f.) look similar to those noted above, 574. Polyphemus will be described as **monstrum horrendum** (658). Note Pindar's τέρας (*Pyth.*1.26).

**584 perferimus** Cf. *G.*2.343, *Aen.*5.617, 6.437 *laborem/-s*; old standard idiom here, Ramminger, *TLL* 10.1.1361.18f. Is V. perhaps referring with witty anticipation to *Od.*'s sleep disturbed by the cries of the blinded Cyclops (*Od.*9.404)?

**nec quae ... causa** Cf. 32 **causas penitus temptare latentis**, with full discussion of the Lucretian tone and spirit of scientific enquiry. As Thomas notes, this goes some way beyond the literal inability to see recorded at *Od.*9.143, 146, 148.

**det sonitum** Cf. 238.

**uidemus** The Trojans had seen the volcano and its flames; its vast roars and rumbles (571) in the pitch dark were wholly unfamiliar and utterly terrifying. The familiar primacy of sight (431, etc.) thwarted by the total darkness (*supra*).

**585 nam neque erant** Cf. *Od.*9.144 ἀἴρ γὰρ περὶ νηυσὶ βαθεῖ ἐν, etc.; the Odyssean night very dark, but not for that reason alone Sicilian and volcanic. Note the οὐδέ... οὐδέ of *Od.*9.143f. (at 147 οὔτε).

**astrorum ignes** In Hom., no moon. Cf. Cic. *ND* 2.118 *astrorum ignis et aetheris flamma*; *i.* alone of stars good poet. usage: cf. Cat.62.7, *Lucr.*4.404, Cic. *Arat.*331, *Arat.*fr.26.2, Dittmann, *TLL* 2.969.46f., Ru-

benbauer, *ib.* 7.1.294.75 ff.. The expression again at 8.590; for the gen., cf. n. on 7.507 *stipitis ... nodis*.

**nec lucidus .../ 586 ... polus** Cf. *Acc.trag.* 678 *peruade polum, splendida mundi/ sidera*, and more technically ('pole') in *Lucr.* and *Cic.Arat.*; the adj. used by *Lucr.* of the sky, 1.1014, 2.1039, 4.315, etc., and cf. *Hor.C.* 3.3.33. For the abl. of quality, cf. Antoine, 202 ff..

**aethra/ 586 siderea** Cf. *Od.* 9.145 οὐρανόθεν. Serv. comments ('non a torto' Lunelli, *EV* 1, 41) *aethra uero splendor aetheris*; the noun in *Enn.* (*Ann.* 416; cf. Wigodsky, 47), *Lucr.* (6.467) and Julius Caesar *Strabo trag.* fr. 3. The adj. (apparently a coinage (Cordier, 145), at 10.3 and (metaph.) 12.167, after Gk. ἀστερόεις; for adjs. in *-eus*, cf. n. on 7.589 (and index s.v.). The expression as a whole lofty, poetic, elaborate but altogether to the point: neither sky nor stars visible. The amplitude continued in the following antithesis.

**586 obscuro ... caelo** Cf. *Hor.C.* 1.7.15 *albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo*, possibly even earlier (vd. NH) than this line is quite likely to be; the adj. also popular with *Cic.Arat.* (11x) and see too *Q. Cic.fr.poet.* 1.1.

**sed nubila** The κατέιχτο δὲ νεφέεσσιν of *Od.* 9.145. N.: vd. on 7.527; very, if not distinctively, Lucretian in flavour.

**587 et lunam** The moon, like *Hom.*'s (*Od.* 9.144) not visible.

**in nimbo ... tenebat N.** particularly a rain-cloud (EM s.v.) and here presumably used for the thick cloud of ash over Etna; cf. 4.461 *nox cum terras obscura teneret*; 5.721 not comparable.

**nox intempesta** V. closes off the set-piece with a massive Ennian citation (*Ann.* 33, 160; cf. also *Acc.praet.* (?) 41, *Lucr.* 5.986), which is also a self-echo (*G.* 1.247); at *Ann.* 33 the obj. is *superum lumen* and the vb. *teneret*, so here V. does expect *Enn.* to be recognised. On 12.846 *Serv.Dan.* explains that *intempesta* is both a *perpetuum ... noctis epitheton* and the technical, specific name for a part of the night. Here *Serv. comments*, etymologising, *inactuosa, carens actibus, per quos tempora dinoscimus* and there is a good deal of ps.-learned lore from *Varr.LL* 6.7 to *Isid.Nat.* 2.2f., *Etym.* 5.31.9 about the sequence of the watches of a Roman night and their explanations (Nielsen, *TLL* 7.1.2110.38 ff.). Not specially pertinent here, where the word, *pace* e.g. R.D. Williams, is present as an Ennian floscule. *Paul.exc.Fest.* p.98.15 ff. L comments *dicimus pro incertiore tempore, quia non tam facile noctis horae quam diei possint intellegi. tempestatem enim antiqui pro tempore posuere* [this is perfectly correct: cf. *Cat.* 64.73, *OLD* s.v, §1a, b]. That helpful and independent comment has been read with

less understanding than it deserves, for clearly the cloud here removes access to the stars and moon by which the passage of time during the night would normally be measured. The stock epithet(at least here, perhaps at 12.846 (peculiarly suitable for Megaera's mother) and at *Enn.Ann.*33) to which Serv. refers means, one might suggest, 'timeless', that is, 'cloudy enough to remove all markers of time'. Römisch, 212f. at least suggests that this night removes the Trojans' navigational aids, which is passably acute, though they are not right now at sea, nor is the difficult word thus explained.

### 588–691 Achaemenides and the Cyclopes

The Cyclopes (and Laestrygonians) localised on/near Etna from Thuc.6.2.1 (λέγονται); cf. Eur.*Cycl.*95 Κικελὸν Αἰτναῖον πάγον (vd. Heubeck, *infra*; note Cic.'s comparison of Verres with the Etnaeian monsters, *Verr.*2.5.146, and cf. n. on 691). This is not the place to offer another summary of discussions of the Cyclops-story, or to consider the many phases and aspects of the C. in Gk. literature(and art); listed here are a few that I have found helpful recently: Robert, 2+3, 1345ff., Frazer, *Apld.* 2, 404–455, Dougherty (291), 134ff., Heubeck on *Od.*9.105–566, Page, *Folktales*, 27ff., *id.*, *Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955), 1ff.. A peculiarly Virgilian paradox by which a figure long and rightly hailed as one of the poet's largest and most striking inventions(*Alambicco*, 72, *Athen.*66 (1988), 36; vd. now Nelis, 51, Papanghelis, 280, pointing acutely to 591 *nova forma uiri*) proves to be (to be *also*, and in this Achaem. is very like Camilla, as I have explained, *Athen.*, *cit.*, 31 ff.) an illustration of particularly complex study on V.'s part(including e.g. thoughtful, informed portrayals of castaways, cannibalism, and the diet of primitive man). At the same time, the episode reflects the rich combination of an ample and complex range of conventional poetic sources, familiar and less so. In terms of sequence, explicitly after *Od.* and before *Aen.*, rather in the spirit of the Epic Cycle's filling of the gaps before and after *Il.* and *Od.*. Much of the narrative content of the episode is insistently Homeric(perhaps unsuccessfully, it is said, Papanghelis, 282f.), after *Od.*9 (with an occasional hint of Laestrygonian brutality; cf.622, 667, 668); in bk. 3, the Harpies are more allusively Homeric(cf. Cattle of the Sun), and Scylla and Charybdis more briefly so. Nelis(53) does well to extract from Knauer's lists and from the earlier scholarship the figure of Theoclymenus, rescued by Telemachus from Pylos (*Od.*15.222–281): sufficient verbal echoes guarantee V.'s interest in this scene here(608, 610), and the 'invention' of the castaway Achaem. is



promptly redefined as the integration of a crucial second Hom. scene alongside the familiar Cyclopes, to be expanded with agreeable and recondite circumstantial detail; even Virgilian 'adventure' is erudite. Note the partly post-epic touch of **594** (Greeks visually distinct from Trojans). Nelis has also demonstrated (51 ff., Ramminger, 66) how the motif of the travelling hero as rescuer is already richly present in AR, over four scenes (if you include Medea, 4.66 ff.), in which scenes indebtedness to Theoclymenus has been recognised (e.g. the marooned individual who acts as guide). But between them and *Aen.* I note a certain scarcity of close and convincing verbal parallels: a hand-clasp in common, a loose similarity between **608 f.** and AR 2.1137–9, and an alleged echo of the name Athamas in Adamastus *prove* very little. Even the physical details of the rescued Phineus (AR 2.197 ff.) are not close to Achaem.'s *Realien*. Alongside epic, unsurprisingly, Callim. too (**637**, **673 f.**), not to mention tragic versions of the Philoctetes story, both Gk. (cf. **594**, **621**; cf. Ramminger, *cit.*) and in Accius' rendering (**594**, **621**); it is naive to define the episode as simply 'Homeric'. There has been tiresome and unproductive discussion of the possible impact of comic and Hellenistic developments of the Cyclops upon Virgil; no relevant links can be established (cf. Glenn, 54 against Quinn, 133, n.2, etc.), though of course the episode is rich in varied Hellenistic elements.

An episode solidly integrated into its context: it has long been noted that Polyphemus' scale and V.'s descriptions of him continue and develop the preceding account of Etna (Scarth, *Römisch* 209 ff., Flores 165, Akbar Khan 234, 253 f.). Etna has been established as a *Schrecklandschaft* into which Achaem. fits to perfection; after the Trojans' night of terrors they, and we, are emotionally ready for Achaem.'s story (Barchiesi).

The comment 'a passage of rhetorical and grandiose writing ... capable of being handled in sonorous and grandiloquent hyperbole' (Williams on **588–654**) rather misconceives the texture and complexity of these vv.: giants are natural matter for hyperbolic writing; if associated with a great volcano, and also a threat to the Trojans, as here, the pattern is complete (Hardie). A hundred vv. of unrelieved hyperbolic τῦφος would be intolerable; the comment cited applies only to some of the description of Polyphemus, interwoven as it is with narrative-in-speech, with what Hightet calls 'persuasion' (310, n.15; essentially the structure and technique of prayers applied to a mortal), with the squalid detail of the Cyclops' home, and, especially after **655**, with sequences of cool

narrative in the Hom. manner (*Companion*, 239–41). Cartault (258; cf. Heuzé, 200) analysed excellently what was *not* Homeric in V.'s narrative: here, more terror, more elaborately varied levels of pathos (though ample pathos is already there in Hom., Glenn, 58f.), more refined cruelty and shuddering disgust, no huge drollery. The strong wine, the ingenious means of leaving the cave, the pastoral scenery and details have all gone; V. has moved nearer the ghastly Grimm, choosing if not really to challenge the Hom. model, then at least to show he was competent to attempt an extended, enriched, *different* variation on it.

In Hom.'s narrative, there is a strong moral, or ethical, element: Od. had received the essential sweet wine from Maron, priest of Apollo, whom they had protected (with his family) ἄζόμενοι, for he lived in Phoebus' grove (9.196ff.). The Cyclops knew οὔτε δίκας... οὔτε θέμιστας (9.215) and scorned (9.275ff.) Od.'s plea to regard the gods and in particular Zeus Xenios (9.269ff.). That is a tone much to V.'s taste (vd. Gibson, Moskalew on the marked importance of *fides* and *hospitium* in this scene, notably with connexions back to Sinon, Polydorus and forwards to Dido in mind): Ulysses' assault is under divine protection (633; *Od.* 9.381 less explicit), and due vengeance is taken (628, 638); at the same time, though, there is pity for the Cyclops' blindness and pain (655ff.). Likewise, the Greek suppliant is immediately pardoned and saved (610f.), and there is a crucial double change of attitude towards Ulysses, now defined as *infelix*, on Achaem.'s lips (613) and on Aen.'s own (691), part of a substantial shift of attitude to the Greeks, it will be argued (613), rather than some crude relic of an ineffectual authorial revision: see Cova, *EV* 1, 23, Moskalew, 28, Kinsey, 114; *male*, G.W. Williams, *TI*, 263, Quinn, 132; cf. also Cartault, 257, Kinsey, 121, Cova lxii. Moral development is arguably more important than the Herculean elimination of Gigantic forces (Wigodsky, 88, Römisch 222, Ramminger 54), and the Trojans are rewarded by Achaem.'s roles in alerting them to the danger from the imminent Cyclops (639ff.) and in illustrating their course (690f.; cf. Römisch, 216). Dido may be expected to listen with interest (cf. Kinsey, 115f.): though *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* (1.630), she has also had to try to justify her energetic protection of her country's shores (1.539ff., 562ff.).

Ample ring-composition between the end of 3 and the beginning of 2 will shortly emerge (716, 717). The closely related scenes are a further element in that framing (Wigodsky, 87f., Cova, *EV* 1, 22), and Sinon therefore complements Achamenides (cf. again xxxix–xl for the

priority of bk.3): vd. Ramminger, 56f., Moskalew, 26f., Kinsey, 111 for the verbal parallels; despite Sinon's treachery, the Trojans welcome Achaem.; he does prove to be a 'good Greek', and they actually profit by their generous hospitality. Cf. Cova, lxi, Heinze, 112f., Worstbrock. While Sinon and Achaem. have complementary dramatic and ethical functions, it may also be that the abundant linguistic and thematic parallels are more sharply perceived by the modern lexicon-assisted reader and it is by no means clear that one of the two would have had to go in a finally-revised *Aen.* The episode's unrevised state emerges not perhaps so much from the two hemistichs(640 (where vd. n.), 661) as from consideration of the vv. between those lines: echoes such as **lanigerae** (642>660) and **pecudes** (642>656) may simply be thematic, and the repeated plea for death(605, 653) perfectly natural and understandable, but vv. 645–650 (Achaem.'s life as castaway) do seem curiously out of place and to belong more naturally to an earlier stage in, or even draft of, the episode.

Perhaps my sense that there are very good things in this episode is confirmed by the use Ov. made of it, *Met.*14.158–440, suggestively discussed, S. Hinds, *Allusion and intertext* (Cambridge 1998), 111–5. Bibliography: Barchiesi, *EV* 1, 778, Buffière, 359ff., Cartault, 257ff., R.J. Clark, *Symb.Osl.*70 (1995), 68ff., Cova, lix–lxiv, *id.*, *EV* 1, 22f., di Cesare, 65f., Flores, *EV* 4, 164ff., Gibson(14), 364f., J. Glenn, *GR* 19 (1972), 47ff., Hardie, *CI*, 264ff., E.L. Harrison, *Cl.Phil.* 81 (1986), 146f., Heinze, 112f., Hershkovitz, 74f., Heuzé, 198ff., Herzog(102), 104f., H. Jacobson, *Mnem.*42 (1989), 101f., H. Akbar Khan, *Studies ... Deroux* 9 (*Coll. Lat.* 244, 1998), 231ff., T.E. Kinsey, *Lat.*38 (1979), 110ff., Klingner, 431–4, Knauer, 192ff., A.G. McKay, *Vergilius* 12 (1966), 31ff., W. Moskalew, *Vergilius* 34 (1988), 25ff., Nelis, 51ff., Otis, 262f., T. Papanghelis in *Euphrosyne. Studies ... Maronitis* (Stuttgart 1999), 280–4, Putnam, 61ff., Quinn, 132ff., J. Ramminger, *AJP* 112 (1991), 53ff., Römisch (570–87), 208ff. (much the most thoughtful discussion to date), D. Sansone, *Mnem.*44 (1991), 171, Scarth(570–87), 598ff., Thomas(569), 261f., Wigodsky, 87f., Williams, *TI*, 262ff., Worstbrock, 75f.

**588 postera ... dies** Cf. 5.42, 7.148, 12.113, Buchwald, *TLL* 10.2. 205.54ff.; standard Latin (e.g. Cic. *Cluent.*37); here semi-formulaic (Moskalew, 66f.).

**iamque ...// 590 cum** Cf. n. on 7.25ff.(likewise, dawn), there too followed, as here, by inverted **cum**.

**primo ... Eoo** Cf. n. on 11.4. This is the Ἠώε of *Od.*9.152, as Od. and companions explore the Cyclopes' land.

**surgebat** Cf. n. on 11.1 *urgens Aurora*.

**589 umentemque ... umbram** Cf. **198** and n. on 11.201. The line will be re-used at 4.7, Moskalew, *cit.*, Sparrow, 85f..

**Aurora** Cf. n. on 11.1.

**polo dimouerat P.:** cf. n. on 11.588 ('pole, sky, heavens'). Compare too n. on 11.210 *gelidam caelo dimouerat umbram*. Here V. already shows a deft hand with day- and night-formulae; the material he will neatly re-use. On this dawn, vd. too xxxix.

**590 subito** Only 31x in *Aen.*; used sparingly and strikingly, of portents (cf. **225**, n. on 7.67; exaggerated, Akbar Khan, 235f.), appearances (cf. 11.699), disappearances (*G.*4.499), emotions (nn. on 7.446, 479); vd. *EV* 4, 1051ff..

**e siluis ...// 592 procedit** The vb. widespread standard Latin ('emerge'); poet. from Enn.*trag.*, *Ann.* With daylight, the Trojans have left the woods (**583**) for the foreshore (**592**); an unimportant detail.

**macie ... suprema** Cf. *G.*4.255, *Ciris* 506, Hofmann, *TLL* 8.18. 70ff., D. Langslow, *Medical Latin* (Oxford 2000), 320. **S.:** the sense of 'last' (i.e. pertaining to death; cf. **68**, **482**) present, and likewise (inasmuch as there is any distinction) 'last stages of' as *Hor.Epist.*1.5.3 *supremo ... sole*, *Val.Max.*5.6.ext.5 *supremae uitae reliquias*, *Plin.Nat.* 16.236 *circa suprema Neronis*

**confecta** Cf. *Phaedr.*3.7.2 (wolf), *Plin.Ep.*7.27.5 *senex macie et squalore confectus*; also of e.g. illness, *Sall.Iug.*65.1, *Phaedr.*1.14.5. Hoppe, *TLL* 4.202.77f.. Thus used by Celsus 2.1.5, 2.1.9; *consumere* much commoner.

**591 ignoti ... uiri** So of Sinon, 2.59ff. *qui se ignotum uenientibus ultro//... obtulerat*; V. does not duplicate synonyms here; rather, the Trojans did not know the man, and he also looked extraordinary.

**noua forma** A shape seen at first dawn, and scarcely human: cf. n. on 7.18 *formae ... luporum*; apparently ignored by *EV* 2, 558f., but see I. Kapp, *TLL* 6.1.1077.63. The idiom is noteworthy: cf. *Cic.ND* 1.78 *quod si fingere nobis et iungere formas uelimus, qualis ille maritimus Triton pingitur* (with *Quint.*9.2.36), *Div.*2.138 *quae est enim forma tam inuisitata, tam nulla, quam non sibi ipse fingere animus possit?* (cf. 1.81), *Sall.Hist.*1 fr.107 *nouas immanis formas e finibus Oceani appulsas* (if that

is what S. wrote), *Ov.Ib.373 noui formam... monstri*. *Formae* alone often enough used of 'monstrous shapes' in general: *Hor.C.1.33.11* (in jest), *Ars* 9 (with Frischer (420–8), 72f.), *Ov.Her.2.70*, *Ciris* 80. In V., note also 6.277 *terribiles uisu formae*, 289 *forma tricorporis umbrae*, 560 *quae scelerum facies*, 615 *forma ... fortunaue* (sc. *poenae*). Kapp *ib.1078.6* oddly defines *ferē i.q. larua*, εἰδωλον; rather, a shape whose horror the poet augments by reducing its definition or identification. So here.

**miserandaque cultu M.:** cf. n. on 11.259; the use with abl. an occasional refinement, *Culex* 251, *Ov.Trist.5.14.7*. See Wieland, *TLL* 8.1134.40f.. The phrase almost an echo of V.'s much-admired Sallust, *Iug.33.2 Iugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam maxime miserabili*; cf. *Ov.Am.3.6.47*, Sigwart, *TLL* 4.1334.20f.. See also Isid.*Etym.* 19. 22.3: wider than *uestitus*, and used of man(cf. 5.730 *gens dura atque aspera cultu*), while *habitus* refers to nature.

**592 supplexque** Cf. n. on 11.365, 4.205 *Iouem supplex orasse*, 12.930f., etc..

**manus ... tendit** Cf. 1.487, 6.314, 10.667; for ritual usage, cf. nn. on 7.154, 366; also **3.176f., 263** for supplication of men to gods. Ramminger, 53, 70 supposes that Achaem. ran towards the Trojans with his arms stretched out; in no way mandatory, though possible.

**ad litora** Having landed, the Trojans had hidden in the woods(583) for the night; now, at dawn, they are by the shore(cf. 598) and Achaem. emerges from the woods. The plight of the shipwrecked mariner was present to the Roman imagination far beyond the lurid limits of novels and declamation(*naufragium*, *naufragus* 30x in *Sen.Contr.*; vd. too Winterbottom's index s.v. shipwreck): cf. Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 840f.(crimes against them) and more generally, Friedlaender, *SG* 19, 334f.. La Cerda, on 1.539f. *quaeue hunc tam barbara morem/ permittit patria*, shows that maltreatment of mariners, shipwrecked or otherwise distressed, was a conventional sign of barbarity (cf. Cic. *Rosc.Am.* 72, and Landgraf's n. there, with n. on *Aen.* 7.229f. for the shore as common to all), long after the Cyclopes: cf. *Hdt.* 4.103 with *Tac.Ann.* 12.17.4, for persistence among the Tauri; cf. too Greg. Nazianz. *contra Iulian.* 1.35.592, 640, *In sancta lumina* 36.337, *Scrib.Larg.* 231 and see Dougherty (291), ch.7 for shipwreck and the poetic imagination.

**593 respicimus** Swift terse development of the narrative: the Trojans, who have apparently been looking out to sea, turn round and see

Achaem., who has at last dared leave the woods. Cf. G.4.491, *Aen.*5.666. But possibly just 'look hard at'; cf. n. on 7.454, *EV* 4, 451.

**dira** Pace Tafel, *TLL* 5.1.1271.83, hardly to be compared to expressions such as *dira facies* (8.194); cf. rather *Sil.*5.440f. *squalore ... hispida diro!* ... *pectora*, *Tac.Hist.*2.70 *dira uastitas*. Hardly more than 'awful'; cf. A. Traina, *Poeti latini*, 2, 14.

**inluuies** So *Lucr.*6.1270, but already tragic, *Pacuv.trag.*20a, and *trag.inc.*, *infra* (ignored by Cordier), Haffter, *TLL* 7.1.400.78 (literally 'un-washedness'). On the orthogr. **inl-**, cf. **707 inlaetabilis**. Possibly a thought of Phineus, *AR* 2.200f., or Aeetes, *trag.inc.*192 *pectus inluuie scabrum*.

**immissaque barba** *Pro demissum, prominens et longius pendens*, *Non.p.* 130.5 (cf. p.330.2 *demittere ad prolixitatem*, quoting this passage. *Vltra modum grandis* TCD); Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.471.58ff., refers back to Münscher, *ib.*2.1725.26ff.. *Demittere*, *Lucr.*5.674, *Buc.*8.34, *promissa* *Liv.*2.23.4, etc.. In Aug. Rome, beards belonged above all to the bodily habits of the uncouth *maiores*, though small ones had come back into fashion (Austin on *Cic.Cael.* 33); cf. Balsdon, *Life and leisure ...*, 20, Becker-Göll, *Gallus* 3 (Berlin 1882), 237ff., Carcopino, *Daily life.* (Penguin ed.), 178f. and esp. Marquardt-Mau, *Privatleben*, 600f. (Romans wore the beard *long* only in mourning, for kin, friends or ideals). Note *trag.inc.*191 (Acc., for some) *barba paedore horrida*, and further, *infra*; Robinson Crusoe trimmed his. Cf. Papanghelis, 281, and Akbar Khan, 239f. on Cassius (Parmensis)' dream of a huge man *squalidum barba et capillo immisso*, *Val.Max.*1.7.7. La Cerda compared the description of the besieged at Numantia, *App.Iber.*422. Does the beard even suggest the age and authority of Homer, whose mouthpiece Achaem. has become? Cf. *Athen.*66 (1988), 32f. on the *senes* of 7.206 (where vd. n.), witnesses of the Corythus-story? Not Papanghelis' suggestion, but the influence of his line of interpretation.

**594 consertum tegimen spinis** For **c.**, cf. **467**; **t.** *septies* in *Lucr.*, in particular 5.1350 *nexilis ante fuit uestis quam textile tegmen*. The coexistence of *tegmen* and *tegimen*, between anaptyxis and syncope, provides work for linguists, with no definite conclusion, Sommer, *Formenlehre*, 230, Leumann, 103. Tacitus noticed the fine detail here with appreciation, *Germ.*17.1 *tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum*; cf. also *Ov.Met.*14.166 *spinis conserto tegmine nullis*. Tac.'s antithesis with *fibula* reminds us of widespread ethnographic interest in brooches or pins: cf. n. on 7.815. Alexander Selkirk (Defoe's historical

model) and Robinson Crusoe had needle and thread; Stevenson's Ben Gunn improvises inventively (*Treasure island*, ch.15). In general terms, V. may here have in mind the description of Philoct.'s life at Soph.*Phil.* 285 ff.; his ῥάκη are conventional (Ar.*Acharn.*424, Soph.*Phil.*274; cf. the *panni* of the shipwrecked sailor, Juv.14.300): in Acc., Phil. had used quills to retain his raiment, Cic.*Fin.*5.32 *penmarumque contextu corpori tegumenta faciebat*, Acc.*trag.*540 (edd. paraphrase Cic. in senarii; cf. Wigodsky, 88); Rhesus' disguise, Eur.*Rhes.*710 ff. ragged but less pertinent. But (cf. McKay, 32, Ramminger, 69) the beggar's rags are a literary image from *Od.*13(434–8) on; cf. Eur.*Telephus*, fr.697Kannicht, Ramminger, 69. It would be surprising and quite uncharacteristic to find that V. had in truth excogitated altogether for himself the detail of clothing held together by thorns. Quite possibly from Eur.'s *Philoct.*(cf.—e.g.—DChrys.*or.*59.5=fr.789d).

**at cetera** The advbl. use of the neut. plur., found with nouns, vbs., adjs., Spelthahn, *TLL* 3.973.38 ff.; development of the use with adjs. and nouns perhaps under Gk. influence(LHS, 37 f.), in com., Cic., Sall.(*Iug.*19.7, *Hist.*4.fr.70), then here (vd. Hand, 2, 42, Spelthahn, *cit.* 973.64 ff., 974.25 f.).

**Graius** Cf. 210, 295. Greeks and Trojans, especially after the impact of Gk. tragedy, did not always look the same: cf. nn. on 7.167, 11.768, Hall(294–505), 41, Griffin, *Homer on life and death*, 4, Janko on *Il.*16.419. Given the importance of the Achaem.-scene for the development of the 'good Greek' motif (for the first beginnings of this crucial paradox, cf. 613), the Greekness of his aspect, at first sight(note the native arms and armour in the next v.), is essential to the complex play of sympathies(cf. 613, 6.489–91). Achaem. will prove to be not only a Greek, but, far worse, a follower of the hitherto hated and feared Ulysses(613).

**595 et quondam** But recently enough for the national 'uniform' still to be visible and distinctive (painfully evocative, too), despite months of sailing or survival in the wild. An anticipation of what Achaem. will say at 602 f., but we should not assume that Aen. is here enriching the narrative with what was later learned(Ramminger, 60).

**patriis ... in armis** Cf. *G.*3.346; distinctive enough, as we have just seen, and as V. will make clear, 596, from the opposite point of view.

**ad Troiam missus** The preposition against the (ancient)'school rule' of its omission before city-names; Lat. usage however in practice flexible(cf. *trag.*inc.86, *Buc.*4.36, *Aen.*1.24, 2.342, 9.547 *ad Troiam miserat*, von Mess, *TLL* 1.490.48 ff., *Aen.*4.426 *ad Pergama*) from the

archaic period on, Bennett, 2, 237, KS 1, 475ff., LHS 49f., Ernout-Thomas, 109f.(illuminating), Landgraf(507), 393, Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen* 2, 223ff.. Very possibly so frequent in V. with **Troiam** after Hom.'s (*nouies*) ἐκ Τροίην. Römisch suggests(216) that because he was *sent*, he went not of his own will and was therefore more liable to Trojan forgiveness; subtle but probably overdone. Cf. n. on **615** for discussions of how and why warriors came to fight at Troy. Details not yet learned by Aen.in the action, but here inserted by him as narrator, in the interests of intelligent development of the scene's interest.

**596 isque ubi** V. turns to Achaem.'s point of view; by the time Aen. tells Dido of the episode, there has been sufficient talk between him and the castaway for Aen. to be able very credibly to present some of the details of Achaem.'s history

**Dardanios habitus** 'I.q. vestitus', Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2485. 67f., comparing Hor.*Serm.* 2.7.54.*Romanoque habitu*. Anticipating the wonderful vignette, 6.489–91.

**et Troia .../ 597 arma** Cf. **306f.** (the same disposition, with run-on **arma**), and the same point, the Trojan-ness of Trojan weapons/armour that excites terror or wonder.

**uidit/ 597 ... procul** A moment of terrified hesitation, as Achaem. quickly weighs his alternative nightmares; he had already made his decision, **651–3**, but that resolve was not in practice enough; that moment, and distance, permit the development of tension or apprehension; fear will fuel Achaem's appeal, but that fear will prove inappropriate. It is important to view the Trojans from outside too: Harpies, Andromache, Helenus and now Achaem. open new perspectives on how they are to be considered and evaluated..

**597 paulum ... haesit** Both physically and mentally(as 5.529); cf. n. on 7.250; the classification s.v. 'de motu impedito', Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2497.60f. is perhaps inevitable, but certainly oversimplifies. Cf. 4.649 *paulum ... morata*.

**aspectu conterritus** Reworked, 11.699, *aspectu territus haesit*, where vd. n.; for c., cf. n. on 7.722, Wulff, *TLL* 4.686.78f.; the vb. Lucretian, 2.623.

**598 continuitque gradum** No parallel cited, Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.708. 65f., Knoche, *ib.*6.2.2147.20f., though the expression *looks* so familiar (cf. *siste gradum*) and conventional..



**mox** Cf. 7.250 *haeret ... 259 tandem*; **m.** augments the effect of **paulum** and the brevity of Achaem.'s mental struggle is itself powerful testimony to the terror exercised by the Cyclopes.

**sese ad litora/ 599 ... tulit** Cf. n. on 11.762; a common expression in V. and elsewhere, Hey, *TLL* 6.1.560.75ff.

**praiceps** Cf. 682. Much to V.'s taste thus predicatively (a common usage), *G.l.*366, *Aen.*2.307, etc.; cf. Adkin, *TLL* 10.2.416.47.

**599 cum fletu precibusque** Cf. *Caes.BC* 2.4.3 *omnium seniorum, matrum familiae, uirginum precibus et fletu excitati*, and then Tert., Apul., Gudeman, *TLL* 6.1.904. 69ff.. Not an echo of *Caes.*; V. uses here a conventional, though not specially common pairing. Cf. Ben Gunn, on his knees, stretching out clasped hands.

**599–606 + 613–54** Achaem. bursts into speech in mid-line: the first plea for rescue, or if not, for death, confirming that the castaway is indeed a Greek, in abject terror; as yet, no name (but see **613** with n. on the *narratio*), no narrative, no detail, but note the rhet. *deprecatio* of **603** (which indeed continues, linking the speeches, at **613–5**). The longer speech almost ignored by Hightet, who had perhaps decided it was essentially mere Homeric, or Homerising, narrative, lurking inside inverted commas. Not at all: the two pleas are the directest outcome of the narrative and his advice to the Trojans to flee at once (**639ff.**) is offered because the nightmare is not yet over, and could indeed be repeated with fresh victims any moment. Narrative here is therefore integral to rhetoric (rightly, in passing, Hightet 310, n.15).

**per sidera testor** Cf. 6.458 *per sidera iuro*; carefully discussed, Hickson, 123f.: **t.** perhaps first here to accompany a plea or prayer (as against the widespread use in oaths; vd. n. on 7.593), and first here too with *per* to refer to the speaker's divine witnesses; cf. Sinon, 2.154f. *et non uiolabile uestrum/ testor numen*. Similar is the sense of 'invoke', *OLD* s.v., §1c, at *Liv.*37.56.8 *testante foedera Antipatro*. See also Appel, 67, *EV* 5\*, 148f.. With *obtestor*, though, cf. *Plaut.Capt.*727 *per deos atque homines ego te obtestor*, *Hegio*, *Liv.*21.10.3, Claassen, *TLL* 9.2.281.45f..

**600 per superos** Cf. 2.141, 6.459; **s.:** n. on 7.312. The anaphora of a familiar type, 2.141f., 4.316, 6.363f., 458f., 9.104f., etc., von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1.1167.31ff.

**atque hoc caeli ... lumen** Cf. 6.363 *per caeli iucundum lumen et auras*, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2. 1812.20f.. **Lumen** M<sub>2</sub>P<sub>2</sub>ω; **numen** MP<sub>1</sub>; **nomen** P;

despite the analogy of 6.363 (the alleged imitations in *Ov.Met.* prove nothing, *pace* Williams), Geymonat and Cova print **numen** (*male*; vd. Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti*, 147. Only 2.154f., *supra* could stand in its favour, Ramminger, 56, n.13). Perhaps surprisingly, the phr. apparently neither widespread nor old (little joy, *EV* 1, 601 and 3, 290f.). The high emotional level of Achaem.'s appeal reinforced by the appeal to the life-giving light of the sky (*lumen* a *kindly* light, Cordier, 210, rightly enough; cf. 7.660, 771), perceived after three months (645) in hiding in the forests (646), where we know the Trojans have themselves just passed an unnerving night (583). Cf. Römisch, 216f.. The Trojans are about to learn, thanks to their inclination to pity, that Etna is the least of their worries, for conquerors and conquered alike are threatened by a new degree of peril, 639, but long implicit; humanity (towards Greeks, suppliants, Ulysses, even, in the end, towards the wounded Cyclops) is concentrated and defined in the presence of monsters (cf. Römisch, 219, 222).

**spirabile** *Quinquies* in Cic., between *Tusc.* and *ND* (as 2.91 *principio enim terra sita in media parte mundi circumfusa undique est hac animali spirabilique natura cui nomen est aer*); not in Lucr., but not obviously 'prosy' either. We breathe air, rather than sky, but Achaem. 'breathes in' both light and air, in a felicitous extension of usage (cf. Onians, 74ff.).

**601 tollite me** As the next verb will make clear in a moment, in the sense of 'remove, carry away' (cf. *G.* 1.76f., etc., *EV* 5\*, 207; Page notes that at 6.370 *tecum me tolle per undas* and *Hor.Serm.* 2.6.42 the sense is precisely 'take on board'; cf. too *Ov.AA* 3. 157f.); we might, though, very briefly imagine that Achaem. asks for death (as indeed he will at 605), after what he has been though (cf. 12.771, *OLD* s.v., §13a, from Cic. and Livy); such a passing double meaning may, though, seem fanciful.

**Teucri** Cf. 53; a natural salutation, after what he has just seen.

**quascumque ... terras Q.**: cf. on 11.255 for the poet. pedigree; accus. of goal, as 154, 254, 293, 440, 507; Antoine, 64.

**abducite** Cf. Lehnert, *TLL* 1.60.80; standard Latin (note the Scipionic *CLE* 7.6, Acc. *trag.* 187).

**602 hoc sat erit** Cf. *Buc.* 4.54, 7.34, 10.70, *G.* 1.68, etc.; the shortened form in high poetry at least from *Acc.trag.* 247, *NW*, 2, 595f., and convenient for poets (cf. *Hor.C.* 2. 19.26, but only *semel*, *Cat.*, *bis*, *Lucr.*). Thus + infin. very common, *OLD* s.v., §3.

**scio me** A useful history of correption, which follows spoken usage,

at Austin on 2.735, but for fuller detail, cf. Horsfall, *Riv.Fil.*125 (1997), 176ff.: in high poetry, first traces in *Cic.poet.*, *Lucr.* and, notably, *Cat.*; initially, found as here in iambic words. The classic discussions by L. Müller and Haupt have proved seriously unreliable (gravely misleading, indeed) and the facts are to be found rather in R. Hartenberger, *De o finali* ... (diss. Bonn 1911).

**Danais e classibus** For the lofty (and handy) poet. plur., cf. **61** and 7.436(7.716 is no evidence for a use here of *c.* in the sense of ‘forces’); for fuller accounts of recent work on the poet. plur., cf. Kraggerud, *EV* 4, 149ff., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 84ff.. For **D.**, cf. **288** and for the adjectival form, vd. on **689**

**unum** With gen., *e(x)*, *de*: cf. Degl’Innocenzi Pierini, *EV* 5\*, 397f.(cf. 1.329, 7.346, 12.273), a supplementary indefinite pronoun (cf. LHS, 57).

**603 et bello ... petiisse** Cf. 12.359 and (possibly earlier than **3**) *Liv.*1.2.1, Dubielzieg, *TLL* 10.1.1952.72ff.; from such a history, no clear antecedents to be extrapolated. For the omitted pronoun, cf. on **201 negat.**

**Iliacos ... penatis** Cf. 1.527 *aut ferro Libycos populare penatis*; ‘Troy’, but seen as an urban unit, devoted to, and depending on, the gods of both city(cf. n. on **12**) and family; Keudel, *TLL*10.1.1026.64, 1027.3 senses that 1.527 at least is not susceptible of easy definition. *EV* oversimplifies. **I.**: cf. 11.255 *Iliacos ferro uiolauimus agros*, **3.336**.

**fateor** Cf. 2.134 (where vd. Austin; thus parenthetically ‘a conversational turn’; cf. Hofmann-Ricottilli, 251 on *Plaut.Pseud.*912), 12.813, Vetter, *TLL* 6.1.339.43. The rhet. strategy is that of the *deprecatio*: Achaem. readily admits his guilt and throws himself on the Trojans’ mercy (cf. H.C. Gotoff, *Cicero’s Caesarian speeches* (Chapel Hill 1993), xxxvi and 277, Lausberg, 1, 104ff.). The thought comparable to *Diom.*’s, 11.255 *quicumque Iliacos ferro uiolauimus agros* (where vd. my n.), and, as *Serv.Dan.* notes on 4.425, the exact opposite of *Dido’s deprecatio*, 4.425f. *non ego cum Danais Troianam excindere gentem / Aulide iuravi classemue ad Pergama misi*.

**604 pro quo** Cf. *Cat.*64.152 *pro quo dilaceranda feris dabor alitibusque* (‘as a return for which’), where Ellis compares 64.157, 68.150. Not a rare sense; see Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.1426.42ff., citing e.g. *G.*4.456 *rapta grauiter pro coniuge saeuit*.

**si ... tanta est iniuria** Cf. n. on **256 nostraeque iniuria caedis**.

V. overrides the common sequence *si tantus* (in various forms, 2.10, 5.353, etc.) to give prominence to the Greeks' *scelus*.

**sceleris ... nostri** Cf. *Buc.*4.13 *si qua manent sceleris uestigia nostri*; **s.** in the simple sense of 'crime, misdeed'.

**605 spargite me in fluctus** Cf. 4.600f. *non potui abreptum diuellere corpus et undis/ spargere* (and note too *G.*4.522 *discerptum latos iuuenem sparsere per agros*, *Aen.* 1.70 *dissice corpora ponto*); Pease rightly allows that there might be a hint of Medea and Apsyrtus (cf. Horsfall in Harrison, *ORVA* 470, *Alambicco*, 62f., Raabe, 77; over-interpreted, Ramminger, 60). So perhaps here too, though the context is less obviously suggestive. At least such dismemberment would be at human hands and not followed by cannibal consumption. Achaem is prey to horror, not despair, *pace* Ramminger, 63.

**uastoque ... ponto** Used at *G.*4.430; Erren notes *Caes.BG* 3.9.7 *uastissimo ... Oceano*. V. favours the adj as applied to the sea, 191, Pinotti, *EV* 5\*, 455.

**immergite** Cf. *G.*4.29, *Aen.*6.174 *spumosa immerserat unda*, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.454. 68f.; in Cic.: prose, elevated by V.. The v. theme and variation; the latter adds not very much.

**606 si pereo** Discussions of Lat. synonyms for 'die' (Axelson, 104f., Lyne, *WP*, 108f.) say nothing of *p.*(14x in V.); *EV* 2, 323 poor. Lofty enough (*Naev.BP* fr.46.1 Strz., *Enn.Ann.*344, 486, tragic fr., *Lucr.*, and throughout *Cat.*): so though standard Latin, a term of exalted pedigree and tone. The use of the pres.indic. in such future conditions is standard in poetry (LHS, 660, Ernout-Thomas, 375f.). Hiatus, at a caesura, with pause: cf. Winbolt, 196, comparing *G.*1.4, *Veremans*, *EV* 2, 887, Sidgwick, index(style) s.v. 'metre. hiatus'.

**hominum manibus** Pointed and dramatic word order: '(at least) by the hand of *men*'. We know that the Cyclopes are about to enter the narrative, and Achaem. thus adds a personal frisson (cf. Cartault, 258 'tout est calculé pour faire frémir d'horreur') to the moment; *men*, after all, are much less likely to devour him. TCD's *non ferarum morsibus* hardly to the point, and atypically off-target.

**periisse iuabit** In Wills' terminology (310) a verb-shift, of familiar type. A means of expression that V. would re-use, 1.203, 11.131, 168; the forger's eye did not miss it, 2.586. Neither *TLL* 7.2.747.19 (Tietze/Buchwald) nor Austin's notes, nor indeed my own, suggest any origins, Greek or Latin, though Hom. *μελήσει* may be germane.

**607 dixerat** Cf. n. on 7.212.

**genua amplexus** Cf. 10.523 *genua amplectens*; the formula ancient, from Liv.Andr. *Od.fr.6* Mariotti, E. Koch, *TLL* 6.2.1878.38ff. For the gesture itself, cf. n. on 11.568 (Ramminger, 64ff. oddly considers individual scenes and lines rather than stock, ritual motif-elements); Ricotilli, 166, Lobe, 175ff. add a very little.

**genibusque uolutans** There is a general accord between the commentators that these knees are likewise the Trojans' and that these words rather ponderously repeat and amplify the sense of the previous pair. But TCD (here lacunose) writes *genibus enim nitebatur per terram* and note also Dositheus, *Gramm.Lat.7.427.12 genibus obuolutans γουνούμενος* (*Od.6.149*, etc.). This too is often said of suppliants, e.g. Plaut.*Rud.* 280, Lucr.1.92, Liv.26. 9.8, Ov.*F.* 2.438, DH 8.39.5, 20.4.6, Plut.*Pomp.*5.1, Koch, *cit.*, 1879.58ff., Appel, 201, Sittl, 156f., 297; taken to extremes, Smith on Tib.1.2.83f., Courtney on Juv.6.524. Prof. Görler draws my attention to Suet.*Cal.*42 (not supplication, indeed, but wallowing on the knees) *saepe super immensos aureorum aceruos patentissimo diffusos loco et nudis pedibus spatiatius et toto corpore aliquamdiu uolutatus est*. V. may (or may not) understand **g.** with **haerebat**. The knees may be a calculated ambiguity; however, the ambivalence may on the other hand lie in the flawed instincts of a modern reader. But I do sense that Achaem.'s knees have a part in the picture, partly in the interests of rescuing the poet from excessively ample expression and perhaps also in a tension between static **haerens** and mobile **uolutans**. On the repetition of **g.**, cf. Wills, 374. *Volutus* or *uoluitur* would pass (cf. 9.433) almost unnoticed; here, the frequent. perhaps even employed to suggest that Achaem. grovels at some length. The reflexive omitted; cf. 7.27 *cum uenti posuere*, LHS, 295 and in particular Görler, *EV* 2, 272, Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 66f. for V.'s intransitivisations, comparing hesitantly with this passage Varr.*RR* 3.9.14 *in stercilinum ut uolutare possint*; add Plin.*Nat.*8.56 *leone obuio suppliciter uolutante*, *OLD* s.v, §3a. Even objects go in V.'s drive to omit small fussy words (*Companion*, 230, after Quinn).

**608 haerebat** Cf. 2.673f. *complexa .../ haerebat*, 8.558f. *complexus .../ haeret*, Bulhart, *TLL* 6.3.2495.47f., *EV* 2, 830.

**qui sit** The Homeric τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; It is Theoclymenus' question thus to Telemachus, which continues πόθι τοι πόλις ἢ δὲ τοκῆς; (*Od.*15.264) that confirms (even as a motto, or signal) how likely the debt of this scene is to that in *Od.*15. Sabbadini *quis*, after recc.: *male*; cf. LHS, 540, Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2, 86f.; before *s*, *qui* is standard..

**fari .../ 609 hortamur** Cf. 2.74 *hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus*; cf. n. on 7.197 for such question in the epic tradition..

**quo sanguine cretus** The Hom. formula continues πῶθι τοι πόλις ἦδε τοκῆε; Cf. too *Aen.*4.191 *Troiano sanguine cretum*; Lucr. had already seen how neat and handy the form was, 5.6. A Virgilian formula on an Hom. model.

**609 quae ... fortuna** Pomathios paraphrases ‘situation, condition’ (342), comparing 16, 53, 318, 615.

**deinde** Page and Williams suppose that **d.** applies to **hortamur**; unlikely: rather, three questions, with the third thus marked by **d.** postponed, as the sequence of interrogatives quite strongly suggests; cf. 5.741 f., with the first marked.

**agitet** Cf. Hey, *TLL* 1.1332.14 and 6.1.1177.32f.: no analogies. For sequence in OO, cf. 4.561.

**fateri** We would not be surprised to find *fari fateri* as an alliterative pair (respectively *simpliciter aliquid referre* and (overstated) *ex necessitate quae secreto conteguntur publicare* TCD), but we do not seem to, though they are linked etymologically, Varr.*LL* 6.55, O’Hara, *TN*, 146. Cf. 2.77f. *cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor/ uera*, with *EV* 2, 473. As it is, *V.* achieves vigorous allit. at l-end.

**610 ipse pater ... Anchises** Cf. 11.469 *ipse pater ... Latinus*; Anch. particularly useful and active in the last stages of the voyage prior to his death, to augment the loss that will be felt. Such a concentration of activity hardly accidental. Cf. 558–60.

**dextram .../ 611 dat iuueni** Cf. 6.370, 10.517, from Plaut.*Merc.* 149, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.927.66, 931.61 ff., *id.*, 1668.22f. (my n. on 7.366 quite insufficient on the idiom). The very ancient concept of the right hand as pledge discussed in some detail at 7, *cit.*.

**haud multa moratus** Cf. 12.506 *haud multa morantem*, as an alliterative formula perhaps first here, Reichmann/Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1501.10. Anch.’s delay not a matter of raising tension, nor suggestive of an inclination to slaughter, but appropriate to the pondering of a surprising, even revolutionary, decision; this acceptance of a suppliant is a major policy decision, of Augustan importance too (cf., e.g., Stahl, 123). Much as Achaem., 597, still hesitated before approaching the Trojans (Römisch, 218). Telemachus offers Theoclymenus passage at once, *Od.*15.279ff..

**611 animum ... firmit** Found at *Bell.Afr.* 18.2, *Ov.Pont.*1.3.27, etc. (Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.810.45ff.); it derives presumably from the common expression *animus firmus*, Lackenbacher, *TLL* 6.1.816.84ff., citing e.g. *Cic.carm.Hom.*7.4, "*Laud.Tur.*". 2.16, *Caes.BC* 3.86.2, (*et saep.*) and cf. Negri, 129.

**praesenti pignore** Serv. refers **praesenti** to *manuum coniunctione*, but a sense of 'potens, efficax' might be more appropriate, Ramming, *TLL* 10.2.845.8f.; both 'ready', actual' and 'real, weighty' clearly present. The pledge (Ottink, *TLL* 10.1. 2124.60f., *EV* 4, 105f.), we have just seen, is entirely traditional; cf. *Curt.*8.2.10 *dexteram fidei suae pignus dedit*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1. 927.73; Liv.'s *dextra data fidem ... sanxisse* (1.1.8) a commoner formulation. The orthogr. -*nor*- clearly correct for V., Ottink, 2120.55.

**612 ille haec ... tandem ... fatur** *Haec ... fatur*, in various guises, only *quinquies* before a speech; with *tandem.fatur* cf. only **309**. Anch. swift to pledge immunity; Achaem. slower to explain.

**deposita ... formidine** Cf. Jachmann, *TLL* 5.1.579.1f., Kapp, *ib.*, 6.1.1097.68: not an expression used elsewhere, rather surprisingly. Some distance from *Il.*1.92 (Knauer).

**613 sum ... ex** Cf. *Plaut.Aul.*2, *Bacch.*472, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1096.6ff..

**patria ... Ithaca** Cf. 1.380 *Italiam quaero patriam*, Tessmer, *TLL* 10.1.767.58ff.. Or indeed adjectival, 2.180 *patrias ... Mycenae*, 2.95, Tessmer, 762.51.

**comes** Cf. **socii**, so often of Aen.'s men(**12**): c., *EV* 1, 853, Pomathios, 110. **C.** (as a group) a far rarer equivalent of ἐταῖροι; cf. 2.744, 796, 5.191.

**infelicis Ulixi** Serv. understandably troubled, suggests that Achaem. insults Ulysses by calling him *infelix*, i.e. *mera vi abominandi*, as *TLL* put it, 7.1.1364.15f.(Fleischer/ Ehlers). But that is quite to miss the point. Knauer suggests a hint of Hom. κάμμορος, *Od.*5.160, etc.. To be sure, the epithet has little if anything to do with Gk. πολύτλας, but is rather is part of an elaborate and important shift in feeling (not just, therefore, problematic and untimely 'authorial sympathy', G.W. Williams, *TI*, 263f.), which will lead ultimately to Diomedes' noble words to his old enemies, 11.252ff.. Here, though Greeks were till recently *mali*, **398**, and Ulysses likewise still to be cursed, **273**, yet Helenus now reigns over Greek lands, **295**, by *fiat* of Pyrrhus himself, Aen. himself wears Neopt.'s cast-off armour(**469**), the Trojans have sailed from Buthrotum

to Etna unharmed, and even Ulysses' followers show piety, **633f.** Most important, Anchises *pater* has just determined that common humanity (and indeed shared experience of war and *nostos*; so Serv.Dan. on **691** *nisi forte quasi pius etiam hostis miseretur, cum similes errores et ipse patitur*) overrides recent and terrible enmity. *Infelix*, then, here stands as a moving effect of Achaem.'s condition, and of his account of Ulysses' sufferings at the Cyclopes' hands, upon Aen.'s common humanity. Cf. Cartault, 257, Putnam, 63, Rengakos, 118, Kinsey, 114, Klingner, 433, Ramminger, 60f., Z. Pavlovskis, *Rend.Ist.Lomb.* 103 (1969), 331, n. on 11.243. To the understanding of Serv.'s n. here, and of *Schol.Ver.* at **691**, C. Baschera's note, *Boll. stud.Lat.*33 (2003), 492ff. adds nothing; unsurprisingly, given the grave observations of A. La Penna (*Maia* 55 (2003), 367, n.3) and A. Lunelli (*ib.*53 (2001), 64) on his originality and competence.

**614 nomine Achaemenides** Cf. με κικλήσκουσι, spoken by Od./Outis himself, at *Od.*9.366 (note also AR 2.1154–6, *Aen.*12.348). The name is, apparently, altogether unparalleled. Unsurprisingly, an association with the *Achaemenid* dynasty has been alleged (McKay, 32f.; cf. Heinze, 112, n.3), accepted (Kinsey, 112, Putnam, 70f., n.30), even elaborated into elaborate and unlikely hist. allegory. But such an origin for a follower of Ulysses, from the Ionian Islands, strikes a reader with some experience of V.'s onomastics as wildly improbable. The Achaeans have long been seen in the first two syllables (after H. Mørland, *Symb.Osl.*33 (1957), 88, cf. Bartelink, 62, O'Hara, *TN*, 146), and in **-men-** Gk. μένειν (vd. e.g. Paschalis, 140), for he *stayed* behind when his comrades left, **deseruere**, indeed (**618**, pointed for Mørland). Prosody alone should not inhibit us from hearing (as well?) μῆ-νιν, not least given both its juxtaposition with the *Achaeans* in *Il.*1.1f., and the importance of Achaem. in that growth of pity for the victorious, and damned, Greeks which is so crucial to these vv. If that be even in part true, it might be relevant that his father is Adamastus, extremely appropriate for a warrior from rugged Ithaca (**272**; the adj. is Homeric, of Hades, *Il.*9.158; cf. too Adamas, 13.771), but equally true of the Trojans who prove just as *indomiti* in defeat (nn. on 7.295, 11.307). From such a briar-patch of possible associations, no single, or simple, conclusion, but a growing suspicion that Persia is altogether irrelevant and that ethnic definition and characterisation are important in this episode (cf. Akbar Khan, 232f.). Achaem. was identified by Asinius Pollio with the *duri miles Ulixi* of 2.7 (fr.13GRF),



a severe lapse of common sense, lucidity, sanity indeed (the idea also present at TCD, 1.147.15 ff.). Note Gotoff(603), 281 'narratio may begin with the subject's name', though of course such formal forensic *narratio* is not, as here, 'mere' narrative (cf. Highet, 51, 53f., Lausberg 1, 163ff.).

**Troiam .../ 615 ... profectus** Old military language, as the parody, Plaut.*Amph.*734, shows; Ennian, too (*Ann.*577).

**genitore Adamasto/ 615 paupere** For the name, vd. on **Achaemenides**; for the abl., without vb. or prepos., cf. full n. on 11.666 *Clytio ... patre*, to which add Antoine, 171f. The topos of the poor father (and the son who came to pathetic prominence on a distant battle-field) has an interesting history (minimal comment, Gleii, 150, n.156, P. Mazzochini, *Forme e significati della narrazione bellica ...* (Fasano 2000), 284ff.; Ramminger, 62f. neglects the epic sources and analogues); employed with lying intent by Sinon, 2.87 (where Serv. comments *excusatio a fortuna*; cf. n. on 7.532 for this line of thought in V.-commentary) and used splendidly by V. of Menoetes, 12.519. Part, therefore, of the tradition of pathetic battle-biographies (vd. n. on 7.532 again; add H. Raabe, *Plurima mortis imago* (*Zetemata* 59, München 1974), 221 ff.). The hope of booty often a latent motive of the Hom. warrior (Finley, *World of Odysseus*<sub>2</sub>, 63, Seymour, 588f.) while poverty, however admirable in the philosophical (cf. Mayor, Courtney on Juv.10.22), old Roman (NH on Hor.C. 1.12.42) and bucolic traditions, however keen a spur to military service for the impoverished young men of comedy (cf. Martin on Ter.*Ad.*385, Préaux, *Monde hellén.*1, 305f.), guarantees, like music, nothing in moments of extreme peril, though here at least actual death is avoided.

**mansissetque utinam fortuna** Cf. Tietze, *TLL* 8.284.73f., 609 and NR on Hor.C.3. 29.53 *laudo manentem* (which she was notoriously little inclined to do; anastrophe here attracts attention to failed stability); **f.** now refers both to his father's modest means, on barren Ithaca, and to the good fortune encountered in obscurity, in contrast to the glory and perils met in Ulysses' company (the issue neglected; a hint at Pomathios, 342). **V.** only *quater* in V. (for other wishes, cf. Görler, *EV* 2, 273); *quater* also in Hor.C., Cat.64.171, Caes.*carm.*fr.2.3 (Courtney, 153f.). Not unpoetic, therefore, but perhaps thought rather cumbersome for regular poet. use.

**616 hic** Achaem. returns to the present situation, possibly gesturing at his surroundings.

**me ...// 618 deseruere** Cf. the word-order, **710f.**: here **me** is thrust forward, and the verb run-on(for the pause at 2tr., Winbolt, 25 (add e.g. *G.4.351*, *Aen.1.404*, 2.505; Williams much exaggerates the pause's rarity).

**dum trepidi ... linquant** Under the bellies of the rams, *Od.* 9.437ff., the subject-matter of Hom.'s narr. being here presupposed; fear, though, is not present in this stage of the text of *Od.*, but is a reasonable enough insertion. The v.-end strongly alliterative: cf. 2.85 *lumine lugent*, 1.517 *litore linquant*.

**crudelia limina** Cf. **44 crudeles terras**. **L.** of caves often enough, **626**, 6.45, 115, 151, 8.232, Meijer, *TLL* 7.2.1406.27ff..

**617 immemores socii S.**: cf. **12**, **613**. Cf. **588–691** for the origins of this easy and persuasive invention(not, though, to Cartault, 258, Harrison, *infra*). TCD comments well that Achaem. was left *metu periculi eidentis, in quo quisue sibi potius consulebat quam alteri*; accounts of more recent evacuations (Bordeaux 1940, Crete 1941, for example) confirm how very true this account rings, despite the 'practical' objections, based on the efficiency of the Homeric *Od.*, advanced by Harrison, 147.

**uasto Cyclopis in antro** Cf. **431** (of Scylla). The huge landscape (cf. **570**, **605**) is not only suited practically to the imminent monster, but contributes to the sense of ambient terror. The v.-end already *bis* in *Buc.*(and cf. **624**).

**618 domus sanie S.**: cf. **625**, **632**; discussed carefully by Mazzini, *EV* 4, 673f. (cf. also Heuzé, 97, 199) on the basis of an equivalence, later widely attested, between it and ἰχϞρ. V. though, will very often use such terms not in a technically correct manner but rather in accordance with their tone and 'colour' as transmitted from earlier texts: so here, cf. *Enn.trag.297 tabo sanie et sanguine atro*, *Pacuv.trag.200f. neu reliquias quaeso mias sireis denudatis ossibus/ per terram sanie delibutas foede diuexarier*, *Lucr.1.866 ossibus et neruis sanieque et sanguine mixto* *Tac.Ann.4.49, ad fin.*. The definition *cruur putridus*, *Suet.p.290*. 10Reiff. will do very well. **domus sanie dapibusque cruentis** a striking (and not exactly paralleleled) instance of the abl. of description, or quality, with nouns starkly expanding noun(cf. Sidgwick 2, 492, Antoine, 188f., LHS 117ff.): Hyginus' deplorable remarks(fr.5GRF) answered by *Gell.5.8*; vd. n. on 7.187(7.30 slightly different). Cf. too nn. on **29**, **137** for *tabum*, *tabidus*. As a whole, the v. displays unimpressive theme

and variation. Given, moreover, the singular ablatives, it may help to write, after Witt as cited by Heyne, *sanie dapibusque cruenta* (cf. 9.753 *arma cruenta cerebro*); after *dapibus*, **cruenta** would always have been liable to corruption to **cruentis** (so, inevitably, the codd. of *Aen.*). For the scene, cf. 8.297 *ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento*.

**dapibusque cruenta** Cf. 630; perhaps some tension between ‘banquet, feast’ and ‘gory’: Squalid details at which Hom. only hints, *Od.*9.290, 373f.; Glenn’s comment (58; cf. Flores, 166) that V. has substituted a ‘chamber of horrors’ for Hom.’s predominantly pastoral scene is helpful.

**619 intus** Advb.(Enn., Lucr.); cf. 1.167, 294.

**opaca, ingens** The adjs. re-used of the *ulmus* of dreams, 6.283. Beikircher, *TLL* 9.2.657.59f. notes the *opaca ... antra* of *Culex* 78; cf. Cacus’ *saxo ... opaco*, 8.211. Achaem. offers swiftly(*est/sunt* twice omitted; adjs. asyndetic) a couple of details not explicit in Hom..

**ipse** αὐτός; still Highland Scots ‘herself’, the mistress of the house. Cf. Wagner, *QV* xviii, §2b, citing 8.303f. *super omnia Caci/ speluncam adiciunt spirantemque ignibus ipsum*.

**arduus** Cf. 8.299, and then (of Jovian) Amm.Marc.25.10.14, Banner, *TLL* 2. 494.53ff.. The Cyclopes’ vast (Etnaeon, indeed) height again, 679.

**altaque .../ 620 sidera** Cf. 572, 576 for this manner of hyperbole(with Hardie, *CI*, 264f.; cf. Prop.2.32.50 *altaque ... astra*, *Aen.*12.892); V.’s Cyclops is himself to some degree a ‘cosmic’ monster, 588–691, who here might even be thought to terrorise both Earth and Heaven, Hardie, 297; Hom.’s markedly restrained in comparison, *Od.*9. 187f.. **S.** run-on and opposed to **terris** (note stars and sea, 423): cf. Hardie, *cit.*.

**pulsat** Cf. *feriam*, Hor.C.1.1.36 (vd. NH there, and Pease on 4.177), *OLD* s.v., §1d.

**620 di ... auertite** Cf. 265 **di**, **talem auertite casum**.

**talem ... pestem** Cf. 215.

**terris** Cf. 9.77f. *quid deus, o Musae, tam saeva incendia Teucris/ auertit?*, Liv.8.9.10 *piaculum omnis deorum irae qui pestem ab suis auersam in hostes ferret*, 4.25.3, Hickson, 85, Appel, 125f., Bickel, *TLL* 2.1323.6ff..

**621 nec uisu facilis** Cf. Sall.*Iug.*98.7 *sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editoribus locis facilia visu*, Plin.*Nat.*18.281 the Milky Way *uisu facilis*,

Bannier, *TLL* 6.1.59.62. Behind this expression perhaps *Od.*9.230 οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλ' ἑτάροισι φανεῖς ἐρατεινὸς ἔσεσθαι and more clearly *Acc.trag.*538 (from the Euripidean *Philoctetes*, *Macr.*6.1. 55) *quem neque tueri contra neque adfari queas*, with Wigodsky, 88. Difficult to look upon (and survive the experience), like certain emperors short on *comitas*, *Stat.Silv.*3.3.71 *terribilem adfatu ... uisusque tyrannum* (where vd. Vollmer, citing Philo, *leg.Gai.*264), *Plin.Pan.*48 *occursu quoque uisusque terribilis; ... non adire quisquam, non adloqui audebat*, or the reverse, *Sen.Clem.*1.13.4 *sermone adfabilis, aditu accessuque facilis, uoltu, qui maxime populos demeretur, amabilis, Laus Pis.*101ff.; cf. Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.1786. 27ff., *Comm. Pet.* 42, *Suet.Aug.*74, etc.(*comitas*), Corbeill(83), 147. To Ov.'s plea(*Pont.*2.2.113), Augustus will be no Antiphates, no *Aetnaeus uasto Polyphemus in antro* but a *placidus facilisque parens* (cf. Millar, *Emperor*, 539, and on the menacing, Cyclopean, indeed, *supercilium*, see Yavetz, *Plebs and princeps*, 118). It is singular that Williams (R.D.) criticises V.'s 'understatement' here, when the force of the litotes amply maintains the hyperbolic tone.

**nec dictu adfabilis** Approachability in converse long a virtue, *supra*; for **a.**, *Ter.Ad.*896, *Cic.Off.*1.113, 2.48, *Nep.Alc.*1.3, Zimmermann, *TLL* 1.1171.11ff.. Compare Gk. ἀπρόσηγορος. **D.** normally of course 'in the telling', 4.454, etc., and here, quite uniquely, it appears (but the massively explicit context facilitates an extension of usage), 'in address/ approach', *vel sim.* (cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.969.84, who fails to address the problem); perfectly comprehensible with **adfabilis**, an opportune extension of sense, not a difficulty. **P effabilis** (with some c.9 mss. and part of the grammarians; cf. *Gloss.Lat.*5.189.42 *dictu effabilis sermone narrabilis*); an oversight which has distracted some commentators.

**ulli** Convenient, to round off the line with slightly augmented pathos.

**622 uisceribus miserorum** Synaloepha at caesura, diaeresis at 1½, 4th. and 5th feet dactylic words (cf. 383 and Williams on 5.198); a blurred, even slippery rhythm. **V.** a general word for 'entrails, innards', J.N. Adams, *BICS* 27 (1980), 53. The entrails are precisely Homeric, the ἔγκατα of *Od.*9.293, with Heuzé, 200 (though the discovery of a more refined and morbid savagery in V., as against Hom.'s ἔγκατά τε cάρκάς τε καὶ ὄσπεα μελόεντα does not, here at least, quite persuade me).. The adj. expresses neatly (cf. 2.140; Sinon speaking of his family) a pity shared by Achaem., Aen. and the reader.

**et sanguine ... atro** Cf. 28f. There *sanguis* and *tabum* are associated; here, cf. 626, with Heuzé, 96f..

**uescitur** Elaborately taking up the sounds of **uisceribus**. The vb. *quater* in Lucr.; vd. 339. Cyclopes and (likewise located in Italy or Sicily, NR on Hor.C.3.17.6–9, Heubeck on *Od.*10.80–132) Laestrygonians are both both cannibal and herdsman(cf. Page, *Folktales*, 28): the cannibal diet thoughtfully digested as a nightmare of the very earliest colonists, Dougherty(291), 134ff.. Also a sign of pastoral, as against agricultural, society(West on Hes.*Erga* 146). These ogres of the Western Mediterranean, moreover, eat their humans raw(Garnsey, *infra*, 64f.), without troubling to employ fire. Diet is a key to this narrative, 649f.; on the Cyclopes' cannibalism, cf. further P. Garnsey, *Food and society* (Cambridge 1999), 65f., and vd. O. Longo in (ed.) J.-L. Flandrin, M. Montanari, *Food. A culinary history* (Eng.tr., New York 1999), 157f. (Hdt.; note the significant vicinity, 4.103, attacks on sailors, 106, cannibals). **P** offers **pascitur**, an unappealing simplification.

**623 uidi egomet** Cf. 626, 655; ocular testimony is crucial(and the manner traditional epic; Williams notes the parody at Hor.*Serm.*1.8.23). The sight was appalling, but there must be no doubt that it did happen: Aen. cites Achaem., who cites Od.'s words, V. cites Hom.: naturally Achaem. can claim to speak with ocular authority(which the narrator cannot), while V. cites his source, explicitly (Papanghelis, 281; to be added to the 'signposts' discussed at *Alambicco*, 103ff.; 'external markers', Wills, 31). The Trojans' eventual sight (655 **uidemus**) of the Cyclopes will then confirm Achaem.'s veracity in detail. Cf. Römisch, 223. Vd. n. on 7.309 for the pronominal suffix and cf. J.N. Adams in *ALLP*, 123f. for the widespread 'desire to stress that his own personal observation was involved'.

**duo de numero ... nostro** Cf. 8.547 *quorum de numero*, Varr.*RR* 2.4.22, Gudeman, *TLL* 5.1.59.7f..For **n.** used thus, cf. 7.274 *numero pater eligit omni*, Zorzetti, *EV* 3, 794. Two victims, the awful detail derived from Hom.'s Cyclops, 9.289, 311, 344.

**cum ...// 625 frangeret** The victims' fate given added horror by the long postponement of the run-on verb(so Hom.'s run-on κόπτ', 9.290). Cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.1017. 25f., Bacherler, *ib.*6.1.1241.27; compare *f.* used of an entire ship, 10.297, *EV* 2, 585. The *cum*-clause(with *cum* postponed; cf. n. on 7.700) after **uidi** also at 626; cf. G.3.103, *Aen.*4.453, etc..

**corpora .../ 624 presa** Cf. *Ov.Met.*14.203, Suter, *TLL* 10.2.1163.50f.

**manu magna** Formulaic, nearly (cf. 5.241; *tacet* Bulhart, *bis* indeed, in *TLL*), but also altogether in keeping with the consistent picture of the Cyclopes.

**medio ... in antro** Cf. 617. The adj. used as often not so much in a precise spatial sense as to convey 'right/deep in the cave'. Thus, emotively, if you will, of the sea, 1.584, 5.160.

**resupinus** So the Cyclops in his drunken slumber, ὑππιος, 9.371. A posture for repose, rather than feasting, *Cat.*32.10, *Juv.*3.280, 14.190. One-handed(two victims indeed in one hand) and lying down: an easy snack for Polyphemus, prepared for consumption by a blow or blows not down to earth but up against a crag(*Serv.*, TCD). The Homeric cutting up(9.291) a piece of domestic realism (or black refinement) here omitted.

**625 ad saxum** Von Mess, *TLL* 1.528.61ff. compares *Lucr.*6.694f. *praeterea magna ex parti mare montis ad eius/ radices frangit fluctus* and 556 (where *vd. n.*).

**sanieque aspersa** For *s.*, cf. 618; the vb. at *Lucr.*3.19f., but also standard Latin. Note 8.645 *sparsi rorabant sanguine uepres. Expersa* the *uera lectio* for *Serv.* who refers to **aspersa** as both *tapinosis* and *hyperbole*; however, **adpersa M**, **aspersa P** (*vd.* Ribbeck; Sabbadini, *Mynors* and *Geymonat* insufficient), entirely satisfactory(a Lucretian vb.: cf. 534, *Prinz*, *TLL* 2.819.53); hyperbole('sprayed', even 'bathed') dominates the whole scene and the charge of *tapinosis*, at least if defined as *rei magnaе humilis expositio* (*Serv.* on 1.118; the contrary of αὐξησις; cf. *Horsfall*, *Maia* 41 (1989), 253), is surely inappropriate both there and here. *Respersa* *Serv.*Dan., TCD.

**natarent/ 626 limina** Cf. *Lucr.*6.267 *camposque natare*, *G.*1.371f. *omnia plenis/ rura natant fossis*, *EV* 3, 747, *Cic.Phil.*2.105, *OLD* s.v., §3. **Limina** already at 616; the scale of the description outstrips slightly the lexicon at *V.*'s disposal.

**uidi** Cf. 623.

**atro ... tabo** For *t.*, cf. 29; for *a.*, cf. 622. Combined again, 9.472 (*vd. infra*). A grim and dirty black, *André*, 43ff.. Whereas at 29 an unpleasant near-synonym for *sanguis*, here perhaps a suggestion that not all the flesh in the Cyclops' larder is quite fresh(contrast **tepidi**, 627). Cf. *Heuzé*, 97, 199. *Tabum* and *sanies* are in some measure the contributions of *Philoctetes*' festering wound to the text of *Aen.*; cf.

also Enn.*trag.*297 *saxa spargens tabo sanie et sanguine atro* (vd. Jocelyn's n.; perhaps in V.'s mind at 28).

**cum .../ 627 manderet** 'Liv.Andr.'fr.2Mariotti(=fr.32Morel, 39Bü.; not authentic for Traina, likewise, *infra*, 29) *cum socios nostros mandisset impius Cyclops*, Enn.*Ann.* 125 *miserum mandebat homonem*, Acc.*trag.* 229f. *ut meos malis miser/ manderem natos*; not therefore (in the archaic period) of mere mortal mastication: vultures, monsters, and the like, so peculiarly appropriate here. Cavallin, *TLL* 8.269.41 ff., Wigodsky, 17, A. Traina, *Vortit barbare* (Roma 1970), 31.

**membra fluentia** Cf. 8.487 *sanie taboque fluentis*, 9.472 *atroque fluentia tabo*. Strong alliteration suggestive of effortful mastication. By the employment of synonyms, V. avoid a rel. clause or pronoun; for *membra* and *artus*, cf. Lucr.6.797 *languentia membra per artus*, 2.282, 3.151, 6.945, *Aen.*5.422, Hofmann, *TLL* 8.634.74 ff., who lays down that *a. proprie de membrorum iunctura usurpatur*.

**627 et tepidi ... artus M<sub>1</sub>P, trepidi MP<sub>2</sub>**. Serv. comments well *melius 'tepidi', quasi adhuc uiui, quam 'trepidi', id est, id est 'trementes', ne sit iteratio*, though Kvičala, 71 and Traina, *Poet.Lat.* 1<sub>2</sub>, 65, n.2 consider the heavy allit. in favour of **tre-**, apparently overlooking that our ears have passed from chomping monster to quivering victim. The warmth of the victim a regular macabre touch, 8.196, 9.333, 10.555, etc. and already Cat.64. 360. Cf. Munzi, *EV* 5\*, 126.

**tremerent sub dentibus** The *tremet artus* of G.3.84, after Lucr. 3.489, Euripidean and quite irrelevant here(Alfonso Traina, 5\*, 261 f. and cf. n. on 7.638: *t.* of limbs under effort and excitement). Again strong alliteration, suggestive of trembling flesh. V. displays notable mastery of the unpleasant detail(though the unforgettable puppies, *Od.*9.289, were possibly *too* Homeric to be adapted here), as Heuzé, *cit.* well explains. Lucr.1. 852 has *leti sub dentibus ipsis*; here, cf. 7.279 *mandunt sub dentibus aurum*, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.541.82 ff.. After 625, though the victims were clearly enough dead, the suggestion here is perhaps that the flesh was still so nearly alive(*adhuc membra trementia* TCD) as still to be quivering(cf. 10.396, with antecedents at Enn.*Ann.*484, Varr.*Atac.*fr.2 and Lucr.3. 653).

**628 haud impune quidem** Cf. 6.239f. *quae super haud ullae poterant impune uolantes/ tendere iter*, 879f., Brandt, *TLL* 6.3.2561.8, Rehm, *ib.*7.1.720.53 ff.. *Haud* rare and old(epic and annals), n. on 7.311. The

litotes is given notable weight, ‘amply punished’, Hand 3, 31 f.. Od.’s εἴ πως τις αἰμῆν (9.317); for the theme of vengeance, cf. n. on 638.

**nec talia passus Ulixes** Nothing to do with πολύτλας; *pati* with the more energetic force of ‘stand, tolerate’, 5.462, 10.436, n. on 7.421, *OLD* s.v., §5a; *TLL* unhelpful. Aen. reports an account that gives Ulysses, until lately the loathed adversary, full credit for his courage.

**629 oblitusue sui est** Classified under ‘neglegitur indoles’, Lumpe, *TLL* 9.2.112.84f., comparing Cic.*Phil.*2.10 *ne me hodie ... oblitum esse putetis mei*, Liv.7.14.2 *ne se oblitum disciplinae militaris, ne sui neue imperatoriae maiestatis crederet*, Ov.*Trist.* 4.10.105. Cf. the Hom. εὐ μνήσασθαι, *Od.*7.217 and note Od. to the Cyclops(9.475): you were not going to eat ἀνάγκιδος ἀνδρὸς ἑταίρου.

**Ithacus** Cf. *Ithacensis*, *Acc.trag.*131, Hor.*Epist.*1.6.63; Prop. knows V’s form, 1.15.9 (and cf. *Od.*17.207). Williams(perhaps after the tentative Con.) claims that **Ithacus** is adj., qualifying **Ulixes** (the resultant word-order complex, but defensible). Unlikely. rather, he uses the ethnonym (the adj. form as noun, as so often Lunelli-Kroll, 44f., Lunelli-Leumann, 159, E. Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 579f.; cf. further 280, 602, 689) in order to be able to refer to the same person in parallel clauses of increasing weight without resorting to a pronoun.

**discrimine tanto** Cf. 9.210 *discrimine tali*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1361.5ff.. *Tacet EV*.

**630 nam** The passage from a general principle to a narrative illustration, cf. 6.377, Hand, 4, 5.

**simul** For *simul ac*, LHS, 638, KS 2, 360, *OLD* s.v., §11a, Bennett, 1, 106; the full material, J.C. Jones, *ALL* 14 (1906), 96ff.(occasional in archaic poetry, Lucr., *Cat.*, *Buc.*4.26, *G.*4.232).

**expletus dapibus** The vb.(Ennian, Lucretian) used of the Calabrian water-snake, *G.*3.430f. *hic piscibus atram/ improbus ingluuiem ... explet*, Klepl/Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1716.65f.. **D.**: 224, etc..

**uinoque sepultus** Cf. *Enn. Ann.*288 *nunc hostes uino domiti somnoque sepulti* (with Skutsch’s n.), *Lucr.*1.133 *somnoque sepultis*, 5.974 *somnoque sepulti*, *Aen.*2.265 *somno uinoque sepultam* (with Austin’s n. and Heuzé, 388; both the Trojans and the Cyclops will suffer), 9.189, 236 *somno uinoque soluti*, Wigodsky, 42; add *Tac. Ann.* 1.50.4, with E. Potz, *Herm.*121 (1993), 332, *Companion*, 177. A fine archaic floscule. Od.’s indispensable store of strong wine omitted not because indecorous, but in the interests



of independence and abbreviation. The sequence of dinner>slumber, though, strongly present at *Od.*9.296 ff., 371 ff.

**631 ceruicem inflexam posuit** Cf. 5.845 *pone caput*, 11.830 *captum leto posuit caput*, with n., *EV* 4, 200. Also note *Cic. Arat.*330 *inflexoque genu*, *Cat.*64.255 *capita inflectentes* (Probst, *TLL* 3.946.58f., Szantyr, *ib.* 7.1.1458.25f. and cf. n. on 7.394 for head-tossing). The image of the drooping head is altogether (realistic and) Homeric: *Od.*9.372 κείτ' ἀποδοχμώσας παχὺν αὐχένα.

**iacuitque per antrum** Cf. Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.15.26ff.. Quint. 8.3.84 very well remarks *idem Cyclopa cum iacuisse dixit 'per antrum', prodigiosum illud corpus spatio loci mensus est*; *Serv. Dan.* cites Varro *in lectu temulentos iacere* (as against *sobrios cubare*); 'si quidem verba ipsius servata sunt', Steinmann, *TLL* 7.2.1097.11f.. We might also recall Hom. of Tityos ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κείτο πέλεθρα, *Od.*11.577. V. will return to the giant sprawled in his cave, 6.423.(Cerberus) *fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro*.

**632 immensus** Cf. *Od.*9.187 ἔνθα δ' ἀνὴρ ἐνίαυε πελώριος, the adj. Lucretian, but used thus in the sense of 'immensurabilis' a Virgilian contribution to the language of Lat. hyperbole, Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.450.59ff., 451.37ff.; of young Germans, *Vell.*2. 106.1 *infinita numero, immensa corporibus*.

**saniem** Cf. 618.

**eructans** Cf. *Od.*9.373f. φάρυγος δ' ἐξέστυο οἶνος/ ψωμοί τ' ἀνδρόμοιοι ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο οἶνοβαρείων. Cf. 576 (of Etna), Groth, *TLL* 5.2.825.76ff.; nearer to home, *Cic. Cat.* 2.10

**et frustra** Hom.'s ψωμοί; 'bits, lumps', in daily usage, Pompon. *Atell.*79, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.1.144.58f.. Memorably, cf. *Cic. Phil.* 2.63 *magister equitum, cui ruclare turpe esset, is uomens frustis esculentis uinum redolentibus gremium suum et totum tribunal impleuit*. Not perhaps an actual echo here, so much as similar situations evoking comparable language.

**cruento/ 633 ... mero** Cf. *Sen. Thy.*700f. *libata in ignes uina mutato fluunt/ cruenta Baccho*, Hoppe, *TLL* 4.1239.34, Brandt, *ib.*8.848.77. V. passes swiftly over the importance of good, strong wine for the unfolding of the Homeric story; possibly the use of **m.**, rather than *vinum* a hint at *Od.*'s store of sweet wine, but often **m.** just a synonym.

**per somnum** Cf. *Lucr.*4.1018, von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1.1143.74f..

**commixta** The vb. Lucretian, indeed markedly so(12x.), Wulff, *TLL* 3.1896.70.

**nos** Attention return from the Cyclops to Ulysses' men.

**magna .../ 634 numina** Cf. 264.

**precati** In Hom., a δαίμων breathed θάρσος... μέγα into Od.; in V., even Greeks, in a moment of crisis, show *pietas* (613). Cf. Hickson, 47, Appel, 66 for the common, unremarkable verb.

**634 sortitique uices** After *Od.* 9.331, 334 (where vd. Heubeck; cf. *Eur.Cycl.* 483f.), the lot to determine who should help Od. with the stake (cf. *Il.* 24.400, Seymour, 525). Cf. **510 sortiti remos**, **323 sortitus** (the distribution of booty after Troy's fall), 2.18 (the crew of the Trojan horse), 5.490 (the archery contest; cf. de la Ville de Mirmont, 283f.), 756 (houses; cf. n. on **510**), 8.444f. the Cyclopes *laborem/ sortiti* (fair division of the work, as Fordyce realises; compare Dido's use of the *sors* 1.508 *partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat*). With 9.174 *legio sortita periculum* (defence of the Trojan camp) cf. in particular *Aen.Tact.* 3.1. Dingel on 9, *loc.cit.* strangely tries to avoid the plain sense that lots are drawn for positions of danger, etc., despite ample evidence for this common milit. usage: cf. e.g. *Aesch.Septem* 55, [*Eur.*] *Rhes.* 545f., *Plb.* 2.58.2, 3.62.7, *Tac.Hist.* 2.41, *Ann.* 14.44 (decimation; cf. *Liv.* 2.59.11, *Front. Strat.* 4.1.34); see Ehrenberg, *PW* 13.1463.11, 1465.11ff. The lot after all expresses the divine will (compare *Od.* 9.334). The supernatural choice of the best men here appropriate: cf. Pomathios, 339; vd. also, variously, e.g. *Vell. Pat.* 1.1.4, *Liv.* 1.56.11, 4.34.4. *EV* s.v. *sors* notably unhelpful. **Vices**: cf. 9.164, 175, 222 'turns of duty', good military language, as neither Hardie nor Dingel there observe: cf. *Bell. Afr.* 70.1, *Liv.* 38.21.8, *Front.Strat.* 2.5.25. *Tacet EV*.

**una undique** Hom.'s ἀμφί, *Od.* 9.380. Cf. 11.610 *simul undique*, with n., LHS, 799f. for cumulative effect, compare e.g. 4.581 *idem omnis simul ardor habet*, 5.157, 830 *una omnes ... pariterque*.

**circum/ 635 fundimur** Distinct from the preceding adverbs, and forward-looking. Verbs with disyllabic prefixes are not uncommon in V., and these prefixes can stand in tmesis, properly speaking (cf. nn. on 7.104, 588, 589, Leumann, 116, 562; *circum ... fudit* at 1.412), or simply attached to the verb, as in 2.383 *circumfundimur*, or in tmesis between two lines, familiar to readers of both *G.* (4.274f. *in foliis quae plurima circum/ funduntur*) and of Hor.'s hexams. (cf. Brink on *Ars* 424, Fraenkel, *Horace*, 104, n.3, *Elementi plautini*, 198f., Leo, *Ausgew. kl.Schr.* 1, 54f., Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen*, 2, 175, M. Squillante, *Encic.Oraz.* 2, 822). *TLL* records this passage s.v. *circumfundere*, Bannier, 3.1147.41ff., 1148.4f.. Anastrophe of disyll. prepositions (vd. indices s.v.) is a closely

related phenomenon (indeed another way of employing *circumfundere*, 12.433 *Ascanium fuis circum complectitur armis*). So Williams' explanation of *circum* as a 'normal' adverb with **fundimur** will really not do and it does seem as though both V. and Hor. toyed, after the model of Enn. (vd. Skutsch on *Ann.*376), Lucr.(Bailey, 1, p.123), Cic.*carm* and even Gk. lyric synaphia, with this 'liberty'('hypermetric tmesis', perhaps). *Circumfundere* a vb. strongly to V.'s taste, *G.*3.368, *Aen.*1.586, 2.64, 383 (*supra*), 6.666, 11.546, and in tmesis also *G.*4(*supra*), *Aen.*1.412 *et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu*. Found in Cato, Varro, Cic., Caes., *Bell.Afr.*, Hirtius, *sexies* in Livy 1–5, but crucially of Venus and Mars, Lucr. 1.39.

**et telo ... acuto** So *Od.*9.327 ἔθόωσα (sharpened), also smoothed and then lovingly hardened; here briskly abbreviated, like the climax itself(*Od.*9.387f.). Cf. Hor.*Epd.* 17.10, Dittmann, *TLL* 1.463.42.

**lumen** A significant use of the singular, repeated right through the scene(*EV* 3, 292, Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1818.16); the term chosen seem to reflect(Barchiesi) Hom. φάεα. In V., only monsters are wounded in the eye; cf. 8.261, Adams (622), 50.

**terebramus** Lyne correctly remarks(*WP*, 115, *bene*) that t. "is a 'business' prose word for 'bore'"; thus in Cato, Vitruvius, Columella and thus too used by Lucr.5.1268. Servius and TCD attest the inexplicable popularity of a reading **tenebramus**.

**636 ingens ... solum I.** also at **658**; cf. **619** (landscape and inhabitants in tandem). **S.** 'sole': cf. **660**, 8.581, Lenaz, *EV* 4, 934.

**quod ... latebat** Did Ael. Donatus favour **patebat**? Servius writes *dormienti scilicet; nam male sentit Donatus dicens 'late patebat' contra metrum. item dicit 'capillis tegebatur' aut 'latebat corporis comparatione'*. Sleep (or the sleeper's position, or eyelid) is immaterial; note Cic.*ND* 2.143 (with Pease's singular n.) on the eyes protected by the brow and cf. Sen.*Const. Sap.*18.1, Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.995.67ff. And Ael. Donatus will hardly have contemplated a clearly unmetrical reading. But **latebat** (also known to Agroecius, *Gramm.Lat.*7.120.20) suggested various explanations, and **patebat** might have been thought preferable; *late* evidently imported at some stage from adjacent exegesis. V.'s sense is clearly enough that the giant's brow was so vast as to hide an eye even the size of an Argive shield(so Serv. Dan. 'subiectum erat fronti et intra frontem recesserat' tradunt).

**torua ... sub fronte** So *Ov.Am.*3.1.12, etc., Robbert, *TLL* 6.1.1356.59ff. An anatomical detail specified gives occasion for another grim epithet.

**637 Argolici clipei** For the adj., and the shield's myth. origins, cf. **286**; the round Argive shield unambiguous, n. on 7.639 and it was called Argive thus also by DH 4.16.2. The origins of this brief comparison (hardly to be counted a simile) are visibly Callimachean, the solitary eye  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \iota\varsigma\ \alpha\ \tau\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\beta\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ , Call.H.3.53(Hügi, 125); note V.'s interest in the same passage, 56 ff. at 7.516.

**aut Phoebeae lampadis** The noun *quinquies* in Lucr.; perhaps a distinctive colouring, but already in Acc.*trag.*. The form of the gen. unexceptionable, NW 1, 454. Cf. 4.6. *Phoebea ... lampade* (where vd. Pease; the parallels he cites point strongly to the sense 'sun' here; likewise usage in Lucr.- e.g. 5.402, 610 *rosea sol alte lampade lucens*). Cf. also OLD s.v. *Phoebe(i)us*, Hübner, TLL 7.2.910.34, n. on 7.148. For the form of the adj., cf. **108**, and Austin's n. on 4.6, my n. on 7.410. The double comparison in memory of the paired similes, *Od.*9. 384–6, 391–3.

**instar** Cf. n. on 7.707.

**638 et tandem** Little time had in truth elapsed since Polyphemus had started devouring Od.'s men; **t.** suggests rather the intensity of their desire to punish the giant and avenge their comrades. V. wisely avoids direct, extended rivalry with the finest parts of Hom.'s narrative.

**laeti ... ulciscimur** Cf. **628 haud impune quidem**; the theme of vengeance already strongly present in Hom.'s account, *Od.*9.317 (also *joy* at escape from Laetrygonians, 10.131, a passage important to V. here, as will emerge); not to mention the vengeance taken by Zeus, 9.478. Distinctive here is the adj.: for Achaem. and his former companions, there was actual joy, or delight in punishing the Cyclops. Compare perhaps *Aen.* at 10.787, 12.700: vengeance a duty, but also a joy(cf. *Companion*, 200, 206).

**sociorum ... umbras** Not so much the spirits of the dead that call for vengeance as (almost in the sense of *anima*) 'la totalità dell' essere dopo la morte' (Negri, 53f. and cf. *EV* 5\*, 379, comparing 4.26, 6.401).

**639 sed fugite ... fugite** Cf. **44**.

**o miseri** A fine touch: with the affective interjection(7.360), Achaem. makes clear that the Trojans themselves are to be pitied likewise (cf. **622**, etc.) if they do not flee at once. We are reminded that in the shadow of the Cyclopes, all men are in peril.

**atque ab litore funem/ 640 rumpite** Before 1, *ab-* normal in V., NW 2, 842. Though *funem rumpere* is altogether conventional(cf.

Cavazza, *EV* 4, 599, n. on **266 f. litore funem/deripere**). The clear narrative ‘signal’ of urgency is given there, as here, by severing the mooring-ropes; cf. **667**, taking up at last this injunction. The addition of *ab* is less orthodox (cf. Lommatzsch, *TLL* 1.8.83f.); with *rapite*, there would be no surprise (5.254f., 9.566); here V. makes the point, not that the hawser is itself severed, but that it is severed *from* the shore. Though the one-word ‘half-line’ might appear well-suited to a context of haste and urgency (Sparrow, 42f., comparing 2.640), we are little disposed to tolerate the idea of ‘effective hemistiches’ any longer. Cf. Berres, *VH*, 126f., Günther, 51. The proximity of **661** may suggest (but not compulsorily so, xxxviii) a passage not completely worked up (cf. **588–691**, *ad fin.*). The return to narrative after the plea to leave at once might seem, in realistic terms, awkward. Berres is also right to point out that only after **640** does Polyphemus acquire a name; likewise only now does it emerge that there are numerous Cyclopes (**643**), though that was already clear in Hom.. That may prove only that V. was not systematic in his deployment of information, not that we can demonstrate logically that the vv. after **640** were a later addition. That this addition ran as far as **660** is another modern speculation; there is another clear break in thought at **644**. **640/644–654** show an affinity of thought and development with **588ff.**, but we are no nearer to knowing just how the episode was composed: not, we may be fairly sure, in a single phase of thought or effort.

**641 nam** The reason for such haste is at last revealed; packs of Cyclopes infest the slopes of Etna (cf. **675**); the arithmetic of hyperbole less evident at *Od.* 9.105ff., 399ff., though numerous Cyclopes are clearly present..

**qualis quantusque** Cf. 2.591f. *qualisque uideri/... et quanta solet*, the Hom. ὄσσοσ ἐην οἶός τε, *Il.* 24.630; cf. Cic. *Inu.* 2.170, *de orat.* 1.79, 2.51, 3.85, *TD* 3.56, *Am.* 80, *Brut.* 297, *Ep. ad Caes.* fr. 11 Watt, [Tib.] 3.6.23, *Liv.* 35.28.5, *Ov. Am.* 1.5.22, *Met.* 3.284, *Prop.* 2.8.11 and note *Lucr.* 2.15 *qualibus in tenebris uitae quantisque periculis*, *Aen.* 1. 752 *nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles*.

**cauo ... in antro** Cf. Hoppe, *TLL* 3.715.77, Prinz, *ib.*, 2.191.51; the Homeric ἐνὶ κρητῖ γλαφυρῶ (not used in the Cyclopes episode, where, however, the cave is prominent from 9.182 on).

**Polyphemus** Paschalis (138f.) draws attention to **578 fama est Enceladi** (φήμη); Etna after all is in many ways related to P. (**588–691**); also to P.’s great Callimachean roar (**674**), his natural mode of *expression*,

at which Italy and Sicily shake. Perhaps rightly. Possibly just so monstrous as to become notorious. The name quintessentially Cyclopean, from *Od.*1.70 (where vd. S. West).

**642 lanigeras ... pecudes** Cf. *Enn.Sat.*66 *lanigerum* genus, *Acc.praet.* 20 *pecus lanigerum*, *Lucr.*2.318 *lanigerae ... pecudes (quinquies)*, Heine, *TLL* 7.2.930.43. The epithet once grand and archaic, but perhaps by now a little tired, Cordier, 41, my n. on 7.93.

**claudit** Used on the farm, *Cat.Agr.*124, *Varr.RR* 1.21.1; cf. *Buc.*7.15, *G.*3.214, 352, *Hor.Epd.*2.45, Hey, *TLL* 3.1308.54. Pens not at all unpoetic, *Od.*9.220ff., *Theocr.*25.99, J.M. Frayn, *Sheep-rearing and the wool-trade* (Liverpool 1984), 83.

**atque ubera pressat** So *Buc.*3.99 *frustra pressabimus ubera palmis*, *Terkelsen*, *TLL* 10.2.1195.50. Of grapes, *Prop.*3.17.18. The details of the Cyclops' pastoral activities altogether Homeric, milking, *Od.*9.244, 341, penning, *supra*; for the milking of sheep in general, cf. Frayn, *cit.*,90.

**643 centum alii** Cf. **641 nam.** *Centum aliae*, 1.705, of serving-women.

**curua haec ... ad litora** Cf. **16** (q.v.), **223**. Adventure, in both *Od.* and *Aen.*, naturally unfolds by the sea(cf. *Od.*9.182).

**habitant** Cf. **110**, 11.265.

**uulgo** In the sense of *passim*; vd. Austin on 6.283, *Buc.*4.25, *G.*1.476, 3.246 (with Erren's n.), 494, *OLD* s.v., §5.

**644 infandi Cyclopes** 'De specie et forma', *Bulhart*, *TLL* 7.1.1345.1; cf. (of humans and their behaviour)*Acc.trag.*131, *Aen.*4.613, 11.267. The name from *Od.* 1.69 on. Lumbering long syllables and Homeric caes.(Winbolt, 33ff.) at 3tr.. Prof. J.J.O'Hara suggests *per litt.* that there might be a play on *Poly-phemus*.

**et altis montibus errant** Extremely common coupling of n. and adj., from V. on; Pease on 4.151. Abl. of extension, *Malosti*, 69. The vb. of the Trojans, 1.32, of the unburied, 6.329, of *Allecto*, 7.557. The detail specifically Homeric: cf. **655**.

**645 tertia ... lunae ... cornua** Cf. *G.*1.428; already in *Cic.(Acad.* fr.6) and soon in *Prop.* and *Ov.*(*Lambertz*, *TLL* 4.969.59); c. of the 'cusps' of the moon, like κέρατα, *Arat.*733 with *Kidd's* n. The passage of time thus indicated, *Ov.Met.*2.344, 453, 8.11, *F.*2.175., etc., *Bömer* on *Ov.F.*1.33.

**iam ... se ... lumine complent** Cf. *Ov.Met.*11.453 *quam luna bis impleat orbem*, *Curt.*6.4.16 *cum eminent cornua nondum totum orbem sidere implente*, *Apul.Met.*11.1 *lunae candore nimio completum orbem*, *Manil.*1.469; for V., not yet conventional language, Wulff, *TLL* 3.2093.44f.. For this chronological indication (*Aen.* three months later than Ulysses; cf. *Alambicco*, 69, Heuzé, 198), V. has been sternly reprov'd (e.g. by *Serv.Dan.* on 590 and by *Cova*, lxxxiv): the heroes left Troy roughly at the same time, but, whereas Odysseus encountered the Cyclopes at the very beginning of his travels(9.39ff.), *Aen.* is said to be coming up to seven years of his. But V. might be pardoned for overlooking the internal chronology of *Od.*, and we have seen(xxxii) that 'seven years' is Virgilian Latin for 'a fair while'. The 'conflict's existence cannot be denied, but is of negligible importance.

**646 cum** The indic. to be expected when the main sentence contains a strong indication of time, *KS* 2, 333, *Bennett* 1, 85, *LHS* 624, 5.626f. *septima ... uertitur aestas/ cum .../... ferimur*, *Cato Orig.*fr.71P *et non longinqua memoria est, cum in arbore ensem uiderunt*, (*Keil; uiderint codd.*) *quem Orestes abiens reliquisse dicitur*, *Prop.*2.20.21f..

**uitam .../ 647 ... traho** 'To get through(an activity, period of time, usu. by tedious or painful effort)', *OLD* s.v. *traho*, §17b; cf. *Prop.*4.9.65. Also of *noctem, tempus* in V..

**in siluis** Cf. 590. We might wish to compare *Buc.*10.52 *in siluis inter spelaea ferarum*, *Aen.*11.570, *Camilla's* upbringing *in dumis interque horrentia lustra* (and note 4.151).

**inter deserta ferarum/ 647 lustra domosque** Cf. *G.*2. 471 *lustra ferarum* (so almost self-citation here), 7.404 *inter siluas, inter deserta ferarum* with n., and cf. n. on 11.570 for antecedents of **1.** See *Clavaldtscher*, *TLL* 7.2.1886.44, *Hofmann*, *ib.*, 5.1.1972.35f., *Vetter*, *ib.*, 5.1.685.78. *TCD* distinguishes between *lustra quae faciunt ferae inter sentis et illic cubant* and *domos uero quas infodiunt altius*. **D.** in the sense of 'lonely, remote'; the opposite of *culta*, *Lucr.*1.163. Perhaps V. has in mind *Lucr.*'s fantasy of primitive man's Cox and Box with the wild beasts in his leaf-strewn *cubilia*, 5.982–7 (cf. 955–7, *DS* 1.8.7, *Reischl*(109f.), 76)

**uastosque ... Cyclopas** *Vast*(so too 656), like their cave, 617. Perhaps both thematic, and also the result of a limited lexicon. Prosodic variation(as often) from 644: cf. *Wills*, 464

**ab rupe .../ 648 prospicio** For *ab* + r, cf. *NW*, 2, 847; compare *Misenus's specula* at 239. The vb. conveys gazing from a distance, nn. on 7.30, 289; *tacet EV*.

**sonitumque pedum uocemque** Cf. the *pedum sonitus* Aen. thought he heard as they slipped out of Troy, 2.732 (cf. 728f.); Anchises is just (732f.) *per umbram prospiciens*; the two passages do therefore seem to be related—by a similarity in situation, so a parallelism of language is to be expected, and here at least (xxxix–xl) no light is shed on priority. Achaem. is not confident that the Cyclopes' heavy footsteps and roaring voices will give warning enough, so watches from a vantage-point.

**tremesco** Cf. n. on 11.403.

**649 uictum infelicem** 'Vi dilatata de cibo simplici' (Fleischer/Ehlers, *TLL* 7.1.1361. 21f., M. Bellincioni, *EV* 2, 487. At *G.2.239 frugibus infelix* clearly conveys 'unfruitful' (so too the oleaster, 2.314, not to mention the darnel, 1.154, with Mynors' n., and Garnsey(622), 39), close to the technical sense of *arbor infelix*, *TLL.*, *cit.*, 1361.25ff., Latte, 210f., n.7, Maggiulli, 380, J.N. Bremmer, *HSCP* 87 (1983), 308f. (with further bibl.). Here a hint of Achaem.'s lack of *felicitas* is having been marooned, perhaps, and/or a suggestion that the hedgerows of Etna were not conventionally fertile. **V.:** eating to live, related to *vivere*; cf. Eng. 'victuals', EM s.v. *uiuo*; Lucr.1.598, etc..

**bacas** *Fructus arborum agrestium* Serv.. Homeric heroes do not habitually hunt out food in the hedgerows (and orchard-fruit is problematic, Seymour, 339): cf. *pomis agrestibus*, on landing after an overnight voyage, 7.111 (with n.). Such diet is, though, an interesting clue to V.'s reading, and to the colour of the narrative: cf. [Hippocr.] *Prisc.Med.*3 (with Dierauer(514), 36ff., V. Grimm, *From feasting to fasting* (London 1996), 175), DS 1.8.1, Lucr.5.939ff., *G.2.36 fructusque feros*, 500f. *quos rami fructus .../ sponte tulere sua*, Varr.*RR.*2.1.4 *e feris atque agrestibus ut arboribus ac uirgultis [ac] decarpendo glandem, arbu[s]tum, mora, poma colligerent ad usum* (=Dicaearchus fr.48 Wehrli, Reischl(109f.), 78), Ov.*Met.*1.103ff., Porph.*de abstin.* 2.5, Macr.*Somn.*2.10.6, J. André, *Alimentation*, 83, Reischl(109f.), 70f., Bömer on Ov.*F.*4.395f., Akbar Khan, 255f., R. Vischer, *Das einfache Leben* (Göttingen 1965), 91. V. thus turns credibly to the (possibly Varronian) diet of primitive man. Note berries as the food of tribesmen (Mela 1.41, 117). For acorns as (also) famine food, cf. Plin.*Nat.*16.15, J. Frayn, *Subsistence farming* (London 1979), 91, Garnsey(622), 40f..

**lapidosaque corna** Used already at *G.2.34* of *corna* (in the context of grafting), *bis* in Varr.*RR.* (Hor.*Serm.*2.2.27 *siluestria corna*). Here Serv.Dan. wonders whether *l.* means 'hard' or 'that grows on stony



ground'; Gloss.Ansil.LA 318 uncertain between the latter sense and *quia bacae ipsius ossa in se durissima habent*. *TLL* 7.2.945.84ff.(Lumpe). Colum.10.15 *pruni lapidosi obruta pomis* settles nothing (vd. Boldrer's comm.). Palladius 3.25.2 *lapidosi generis pira uitium mutare creduntur* suggests 'rock-hard', but perhaps also 'at home among stones'(cf. 3.25.6 *si lapidosa pirus est ... secernes omnes lapillos*). No clear answer. For adjs. in -osus, cf. n. on 7.566. For the cornelian cherry, vd. on **22f.**. Its fruit (cf. M.C.P. Schmidt, PW 4.1633.36ff.) food for pigs, *Od.*10.242, but approved by Thphr.*Hist.Plant.*3.12.2; food of early man, *Ov.Met.*1.105. Dried and preserved, Colum.12.10.3; a fruit wine made, *Plin.Nat.*14.103. Medically beneficent, Diosc. 1.119.1, particularly if Achaem. had lately indulged, on finding a fig-tree. A wide-ranging and positive survey, Jane Grigson, *Fruit book* (London 1982), 136ff.; cf. also A. Davidson, *Oxford companion to food* s.v. Dogwood. The detail of Henry's sour dismissal of the fruit suggests that an itinerant vendor had imposed on him; hedgerow fruit still much appreciated (and rightly) in rural Italy: the reverted produce of abandoned orchards can likewise be very palatable.

**650 dant rami** Subject held back to the end; it is the branches of a tree in the wild that fed Achaem.; cf. *G.*2.442, 520, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1683.31 ff.

**uulsis ... radicibus** Cf. **27f. ruptis radicibus arbor/ uellitur.**

**pascunt ... herbae** Cf. *Lucr.*2.996, *Calvus* fr.9 *herbis pasceris amaris*, Krömer, *TLL* 10. 1.595.25. Cf. Garnsey(**622**), 37f. for wild plants as famine foods, as viewed by the ancients.: not much nourishment in the cornelian cherry(*Galen* 6.622.1Kühn); grass eaten in the country during shortages, (*id.*6.750.9; under the heading of unhealthy foods, 750.5. Compare 6.710.3ff.). Grass eaten in early Egypt, *DS* 1.43.1, by primitive man, *Ov.F.*2.293, 4.395f., Kornhardt, *TLL* 6.3.2619.26ff.; during sieges, e.g. *App.Civ.* 2.252, 5.144, *Liv.*23.19.13, *Lucan* 6.113, Kornhardt, *cit.*, 2619.39ff.. Certain plants, called loosely *herbae*, were of course normally and currently edible, *Plin.Nat.*21.104, Kornhardt, *cit.*, 2615.34ff.; for *Galen*, vd. *supra*.

**651 omnia conlustrans** The vb. used by *Cic.cons.*fr.2.2; in the sense of 'look over' used by *Cic.*, Mertel, *TLL* 3.1665.29ff.; the simplex common in V. thus, *EV* 3.288.

**hanc ... classem** Often of the Troj. ships: 5, etc..

**primum ad litora .../ 652 ... uenientem** Cf. 2.117 *uenistis ad oras*;

*u.* of a fleet, Maurenbrecher, *TLL* 3.1286.4 (Liv.26.20.11, etc.). Cf. **306 ut me conspexit uenientem.**

**652 conspexi** Cf. **306. prospexi M** probably from **648 prospicio** in the same *sedes*.

**huic me .../ 653 addixi** S.v. 'se tradere vel dedere', Klotz, *TLL* 1.576.82, comparing *nullius addictus iurare in uerba magistri*. At some distance, therefore, from the technical language of the Rom. law of sale.

**quaecumque fuisset** Cf. Austin on 2.94, 136, 756, Ernout-Thomas, 427f., KS 2, 181, representing the fut. perf. of direct speech; the generalising relative itself normally takes indic..

**653 satis est** Cf. (e.g.) 9.140 *sed perisse semel satis est*. Ramminger(63) draws attention to the repetition of thought from **605**, referring to the 'unsatisfactory impression' given and concluding 'unnecessary, if not ill-suited to his situation'. Not conventional ring-composition, but, significantly, Achaem.'s two speeches conclude with the same thought: though the Trojans have guaranteed his life, he would *still* rather die than be exposed again to the Cyclops—who is just now on the point of appearing to terrify the Trojans too. The timing is excellent and the repetition unexceptionable.

**gentem ... nefandam N.** from *for*, but influenced by *nefas*, EM s.v. *for* (perhaps more recent than *infandus*, **644**); cf. Cat.64.406 *omnia fanda nefanda*, G.1.278, *Aen.*6.26.

**effugisse** Cf. Lucr.4.1150; standard Latin(Leumann, *TLL* 5.2.206.25).

**654 uos ... potius** Rather than let me die at the hands of the Cyclopes; the easy ellipse well explained by TCD, at some length.

**animam hanc** 'This life of mine', Negri, 42; cf. **140. H.:** 'meus', Haffter, *TLL* 6.3.2703.82; of *animus*, *anima*, 2704.18ff..

**quocumque ... leto** Cf. Jocelyn on Enn.*trag.fr.*xxxiv, *EV* 3, 597, Steinmann, *TLL*7.2. 1190.12 for this lofty, poetic term for death. *Any* death at human hands preferable to falling into the hands of the Cyclopes.

**absumite** Cf. **257**; in the sense of 'carry off(in death)', cf. Cat.65.14 (Acc.*trag.*564 'torment'; Cat.64.242 'wear out'). Cf. Lyne, *WP*, 107, Axelson, 67: one of the many lesser near-synonyms for 'kill'. *Absumite. finite*, *Gloss.Lat.*4.485.25 and cf. Liv.23.30.12 *mors ... cum absumpsisset*, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 1.219.17f..

**655 uix ea fatus erat** *Sexies* in *Aen.*; Moskalew 65, n.82.

**summo ... monte** Cf. n. on 11.836f. The colossal giants seen atop the vast mountain (and a precise Homeric detail, *Od.*9.113 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα). An abl. of extension: cf. *G.*1.43, 2.111, *Aen.*5.252, Malosti, 94ff.

**cum** Cf. 1.586, 2.323 and n. on **10 uix ... cum**; standard *cum inversum*.

**uidemus** The regular primacy of sight; this time an appalling sight, too. 'Behold the monster Polypheme' (John Gay).

**656 ipsum ... se ... mouentem** Interlocking word-order, spondaic rhythm. A prolonged concentration of ponderous effects. The reflexive at *Cat.*3.8, also comedy and milit. narrative; Wieland, *TLL* 8.1538.82.

**inter pecudes** Cf. **660**, Hillen, *TLL* 10.1.957.55.

**uasta ... mole** Similar phrasing thereafter widespread of giants, monsters, large warriors, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1344.55. So *Cacus magna se mole ferebat* (8.199), Mez. *mole sua stat* (10.771), *EV* 3, 559. The adj. much in favour, **617, 647**.

**657 pastorem Polyphemum** Now in addition ponderous allit., and synaloepha at 2½ caesura, again, as **622**. Cf. *pastor Aristaeus* and for the paradox of the pastoral monster, cf. **588–691**. Perhaps (cf. Papanghelis, 282) V. is also signalling that his Polyphemus is in part post-epic, though his pastoral aspect is as much Homeric as Theocritean.

**et litora nota petentem L. n.** at 2.256 of the Gk. fleet returning to the shores of Troy; in both passages, altogether appropriate and the issue of priority not pertinent: neat and unremarkable phrasing, appropriate in both passages. Familiarity carries, as often, pathos (1.684, 4.648, etc., n. on 7.491, E. Kraggerud, *EV* 3, 766); the wise shepherd moves his flocks and thus gets to know the countryside; Papanghelis, *cit.* suggests that these are also the shores the reader knows from *Theocr./Buc.*, though Hom. would in truth serve too. 'Rhyming' pres. partic. at successive v.-ends: n. on 11.865 considers framing partic. of mixed conjugation, while here cf. *G.*3.421, 4.266, 510, *Aen.*2.381, 5.279, 6.657, 8.669, 9.628, 703, 10.193, 12.904 (framing), with rhyme between caes. and v.-end 4.260, 5.181, 10.554, 797, 12.903, and as here, with verse-rhyme (cf. Austin on 6.469, Wilkinson, *Golden Lat. artistry*, 32ff., and, *bene*, Marouzeau, *TSL*, 63ff.), 6.843f., 8.620f. (note also 5.219–21). Less striking, *Aen.*4.390, 5.181f., 469f., 8.157f., 711f., 12.370f.

**658 monstrum horrendum** The description trimmed down for Fama, 4.181 *monstrum horrendum, ingens*. Three successive words in synaloepha: cf. nn. on 7.170, 311, Norden on 6.186 (including short e at 2½); also note the assonance *in-...in-*. The same adj., **679**; cf. Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2982. 7ff. (from *trag.inc.100*); this is the language of prodigies, at least in poetry, n. on 7.78 (an element rather overstated, Akbar Khan, 235ff.). But cf. too *Od.9.190* καὶ γὰρ θαῦμα τέτυκτο πελώριον.

**informe** Serv.Dan. glosses *ultra formam*, Gloss.Lat.4.529.55 *nimum turpe* (Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.1477.14f.). On 8.264, Cacus' corpse, *informe cadaver*, Serv.Dan. remarks *cuius formam non sit facile complecti*. Huge and hideous alike here too.

**ingens** Cf. **579**, **619**, **636**: thematic, significant, routine.

**cui ... ademptum** Cf. Cat.68B.93 *ei misero fratri iucundum lumen ademptum*, a grand borrowing with pathetic change of sense; cf. Lucr. 3.1033 *lumine adempto*, Cic.*Arat.* 345 *adiment lucem*. The dat. *incommodi*.

**lumen** Cf. **635** (not to mention **663**, **677**): discussed with energy by Henry, who suggests that **l.** is not the eye itself, but the light of day, or life, as 12.935, *Ov.Trist.4.4.45*, *Ibis* 271. But *Hor.Epd.17.44 adempta uati reddidere lumina* (of the blinded Stes.) rather supports 'eye' here and *Ov.Met.3.337 pro lumine adempto* (of Tiresias, cf. 3.515) is hardly decisive either way, while 14.197 reworks the present passage (cf. further Oertel, *TLL* 1.682.49f., Ehlers, *TLL* 7.2.1818.48ff.). Ehlers, *cit.* acutely senses 'lusus verborum' and in many of the passages discussed, both senses are clearly, as here, present (though not for *EV* 3, 292). The tragedy of the Cyclops: cf. Paschalis, 135f.; the etymology of the name drawn out, *Hes.Theog.*143f.

**659 trunca ... pinus T.**: 'lopped', *Varr.RR* 1.14.2, n. on 11.9; *male*, Akbar Khan, 247. *Abscisa atque amputatis ramis* TCD; cf. *Ov.Met.*13.782.

**manu ... regit** **Manu MP** and the remaining c.8 mss.; **manum** bnt, TCD and quoted thus, *Quint.*8.4.24. Acc. is orthodox and easy, balancing exactly **uestigia**. With abl., the obj. of **regit** is not so much **uestigia**, shared with **firmitas** as 'him', or 'his progress', to be supplied (vd. Con.). Much the same at *Plin.Nat.*6.166 *unum [sc. iter] a Pelusio per harenas, in quo, nisi calami defixi regant, uia non reperitur*. *Quint.* quotes *lectio facilior* from memory. *Manu* can indicate as well 'in the hand' as 'with effort'; for all R.D. Williams' eloquence, markedly more attractive than acc.. **Regit**: cf. Cat.64. 113 *regens ... uestigia filo*, *Aen.*6.30 and *Plin. supra*. The picture of Polyphemus reduced to walking blindly with a stick (his club, *Od.*9.319, is compared) a first sign of V.'s realistic

pathos: cf. Sen.*Contr.*10.4.2 *caeci innitentes baculis*, Soph.*OT* 456, Eur.*Ion* 743, Call.*H.*5.127, AR.2.198 (the blinded Phineus) Apld.*Bibl.*3.6.7, AP 9.298.1, Sen.*Oed.* 656f.; blinded mythol. figures are sooner or later equipped with one. Dr. V. Dasen kindly alerts me to A. Esser, *Das Antlitz der Blindheit*<sub>2</sub> (Leiden 1961), 81.

**et uestigia firmat** Cf. Luc.4.31 *et fixo firmat uestigia pilo*, Stat.*Theb.* 2.11 *it tamen et medica firmat uestigia uirga*. Note also (crossing a ford) Curt.4.9.18 *sed gradum firmare uix poterant*, Sil.3.633, Amm.14.2.6 *nec firmare nisu ualido gressus*, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.810.24.

**660 lanigeræ ... oues** Variation on **642**. V. may think of Od.'s escape as the Cyclops' flocks emerge at morning, *Od.*9.437ff..

**comitantur** Animals are regularly the *comites* of man, Varr. *RR* 2.9.1, etc., Bannier, *TLL* 3.1773.75ff., Lyne on *Ciris* 308. So too the vb.: of dogs, *Aen.*8.462, of tunnies, Plin.*Nat.*9.51, etc.; Bannier, *TLL* 3.1811.53ff., 1812.45ff.. The vb. in *Acc.trag.*, Lucr. (*bis*), Cat.63. Laurenti, *EV* 5\*, 623 well compares the relations between shepherd and flock, *Buc.*1.74–7.

**ea sola uoluptas** Cf. 8.581 *care puer, mea sola et sera uoluptas* (Evander of Pallas). For **ea** (attr. of gender), cf. **393**. Polyphemus not only evokes pathos but exhibits sentiments that V.'s readers can share with pleasure and understanding; already in Hom. he had addressed his ram, 9.447ff., displaying both affection and esteem (*bene de Jong, ad loc.*).

**661 solamenque mali** Paronomasia between **sola** and **solamen**, as noted by Bartelink, 110; cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 147, citing Cic.*Cat.*4.8, Ov.*Met.*1.359f. for the same play. **S.** used at 10.493 (burial), 859 (Mezentius' horse); apparently a Virgilian coinage (though not registered by Cordier, 144ff.); for his few abstracts in *-men*, cf. *ib.*, 161, Ferraro, *EV* 1, 379. Thomas, *infra* suggests not quite convincingly that the φάρμακον of Theocr.11.1 (his Cyclops-poem) might have influenced V. here.

[**de collo fistula pendet**]P; absent in **M**, TCD, Serv.; in **F**, added in a Carolingian hand; c.9 mss. divided. The evidence not stated quite correctly by Mynors; vd. Clark, *cit.*. The capital mss. here therefore show both late antique and (various; the same words in diverse sequences) c8/9 attempts to 'fill in' the space left by a hemistich (*Companion*, 23f.); why Thomas should refer to 'the exceedingly difficult question of the status of the supplement' quite escapes me, though he is perfectly right to say that a touch of bucolic would not be at

all inappropriate or unvirgilian in the context. But the lack of precise sources and lit. reference in these words is not in their favour; Reineke, *TLL* 10.1.1030.46ff. offers nothing quite similar. See Thomas(570–87), 261f., n.38, Berres, *VH*, 144f., Günther, 46, 51, Sparrow, 39, 49, Geymonat, *EV* 2, 287, R.J. Clark, *Symb.Osl.*70 (1995), 68ff.. The pipe is so represented on a painting from the Casa di Laocoonte at Pompeii, but the painting(cf. G.K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969), pl.24) has few significant details in common with V.(the Cyclops clearly enough not heroic but pastoral): for a sceptical view of ‘Virgilian’ scenes at Pompeii, including this one, Horsfall, *Atti* 1981, 2, 54 (add *Companion*, 253 with n.39); did the c.18 draughtsman perhaps even allow the memory of reading an interpolated text of V. to influence and enrich his copy? Parthenius’s Daphnis played the syrinx on the slopes of Etna(*Erot.Path.* 29, after Timaeus, *FGH* 566F83). The image of pipes on chest perhaps conventional in the portrayal of pastoral musicians: cf. Manil.5.116f. *pastorem ... cui fistula collo/ haereat* (and for later images, vd. Philostr.*Imag.*2.18.3, Frayn, *loc.cit.*, 642 and White, *Roman farming*, pls.67, 68 at far right); there, and here, it is the syrinx, or Pan-pipes that are to be understood (vd. West, *Greek music*, 110); other items hung from the neck are to be found in Probst, *TLL* 3. 1659. 33ff.. Also note *Buc.*7.24 *pendebit fistula pinu* (the dedication there claimed as a source for the interpolation here, indeed: Sparrow, 47, Glenn, 56).

**662 postquam ... tetigit** For the conjunction, cf. 1. T. ‘reached’, ‘got to’: cf. 324, 4.657f..*litora .../... tetigissent nostra*; a nautical idiom, for Bandiera, *EV* 5\*, 29: used in nautical contexts, indeed, but not in any way distinctively so. Cf. *OLD* s.v., §7a.

**altos ... fluctus** Cf. Luc.9.330; rather surprisingly, not a standard pairing. Cf. Fordyce’s n.(and mine) on 7.6 for *a.* is such expressions as ‘high’ rather than ‘deep’

**et ad aequora uenit** Cf. 191, 7.7, *EV* s.v.(Aricò). This v. has been read as ‘hysteron-proteron’(Con, after Serv., whose term is *hyperbaton*, Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.3.3148.74f.; cf. n. on 7.7); rather (vd. Page), theme and variation: P. reaches the waves of the high sea(perhaps as against those of a cove or bay) and the expanse of ocean.

**663 luminis effossi L.** here clearly ‘eye’; cf. 658. **E.** appears of notable brutality, even an echo of Cat. 108.5 *effossos oculos uoret atro gutture coruus* (and note Sall.*Hist.*1. fr. 44 *Mario ... effosi oculi*); Brandt, *TLL* 5.2.196.52f.. But *oculos effodere* is (also) a conventional extravag-

ant expression of popular speech, common in Plaut.: cf. Fabia on Ter.*Eun.*648, 740, Brandt, *cit*, 196.40ff., Cic.*Rep.*3.27. So Cat. may be heard here alongside a breath of quotidian violent idiom. Not to mention the rarer *ex sterculino ecfosse*. Not exactly what had been done to the eye(boring, after all, not digging), either: the cavil may be to no purpose, and yet, the participle could imply further brutality on Ulysses' part. **Effuso M**, **effusi M**<sub>2</sub>: the rarer vb. easily confused.

**fluidum ... cruorem** Cf. G.3.484 *fluidus liquor*, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.952.59ff., citing Seren.Samm. 805 for the application of *fluidos ... cursus* to flowing blood. Heuzé remarks(200) that V. maintains the tone of gore and putrefaction with the suggestion that the unhealed wound is even now dripping blood; certainly, the detail, three months after the wound was inflicted, is singular and may indeed call for some such explanation.

**lauit** Cf. Hor.C.3.12.1f. *dulci/ mala uino lauere*; odd that NR do not cite this passage for the sense 'wash away': literal, admittedly, but showing that even the *simplex* can suggest 'off, away'. The older 3conj. form familiar in trag., Lucr., Cat., Beikircher, *TLL* 7.2.1047.82ff., Leumann, 544, Sommer, 507, NW 3, 258ff.

**inde** Water from the sea(Hand, 3, 363) or blood from the socket? Serv. acutely notes both possibilities; both indeed may be present. I do not see that this word is unsatisfactory, a mere filler, or a sign of incompleteness(Williams).

**664 dentibus infrendens** So of Hercules in pursuit of Cacus, 8.230, where Serv. Dan. comments *inter se comprimens dentes* (=Isid.*Etym.* 10. 137); there TCD explains that *simplex frendere* is used of boars whetting their tusks and cf. too 10.718 (the boar, rather than Mezentius, probably); cf. Schmit-Neuerburg, 329f., Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.1488.24ff. and, for furious tooth-grinding more generally, U. Leo, *TLL* 6.1.1287.13ff., whereas Lobe(176f.) compares a completely irrelevant passage of Plautus(105) in an exceptionally unhelpful discussion.

**gemitu** Rage, agony, and, as TCD remarks, frustration, for, blinded, Polyphemus will not be able to punish his attacker.

**graditurque per aequor/ 665 iam medium** For (alliterative) **g.**, cf. n. on 11.535. V. develops the **aequor** of 662. The midst of the *aequor*: G.1.361 (Arat. has simply ἐκ πελάγευς), *Aen.*6.342, 10.451, 665; **iam** underlines that it takes even the Cyclops some time to reach the high seas proper.

**necdum** Cf. 512.

**fluctus ... tinxit** Cf. Prop.1.20.8 *siue Aniēna tuos tinxerit unda pedes*; *EV* remarks that the subject here (and only here in V.) is non-personal and there is no instrumental abl.(5\*, 184): nothing odd or noteworthy, but an occasional variation of construction, as against standard (e.g.) *alii stridentia tingunt/ aera lacu*. **Fluctus MF<sub>1</sub> ω, fluctu M<sub>1</sub>P nry**, both readings known to Serv.; scribes confused by the variety of construction but the nom. decidedly more interesting and better supported.

**latera ardua** Cf. Enceladus' **latus**, 581. The adj., of Cyclops, at 619.

**666 nos** V returns at last to the Trojans, after this long pause in the narrative of their journey.

**procul inde** So 8.642 *haud procul inde*, Liv.2.26.6 *nec procul inde*, 2.52.3 *et saepe*, Ramminger, *TLL* 10.2.1563.52f., Rehm, *ib.*7.1.1110.8f.

**fugam ... celerare** The vb. *septies* in *Aen.*, Catullan(63.26) and Lucretian (1.387, 2.231). *EV* 1, 725. Hist. infins. and dactyl. rhythm in keeping with hasty departure.

**recepto/ 667 supplice sic merito** Achaem. has *earned* his rescue *thus* by alerting the Trojans to the imminent peril threatening them and barely avoided in time (cf. 12.852 *meritas aut bello territat urbes*, *EV* 3, 491); the common humanity the Trojans also display(588–691), however altruistic and moving, is no less than Achaem. *deserves*. We might also be invited to wonder whether it is not the Trojans' recognition of Achaem's claims to rescue that contributes to their safe escape. **S.** noun, as at 2.543; **r.** used by Aen. of his rescue of his father, 6.111.

**tacitique** Cf. Licinia Ricottilli, *EV* 5\*, 9 for a meticulous account of the association of **t.** with secrecy in Hom., tragedy and V.

**incidere funem** Cf. 639f.; here with Od.'s flight from the Laestrygonians very much in mind, *Od.*10.126f.. So 4.575 *tortosque incidere funis*, Liv.22.19.10 *ancoralia incidunt*, Tac.*Hist.*5.22 (tent-ropes), Rehm, *TLL* 7.1.909.18f.

**668 uertimus ... aequora** Cf. 5.141 (vd. Williams on the ploughing metaphor), 10.208, n. on 495. *Verrimus* recentiores, Ribbeck, Sabbadini; sometimes erroneously attributed to **F.**. Compare Od. fleeing from the Laestrygonians, 10.130 οἱ δ' ἄλα πάντες ἀνέρριψαν.

**et** Postponed, n. on 7.761.

**proni** Uniquely of rowers leaning right fowards, Schröder, *TLL* 10.2.1933.12f.. Cf. the racing drivers of 5.147 *pronique in uerbera pendent* (with 10.586). Cf. Hom.'s ἐμβαλέειν κώπησ, *Od.*9.489, 10.129.



**certantibus ... remis** Berger, *TLL* 3.892.9f., records this passage s.v. 'aemulari, aemulando contendere'. Perhaps Munich was far enough from the sea to encourage the unusual image of a single crew pulling in rivalry between its members ("all rowed their best, but none so hard as stroke" attrib. Ouida). Cf. rather (which may still be what *TLL* meant) **128 uario certamine**, **290 certatim**: here too there is competition between the crews to clear the land fastest.

**669 sensit** Cf. the common tragic ἤκουσα, *uel sim.*, at the beginning of a tragic trimeter and note the effects of run-on *sensit* at *G.*4.334, *Aen.*5.868. In swift narrative, the subject changes abruptly and dramatically (*pace* Williams).

**et ad sonitum uocis** Cf. *Lucr.*5.1055 *uocis inauditis sonitus*, *Plaut. Stich.*88, *Varr.LL* 6.67. 'It is extremely difficult to see what this means' (Williams); very fully discussed, *Roiron*, 241–6. Far too much ink spilt over the apparent contradiction with **667 taciti**. The Trojans' silent haste had been to escape the Cyclops' immediate reach (**670**). That achieved, apparently, they cheered, or chattered, or sang, or called the stroke (**128**), just as soon as they were under oars. *V.* typically does not specify the details, but in swift narrative signals the passage from danger to safety by a transition from silent concealment to *nauticus clamor*. *TCD* supposes intelligently enough that there was no *remorum strepitus*, no *cantilena nautarum*, but the Cyclops still heard something, *quia ... non potuit in totum uacua esse omni strepitu nauigatio*. In *Hom.*, *Od.* signals silently, 9.490 and there had been a time when a word would have spelt disaster for all, 497; the first time he judged it safe to speak and revile Polyphemus, he famously misjudged the giant's range.

**uestigia torsit** Cf. 6.547; *EV* 5\*, 219 (no antecedents traced); the Cyclops' feet, **659**. For eyes, cf. n. on 7.399.

**670 uerum ubi nulla datur ... potestas** Cf. 7.591 f. *uerum ubi nulla datur caecum exsuperare potestas/ consilium*, with comm.; not hailed by Sparrow as a repetition from an earlier book and not discussed as significant by Moskalew, but evidently a neat formulation which will appeal to *V.* at a later stage.

**dextra adfectare** *M*<sub>2</sub>*P*, **dextram** *FM*<sub>1</sub>*P*<sub>1</sub>; both readings known to *Serv.*; *TCD* divided between text and paraphrase, grammarians divided, Carolingian mss **dextram**. *Serv.* paraphrases the acc. as *dextram intendere* (*et inicere* adds *Serv. Dan.*). *Adfectare* proves altogether unpar-

alleled thus in class. Latin with a concrete obj. (though apparently easy at first sight, before the usage of **a.** is explored); the abl., 'grab, grope with **d.**' is appropriate to the blind giant, while use with a concrete obj. is apparently not developed until Apul. (*Met.* 1.2 *is ientaculum ambulatorium prata quae praeterit ore in latus detorto pronus adfectat*; cf. further, Vollmer, *TLL* 1.1184.32 ff.). The infin. after noun (prolative) peculiarly Virgilian, Görler, *EV* 2, 271 and vd. n. on 11.325.

**671 nec potis** Cf. n. on 11.148, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 10.2.337.4 ff.; the adj. (of which *potius* is the compar.) occasional in all forms of Lat. from Plaut. on; a handy alternative to *posse*, as was **potestas**; either would have sufficed, alone, while paired they are perhaps a little awkward, though we do tend to be oversensitive to V.'s repetitions (n. on 7.554, *ad fin.*).

**Ionios fluctus** Cf. 211 for the Ionian Sea; note Cat. 84.11 *Ionios fluctus*, *G.* 2.108, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1.946.30; the geogr. adj. thus common, as is the gen., *ib.*, 946.22 ff.

**aequare sequendo** Cf. 6.263, 10.248 *uentos aequante sagitta*, *Liv.* 25.34.11 *aequantium ... equos uelocitate peditum*, von Mess, *TLL* 1.1021.25 ff.. In his pursuit, the Cyclops could not keep up with the [ships carried by the] waves. The vb. in Cat. (22.8, 64.315), *Lucr.* (*bis*; also *exaequare*).

**672 clamorem immensum tollit** The great howl of *Od.* 9.395, *μερδαλέον δὲ μέγ' ἴαχεν*. The vb. standard of *clamores* from Plaut. on: cf. *Lucr.* 4.1014, *Aen.* 2.222; see Hoppe, *TLL* 3.1259.35 ff.. The adj. so used also at 11.832, where vd. n. and cf. Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.453.25 ff.; in proportion to Polyphemus' size, 632. In *Acis and Galatea*, Polypheme's vast voice unforgettably rendered by the short and massive Owen Branigan.

**quo pontus et omnes/ 673 ... undae** Abl. of means; the subj. split up and amplified (note also postponed and run-over **undae**) in keeping with the scale of the roaring (cf. 2.206 ff. *iubaeque/ sanguineae superant undas*; *pars cetera pontum/ pone legit*; 417 is more artful. Hardly even to be called theme and variation; a Virgilian tendency to amplitude of expression, and amplification of volume, too, in comparison with *Od.* 9.395, 399 f.; between echo and pathetic fallacy.

**673 intremuere** Cf. 5.505; the inceptive apparently a coinage (Hugenschmidt, *TLL* 7.2.48.50 f.), alongside 581 **intremere**. At 7.514 f. Allecto sounds her signal *qua protinus omne/ contremuit nemus et siluae intremuere*

*profundae*. For the pathetic fallacy in epic, cf. nn. on 7.722, 759; for the reactions of rivers in particular, see also Clausen on *Buc.*5.21.

**penitusque exterrita P.:** cf. n. on 7.374; not only the coasts, but also the interior, according to Sabbadini (possible, in a different context: cf. Spoth, *TLL* 10.1.1077.45 ff. citing *Lucr.*2.539; 28x in *Lucr.*). However, here the juxtaposition of Aetna does rather suggest that—a perfectly common, acceptable usage—the ‘inner depths’ of Italy, specifically even of e.g. Vesuvius, are intended (cf. 32, 2.487, 8.242, 243. Above all, cf. Timaeus, *FGH* 566F58=Strab.5.4.9). A studied reversal of Callim. (*infra*) may be intended: no longer are the Cyclopes heard in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, but the Cyclopes are heard from earth down into the depths where dwell those other giants. **E.:** cf. nn on 11.806, 307 (Ennian).

**tellus/ 674 Italiae V.** never uses the (loftier) *Itala tellus* (cf. though 7.643f.); with gen., cf. 477; with geogr. adj., common (*Saturnia*, *Oenotria*, *Mauortia*, etc.). Does V. mean to use **I.** of Italy-and-Sicily, or is his sense rather that even distant Italy echoes to the Cyclopes’ roar (cf. the frequent references to the range of Etna’s effects, 571)? Hardly the former (cf. E. Wistrand, *Opera selecta* (Stockholm 1972), 249 ff., D. Musti, *EV* 3, 34 ff.): Strabo (5.1.1) has Italy end, explicitly, at the Strait of Messina (cf. *Plin. Nat.* 3.38; Sicily, after all, has only returned to Italian, or Roman, rule in the last 150 years) and an ‘inclusive’ sense seems not to be attested. Italy too, then, seems to tremble, and this widespread effect is confirmed precisely by the proper names used in *Call. H.* 3 of the Cyclopes, *infra*. TCD asks how Aen. knew, for he had not yet reached Italy, while *Serv.* refers more sympathetically to *poetica hyperbole*. V. does not attempt to match Hom.’s boulder-hurling; in consequence the episode may be thought to end rather tamely, for the spectacle of the **concilium horrendum** is fearful, but no actual menace to the Trojan ships.

**curuisque ... cauernis** Cf. *G.*2.216, 3.544, *Aen.*8.242 *umbrosae penitus patuere cauernae*, Hoppe, *TLL* 3.645.4, Schwering, *ib.* 4.1551.67.

**immugiit** Cf. 11.38; apparently a coinage, Cordier, 144.

**Aetna** We return to the great mountain of 571; all Sicily quakes when Enceladus, imprisoned beneath the volcano, turns, 581 f.. Of Allecto’s trumpet, V. continues (7.516f., where vd. n.) *audiit et Triviae longe lacus, audiit .../....* Both passages are indebted to Callim.’s account of the beat of the Cyclopes’ hammers (located at Hierā, mod. Vulcano, in the Aeolian islands), *H.*3.56 ff. αὔε γὰρ Αἴτνη./ αὔε δὲ Τρινακρὴν Κικανῶν ἔδος, αὔε δὲ γείτων/ Ἰταλίη, etc.: see Römisch, 224, n. 20.

**675 at** Transition rather than opposition; 'but' does not sit comfortably here.

**genus ... Cyclopus** Cf. **235**, **653**, 7.304f.(Lapiths), *EV* 2, 659; **g.** perhaps suggests that the Cyclopes are of a single origin, as does Hes. *Theog.*139f. *gens* and *genus* not distinguished.

**e siluis ... et montibus altis M.a.:** cf. n. on 7.563. Cf. *Lucr.*5.201, *Buc.*2.5, 5.28 and n. on 7.387 *frondosis montibus* for this solidly conventional landscape.

**676 excitum** Cf. n. on 7.376. Add Santra, *trag.fr.*3, Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1246.3f.. The prosody of **-i-** variable, *NW* 3, 286ff., with Rehm, 1245.59ff.. The Cyclopes roused by Polyphemus' cry, *Od.*9.399ff..

**ruit ad portus** 'Movimento veloce ... con prevalente idea di ostilità', Cavazza, *EV* 4, 602: common of individuals and groups; cf. 7.573 with n.. The harbour that of **570**.

**et litora complent** Already at **71**. The plur. after **genus:** cf. *G.*4.461 and note Wagner, *QV* viii.4a, LHS 436; **P** preserves the clearly correct plur.; the mixture of plur. and sing. thus unremarkable, LHS, 438 (with instances from prose). Here, it is relevant that plur. **Cyclopes** precedes: cf.(e.g.) 2.63f. *iuuentus / circumfusa ruit certantque illudere capto*, Wagner, *cit.*, §4d.

**677 cernimus** Cf. **655**: the Trojans' first sight of Polyphemus.

**adstantis** So codd.; *astantis* Mynors. See **123**: no real justification for the 'correct' orthogr. here.

**nequiquam** Cf. n. on 7.589 and, for the emotional tone, on 11.536. For all their size, number, savagery and ferocity, they can achieve nothing. A pathetic spectacle.

**lumine toruo** Cf. **636** for the adj.; **1.** 'eye, gaze': cf. **658**, **663**. For the singular, cf. **419**; here one eye each, but many Cyclopes, after all.

**678 Aetnaeos fratris** Cf. *Sil.*15.83 *Ledaeos fratres*, *Stat.Silv.*3.2.10 *Oebalii fratres*, 4.8.29 *Amyclaeos fratres*, *Theb.*7.793 *Therapnaei ... fratres*, Vollmer, *TLL* 6.1. 1255.34ff., not at all in support of Hardie's suggestion that **V.** could here mean 'brothers of Etna' (*CI*, 265, n.81). Though the mountain could be personified, and the adj. could in theory be used to mean 'of E.', where there is so much parallel material available, the lack of any external support for this notion weighs heavy against it. The brothers, rather, who inhabit Etna; vd. on **675 genus**.

**caelo ... ferentis** 1.189f.(stags) *ceruos capita alta ferentis/ cornibus*. Twice, the neat clausula is embedded in the context through the addition of one locally appropriate word; no help, therefore, in discussions of priority. Note the oaks of 9.682, which *caelo attollunt capita*; here Serv.Dan. offers *pro in caelum*, as at 11.192; cf. Bannier, *TLL* 3.85.59ff.. Compare 8.591 *extulit os sacrum caelo*, Görler, *EV* 2, 266, Antoine, 150f.; this dat. markedly Virgilian and its slight rarity with *simplices* no argument against it here (*pace* Williams).

**capita alta** Cf. also 9.678. Note Fama, who (4.177) *caput inter nubila condit*. Here, we return to the pattern of sky-high hyperbole (cf. **619f.**, Hardie, *CI*, 265).

**679 concilium horrendum C.** of the gods, of the Achaeans, of the Dead, of the Latins, La Penna, *EV* 1, 869; of the Furies, *Stat.Theb.* 4.634. Cf. Gudeman, *TLL* 4.45.65ff.. Here the use of **c.** sad and almost wry, for the Cyclopes can do nothing and hardly assemble to take counsel. The adj. not used since **658**. With the appos., cf. *G.*1.63 *durum genus* and note Salemme, *EV* 1, 239ff..

**679–681** With this simile, cf. 9.679–82, *Il.*12.132–4; note too how Hom. compares the Cyclops  $\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\ \acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\iota/\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  (*Od.*9.191f.). The sole point of comparison here, though, is height; possibly, while Polyphemus advances into the sea, we are meant to think of his brothers as stationary, and lining the shore. The narrative will proceed (**682**) with something of an uneasy jerk, perhaps suggestive of two phases of composition. R.D. Williams' enthusiasm for these vv. is not easily shared. Cf. Williams, *TI*, 264, R. Rieks, *ANRW* 2.31.2, 1073 and *supra*, xxxvi with n.82 for the significance of this lone simile (so it is said, but what of **637?**) for the issue of composition.

**quales cum** Cf. 11.659 with n.; this is regular usage and Con. should not have suspected that **cum** was prepos..

**uertice celso** (1)'on a high peak', (2)'with their high tops' or (3)both? An old discussion (*EV* 5\*, 511 adds nothing to the comms.; vd. Williams' sound n.): in such problems, this comm. tends normally to answer (3), but here (2) is much to be preferred: at 9.682, the *aeriae ... quercus sublimi uertice nutant* (cf. the *aesculus* of *G.*2.291, *Aen.*2.629, the notorious *quercus* of 4.445). Of course mountains likewise have *uertices*, but here they would only serve to complicate the comparison between Cyclopes and vast trees.

**680 aerae quercus** Cf. Cat.64.291 *aeria cupressu*, *Buc.*1.58 *aeria ... ab ulmo*, *Aen.*9. 679(*quercus*), von Mess, *TLL* 1.1063.27ff.

**aut coniferae cyparissi** For the cypress, cf. n. on **64**; here the Gk. form of the name and the corresponding Gk. v.-end, Wulff, *TLL* 4.1438.33f., Norden, 438. The epithet apparently an archaising invention of V's(Cordier, 46, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 4.318.48), after Gk. κωνοφόροι; but note Cat.64.106 *conigeram ... pinum*. Cf. Maggiulli, 280, citing Colum.6.7.2 *cupressini ... coni*.

**681 constiterunt** 'Stand'(cf. Remme, *TLL* 4.469.52, comparing Gk. ἐστηκέναι); for the aoristic/gnomic perf. in V., particularly in similes, to confer life and substance on details given reality by frequent repetition, cf. n. on 7.690, LHS, 318, KS 1, 128 (*bene*), citing 2.379f., 11.809ff., Maurach, *Dichtersprache*, 59, Woodcock, 175. The short -e- in the perfect: cf. n. on **48 steterunt**.

**silua alta Iouis** Cf. *G.*2.431 (and note *Aen.*6.179). Oaks and Jupiter regularly associated, and particularly at Dodona(from *Od.*14.327ff., where vd. Hoekstra, *Hes.fr.*319MW): cf. *G.*2.15 (with Mynors' n.), 3.332; vd. Maggiulli, 420, Gruppe 1, 355 *et passim*.

**lucusue Dianae** Cf. n. on 7.778. There are sufficient traces of an association of the cypress with Artemis/Diana to point to a clear correspondence here of Jupiter-oak and Diana-cypress: *Xen.Anab.*5.3.12, *Strab.*14.1.20, *Plin.Nat.*16.216, etc., Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*<sub>6</sub>, 278f., Gruppe 2, 788, n.6. The less perspicuous connexion of Diana with Hecate and thus with the funerary cypress(**64**) has also been claimed here.

**682 praecipitis** Cf. **598**. The abrupt transition perhaps not a clue to the poet's drafts, so much as a stylistic indication of speed in the narrative.

**metus acer** Cf. too 1.362, after *Lucr.*6.1212 *usque adeo metus mortis iis incesserat acer*; *metus ... tenet* at *Enn.Ann.*562.

**agit** Thus with abstracts, apparently commoner in pass. (*acta furore uel sim.*, *EV* 1, 55f., H. Haffter, *Unters. altlat.Bilderspr.*(Berlin 1934), 87); *mala mens* as subj., Cat.40. 2. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 1.1371.73f.

**quocumque** The advb. used at *Buc.*3.49. Cf. *Lucr.*4.166 *quo cumque*.

**rudentis/ 683 excutere** Cf. **267 excussosque iubet laxare rudentis**. Infin. thus after causative verbs extremely Virgilian, Page on 2.64, Görler, *EV* 2, 271.

**uentis ... secundis** Cf. **529**, 5.32f. *uela secundi/ intendunt Zephyri*.

**intendere uela** Cf. 5.33, 829, Nielsen, *TLL* 7.1.2116.51 s.v. ‘pan-dere, tumidum reddere’, the direct consequence of slackening the brails. Also of bows; cf. n. on 7.514 (where the objections of Catrein, 156, n.441 rest on an atypical misinterpretation of my argument).

**684 contra** Madvig corrected to *contra ac* (vd. Nettleship, in *Con.* 3, 515 and, trenchantly, Page), neatly but unnecessarily. *Con.* tr., tolerably, ‘on the other hand’(cf. *Hand*, 2, 112f., 7.267 *uos contra regi mea nunc mandata referte*, 9.136f. *sunt et mea contra/ fata mihi*); paraphrased *sed* by Spelthahn, *TLL* 4.742.59 (and ‘but’ will indeed do very well). Not even Peerlkamp approved of Heyne’s deletion(followed by Wagner) of **684–6**; there are further signs of panic and confusion in that generation of commentators. These are difficult vv., maltreated by early scribes, though that proves nothing about how they were left at the poet’s death. No suggestion that they are not the poet’s, or not (easily enough, in the end) comprehensible, and that indeed without much emendation.

**iussa ... Heleni** Cf. **410–32** and note 6.176 for the *iussa* of the Sibyl, 6.461 *iussa deum*, Kuhlmann, *TLL* 7.2.586.11. Knauer notes Circe’s orders, recalled by *Od.* at 12.226.

**monent** Buchwald well compares (*TLL* 8.1412.32ff.) *Hor.CS* 5, the Sibylline verses which *monuere* the singing of a *carmen saeculare*. There(Buchwald) *Hor.* may have in mind Gk. μεμνηθεαι, as in v.3 of the oracular verses cited by Phlegon(**444**). D.A. Traill, *AJP* 114 (1993), 407ff. draws attention to *Serv.*’s interpretation, *sed occurrebat praeceptum Heleni, uitare Scyllam et Charybdim*, from which he deduces that *Serv.* took the names as direct objects of **monent**, in the manner of oracular/-portentous warnings(so *Cic.Cons.fr.*2.27, Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1407.81 ff.): not clearly wrong, but in no way mandatory. **Mouent F, monent MP.**

**Scyllamque Charybdimque** Heinsius’ good correction of *codd.* (with the names always joined by **atque**): **Scylla FP; Sgyllam M; Scyllam M<sub>1</sub>P<sub>1</sub>. Charybdis F, Charybdin P, Charybdim M;** (for **F**’s nominatives, vd. *infra*). The correction both in keeping with *V.*’s disposition of double object with *inter* (*infra*), and a welcome removal of unelided *atque* (n. on 7.317); not even *Cat.*64.150 (cf. *Aen.*7.302) so neatly conveys in the hexameter their closeness on the map. There seems to be no relevant Greek antecedent. For the unremarkable hyper-metric synaloepha, cf. n. on 7.160; vd. also n. on 7.464 for discussion of how *V.*’s anomalies at l.-end (there the rare *aquai* is the last word) throw the copyists into disarray, for if something of the same had happened here, then the origin of part of the confusion is explained. If Hein-

sius' correction be thought too bold, the interpretation here offered of **684–6** works as well with **Scyllam atque Charybdim**, so long as **inter** is taken in anastrophe. The mss. divide between **-im (M)** and **-in (P)**. Priscian, *Gramm.Lat.* 7.327.17, 335.21 favours *-im* (NW 1, 316), but *-in* is well attested (NW 1, 479); *-in* more usual in verse authors, Holzweissig, 369f. Vd. further, Sigwart, *TLL Onom.* 2.382.54ff. **F** reads **Scylla atque Charybdis**; the noms. are understood as subjs. of **monent** by Ribbeck (vd. *Proleg.*, 75f.; 'at once more violent and less plausible' remarks Con., 3, p.503, mildly), followed by Sabbadini and Geymonat, who do not, however, transpose **685** and **686** with Ribbeck. Sabb. explains (in comm.) that he takes **S.** and **C.** as further subjects of **monent** (in asyndeton with **iussa ... Heleni**); in giving an account of **inter utramque uiam**, as applied to **S.** and **C.**, he is no more successful than other editors obliged to interpret **inter** with what *follows*, for the application of *uia* to Scylla and/or Charybdis will not do; in reality, any *uia* must pass *between* S. and C.. Ribbeck takes the two *uiae* as being (1) back to Charybdis on the S. wind and (2) forwards round Sicily, but this bold (and unpersuasive) novelty is far outweighed by the obscure development and frequent pauses required by his transposition.

**685 inter** In unexceptionable anastrophe, as often in the case of disyll. prepositions, n. on 7.673. Szantyr, *TLL* 7.1.2146.83ff. compares *G* 2.344f. *frigusque caloremque / inter* (likewise over l.-end), *Aen.* 1.218 *spemque metumque inter*, 11.692 *loricam galeamque inter* (where n. discusses *inter* with paired objects). Some confusion in the anc. interpreters: TCD seems to take *inter* with *utramque uiam*; Serv.Dan. knows punctuations both before and after *inter*.

**utrimque** Nisbet, ap. Mynors; **utrumque** Hofmann Peerlkamp, Traill (unaware of HP's acute discussion), **utramque** codd. (naturally, before **uiam**; cf. E. Courtney, *BICS* 28 (1981), 21). The great merit of **utrimque** is that it focuses our attention exactly upon mid-Strait, a course that might create an illusion of safety between the familiar shoreward perils, before Helenus' prohibition is reintroduced. HP and Traill do establish that *inter utrumque* is good Latin for 'down the middle' (even if the sides are as here both fem. nouns), but we have seen that anastrophe of **inter** is highly likely and Traill's examination of Ovidian echoes establishes, as often happens, nothing for V.'s actual text.

**uiam** Clearly in apposition to **kursus**, the object of **teneam**. The sense unrolls in a manner perhaps not perspicuous on a first, hasty



reading: Helenus' orders warn Aeneas, or [a non-issue; vd. *infra*] the Trojans [and of course he warns him/them *against* passing though the Strait; the reader knows that, and therefore, on reading, 'suspends' 685 until the necessary prohibition of **ni**] that, between S. and C., a route on both sides endowed with a narrow margin of safety from death, he/they are *not* to set a course.

**leti discrimine paruo** Cf. 9.142ff. *quibus haec medii fiducia ualli/ fossarumque morae, leti discrimina parua/ dant animos*, 10.510ff. *sed certior auctor/ aduolat Aeneae tenui discrimine leti esse suos*, after AR 4.831f. ἄλλ' ἔχε νῆα/ κεί' ὄθι περ τυτθῆ γε παραίβασις ἔσσει' ὀλέθρου. Hera to Thetis, precisely on the Argonauts passing through Scylla and Charybdis (cf. Nelis, 47, n.121; a parallel familiar at least since Con.): usage, therefore requires us to take **leti** primarily with what follows. The abl. of quality or description (Antoine, 202ff., *bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro*, etc.), in amplification of **uiam**.

**686 ni FMR**, c.9 mss, Serv. (*hic et alibi*; vd. Geymonat), Priscian, *Gramm. Lat.* 3.61.9, 241.8. **Ne P<sub>1</sub>** (after writing the erroneous **nec**) **R<sub>2</sub>**. **Nei** Sabbadini, Geymonat. Note also Donatus ap. Prisc. p.61.20 *quod etiam Donatus in commento Aeneidos affirmat 'ni' pro 'ne' sic ueteres ...* (vd. ad Ter. *Eun.* 508) and Serv. here *antiqui 'ni' pro 'ne' ponebant, qua particula plenus est Plautus ni mala ni stulta sis*. Cf. Puccioni, 95, Holzweissig, 940f., LHS, 535 citing Cat. 61.153, Lucr. 2.734, Leumann, 64, Norden on 6.353 (unexpectedly sceptical); *ni* possible there and at 12.801, Timpanaro, *Per la storia*, 130f. (cf. *Virgilianisti*, 116). See, in much detail, NW, 2, 969. 'Warns me not to pursue', Goold, unexceptionably.

**teneam cursus** So the codd. FG of Serv. Dan., Ribbeck, Mynors; recognised by Courtney, *cit.* as an ancient reading preserved by the indirect transmission against **teneant** in the rest of the transmission; to G.W. Williams, *infra*, a palpable emendation, but we have learned much from Sebastiano Timpanaro in the last twenty years about the importance of V's indirect transmission. It is bizarre that Geymonat records **teneam** as an *alii*-variant in Serv. Dan. (whence, apparently, G.W. Williams, *TI*, 266); this is not so (vd. *supra*). Traill (410f.) draws attention to Serv. *quare placuit, ne cursus teneant, hoc est, agantur et impleantur*, which may suggest that some understood **cursus** as the subj. of **teneant** (vd. more recently Gova). Not a convincingly defensible idiom. Contrast *cursum/ cursus tenere* (after the manner of *uertere, flectere c.*): standard Latin (so, robustly, Ribbeck, *cit.*) in Cic., Caes., Sen. (Hofmann, *TLL* 4.1532.71 ff.,

from Cic. *Verr.*2.6.89). Note too 4.46 *hunc cursum Iliacas uento tenuisse carinas* (where vd. Pease's n.), and **192 altum tenuere**. But even if V. wrote **teneant**, the passage is by no means a decisive indication of third-person (as against direct) narrative (pace Williams, *TI*, 266f.; cf. Cova, xcix, Crump, 34, D'Anna, *Problema*, 66, Sabbadini, comm., xxxiv, etc.): Page's discussion here is of exceptional quality and he notes (cf. Günther, 56, n.148) that, given that Aen. is speaking here, if he indeed refers back to Helenus' words in OO, then (I quote) "you' becomes 'they' in oblique narration" (cf. LHS, 360, 532f., KS 2, 536, Ernout-Thomas, 423, Madvig, §404), though, given that the narrator is the recipient of the command, one would not in practice be surprised to encounter a first person. I print therefore **teneam**, not because it gives easier sense, but it appears to be an ancient rarity of the indirect tradition. For those who insist on **teneant**, it is by no means certain evidence for a phase of third-person narrative.

**certum est** Cf. *Buc.*10.52, *Aen.*9.153; used by Pacuv. *trag.*222 and common in com. and prose, Elsperger, *TLL* 3.911.23.

**dare lintea** Variation on the common *uela dare*, **191. L.** as synonym for *uela* used famously from *Cat.*4.5, 64.225; cf. Balzert, *TLL* 7.2.1467.27.

**retro** Cf. *Hor.*C.1.34.3f. *nunc retrorsum/ uela dare* (metaphorical). The technical difficulties have proved soluble; now a moment's careful thought is required to understand the sequence of ideas. Spurred by panic (**682–3**) the Trojans decide to set sail **quocumque**, but upon their destination, there are two limitations, set by Helenus and by the wind. At **684**, therefore, in the face of **quocumque**, there stands, first of all, the **contra** of Helenus' orders: Aen. is *not* to sail *through* the Strait, but that does not exclude sailing back (**retro**) the way they have come (vd. Sidgwick's good n.), rather hopelessly, one might think; the stern logic of Highet's n., 34, n.27, is misconceived. Fortunately, though, and with timing so perfect as to verge on the comical, a north wind is about to appear.

**687 ecce autem** Cf. n. on 7.286.

**Boreas** You do not naturally expect the tempestuous north wind (*Aen.*4.442, 12.365f.) to be so welcome and timely (Labate, *EV* 5\*, 497), a saviour, indeed; a nice paradox.

**angusta ... sede Pelori** Cf. **411**, the first in a striking series of etymological plays: here, Latin is involved, which may indicate something about V.'s possible source.

**ab** Before pure s; cf. 1.270, 7.209, 255, 324, 454( only *a st-* discussed on 7.99), always before *sedes*, but not *sedibus*, 1.84, 2.611, NW 2, 850 (also *a sanguine, solio, sociis*). The ear mysterious and predictably inconsistent.

**688 missus** Cf. the discreet anonymity of **715 deus**, 1.199, 4.440, 651 (with Bailey, 227); see Pomathios, 351, Pötscher, 43ff., and n. on **338**. Unspecified divine benevolence gets the Trojans out of trouble.

**adest** Suitable of a personified wind, Prinz, *TLL* 2.915.71.

**uiuio ... saxo** Cf. 1.167 *uiuoque sedilia saxo*. ‘Living’ suggests ‘natural’, not man-made: cf. Henry and Austin there and Bömer on *Ov.F.2.135 pumice uiuo* (a good note, on the stone, where it ‘grew’, in its natural state, uncut: uncut, the stone clings to its origin in the earth and therefore still lives, *Ov.Met.14.712f.*). Abl. of description(**426, 685**).

**praeteruehor** Cf. *Acc.trag.688*, *Cic.Verr.2.5.98*, etc., Sinclair, *TLL* 10.2.1041.67, Flobert, 416 (act. not found; prefix governs acc.). Standard Latin, used of ships, and wrongly claimed as ‘langue nautique’, Cordier, 140.

**ostia** Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1156.68f. s.v. *de ore fluminum* (so often used of Rhine, Rhone, Nile, Danube, etc.), comparing 1.400, 5.281. ‘Il tortuoso estuario a pareti verticali forate da grotte’(TCI *Sicilia*, 504).

**689 Pantagiae** Mod. Porcaria, rising 6 km. SE of Lentini and entering the sea 15 km. away, at Brucoli, 5 km. NW of Augusta. PW 19.686.16ff. (Ziegler), *EV* 3, 955f.(Panessa).Cf. *Ov.F.4.471*, *Plin. Nat.3.89*. Serv.’s n. here has been taken as grounds for its importance in the story of Demeter and Persephone (cf. *Claud. de rapt.2.58*), if not mere post-Virgilian elaboration and *horror vacui*. Did someone read the name as ‘all holy’?

**Megarosque sinus** Mod. Golfo di Augusta, with A. at the N. end and the pensinsula of Magnisi at the S., named for anc. Megara Hyblaea(PsScyl.13), situated at mid-point between these extremities; cf. PW 15.205.54ff.(Ziegler), *EV* 3, 453 (Malavolta). The adjectival form unorthodox but handy. V. is guided by his own convenience in such trivial matters(cf. his use of *Romulus, Lyaeus, Sychaeus, Actius, Meliboetus* etc. as adjs., Page on 4.552); some material collected, *Aion* (Sez. ling.)14 (1992), 173ff., and vd. NW 2, 34, Lunelli-Janssen, 97, E. Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 578ff.; cf. also **280, 629**. M. mentioned, *Call.Aet.fr.43.52*. **Sinus**, again, **692**.

**Thapsumque iacentem** Some 8km. to the NW of Syracuse, the peninsula of Magnisi: cf. PW 5A.1281.1 ff.(Ziegler), NP 12A, 242(C. Lienau, E. Olshausen), *EV* 5\*, 37 f.(Voza, the excavator, who oddly does not identify or locate the site, but the geogr. is not in doubt). The suggestion that *i.* is a gloss on the name (as if from *θάπτειν*; Rehm's citation of Hegesias, *FGH* 142F16 is hardly germane) is old but not completely convincing(for the gloss is far from clear and sure); so Isid.*Etym.* 14. 6.35 *insula ... remota iacens et planior, unde et nuncupata. de qua Vergilius ...*; cf. O'Hara, *TN* 147, Bartelink, 57 f., Rehm, 37. Again, a name of historical importance (the Athenian expedition), not mythological, which might suggest some use of a primarily geographical source. Mentioned, *Call.Aet.fr.*43.39.

**690 talia monstrabat** Cf. 8.337, 343, 345 of Evander, Reichmann, *TLL* 8.1441.21.

**relegens** Cf. 9.392 f. *uestigia retro/ obseruata legit*, **292, 706**, *EV* 3, 173 and n. on **127 legimus**. The verb good enough for the elder Cato; only here in V., as Wagner (*infra*) complains. Note also 2.753 f. *uestigia retro/ obseruata sequor*, 5.25 *si modo rite memor seruata remetiior astra*, *Hor.C.1.34.3 ff.*. Euripidean *μνήμην ... ἀνεμετρησάμην* (*Ion* 250) is comparable (M. Fernandelli, *MD* 42 (1999), 103, with n.25). Aen. recalls Helenus, Achaem., his first journey, Aen.(if we also bear in mind **684–6**) also his brush with Scylla and Charybdis, and the reader even re-reads (a clever observation, this) in reverse the text of Hom.(Papanghelis, 284).

**errata .../ 691 litora** Priscian (*Gramm.Lat.*2.561.15) remarks *sunt tamen quaedam participia, quorum quamuis deficient uerba in usu, ratio tamen analogiae quod dici possunt ostendit* (comparing *regnatus, triumphatus, laboratus, decursus*); predictably Serv. grumbles. Cf. Hey, *TLL* 5.2.812.77 ff.; Ov., *F.3.655, 4.573* takes up this attractive transitivity.

**retrorsus -us** codd.; **-um** recc.; both forms occur, NW 2, 748, W. Heraeus, *Kl.Schr.*, 145 f.(the full form is *retrouersus*). Wagner objects to this hapax. Hapax in V., might he mean? *Lucr.4.295 retrorsum* (cf. *Hor.C.4.8.16*) should be authority enough. Cf. Holzweissig, 1021 for these adverbs.

**691 Achaemenides** Cf. **614**.

**comes infelicis Ulixi** Cf. **613**. Studied and artful framing (*infra*); not to be considered 'Homeric' use of epithet (*pace* Williams, after Serv. *epitheton ad implendum uersum positum more Graeco, sine respectu negotii*).

On 690–1, cf. Nelis, 53, Cova(*bene*) and Williams *ad loc.*, Moskalew, 120, Cartault, 261. Serv. suggests that these vv. are here to explain how Aen. could know about *haec loca*; as if V. cared (vd. *infra*, 692–707). The matter is rather more complex: Aen. refers to Dido the information originally relayed to him by Achaem. as they travelled S.; the potential anachronism is not reduced (as the exasperated Cartault remarks), but the rescued Achaem. has become a helpful partner in Aen.’s voyage, rounding out the characterisation. 691 takes up 613 (and note the name, 614) and serves as a caesura both between the first set of Greek cities and the remainder and between the world of Od. and the increasingly Roman universe of Aen. and his father, so shortly to die (rather mis-stated by Williams). Though V.’s readers will have been familiar with the localisation of Odyssean episodes in Sicily (Heubeck on *Od.* 12.260–402, Thomas and Stubbings, in *Companion to Homer*, 309, H.H. and A. Wolf, *Der Weg des Odysseus* (Tübingen 1968), 119 and Page, *Folktales*, 27 for the story present from Theopomp. *FGH* 115F225a *ad fin.* on, of the Laestrygonians of Leontini (Call. also mentions that city, *Aet.* fr. 43.50). It is not easy (and is perhaps hardly necessary) to set Achaem.’s original voyage of exploration along the E. shore of Sicily in the context of any known, detailed localisation of Od.’s travels; Papanghelis (588–691), 284 suggests (and so too many comms., such as Forbiger, Williams) that Od. will have been travelling N., along E. Sicily on his way back from the land of the Lotus-eaters: quite unsupported but perhaps even helpful. Nelis (53) draws attention to the role of the rescued sons of Phrixus as the Argonauts’ *guides*, 2.1260, 1281. Wagner, shocked by the two rare words, by the ‘fact’ that Od. had reached the land of the Cyclopes directly from the Lotophagi (so his crew in consequence could not *know* all that Achaem. tells Aen.) and by the anachronisms he relates, deletes these vv.; no reasoned rebuttal required.

**692–707** See Cartault, 260f., R. Lloyd, *EV* 4, 27f., G. Monaco in *Itinerari*, 170f., McKay, 293ff., Reeker, 93ff., Rehm, 36ff., Wellesley, 158–61. ‘Unnecessarily cluttered with proper names and geographical or mythological allusions. Virgil appears to apologise for this display of learning’, according to Wellesley, 158, who, predictably, prefers to suppose that V. went to Sicily to undertake autopsy and research (and indeed unsubstantiated ‘local knowledge’ lingers at Nelis, 57). The literary origins of the erudition and associations with which V. decks the 21 toponyms in this sequence are complex and deserve more patient attention

than they have hitherto attracted. The form of V's account is that of a fragmented periplus (cf. in particular, Ps.Scyl.13, Ps.Scymn.276 ff.; vd. Lloyd, *cit.*, Reeker, 94); between PsScyl. and V. there will emerge similarities of detail (unsurprising, since both are cataloguing the coastal towns of E. and S. Sicily, from NE round to W.) and, as we have seen before, of manner (vd. 692) and terminology (ancient and widespread, P. Janni, *Il mappa e il periplo* (Macerata 1984), 108f.). It is very likely that V. was familiar with one or more *periploi*. It might be fair to assign to such a source those toponyms which have no evident mythol. importance and on which V. seems to inherit no clear Greek etym. play, Pantagia, Megara, Pachynus, Lilybaeum. Nelis(49, 56 ff.) draws attention to V's close use here of AR's account of the last stage of the Argonauts' journey to Colchis, 2.1228 ff., along with the account of Sicily proper in bk.4.994 ff. (cf. also Reeker, 95 f. for narr. detail). Both AR and Call. wrote on city-*ktiseis* (Horsfall 1989, 9; slight expansion, M. Geymonat, *HSCP* 95 (1993), 329f.); it is no surprise to find in *Aet.* fr.43 a detailed treatment *de Siciliae urbibus* (Pfeiffer's term); see now also D'Alessio, 2, p.434 ff.. Unsurprisingly, many analogies of manner may be drawn (Geymonat, 330), but specific indebtedness may be harder to prove, though it looks likely in the case of Camerina (700 f.). *Pap.Oxy.* 17.2080 (the first pub. of fr.43) was of 1927; I do not clearly understand how Geymonat, 328, n.6 can refer to the 'almost oracular prescience' of H.W. Parke, *AJP* 62 (1941), 490 ff. in suggesting that behind V. there might be a work on Sicilian cities that cited found. oracles (relevant, we shall see, to Syracuse, Camerina, Gela; such a source had indeed already been identified by Rehm, 39, n.86), when that scholar could simply have opened a recent vol. of *Pap.Oxy.* to find that his acute hypothesis had for some little time belonged to the realm of solid fact and that the work was indeed by Call.. Parke, who underestimated how integral a part foundation-oracles were of *ktisis*-literature, might even have consulted Rehm's outstanding, recent account of V's Italian geography (1931), to find Call. already cited, in the right place (39). It is even stranger to find that the credit for establishing Call.'s importance here is now attributed to Geymonat (vd. Thomas (570-87, 1999), 218). There remains Varro, whose interest in *nostoi* is well-known (cf. *Aen.* 11, pp.171, 179), and whose *Res hum.* does appear to have been used for the legendary foundations of Calabria (531-6 (??), 552, Ritter, 82f.); for Sicily, the *de ora maritima* is unlikely to be germane (comm. on 7.794-802, against e.g. Reeker, *cit.*, *EV* 3, 222f.. Rehm, 106 properly doubtful), and for the *res hum.*, there seems

to be no basis for proof at present; cf. Rehm, *cit.*, Bartelink, 23, 59. But that is not quite the end of the matter, for a striking characteristic of these lines is the etym. play on the place-name, usually bilingual (**687 Pelori**, **689 Thapsum** (?), **693 Plemyrium**, **698 Helori**, **702 Gela** (?), **703 Acragas**; cf. O'Hara, 70, 92, Bartelink, 21 ff., and in particular, Rehm, *cit.*, who draws attention to the number of such etyms. in Varr. *LL* 5: no proof that here too they derive from Varro, but a certain probability. Cova, lxxxiii finds relief from the unwelcome toil of studying Varro's fragments in untimely irony at the expense of scholars in this thankless field. The many formal anachronisms present here, and not reduced by the device of representing Achaem. as Aen.'s source, **687–691**, are of a familiar type, criticised already by Hyginus (fr. 7GRF; cf. Rehm, 85, 87, Horsfall, *EV* 1, 153). V. cares little that here he is not writing *ex sua persona*, or that his learned detail, on Aen.'s lips, opens him to the criticism that he writes *κατὰ πρόληψιν historiae* (in Hyg.'s words); such infringements prove nothing about some change of plan in V.'s composition of these lines (*pace* Rehm). If his characters speak sometimes more like Alexandrianising scholars than Homeric heroes, that does not trouble him much, not least because heroes had already done so, at greater length indeed, and in greater detail, in AR. *Potuit hoc vates. similia multa per prolepsin dicta a Graecis* la Cerda, *bene*. It did not seem useful or necessary to supply over again details of the difficulties that V.'s scribes encountered with Sicilian toponyms.

**692 Sicanio ... sinu** Sicily is called *Sicania* at 1.557; an Homeric name, *Od.* 24.307 (beware Heubeck's n.). For Hdt. (7.170) the name used before Sicelia and for Thuc. 6.2.2 the island's name after Trinacria and before Sicelia. The adjectival form also at 8.416. *EV* 4, 834f. So also with adj. form of name as 'gulf', 1.243, and **689** (no sense that repetition is to be avoided). Here not only the loftier adj., but alliterative.

**praetenta** Cf. 6.60 *praetentaque Syrtibus arua*, Liv. 10.2.5. *Anteposita* Serv. Dan.. Perhaps first here in high poetry (previously Lucil. (?), Cic..

**iacet insula** Cf. **104 medio iacet insula ponto**, Luc. 8.118. So exactly, as Lloyd notes, κείται of Zacynthus, *Od.* 9.25; cf. *ib.* 10.196, AR 1.940, 2.1215; just in the periphrastic manner (so of Sardinia, Cythera, Crete, Tenedos in PsScyl. 6, 46, 47, 95 and often in other *peripli*). See Köstermann, *TLL* 7.1.21.51.

**contra** Compare 5.124 *saxum spumantia contra/ litora*. So periphrastic ἀπαντίου/ ἐναντίου/ ἀντίου, PsScyl. 111, Dion. Perieg. 516, 1089, Dion. *Bosp. Navig.* 53, SByz. p. 308.15.

**693 Plemyrrium undosum** Another Lat. etym. of a Gk. name; vd. **692–707**, O'Hara, *TN*, 147f., Bartelink, 54, Rehm, 37, 106, noted indeed by Serv. and used by him as a favoured instance (O'Hara, *cit.*). P. the great promontory at the S. end of the bay at Syracuse, corresponding to Achradina at the N. (Thuc.7.4.4, Panessa, *EV* 4,140). Panessa suggests (misleadingly citing Ziegler, *infra*, in support) that this detail was extraneous to a learned oracular/ legendary source and hints rather at origins in an actual *periplous*, despite the absence of etym. material in (for example) the surviving *periploi* of these coasts. The enriched, literary *perplous*, as we have it in Call./ Apoll. Rhod., might seem a more promising origin; however, vd. *supra* for the issue of the bilingual material, which does suggest that V.'s proximate source must be Latin. On Plemyrrium, cf. PW 21.1.222.54ff. (Ziegler). The name suggests Gk. πλήμυρα/ πλυμυρίς, flood, flood-tide; the adj. (cf. n. on 7.566 for adjs. in *-osus*) first here (cf. 4.313, Cordier, 146).

**nomen dixere** Normally (*de*)*nomine dicunt, vel sim.* Compare **18 nomen ... fingo**, with Forbiger's n., Liv.1.1.11 *cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen*, Varr.gramm.fr.126GS *nomen ... dictum*, Lommatzsch, *TLL* 5.1.974.20. Cf. O'Hara, *TN*, 75, n.330 for the frequent use of a naming construction as signpost for an etymology.

**priores** Cf. Breimeier, *TLL* 10.2.1328.47; compare *G.3.392*, Ov. *F.4.320*, 6.107.

**694 Ortygiam** Cf. **124**; the apparent link of homonymy between Delos and Syracuse reflects only the spread of a cult-title of Artemis; in the text of V., there appears to be no significant bond between the passages. At Syracuse, O. is the island, a mile long, separated from Achradina by a narrow channel, and protecting the great port. Cf. the account of *insula* at Cic.Verr.2.4.117. See Galvagno, *EV* 3, 895f., Bérard, 128f., *PECS*, 872 (G. Voza), J. Schmidt, PW 18.1520.26ff., A. Ambühl, NP 9, 79f. Vd. Monaco's pl.111, in *Itinerari*.

**Alpheum ... Elidis amnem** The gen. to convey the land of origin: cf. Ov.*Pont.*2.10.27, Liv.21.31.10, 24.44.8, Gudeman, *TLL* 1.1946.27ff., Bacherler, *ib.* 6.1.958.57ff.. The A. rises S. of Megalopolis and flows through Heraea and Olympia to enter the sea SW of Epitalion. Smith in *Dict.anc.geogr.*, s.v. *Alpheius* gives proper emphasis to the repeated (and correct) references in anc. texts to the underground stretches of the river's upper course, Paus.8.54.1, Strab.6.2.4, 8.3.12. On such stories in general, vd. Barrett on Eur.*Hipp.*121f., and, amply, Beaujeu, Plin.*Nat.*2 (ed. Budé), p.257f.. The proud origins of Syracuse as a Corinthian



colony may well be relevant to the distant origins of the story of Arethusa (cf. Dench(389–93), 51, Dougherty, *infra*). Cf. Braswell on Pind., *cit.*, Walbank on Plb.12.4d.1, Galvagno, *cit (supra)*, *EV* 1, 93f.: the earliest appearance of the story might be in the oracle given by Delphi to Archias, oecist of Syracuse (Paus.5.7.3, Dougherty, 68f.); less disputable, Ibyc.fr.40PMG, Pind. *Nem.* 1.1 ff., Nicander, *FGH*271F5, Timaeus, *FGH*566F41a (the dung of the sacrificial beasts from Olympia washed through to Ortygia; vd. Walbank, *cit.*)=Antig.Parad.140 (who cites Call. *quater*, though not here), Strab.6.2.4 (with ample discussion), Plin. *Nat.* 31. 55, Sen. *NQ* 3.26.5, 6.8.2, Mela, *infra*. It would be no surprise to discover that Call. had referred to the story; schol. on *Aet.*fr.43.28–30 shows that Call. did include various accounts of the origins of Syracuse. The subterranean passages from V.'s Alpheus to Coleridge's Alph brilliantly discussed, J. Livingston Lowes, *Road to Xanadu* (repr. London 1978), 359–62.

**fama est** TCD remarks *quaecumque fabulosa sunt aut incredibilia horum Vergilius non se, sed alium facit auctorem*. The story of Alph the sacred river, which 'ran through caverns measureless to man' (Serv.'s *secretos meatus*) is ancient, but V. not only refers thus to an old story, but distances himself, as often, from a natural or mythological 'wonder', *Alambicco* 123, after *PLLS* 6 (1990), 53.

**huc .../ 695 ... egisse** Cf. 8.257f. *qua plurimus undam/ fumus agit, Pan.Mess.*125, Mela 2.117 ... *mirabilem Arethusam. fons est in quo uisuntur iacta in Alpheum amnem ut diximus Peloponnesiaco litori infusum: unde ille creditur non se consociare pelago, sed subter maria terrasque depressus huc agere alveum atque hic se rursus extollere*. See Hey, *TLL* 1.1376.63, 69, 1382.81f..

**695 occultas ... uias** Cf. Cic. *Att.*8.9.4, Ov. *F.*3.240, Johann, *TLL* 9.2.364.37.

**subter mare** The advb. *octies* in V.; *septies* in Lucr.

**qui .../ 696 ... confunditur** Cf. Meister, *TLL* 4.259.48f.; first here of the mingling of waters. It might be that the studied separation of pronouns and vbs., adjs. and nouns, etc. in this account serves to suggest the river's subterranean passage.

**nunc** Climactic, *OLD* s.v, §9a. V. hardly takes into account the effect of this exposition upon Aen.'s audience at the very end of his long narrative; such degrees of realism are not called for. Two monosylls. at v.-end are not that unusual (nn. on 7.310, 790), but here they are preceded by a word of two short syllables, which itself is not preceded

by a monosyllable (vd. Williams: 'very harsh and unusual'). 5.731 *Ditis tamen ante* is not closely comparable. But we may doubt whether there are grounds for alarm (*pace* Williams), if both **qui** and **subter** are taken as to some degree proclitic and therefore as tending to reduce any sense of pause or interval to follow and thus to attenuate any marked effect of discord between the beats of word and of metre, normally coincident in 5th and 6th feet.

**696 ore ... tuo** Cf. the nine mouths of the Timavus, 1.245, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1091. 43f. V. will again turn repeatedly to the apostrophe as a means to humanise and vary the texture of his catalogues. Cf. n. on 7.685.

**Arethusa** The famed sweetwater spring on Ortygia, now brackish; very large and full of fish, Cic. *Verr.*2.4.118. As a nymph, cf. *G.*4.344; pursued by Alpheus, *Paus.*5.7.2, *Ov.Met.*5.572ff., etc. (Nelis, 57 compares the story of Philyra, *AR* 2.1231–41). Little wonder that in 1855, the East Prussian Ferdinand Gregorovius (*Passaggiato per l'Italia*) was outraged to be offered water to try by a mob of 'half-naked, splashing women' (but vd. the chaster image, Monaco, *Itinerari.* pl.109). Cf. G. Voza, *PECS*, 872, F. Graf, *NP* 1,1054f., *EV* 1, 305.

**Siculis ... undis** Cf. 1.596, **3.215**, 5.789, an easy, conventional arrangement of topogr. adj and noun; for the adj., cf. on 7.289.

**697 iussi** By whom? An old question, for Serv./Serv. Dan. are left perplexed between Achaemenides, Helenus and Anchises. Aen. gives Dido the impression of a leader both *pious* and obedient. Self-contained initial spondee; cf. nn. on 7.80, 406.

**numina magna loci** Cf. 7.136ff. *geniumque loci .../... adhuc ignota precatur/ flumina* in a situation of comparable ignorance. Mackie's claim(74) that this reference does not reflect upon Aeneas' *pietas* is perplexing. The pairing *numina magna* much favoured (cf. 2.623, **3.264**, **633f.**); sonorous and majestic but usefully unspecific.

**ueneramur** Cf. **34**; the vb. intensively used earlier in the book.

**inde** Cf. **69**, **703**. Note Norden, 400ff. for V.'s occasional use of 'weak' words at v.-end.

**698 exsupero** Cf. n. on 11.905 (with n., in Lucr. and Cic. *poet.*). The claim that the change of number (not of person) might have some bearing on the (deeply unattractive, xxxvii) hypothesis that there was once a third-person account of Aen.'s travels is deeply perplexing (vd. Willi-

ams here. Günther, 56, n.148 comments severely). ‘Unschön’ remarks G. of the alterations of number(cf. Sabbadini, xxxv); plur. again at **700 radimus**; Cova(c) helpfully compares the disorderly sequence of number in vv.7–11 (which rather excludes the use of mixed plur. and sing. to foreshadow the death of Anch., as Mackie suggests, 75). V. seems to want to combine Aen. viewing his journey as an individual adventure with an image of collaboration between leader and crew (cf. Pomathios, 110f.); the variation of number is not demonstrably a defect of style or finish.

**praepingue solum** Cf. Plin.*Nat.*14.33 *praepinguis soli ubertas* (perhaps an echo), 17.41, 18.162, Colum. 3.2.9, Reijgwart, *TLL* 10.2.766.21. A Virgilian coinage, apparently, Cordier, 145.

**stagnantis Helori** Almost a reassertion of the same detail; compare *G.*4.288 *effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum* (cf. Col.10.11). The Helorus, standing in pools, greatly fertilises the land; again a bilingual play(as Serv.Dan. notes), to which we are now alert(**693**): Gk. ἔλος, marsh, swamp, in V.’s mind(O’Hara, 148, Bartelink, 48, Rehm, 37). The Helorus a substantial river (40km.) of SE Sicily, rising W. of Acreide and entering the sea S. of mod. Noto Marina(*EV* 2.211 f.(Manganaro), G. Falco, NP 5, 333, K. Ziegler, PW.8.199.25ff.); perhaps surprisingly, the pools really existed, and were famously rich in fish, SByz.p.270.3, after Apollod., *FGH*244F4, Athen.8.331E, after Nymphodorus of Syracuse, *FGH*572F8, Plin.*Nat.*32.16.

**699 hinc** Cf. 551, in the manner of AR.

**altas cautes** In studied contrast to the preceding low-lying fish-pools. Cf. the *saxa et cautes* of Caes.*BG* 3.13.9 and **534 supra**. Isid.*Etym.* 16.3.3 explains *cautes aspera sunt saxa in mari*; Beck’s *Differentiae* (cf. Wulff, *TLL* 3.710.2ff.) offers *cautes sunt asperrimae montium partes, saxa magnitudine praegrauantur* .... In practice, near-synonyms.

**proiecta quae saxa** Serv.Dan. *porrecta, extenta*; cf. Cic.*Verr.*2.4.21, 118 *insula, quae duobus portibus cincta in utriusque portus ostium aditumque proiecta est*(Ortygia), Sen.*de const.*3.5 *proiecti ... in altum scopuli*, Montuschi, *TLL* 10.2.1798.34ff.. Macr. (6.4.14) takes the current(*secundum consuetudinem*) sense of **p.** as ‘abiecta’ and that of the *ueteres* (as here) ‘*porro iacta*’, but the distinction is not confirmed by the passages cited.

**Pachyni** Vd. **429**. Predictably, in PsScyl.13.

**700 radimus** Cf. 5.170, 217 *radit iter*; cf. the metaph. use at Lucr.5.256. Possibly after the chariot’s wheel; vd. the turning-point(?) of **429, 714**.

**fatis ... concessa** A personal construction of the pass.(cf. Ernout-Thomas, 206); Hey compares Cic.*Caec.*44 *haec ubi conceduntur esse facta*, Stat.Theb.7.243f. *nondum concessa uideri Antigone populis*, *TLL* 4.16.38ff.. These *fata* are oracles, as Pötscher, 69 explains(well, against Bailey, 218); vd. next n..

**numquam ... moueri** V draws on the familiar explanation of the proverbial and oracular μή κίνει Καμάριναν, ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων, Delphi's reply to the people of C., who at some quite uncertain date (vd. Manganaro, *infra*) wished to shift their city away from the noisome marsh formed by the Hipparis. They moved all the same and fatally weakened their defences. This story first attested in Call.*Aet.*fr.64.1 f. (where vd. Pfeiffer), and V's direct debt here does look very likely.

**701 apparet ... procul** Cf. 270, 531, Apollonian and periplus. The advb. as ever impalpable.

**Camerina** So MPRV; vd. Hall on Claud.*Rapt.*Pros.2.59. Ignored by Geymonat. Mynors' *Camarina* (the standard spelling in Gk.) smacks of misprint or oversight; I know of no evidence that might support this orthogr. here(but cf. Jacobsohn, *TLL Onom.*2.118.56f. for its occasional presence elsewhere in Lat. texts). On the coast SW of Comiso and Vittoria: see Ziegler, PW 10.1801.43ff., G. Falco and H.-P. Drogemüller, NP 6, 217f., G. Manganaro, *EV* 1, 627f., Bérard, 134f.. Mentioned, Call.*Aet.*fr.43.42, but vd. above all *id.*, fr.64, *supra*; also PsScymn.294ff., PsScyl.13.

**campique Geloi** C. commonly thus, Hey, *TLL* 3.219.56, citing e.g. Cic.*carm.*Hom. 2.1. The ref. is clearly enough to the plains of the northwards-flowing Gela(s) river(cf. TCI *Sicilia*, 695: 60 km. long). The repetition of adj. and noun should not have been dismissed as 'a rather weak anticipation'(Williams): cf. 5.602, again in the context of a large, formal name-play.

**702 immanisque Gela** Just possibly Ov.*F.*4.470 *uerticibus non adeunde Gela* suggests that Ov. understood V's adj. of the fierceness of the river, but the adj. apparently not at all common of rivers(Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.440.63ff. adduces Vitruv.2 pr.4, and Mela 3.77, of Nile and Euphrates respectively, but both he and *EV* s.v. *immanis* ignore this passage). City and river mentioned by Call.*Aet.*43.46(*infra*), the city by PsScyl.13, PsScymn.292. Cf. *EV* 2, 641 f.(Orlandini), *id.*, *PECS*, 346f., Ziegler, PW 7.946.1 ff., D. Palermo and E. Olshausen, NP 4, 870ff..

Discussion of whether the adj. 'goes with' name, or river, or both is misconceived; it would naturally be taken with both. The long final *-a* has caused perplexity: hardly, for V., a possible nom. of a Gk. noun, though for the elegists it was to be (NW 1, 84, Bömer on Ov.F.5.115, Leumann, 453); barely conceivable production at caes. (464 irrelevant, q.v.; Winbolt, 203 argues weakly). Just as unlikely, Paratore and (more surprisingly) Williams think of lengthening before mute and liquid; for V., that will hardly do (Postgate, *Prosodia latina*, 34, Fordyce on Cat.4.9; usage with *-que ...-que* is irrelevant). If we have to choose the least unacceptable difficulty, that is perhaps the first option, i.e. the Greek lengthening.

**fluuii cognomine dicta F.** probably considered a spondee by synzesis (cf. S. Timpanaro, *EV* 4, 881; possibly the earliest instance of (anapaestic) form of 2decl.gen.(otherwise, after V.)-*ii*, as against *-i* (NW 1, 145, Bacherler, *TLL* 6.1. 978.26ff.). Listed by O'Hara under 'explicit etymological aetiologies' (75, n.330 and vd. 149; the city named for the river; so in Call., *infra* and at Thuc.6. 4.3, DS 8.23.1, who cites the Pythia; cf. Parke, 491). It has not quite been established whether a further play is, or is not, present. In the light of neighbouring plays, we expect any play to be on the name, but though the link *Gelagelu* is made (and bilingual plays are much to V.'s taste in this passage), there is no gloss on the etym. here (*pace* the usually impeccable Rehm, **immanis** will not do at all). O'Hara, 149 after Pfeiffer on Call. *Aet.* fr.43.46 cites Tz. *ap.* Schol.Thuc.6.4 (after a comm. on Call., suggests Pfeiffer) and SByz. p.200.20ff.; SByz. explains that in the language of the Sicels and Opici (=Osci), γέλα = Gk. πάχνη (cf. O'Hara, 91 f.(his 'a local word' is hardly fair), EM, WH s.v. *gelu*, Geissler, *TLL* 6.1.1732.2, recognising an authentic Oscan gloss); there is, however, no indication that V. is actually playing on this delectably polyglot lore and we must remain uncertain of the point here (though evidently it had nothing to do with Gk. laughter, though that too has been suggested). Cf. further Orlandini, *cit.*, 642, Geymonat, 330, Monaco, 171, Bartelink, 46 ff., Rehm, 38.

**703 arduus ... Acragas** a 'single-adjective gloss(O'Hara): Lat. *arduus*, Gk. ἄκρος, Rehm, 39f., Bartelink, 38, O'Hara, 149f.; the epigram [Emped.]21F157DK plays with these associations. A. present in PsScyl. 13, PsScymn.293. See P. Orlandini, *PECS*, 23ff., G. Manganaro, NP 1, 406–8, *EV* 1, 66ff. (Rizzo).

**inde Cf. 697.**

**ostentat ... longe** Under the sense 'praebere, exhibere, habere', comparing Hor.*Serm.* 1.5.77f. *incipit ex illo montis Apulia notos/ ostentare mihi*, Tessmer, *TLL* 9.2.1148. 41f. The highest point of the ancient city, the 'rupe Atenea', 1150 feet above sea level, though only two and a half miles inland, and wonderfully visible thirty-five years ago, though apparently the visual outrage is now, to judge from newspaper photographs, almost worse than at Gela.

**maxima .../ 704 moenia** Cf. 7.602 on Rome as *maxima rerum*; V's allit. expression here is, on consideration, not conventional at all. *Magna*, however, would be entirely unremarkable, 2.294, Lumpe, *TLL* 8.1329.9ff.

**magnanimum ... equorum** The adj. *bis* in *G.*, 12x in *Aen.*: for antecedents, cf. Skutsch on Enn.*Ann.*536 *suis magnis animis*, where adj. was not to be used. It is found from the epicising Plaut.*Amph.*212 on Likely, but not certain to have been used by Enn., after Hom. μέγᾱθυμος (of bulls, *Il.*16.488): see Norden, *infra* and Skutsch, *supra*, Wigodsky, 124 and the thoughtful remarks of I. Labriola, *EV* 3, 319. For the contracted form of the gen. plur., cf. Norden on 6.307, Austin on 6.92, Görler, *EV* 2, 263, NW 1, 168 and 2, 48ff.(**m.** the only 2decl. adj. thus in V., but cf. *deum*, *superum*) V. has in mind Pindaric odes to Agrigentine victors in the chariot-race (*Ol.*2, *Ol.*3, *Pyth.*6, *Isthm.*2); note also DS 13.82.6, Plin.*Nat.*8.155, horses' tombs(with pyramids atop, indeed) at A..

**quondam** *Aen.* is suffered to look into the future and to convey information that a pedant might prefer to hear from the poet; this small formal irregularity is not evidence for the passage having once been conceived as narrative, *pace* Williams. Cf. 6.876, Hor.*Serm.*2.2.82, Liv.1.39.3, [Tib.] 3.1.23, and the use of **olim**, 502. The passage ignored by *EV* s.v.(Munzi).

**generator** Only here in V., not in Lucr. and in Cic. only at *Tim.*38 (apparently unknown to Cordier). Cf. 273 **altricem**.

**705 teque ... linquo** Cf. n. on 10 **relinquo** (markedly Apollonian) 61 **linqui**, 124 **linquimus**; cf. 696 for the apostrophe. S.v. 'navigando praeterire', Balzert, *TLL* 7.2.1461.59f..

**datis ... uentis** Cf. the **Boreas .../ missus** of 687f.: here, again, the Trojans, and the narrative are vouchsafed an anonymous benefaction; they are also being sped towards Anchises' death. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 5.1.1683.69 compares 3.61 **dare classibus Austros**, but that is evident hypallage (vd. n.), which is not present here. Cf. rather 1.306 *ut*

*primum lux alma data est*, 553, 2.291, **3.255, 501**, 4.225, 6.140 for further instances of this abbreviated, anonymous form of reference to divine intervention.

**palmosa Selinus** An easy coinage; cf. Cordier, 146; for adjs. in -*osus*, cf. nn. on 7.387, 566. Serv.Dan. asks an '*palmosa*' *ab equis nobilibus*? The horses did feature in the previous line, and belonged to Acragas, but a simple widening of association is not impossible. Our 'parsley' derives rather from -and renders correctly—πετροκέλιον, while the name Selinus is linked inevitably—on the city's coins, for a start—with celery, *κέλιον* (whence agreeable speculations, Rehm, 39f., with Reeker, 94, n.228). Serv.Dan.'s note (*supra*) suggests (perhaps accidentally) an elegant train of thought (cf. Williams and Cova, O'Hara, *TN*, 149): celery featured in Greek victors' garlands, and though Selinus was not specially victorious, celery notoriously was (Pind.*Ol.* 13. 33, *Nem.*4.88, etc.. Symposiac, too: cf. *Buc.*6.68 (with Clausen's n.), Maggiulli (22f.), 238f., Mynors on *G.*4.121, Gow on Theocr.3.23, and esp. NH on Hor.C. 1.36.16). Selinus is thus wafted to victory garlanded in etymological celery. Particularly so here in the wake of victorious Acragas. The actual spread of the dwarf palm in SW Sicily (Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, 267) is alas perfectly irrelevant. Selinus present in PsScyl.13, PsScymn.292. The unexciting etym. of Selinus from the river Selinus was once present at Call.*Aet.*fr.43.33, to judge from schol.. See G.E. Bean, *PECS*, 823, Ziegler, PW 4A.1266.7ff., E. Olshausen, NP 11, 367–71, *EV* 4, 756f..

**706 uada dura** Shallows or sandbanks, as at 7.24, where vd. n.. Hard, like rocks(4.366, 6.471), or rocky farmland(7.747, 11.318 with nn.), or even *aruis*, *G.*2.341 or *tellus*, *Lucr.*5.926. Perhaps just surprising enough to convey also a hint of 'unforgiving' to the incautious navigator at the end of a long voyage and perhaps also (Williams) suggestive of Aen.'s bereavement. The effect increased by the (partly transferred) hardness of the hidden rocks. Cf. the *uada caeca* of 1.536.

**lego Cf. 127.**

**saxis ... caecis** Cf. 5.164f. *caeca .../ saxa timens*, Burger, *TLL* 3.45. 62, Bell, 140, 201. Note too the *latentia saxa* of 1.108 (which are here quite irrelevant(*pace* Rizzo, *infra*); wherever they are actually located, it is not near Lilybaeum: see P. Bleisch, *AJP* 119 (1998), 599ff..

**Lilybeia** Mod. Marsala, the inlet or harbour (cf. Mers-el-Kebir, Mersa Matruh) of Ali(where the Argonauts too pass by, 4.919). V. adopts the lofty(and convenient) adj form(though gen. *Lilibaei* would

suit v.-end). Cf. *EV* 3, 222ff.(Rizzo), V. Tusa, *PECS*, 509f., Ziegler, *PW* 13.543.8ff., G. Falco and E. Olshausen, *NP* 7, 191. Rizzo explains in (inaccurate) detail the importance of these shoals and rocks in the First Punic War(and its historians): cf., for a start, *Plb.*1.42.7 (with Walbank's n.), 46.9.

**707 hinc** Cf. 699.

**me .../ 708 accipit** Cf. 78f.; the distinction between *portu* and *portus accipit* is slender.

**Drepani ... portus** Gen. of definition, Antoine, 78, LHS, 62, Plepelits, *TLL* 10.2.61. 18ff.; cf. 293. **D.** mod. Trapani; *AR* 4.990, 1223, *PsScyl.*109; see *EV* 2, 140f., Hülsen, *PW* 5.1698.16ff., V. Tusa, *PECS*, 282f., C. Lienau and E. Olshausen, *NP* 3, 816. Drepane was also (Nelis, 58f.) a name of Phaeacian Corcyra, where the Argonauts arrived after coasting along S. Sicily(cf. 692–707); so too both Trojans and Argonauts (4.1223–36) will encounter a storm on leaving Drepane/Drepanum, which will drive both bands of heroes to Libya(Nelis, *ib.*, 122).

**et inlaetabilis ora** The adj a sonorous (but understating) Virgilian coinage(cf. 12.619, Cordier, 145. *Ill-* for *inl-* rare in the Virgil mss., Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, 431; cf. n. on 11.29. Only now is the imminent tragedy made explicit. G. Nenci, *Studi ... Zambelli* (Roma 1978), 257ff. suggests unhelpfully, after Koch's *Wörterbuch*, an unconfirmable sense of 'infertile', clearly not here pertinent, though often enough found in the commentaries. Heyne compared *Od.*11.94 ἀτερπέα χῶρον, which V. might have had in mind. Caesurae at 1½ and 3tr.:Traina, *Poeti latini* 3, 106, after Pascoli, remarks that at 3tr. there is a 'caesura in tmesis' that gives particular prominence to the neg. prefix; Williams compares 5.781, 12.619 ('very unusual'); note also 2.483.

**708–15 The death of Anchises.** Aeneas' halt in W. Sicily is amply attested outside V.(Cic. *Verr.*2.4.72, *DH* 1.52f.; earlier sources not clearly established, though it is clear enough that the localisation was attested earlier than V.: see also *DS* 4.83.4, Perret, 82ff., G.K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969), 64, Erskine, 31), but many generations later than the period to which the earliest Trojan presence there is assigned(Acestes and Segesta, from c.5BC: Horsfall, *RMM*, 15, Erskine, 180ff.). Anchises' place of death is notoriously flexible, and therefore specially convenient for the learned poet(Horsfall in *ORVA* 470, C. Vellay, *Les légendes du cycle troyen* 2 (Monaco s.d.), 427ff., Schwegler 1, 301,



Erskine, 140 and index s.v. Anchises, tombs of). It seems that the localisation of Anch.'s death and burial in W. Sicily is V.'s own, by choice and deliberation. A formal correspondence with Od.'s loss of his companions to the Cyclops, in the context of a wider Sicilian interaction of the stories, Knauer, 190ff., Nelis, 48f., 56. His motive has long been seen as the avoidance of embarrassment (Serv.Dan. on **710** *sed bene hic subtrahitur ne parum decoro amori intersit*, Buchheit, 37, Pease, p.4 with further citations; Knauer 192 cites Anchises' own later comment 6.694 *quam metui, ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent*); that could well be correct. D'Anna, *Problema*, 95 is unnecessarily troubled at the absence of any mention of Acestes here, though such suppression of tedious detail is essential in this briefest of summaries.

**708 hic** Repeated in **710**; a certain stateliness, quite appropriate to the occasion, will emerge here; note also discretion in the use of anaphora, sparing apostrophe and interjection. Mourning for Pallas is less restrained.

**pelagi tot tempestatibus** Cf. *pelagi erroribus*, *infra*, 5.801f., 7.301, 10.57 *totque maris uastaeque exhausta pericula terrae*, 695; Latin is freer, perhaps (cf. n. on 7.586, where *pelagi rupes* is in the end rejected), than English in the range of nouns which can be said to *belong* to the sea. A fine generalising, rhetorical **tot** (cf. n. on **282**) and a weighty phrase.

**actus** Cf. 6.532 *pelagine uenis erroribus actus?*, 1.240 *tot casibus actos*, 333 *erramus uento huc uastis et fluctibus acti*, 7.199 *seu tempestatibus acti*, 213, 9.18 *nubibus actam*. The paradox lies in Anch. surviving the perils of Aen.'s voyage (so too, 6.112f.) to die (of old age, even) on shore. **Actus P, actis MRV**. Mynors cites 7.199 (where vd. my n. for further material) to confirm that **actus** is natural and correct here; the abl. might be possible Latin (Mynors compares *G.* 1.413; Serv. here *transactis uel quomodo 'mensibus actis'*), but is far likelier to be a mere inadvertent continuation of the preceding abl..

**709 heu** Cf. n. on 7.594.

**genitorem** An ample and sonorous synonym chosen; cf. n. on 7.360, Dickey(41), 114.

**omnis curae casusque** Not listed by Wölfflin (alliterative word-pairs) along with *casus conatus*, *curare cogitare*, *curas corda*, etc., though I do not quite see why. *Omnis* often used to underscore a sense of loss or removal (n. on 7.635, after Oomes, *TLL* 9.2.613.44ff.); here, **omnis**

refers not to the *leuamen* but to the noun-pair (and they are not lost), but the *vis elativa* is nonetheless felt.

**leuamen** Cf. *Ov.Her.*12.79; the noun *Catullan*(68.61); also *Cic.Att* and *Liv.6.35.1*.

**710 amitto Anchisen** Cf. 5.614, 814, 867, after *Cat.64.150*, 245; standard Latin, though, and common in e.g. *Cic.*

**hic** Taking up **hic**, **708**.

**me .../ 711 deseris** The idiom of the dead who leave, desert the living at *Acc.trag.58*, *Cic.Sen.84* (where vd. Powell), *id., carm.graec.fr.1* (Baehrens fr.48).1f. *linquamus amicis/ maerorem* (with Balzert, *TLL* 7.2.1462.26f., for *CLE*), *Ov.Met.7.850*, *Stat. Silv.2.6.4*, Vetter, *TLL* 5.1.670.65f.; note also *CLE* 403.4, 2152A.3. Apparently not in Gk. lit. epigram, but see Peek, 345.1, 1117.1, etc..

**pater optime** Cf. *Acc.trag.240f. optime pater* (of Dionysus), *Lucil.20*, *Cic.Deiot.27(o. paterfamilias)*, *Hor.Serm.1.4.105* (of his own father) *pater optimus*, 2.1.12 *pater optime*, 1.555 *pater optime Teucrum (mira laus* remarks Serv.), 5.358 *pater optimus* (of Aen.), *Ov.Met.7.627*, *Sen.Contr.exc.6.2.1 patrem optimum amittere*, *Quint.decl. 259.9*, 290.5, [*Quint.*] *decl.mai.4.18*, 4.22, 11.5, *Mart.12.62.7*, 14.180.1, *Plin.Pan.38. 1*, *Tac.Ann. 16.31*. Cf. Dickey(41), 120. Sinko, *TLL* 2.2085.65 is ungenerous with detail and more is therefore offered here. The expression savours perhaps of the slightly stiff and formal ('my excellent father'). The apostrophe (by attraction from nom.; cf. Austin on 2.283) used here—properly, one might say—for pathos. Cf. nn. on 7.1, 11.42.

**fessum** Thematic from **78**, **85**, etc.; *Anch.* has been particularly indispensable to Aen. when he is weary and least able to cope with the emotional demands of exile and command.

**711 heu** Cf. **709**; as with the repet. of **hic**, **708**, **710**, V. avoids obvious effects.

**tantis ... periclis** Cf. **367**

**neququam.**Cf. **677**. Compare above all 5.80f. *recepti/ neququam cineres*.

**erepte** Cf. **476**. The phrasing is neat and weighty; if *Anch.* cannot share the Trojans' promised land, to what end was he saved from Troy?

**712 nec .../ 713 ... non** Cf. 2.197f. *neque ... nec ... non ... non*, *Lucr.5.231f. nec ... non*, *Hor. C.3.1.27ff. neque ... aut ... non*. Not *nec* used for *non* which is pre- and post-classical (cf. Lyne on *Ciris* 239, after Löf-

stedt, *Syntactica* 1<sub>2</sub>, 338ff.) but an occasional variation on *nec ... nec, non ... nec* and the like, apparently not registered in the larger accounts of the neg. particles, Hand, 4, 139ff., Wagner, *QV* xxxii, KS 1, 817ff., LHS, 448ff..

**uates Helenus** Cf. 358; see also 374–462 for the currently overstressed issue of Helenus' silences (Knauer compares *Il.*17.410f.; see also E. Henry, *VP*, 68): a selective seer is no flaw in the poet's honesty or technique; even the hostile Celaeno was silent on the topic, after all. Seers are under no obligation to tell it all, and the poet is also free to spring a surprise: cf. 708–18 for V. and the convenient flexibility in his sources over the place of Anch.'s death.

**cum ... moneret** Cf. 436, 461, 684.

**multa horrenda** Cf. in sing. 7.78, *id uero horrendum*, Ehlers, *TLL* 6.3.2982.84; of Tiresias, Stat. *Theb.*4.491.

**713 hos mihi praedixit luctus** The vb. from Pacuv. *trag.*138 on; I. used more or less of the things that cause grief, Kemper, *TLL* 7.2.1740.5f., comparing 6.868 and (well) 10. 755f. *aequabat luctus et mutua Mauors / funera*.

**dira Celaeno** Cf. 211.

**714 hic ... haec ... / 715 hinc** Cf. **78 huc ... haec, 167 hae ... hinc**, 2.523 *huc ... haec*, 6.788 *huc ... hanc*. Here too, then, three references, all of them perforce to the same point; so Cova, rightly, against Kinsey (588–681), 116; Williams (both edd.) seems to take **haec**, in isolation, of Carthage, which will not do at all. No problem with the **labor extremus**; nor indeed with Aen.'s passage from Drepanum to Carthage, except for those readers (e.g. Paratore) troubled by Aen.'s alleged amnesia and failure to narrate the story of the storm all over again, despite Ilioneus' account, 1.535ff.; here, the catalogue of *labores* is simply truncated to avoid duplication and evident tedium for the reader (as TCD noted—*uitiosum fuit repetere quod Ilioneus plene narrauerat*; Henry waxes sanely eloquent). There remains Drepanum as **longarum ... meta uiarum** (for **m.**, vd. *infra*): a shift in narrative outlook here, since Aen. as narrator now speaks from the viewpoint of the hero who has just arrived at Drepanum from Troy and Buthrotum, has at last reached western waters, and is no longer engaged on a creeping *periplus*, but faces Cumae/the Tiber mouth across the Tyrrhenian. Just possibly, therefore, **m.** may even hint at its other meaning of 'turning point in a race' (*G.*3.202, etc.; Serv. is confused here; vd. *infra*); here then

perhaps rather in the sense of ‘change of direction’, for at the end of bk.5, on leaving Drepanum again, Aen. does indeed sail NE, as he had tried to do once already, round the *meta* of Sicily’s third cape; this interpretation may be supported by comparison of AR’s view of the whole journey to Colchis and back as a race, round a  $\nu\upsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha$ , 3.1272 (with Nelis, 218; his further, metaphorical, interpretations of this turning-point are markedly less persuasive, though as ‘goal’ *meta* is used strikingly by Varr.*RR* 1.4.1, of the *aims* of agriculture). ‘Goal’, though, may be preferred. The death of Anch. reinforces our sense of Drepanum as a caesura in the narrative.

**labor extremus** Contrast *Buc.*10.1 *extremum ... laborem* and *G.*4.116 *extremo ... sub fine laborum*. Cf. Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.2001.63f.. His father’s death is the very last of the many *labores* which have beset Aen.(145, 160, etc.), but also the *labor saeuissimus* of them all, as Serv.Dan. notes. Perhaps (also) the last of Anch.’s own *labores*. The adj. has a strong association of death, Hiltbrunner, 2002.41 ff., also present here(cf. 2.447). Cf. J. Cressey, *LCM* 8 (1983), 64, who suggests an epigraphic resonance in the language; a register for whose presence in *Aen.* I have long argued(cf. n. on 7.1); *CIL* 1<sub>2</sub>.1325=6.6049, *ILLRP* 932 *quem numquam nisi mors feiniuit labore* seems not (*pace* Cressey) to prove the point: there the *labor* is that of *life* and death seems a release(cf. Bücheler on *CLE* 1851(=*CIL* 6.6049), Lumpe, *TLL* 7.2.790.66f.(compare e.g. Cic. *Arch.*30 *uitae periculis laboribusque*, Lumpe, *cit.*, 52), Lattimore, 205f.).

**longarum ... uiarum** Cf. 383.

**meta** Cf. 8.594 *per dumos, qua proxima meta uiarum*, Dittmann, *TLL* 8.865.75f.; cf. 429. Serv.’s *qua proximus circuitus* on 8.594 suggests confusion of the sense ‘goal’ with ‘turning-point’, which may indeed also be present in the text here, as we have seen.

**715 me digressum** Not in Lucr. Hor., but used by Cat.64(116); common in prose, but not ‘prosy’. Not in Tib., Prop., but *ter* in Ov..The oblique cases of the participle permit extreme economy of language and construction; cf. *Aen.*7, index, s.v. ‘participle’.

**uestris deus appulit oris** V. re-uses 338 **quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris?** Cf. *Od.*12.447  $\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\nu \delta' \epsilon\nu\eta\mu\alpha\rho \phi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\mu\eta\nu, \delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta \delta\acute{\epsilon} \mu\epsilon \nu\kappa\tau\iota/ \nu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \text{'}\omega\gamma\upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\eta\nu \pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu \theta\epsilon\omicron\acute{\iota}$ , with Knauer, 182. Note also *Od.*6.172f.  $\nu\upsilon\nu \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon \kappa\acute{\alpha}\beta\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon \delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu./ \acute{\omicron}\phi\rho\rho' \acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota \pi\omicron\upsilon \kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota \tau\eta\delta\epsilon \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omega \kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{o}\nu$ : readers who recall the entire passage may here wonder what ill may now befall Aen., after so generous a welcome; he has arrived at Carthage in keeping with a divine plan(cf. Pomathios,

351), but the working-out of that plan is not necessarily benevolent; cf. 1.199 *dabit deus his quoque finem* and Henry's n. here.

**716–8** A closure gentle in tone but weighty in effect, with marked echoes of Aen.'s start: Aen., in thought, is back in Sicily but we, with this transition, revert to the situation at the end of bk.1 and now pass with necessary readjustment to Dido's palace(from the banqueting hall, tacitly, to the bedchamber, E.L. Harrison, *ANRW* 2.31.1, 364), and to the orphan Aeneas. Polara, Harrison(E.) and Fernandelli(*infra*) have offered useful considerations on these vv.

**716 sic** Cf. *sic ait*, *sic memorat*, *sic effatus* as closing formulae.

**pater Aeneas ... unus** Cf. 11.184, Moseley, 70ff., Highet, 35 and n. on (different) **343**. Of the common antithesis (cf. 1.15, etc.; 'the somewhat forced antithesis' Page) with **omnibus**, Serv.Dan. writes *non eum interpellante regina interrogationibus*. For G.W. Williams(*TI*, 276f.) a handy tag, not specially appropriate here, that would have been edited away in revision. No role for Ilioneus, though, in contrast to bk.1; none for Anch., either(so too Roti, *infra*), for after his death Aen.'s solitary position as leader and 'spokesman' of the Trojans is suddenly crucial. G.C. Roti(*CQ* 33 (1983), 300f.) suggests that Aen. is also all alone, 'bereft of his country and father'.

**intentis omnibus** Admirable ring-composition with 2.1f. *conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant.* / *inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto* (vd. Knauer, 171, n.2, Laird, 200, Worstbrock, 44, Polara, *infra*). Cf. 7.251 with n.. *Vt ostenderet Aenean libenter auditum et auditores textu narrationis satiani nequisse* TCD.

**717 fata ... diuum** More commonly **fata deum** (375): oracles given by the gods(Pomathios, 328), crucial as conveying to Dido Aen.'s ultimate role in the divine plan and in making very clear to the reader that Aen. too is well acquainted with the role assigned him.

**renarrabat** Apparently a coinage(Cordier, 145). Not an orderly retelling, after some preliminary phase of chaotic question-and-answer (Serv.); rather, these *fata* had been uttered, and now they are told over; an exhaustive analysis of scholarly views in Fernandelli(690), 99f., comparing *Ov.Met.*5. 635f. *citius quam nunc tibi facta renarro / in latices mutor*, to which he adds tentatively the ἀναμετρῆσαι of *Od.*12.428. Note also F., *cit.*, after Polara, *EV* 3, 664 on the relevance of Aen.'s initial *renouare dolorem*, 2.3, in the context of a larger ring-composition, *supra*).

He rightly notes that the situation at *Od.*13.1ff., where the audience fall silent after *Od.*'s narrative, until Alcinous begins to speak, is not exactly comparable.

**cursusque docebat** So often in the sense of 'reveal', 'unfold'; cf. Bulhart, *TLL* 5.1.1705.75, 6.891 *Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini*, 12.111 *fata docens*. **C.**: cf. 146, 253, etc..

**718 conticuit** Cf. 6.53f. *talia fata/ conticuit*. *Quinquies* in *Aen.*, and a verb he positively favoured (*conticuere omnes*, after all). Perhaps introduced by him to high poetry (cf. Ricottilli, *EV* 5\*, 11), and either brought to his notice by Livy (2.29.1, 55.10, 4.1.5) or familiar to both from (e.g.) *Enn.* Ignored by Cordier.

**tandem** A long speech, and late in the day.

**factoque ... fine** Cf. Bauer, *TLL* 6.1.791.20ff.: *finem facere* standard Latin for 'to stop speaking', with ample evidence from Plaut., Ter., Cic.(cf. 6.76 *finem dedit ore loquendi*, with Norden, p.373, Skutsch on *Enn.Ann.*595).

**hic ... quieuit** 'Fell quiet' or 'went to bed'(Henry's 'having brought his narrative to a close, [he] rested' counts as a refinement of the first option)? *Secessit ad requiem* TCD; *tacet* Serv.. Discussed with energy in the c.19 commentators; *EV* 4, 374 can consider the passage without recognising that thought, if not decision, is required. After both **conticuit** and **facto ... fine**, we do not need a third statement of 'fell silent'. Henry indeed shows that *quiescere* can be used of many kinds of cessation: so, variously, but clearly enough 1.249 *placida compositus pace quiescit*, 6.102 *rabida ora quierunt*, 226 *flamma quieuit*, 7.298 *odiis aut exsaturata quieui*. Here, then, 'rested'(sc. from what he was doing) does perforce mean 'fell silent', or something so like it as to risk tautology. The slightly mundane 'went to bed'(OLD s.v., §1; cf. *Lucr.*4.763, of limbs and senses taking rest) is not intolerably low; though Wagner remarks that going to bed, the sort of detail that V. prefers to avoid, *Aen.* is in fact put to bed, elaborately, at 8.366ff.(cf. 405f.), and the slumbering narrator offers suitable contrast to *at regina, graui ....* E.L. Harrison, *cit.*, 365 suggests perhaps rightly that while in its immediate context **q.** might suggest (yet again) 'fell silent', yet by the time we reach Dido's *quietem* (4.5), a sense of physical repose will, on reflection, dominate. The contrast with Dido's troubling dreams that night(4.9) might be significant (Harrison, 364, 'adversative juxtaposition').

APPENDIX I

VIRGIL'S SOURCES FOR THE CUMAEAN  
SIBYL; THE EVIDENCE OF BK.6

A recent visit to Amsterdam made me look more closely at the complementary material in bk.6 and reminded me of the dangerous passion with which the Sibyl is discussed. Cf. J.J.L. Smolenaars, *Lampas* 32 (1999), 179ff., R.C. Monti, *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 39ff., 40 (1994), 19ff., and further bibl. at **446 atque antro seclusa**. However near Cumae stood to V.'s apparent attested home (*Companion*, 7f.), we are hardly free to attribute to him just this once, a serious-minded devotion to minute topographical exactitude (cf. further n. on **446**, *cit.*), given his demonstrable procedure elsewhere. His method in describing cult-usage at Cumae is also relevant: we have already seen that all the detail present in **441ff.** is conventional, and some of it derives from identifiable literary sources. If V. were describing accurately a real Cumae, it would be a rather curious setting for a ritual so evidently derived from books and stock elements. In confirmation of this line of argument, it might be useful to have a brief summary of the details of Sibylline usage present in bk.6, but not in bk.3, with a note of their origins and of some *comparanda*:

(1) Those details which belong to conventional descriptions of physiological states are not distinctively Sibylline:

- (a) 6.47 *non uultus, non color unus* Cf. Brink on Hor.*Epist.*2.2.189, *Epd.*5.4, *Epist.*1. 1.90, 11.20, *C.*1.19.8, 2.2.23. Naturally, human expression expresses changes of emotion. Note too the common conception of the feigned *uultus*.
- (b) 6.47 *non uultus, non color unus* Colour changes with e.g. age, health (Watson on Hor.*Epd.*17.21), or being in/out of love (NH on Hor.*C.* 1.13.5). Cf. also *C.*4.13.17, Verg. *G.*4.254, PsArist.*Physiogn.* 812a 15ff.
- (c) 6.48 *non comptae mansere comae* Cf. nn. on 7.394, 403: unloosed hair typical of states of unchecked inspiration or possession.
- (d) 6.48 *sed pectus anhelum* Cf. Dio Chrys. 1.56 the εὐθεός typically

- ἀσθμαίνουσα; note the noisy breathing of the ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, PsHippocr.*Epid.*5.63=7.28, Apul. *Met.*7.1 (*anhelitus* and possession), Sen.*Agam.*713 (with Tarrant's n.), Prud.*Perist.* 3.34 *rude pectus anhelata deo*, Dodds, *Greeks and the irrat.*, 72, n.52.
- (e) 6.49 *maiorque uideri* Very fully discussed by Bömer on Ov.*F.*4.861.
- (f) 6.50 *nec mortale sonans* Cf. 1.328 *nec uox hominem sonat*, Liv.5.32.6 *uocem clariorem humana* (::Plut.*Cam.*14.3), and note Plut.*defect.orac.* 484b on the τραχύτης of the Pythia's voice. A specific illustration of (e).
- (g) 6.54f. the *gelidus .../... tremor* in the watching Trojans: cf. n. on 7.446 for trembling and on 11.818f., **3.30** for the importance of cold in such descriptions.

(2) Details deriving from metaphor

- (a) 6.49 *et rabie fera corda tument*: For the 'wave' of madness, see e.g. Dem.19.314 κλύδων καὶ μανία, Aesch.*Eum.*832, J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane*, 184, n.4, 185.
- (b) 6.77 *Phoebe patiens*; cf. 79 *excussisse, fatigat*, 80 *domans fingitque pre-mendo*, 100f. *frena .../ concutit*, 101 *stimulos ... uertit*. Austin's commentary is very helpful with the use of the horse-and-rider image to express divine possession (cf. Norden, p.144). For the language of goads and whips in descriptions of possession, cf. my nn. on 7.336, 405. Such language actually used, *Orac.Sib.*3.5 μάστιγι βιάζεται. Burkert remarks (*Greek religion*, 117) 'how the Sibyl suffers violence from the god is alluded to by Virgil also'. A violent relationship (Eur.*IA* 761 ἀνάγκαι; exceptionally fatiguing: with 102, cf. Lyc.3f., *Orac.Sib.*3.3, 297f., Norden's n.); typically V. eschews any explicit hint of sexuality, though it could be latent in the dominant metaphor of horse and rider (Taillardat, 105f., Adams, *LSV*, 165f.). Lane Fox strangely dismisses the view that oracular possession was 'essentially imagined in the metaphors of man's 'possession' of women' (*Pagans and Christians*, 208; cf. Bömer on Ov.*F.*6.538); but cf. 'Verg.'ap.Sen.*Suas.*3.5 *plena deo*, Longin.13.2 ἐγκύμονα, Paus. 10.12.2 Ἀπόλλωνος γυνῆ γαμετή, Plut.*Pyth.orac.* 405c, Norden, p.145f. The metaphor presupposes a story-type (Cassandra and Apollo, in particular: cf. Conon 33, Apollod. 3.12.5, Norden, 146), and the help of metaph. language is required to discuss something as tricky as possession. Naturally, hostile allegations against the morals of some prophetesses follow, Norden and Burkert, *citt.*



## (3) The language of madness.

- (a) 6.49 *rabie*, 80 *os rabidum*, 100 *furenti*; cf. **443** *insanam*.
- (b) 6.78 *bacchatur* The verb used of Dido, 4.301, of *fama*, 4.666; it is also applied to a low street seer by *Dig.*21.1.1.10 *circa fana bacchatus sit et responsa reddiderit* (cf. Latte, 289, MacMullen, *Enemies of the roman order*, 128ff.).
- (c) 6.77 *immanis* Possibly in development of *maiorque uideri*, possibly used in the sense of 'fearful'; not a specific or significant detail. V.'s use of the language of 'madness' and possession is familiar: cf. Arist.*Probl.*954a36 Σιβυλλαι καὶ Βάκιδες καὶ οἱ ἔνθεοι...πάντες and see Dodds, 88, n.45, E. Rohde, *Psyche* 2<sup>7/8</sup> (Tübingen 1921), 63ff.), Heraclitus 13B92DK μαινομένῳ στόματι. 'Mantic' and 'manic' were, and are related terms (Dodds, 70 with n.37); ancient writers distinguished between several kinds of prophetic 'madness' (Dodds, 70ff., quite beautifully; cf. Burkert, 109ff.), but the terminology used was not precise. Mediumistic possession is not to be dismissed as mere frenzy, hysteria, excitement. (Dodds, 87, n.41). V.'s *inspirat* (6.12) corresponds to Gk. ἐμπνέει; we might wish to compare expressions of poets inspired by the Muses (Dodds, 80ff.; cf. NR on Hor.C.3.25.1f., Fraenkel on Aesch.*Agam.*106, Onians, 56, Rohde 2, 68, n.2). Cf. n. on **443**.

It emerges by this stage that the entire description is a magnificent construct: all the details, without exception, can be assigned to identifiable themes and sources, and the whole should be described, not dismissed, as magnificent bricolage. It does now appear most unlikely that the poet went to Cumae to describe accurately an actual ritual, and it may also be a little clearer than it was that the topographical setting is likewise rather likelier to be a splendid compilation of conventional details.



## LATIN INDEX

- a Troia 149; ab before s 687; ab of non-personal agent (??) 533; cf. 570; ab rupe 647  
 abducite 601  
 abeunt 452  
 ablata pennis 258; abstulit nox caelum 198f.  
 abrumpit 55; abruptis nubibus 199  
 abscidit 418  
 abscondimus 291  
 absumere 257; absumite 654  
 accedimus 293;  
 accepit (of places) 544; accipiebat ('welcomed') 353; accipiet reduces 96; accipit 708; accipit (of harbour) 79; accipite ... animis 250; accipiunt (of wounds 243)  
 accessu uentorum 570  
 acer metus 682  
 Achilleae 326  
 acuto telo 635  
 ad Troiam 595  
 addidit iugis 334  
 addixi 653  
 adeas uatem 456  
 ademptum lumen 658  
 adeo (w. numeral) 203  
 aderit Apollo 395  
 adfabilis dictu 621  
 adfectare 670  
 adfers 310  
 adgredior 38; adgredior (vbl.) 358  
 adlabimur 569  
 admouerit 410  
 adnixa 208  
 adopertus 405  
 adora numen 437  
 aduersae harenae 38; aduersis postibus 287  
 adytis 92  
 aegra corpora 140; aegra seges 142  
 aequalis 491  
 aequare sequendo 671  
 aequor uastum 191; aequora 196  
 aere cauo 240, 286  
 aerae quercus 680; aërias arces 291  
 aestas ... prima 8  
 aestu 397, 419, 557  
 aethra siderea 585f.  
 aeui uetustas 415  
 aggeritur tellus 63  
 agit with abstr. subj. 682; actus tempestatibus 708; agite et 114; egisse uias 695  
 agitatus 331  
 agnouit 180  
 alas wings, reefs 520  
 alba 392; and Alba 392  
 alendum 50  
 alma lux 311  
 altera Pergama 86  
 alternos 423  
 altricem terram 273  
 altum 192  
 ambesas 257  
 ambiguum prolem 180  
 amictu 405  
 amitto 710  
 amore miro 298  
 amplector limina 351; amplexus genua 607  
 amplius 192  
 ancipiti formidine 47  
 ancora 277  
 angusta sede 687; angusti Pelori 411; angusto aestu 419  
 animam hanc 654; animas dulcis 140  
 animi cecidere 260; animis nostris 89; animo mouens multa 34;

- animos uirilis 342; animum  
 firmat 611; animus 60  
 annum magnum 284; annus letifer  
 139  
 ante alias 321; ante aras 545; ante  
 urbem 302; ante ... quam 255f.,  
 384ff.  
 antemnarum uelatarum 549  
 antiqua terra 164; antiquam  
 matrem 96; antiquam uirtutem  
 342  
 aperire 206  
 apparent 193; apparet 270, 701  
 appulit 338, 715  
 appulit 715  
 aras geminas 305; aras patrias 332;  
 aras ponere 404  
 arboribusque satisque 139  
 arces+adj. 109f.  
 arcum as image 533  
 ardua saxis 271; arduus 619; arduus  
 Acragas 703  
 arebant herbae 142; arentem (river-  
 bed) 350  
 argentum 466  
 armenta laeta 220  
 armis potens 164; armis)uotis 261  
 armisonae 544  
 arquitenens 75  
 arripe 477  
 arua Dictaea 171  
 asparagine 534  
 asperat undas 285  
 aspersa sanie 625  
 ast 330; 410  
 astare 150; astitit 194  
 astra rorantia 567; astra, tollemus in  
 158; astrorum ignes 585  
 atque (unelided) 684, xxviii  
 atra cupresso 64; atro sanguine 28  
 attollere se 205, 552; attollit 574  
 attonitus 172  
 auarum litus 44  
 auctor 503  
 audimus 556; audita recordor 107;  
 audite 103; auditur 40  
 auertite casum 265  
 auguriis..dium 5; augurium 89  
 aulai medio 354  
 aurae uela uocant 356f.; auras in  
 hyperbole 422  
 auri fames 57; auro impositis 355;  
 auro trilicem 467  
 auribus captat 514; auris occupat  
 294  
 auspicia maiora 374f.; auspiciis 499;  
 auspiciis maioribus 374f.  
 austros classibus dare 61  
 auulsaque uiscera 575  
 auunculus 343  
 auxilium laborum 145f.  
 bacas 649  
 barathri 421  
 bello petiisse 603; bellum ... bellum  
 247f.  
 brachchia (geogr.) 535  
 cacumina 274  
 cadunt uela 207  
 caecae caligine 203; caecis latebris  
 232; caecis saxis 706; caecis undis  
 200  
 caedis ... nostrae 256  
 caeli lumen 600; caeli tractu 138;  
 caelo sereno 518; caelo tacito  
 515; caelum/ pontus 193  
 caerulea uerrunt 208  
 caeruleis 64; caeruleis canibus 432;  
 caeruleus ... imber 194  
 caespite uiridi 304  
 caligine caeca 203  
 caminis ruptis 580  
 campi + local adj. 701; campos 11;  
 campos Chaonios 334  
 candente fauilla 573  
 candore niuali 538  
 cane uota 438; canebat 183  
 canibus 428, 432  
 canit 155; canit fata 444  
 capitum fetus 391  
 caprigenum pecus 221  
 captat aera 514  
 captiua 324

- carbasus 357  
 carmine 287  
 casti (i.e. pii) 409  
 castra mouemus (nautical) 519  
 casus 32, 504; casus talis 183  
 caua trabe 191; cauata rupe 229  
 caudas 428  
 causa 584; causam lacrimis 305  
 cautes altas 699; cautes obiectae 534  
 cecidere animi 260; cecidit 2  
 cedamus Phoebō 188; cedit honore  
 484; cedunt ab ordine 447;  
 cecisise, not legal tt 297; cessit  
 legal 334  
 celebramus 280  
 celsa in puppi 527  
 cernitur 552, 554  
 certa requies 393; certum facio 179;  
 certum est + infin. 686  
 certantibus remis 668  
 certatim 290  
 ceruicem inflexam 631  
 cessantem 430  
 cetera advbl. 594  
 chlamydem Phrygiam 484  
 ciebat fletus 344f.; ciemus supre-  
 mum 68  
 cineri 303  
 cingetis moenibus 255; cingi  
 obsidione 52  
 circuitu 413  
 circumflectere 430  
 circumfundimur 634f.  
 circumspicit 517  
 circumuolat 233  
 circumuoluitur 284  
 clamore impleuit 313; clamorem  
 dedere 566  
 clangoribus 226  
 clarum signum 519  
 classes as ships 403; classibus  
 (poet.plur.) 602; classibus austros  
 dare 61  
 claudit (of sheep) 642; clausa domus  
 213  
 claustra 411  
 cogis 56  
 cognomine 702; cognomine dicunt  
 163  
 cohibet 424  
 cohors of sailors 563  
 coit formidine 30  
 colitur 13, 73, 77; coluere 165  
 comae steterunt 48; comas uelare  
 174, 405  
 comantis 468  
 comes 613  
 comitantur of animals 660  
 commissa 428  
 commixta 633  
 compellare 299; compellat 474  
 complent litora 71; complent lumine  
 645  
 componere 387  
 concessa fati 701  
 concilium horrendum 679  
 conclamat 523  
 concordia frena 542  
 condimus animum 68; condita  
 mente 388  
 confecta 591  
 confixum 45  
 confunditur 696  
 coniferae cyparissi 680  
 coniugio sceptrisque 296  
 coniugis proleptic 328, 331  
 conlustrans 651  
 consedit 245; considerare 162, 289  
 consertam 467; consertum tegimen  
 594  
 conspexi 652, 306  
 constare cuncta 518  
 constiterunt 681  
 contactu 227  
 contemnere 77  
 conterritus asēctu 597  
 conticuit 718  
 continuit gradum 598  
 continuo 196, 540  
 contorsit 562  
 contra (advb). 684, 692  
 contra 552  
 contrahimus 8  
 conubiis aruisque 136

- conuellere 31  
 conum 468  
 coram 173  
 corna lapidosa 649; cf. 22  
 cornua 549; cornua lunae 645  
 corona 525  
 corpora curamus 511; corpore toto  
     175  
 corripio corpus 176  
 corrupto tractu 138  
 cortice 33  
 cortina 92  
 Corybantia aera 111  
 cratera 525  
 crebrescunt 530  
 crederet 187  
 crepitans 70  
 cretus sanguine 609  
 crudelia limina 616; crudelis terras  
     44  
 cruento mero 632f.  
 cruor 43  
 cubile 324  
 cultrix Cybeli 111  
 cum 10; cum iam 51; cum inversum  
     135ff., 588f.; cum+indic. after  
     strong statement of time 646  
 cum uoce manus 177  
 cunabula 5  
 cunctis oris 97  
 cupresso atra 64  
 cura 341, 505; cura deum 476;  
     curae casusque 709; curas  
     demere 153  
 curare corpus 511; curat 451  
 currimus aequor 191  
 cursum dare 337; cursum uertere  
     146; cursum uocabat uentus 269;  
     cursus teneam 686; cursus uocet  
     uela 454f.  
 curuato gurgite 564; curuatus in  
     arcum 533  
 cymbia spumantia 66  
 da ... da 85; dabimus imperium urbi  
     159; dant + adj./partic. 69f.;  
     dare classibus austros 61 dare  
     cursum 337; dare fatis uela 9;  
     dare lintea 686; data moenia 501;  
     datam urbem 255; datis uentis  
     705; datur potestas+infin. 670;  
     dedit ('allowed') 77; detur 7  
 dapes sollemnis 301; dapibus  
     impositis 355  
 de in dedication 288; de numero  
     nostro 623  
 deae 262  
 debita 184  
 deceptum 181  
 deducunt 71  
 dehinc after postquam 464  
 deiecit uultum 320; deiectam 317  
 deinde ('thereafter') 450, 327  
 delapsae 238  
 delati 219; delatus 441  
 delectos proceres 58  
 demere curas 153  
 demissa uoca 320; demittunt 535  
 demoror 481  
 denuntiat 366  
 deriguit 260, 308  
 deripere funem 266f.  
 descripsit 445  
 desedimus 564  
 deseris 711; deserta lustra 646f.,  
     desertas 4 deserimus 190  
 deum rex 375; deus 715; di ... di  
     265  
 dextram dat 610f.; dextras ...  
     iungimus 83  
 dicto paremus 189  
 dictu adfabilis 621; dictu mirabile 26  
 diductas litore 419  
 diem inuoluere 198; diem noctem-  
     que 201; dies alterque dies 356  
 diffideret 51  
 digerit in numerum 446  
 digna fortuna 318  
 dignate 475  
 digressum 410; digressu supremo  
     482; digressum 715  
 dira 211; dira fames 256; dira  
     inluuies 593  
 diripiunt 227

- discernere 201  
 discite 103  
 discrimine paruo leti 685; discrimine  
 tanto 629  
 dispendia morae 453  
 dispersi 197  
 disponunt 237  
 dissiluisse 416  
 distant 116  
 diua 553  
 diuersa 4; diuerso caeli 232  
 diuinos lacus 442  
 diuum iussa 114; diuum (gen.) 5  
 dixisse (naming) 166; dixit (for prae-)  
 362  
 docebat 717  
 domina 113; dominae 113  
 dominabitur 97  
 domus Aeneae 97  
 dubitanda (haud) 170  
 duco uitam 315; ducunt iussa 114  
 dulcis animas 140  
 dura uada 706; duri 94  
  
 e fluctu 554  
 ecce 219; ecce tibi 477  
 ecqua ... ecquid 341f.  
 edico 235  
 effatus 463  
 effigies sacrae 148  
 effossi luminis 663  
 effudit lacrimas 312  
 effuge 398  
 egomet 623  
 egressi 79  
 elephanto 464  
 elisam spumam 567  
 eloquar 39  
 en 155  
 enixa 391; enixae 327  
 epulamur 224  
 equidem 315  
 erepte 476, 711  
 ergo 278  
 eri 324  
 erigit 423; erigit eructans 576  
 eripite 560  
  
 errant 644; errantem 76; errantis  
 102; errata litora 690f.  
 errore locorum 181  
 eructans 632; eructans erigit 576  
 est locus 163  
 et 486  
 etiam 247  
 euertere 1  
 Euroo fluctu 533  
 exaestuat 577  
 excipit 318, 330  
 excitat 343  
 excussos rudentis 267; excutere  
 rudentis 682f.; excutimur 200  
 exercent palaestras 281; exercite 182  
 exilia 4  
 exorat 370  
 exorta 99  
 expediam dictis 379  
 expletus dapibus 629  
 explorat 514  
 exposcere pacem 261  
 exsecramus 273  
 exsertantem 425  
 exspirare 580  
 exstruimus toros 224  
 exsultant uada 557  
 exsupero 698  
 externum 43  
 exterrita 307, 673  
 extrema dona 488; extrema per  
 omnia 315; extremus labor 714  
 extuleram 150  
 exul 11  
 exurere 141  
  
 facies hominis 426; facies uera 310  
 facilem uento 529; facilis uisu 621  
 factae opes 53; factis fer ingentem  
 462  
 falsi Simoentis 302  
 fama 165, 551, 578; fama est 694  
 famem obscenam 367; fames sacra  
 57  
 famulo 329  
 fare age 362  
 fari and fata 380; fari fateri 609

- fas 55  
 fastus 326  
 fata (oracles) 7, 717; fata 375; and fari 380; fata canit 444; fata inuenient uiam 395; fatis Iliacis 182; fatis uela dare 9  
 fateor 603  
 faucibus haesit uox 48  
 fauilla candente 573  
 felicibus Zephyris 120; felix 321  
 fenestras insertas 152  
 fer ad aethera 462; ferant (nom.) fata 7; ferat finem 145; ferenti uento 473 feror 78; ferarum lustra 646f.; ferre gradum 598f.; ferte uiam 529; fertur ad auris 40; ferunt 416  
 fere 5  
 ferrea seges 45f.  
 ferro 222; ferro foedare 241  
 fessi 78, 276, 568, 710; fessis rebus 145; fessos artus 511; fessum latus 581  
 fetus capitem 391  
 fida silentia 112  
 fides 69, 434; f. manifesta 375  
 figite dicta 250; figo 287  
 fine facto 718; finem ferat 145; finem, gender of 145  
 firmat animum 611; firmat uestigia 659  
 flammatus 330  
 fletu precibusque 599  
 fluentia tabo membra 626  
 fluidum cruorem 663  
 fluminis undam 389  
 focus 178  
 foedant 227  
 foedissima 216  
 foret 417  
 formidatus 275  
 formidine coit 30; f. subita 259  
 fortuna digna 318; fortuna peracta 493; fortuna recessit 53  
 fractas uoces 556  
 fratris Aetnaeos 678  
 frena concordia 542  
 frigidus horror 29  
 frondes 449  
 frusta 632  
 fugae laborem 160; fugam tenuisse 283  
 fugatis stellis 521  
 fuge ... fuge 44; fuge 413  
 fugiasque ferasque 459  
 fuit (true perf.) 11  
 fumat 3  
 fundebat (words) 344; fundebat se 152; fundit (tears) 348  
 fundo imo 577  
 funem deripere 266f.; funem rumpite 639f.  
 funus 62  
 furenti 313  
 furiis scelerum 331  
 furtim 50  
 gelidus sanguis 30, 259; gelidus sudor 175  
 geminas aras 305; gemino muro 535; geminos parentis 180  
 gemitu 577; gemitum pelagi 555; gemitus lacrimabilis 39  
 generator 704  
 generi nostro 184; genus 86  
 genitorem 709  
 gens of mythol. 'set' 235; gentem 1  
 gestamen 286  
 glacialis 285  
 glaebae ubere 164  
 globos flammaram 574  
 glomerat 577  
 gradum ferre 598f.  
 gratissima tellus 73  
 grauia + abl. 464  
 gremio telluris 509  
 gurgite barathri 421; g. curuato 564; g. vasto 197  
 guttae 28  
 habitantur 398  
 habitus Dardanios 596  
 haerebat 608; haesit paulum 597; haesit uox faucibus 48



- hastilia 37  
 haud minus ac 561; haud secus ac  
     236  
 Hectoreum tumulum 304  
 heros 345  
 heu 44  
 hic illa 558  
 hinc 551; hinc ... hinc 111f.  
 hisco 314  
 hoc (vowel short) 602  
 honore 474; honore cedit 484;  
     honore deorum 406; honore  
     perfecto 178; honores meritos  
     118  
 horrendum 26; horrenda 712;  
     horrendum concilium 679;  
     horrendum monstrum 658  
 horresce 394  
 horrificis ruinis 571; horrifico lapsu  
     225  
 horror frigidus 29  
 hortamur fari 609  
 hospita aequora 377f.  
 hospitio 83; hospitium pollutum 61  
 hostilem tumulum 322; hostilis  
     facies 407  
 hostis medios 283  
 humilem Italiam 522  
 humo 3
- iacentem Thapsum 689; iacentis  
     150; iacuit per antrum 631  
 iacitur ancora 277  
 iactamur 197  
 iaculis acutis 46  
 iam 41  
 iamque fere 135; iamque ... cum  
     588  
 idem connective 158; idem ... que  
     80  
 ignare 382  
 ignari uiae 569; ignarum 338  
 ignes (lightning) 199; ignes astrorum  
     585; ignibus urbis 149  
 ille 53  
 imago and effigies 497  
 imber 194
- immani corpore 427; immanis 702  
 immensus 632  
 immergite 605  
 immeritam 2  
 immissa barba 593  
 immitis 87  
 immota manent 447; immotam 77  
 immugiit 674  
 immundo 228  
 imperium urbi dabimus 159  
 implacata 420  
 implet ueris 434; impleuit clamore  
     313  
 impositam 580; impositis dapibus  
     355  
 impulit 449  
 impune 628  
 inanem tumulum 304  
 incassum 345  
 incautum 332  
 incendimus aras 279; incensa  
     Dardania 156 incensa patria  
     325; incensum pectus 298  
 incerti quo 7; incertus ... soles 203  
 incidere funem 667  
 inconsulti 452  
 incredibilis 294  
 increpitent 454  
 increuit 46  
 inde 697  
 indicit 264  
 induit 525  
 infandi Cyclopes 644  
 infelicem uictum 649; infelicitas Ulixi  
     613, 691; infelix Priamus 50;  
     infelix uates (w. enallage) 246  
 inferimus 66  
 inferni lacus 386  
 inferre bellum 247f.  
 inflexam ceruicem 631  
 informe monstrum 658; informem  
     Scyllam 431f.  
 infrendens dentibus 664  
 ingeminant 199  
 ingens laetitia 99; ingens sus 390;  
     ingentem gemitum 555; ingentem  
     Troiam 462

- inhorruit 195  
 iniuria 256; iniuria 604  
 inlabere 89  
 inlaetabilis 707  
 inluuies 593  
 inrigat 511  
 inruimus 222  
 insanam uatem 443  
 insequor 32  
 insertas fenestras 152  
 insomnis 151  
 insontis 249  
 insperata 278  
 instauramus 62  
 instruimus mensas 231; instruit  
     471  
 insula Circae 386  
 insuper 579  
 insurgimus remis 207; insurgite  
     560  
 intemerata munera 177f.  
 intempesta nox 587  
 intendere uela 683; intentis 716  
 inter 'during' 406; inter in  
     anastrophe 685; inter temporal  
     406  
 interdum 572, 575  
 interea 608  
 interpres diuum 359  
 intrauimus 219  
 intremere 581; intremuere 673  
 intus 619  
 inuadere 382; inuadunt 240  
 inuia uia 383  
 inuoluere 198  
 ipsa (topogr.)5; ipse ('even') 201; ipse  
     619; ipsumque particularising  
     222f.  
 ira deum 215  
 iter+acc. of goal 507  
 iterumque iterumque 436  
 iubeat of deity 101; iubes 88  
 iugis addidit 336  
 iugo ferre 542  
 iuncti leones 113; iungere carmina  
     451; iungimus ... dextras 83  
 iura domosque 137  
 iussa diuum 114; iussa monent 684  
 iuuabit 606; iuuat 282  
 iuuentus 136  
 labente oleo 281; labentia sidera  
     515; labitur 309; lapsae sub  
     sidera 243  
 labor extremus 714; laborem 459;  
     laborem fugae 160; laborum  
     auxilium 145f.  
 laceras 41  
 lacrimabilis gemitus 39  
 lacrimans 10  
 lacrimis abortis 492  
 lacte tepido 66  
 laeta armenta 220; laeti 638; laeto  
     clamore 524; laeto ubere 95;  
     laetus 169, 178  
 laetitia 100  
 lambit sidera 574  
 lampadis Phoebae 637  
 lanigeras pecudes 642  
 lapidosa corna 649  
 lapsu 225  
 latebat 636; latet (of geogr. feature)  
     535; latet insula 692  
 latebris 232  
 latus Hesperium 418; latus fessum  
     581  
 lauit 663  
 lauro 81; laurus 360  
 laxare rudentis 267  
 lebetas 466  
 legimus litora 292  
 lenis crepitans 70  
 lentandus remus 384  
 lentum uimen 31  
 leones iuncti 113  
 leti discrimine 685  
 letifer annus 139  
 leuamen 709  
 leuarent omen 37  
 leuis uentus 448  
 libabant 354; libabat 303; libens 438  
 limina amplector 351; liminaque  
     laurusque 91  
 linguas uolucrum 361

- linque 160; linquebant 140; linquo 705  
 lintea dare 686  
 liquefacta saxa 576  
 liquuntur 28  
 litore for litoribus 419  
 litore sicco 135, 510; litoris oram 396; litoreis 390  
 loca and loci 414; loci numina 697; locus urbis 393  
 longaeuo 169  
 longe 556  
 longinqua uetustas 415  
 longo ... tempore 309; longos cursus 430  
 lucidus polus 585f.  
 luctus 713  
 lues 137ff.  
 lumen ademptum 658; lumen caeli 600; lumen (eye) 635  
 luna plena 152  
 lustra domosque 647  
 lustramur + dat. 279; lustrare 429; lustres 377  
 lux alma 311
- macie suprema 590  
 mactauit 118  
 maculant 29  
 maestae arae 64  
 magna aequora 196; magna moenia 159f.; magna uoce 68 magni Iouis 104; magnis as n. 159; magno ponto 104; magnum annum 284; magnus of hero 286; maioribus auspiciis 374f.; maxima Furiarum 252; maximus pater 107  
 magnanimum equorum 704  
 mali Grai 398  
 malis (anat.) 257  
 manabat 175; manat 43  
 mandat 444  
 manderet 627  
 manean't ('abide') 409; maneat 505; manent immota 447; mansisset fortuna 615;
- manifesta fides 375; manifesti 151  
 Manis imos 565; manis uocabat 303  
 manu 372; manu regit 659; manus pias 42; manus supinas 176f.  
 mari medio 73; maris et terrae 528  
 mater 111; matrem antiquam 96  
 media unda 202; mediis ignibus 149; medio 417; medio antro 624; medio mari 73; medio ... fluctu 270; medios per hostis 283  
 meliora moniti 188  
 membra quatit 30  
 meminisse uiae 202  
 memorat 182  
 mensarum morsus 394  
 mentem pressus 47  
 merito 667  
 meritos honores 118  
 meta 714; metas metaph. 429  
 metus acer 682  
 meus emotive 489  
 minores 165  
 mirabile dictu 26  
 miro amore 298  
 miscentur aestu 557  
 miseranda 137ff.; miseranda cultu 591  
 missus (of divine aid) 688; mittere (pass). 440  
 mixto of abstrs. 99  
 modo 116  
 moenia 85; moenia magna 159f.  
 mole 579; mole uasta 656  
 molimur 6  
 monebo 436; monent iussa 684; moneri +double acc. 461 moniti meliora 188  
 monumenta uoluens 102  
 mons+ adj. 105  
 monstra deum 59; monstra, portentous 583; monstris 307; monstrum 27, 214  
 montibus 6  
 monumenta 486  
 morae dispendia 453; moram facere 473

- morem sacrorum 408  
 morsus mensurarum 394  
 mortalia pectora 56  
 mortem sacrorum 408  
 mouens multa 34; mouentem se  
     656; moueret, convince 187;  
     moueri 91  
 mox 598  
 mugire 92  
 multa mouens 34; multum 348  
 munera intemerata 177f.  
 murmure volcanic 582  
 mutandae sedes 161; mutare intrans.  
     415  
  
 nam (Gebetstil) 374; nam 27; nam  
     in anastrophe 379  
 natarent limina 626  
 nate 182; nate dea 311, 374; nati  
     natorum 98  
 nauifragum 553  
 ne + imper. 160, 316  
 nec non et 352; nec ... non 712f.  
 necdum 512  
 necesse est + parataxis 478  
 nefandam gentem 653  
 nefas as adj. 365  
 negabant uictum 142; negat + infin.  
     201; negat 171  
 nemorosa 270  
 nepotes 409; nepotes 505; nepotes  
     maneant 409; nepotes uenturos  
     158  
 nequiquam 677, 711  
 ni for ne 686  
 nimbo 587  
 nimbose 274  
 nimirum 558  
 nisu maiore 37  
 niuali candore 538  
 nomen dixere 693; nomine Graio  
     210; nomine (de) 166  
 non ... aut 43, 162  
 nondum 109  
 nostrae caedis 256  
 notas et nomina 444  
 notat sidera 515  
  
 noua forma uiri 591; noua proelia  
     240; nouo ueterum 181  
 nox 147  
 nudati 282  
 numen adora 437; numina magna  
     264, 697 numina sancta 543;  
     numine 363; numine 372 numine  
     372  
 numerum 446  
 nunc 165  
 nuntius uerus 310  
  
 o 321; o mihi 489  
 obiectae cautes 534  
 oblitus sui 629  
 obluctor 38  
 obscenam famem 367; obscenas 241  
 obscuro caelo 586; obscuros collis  
     522  
 obsedit 400; obsidet 421  
 obsidione cingi 52  
 obstipui 48  
 obruncat 55  
 obuertimus 549  
 obuia 499  
 occultas uias 695  
 occupat 294  
 occurrat 407  
 odere 452  
 odorem ... taetrum 228  
 oleo labente 281  
 olim 502  
 omen leuarent 37; omina 361  
 omne suggesting loss, et sim. 55;  
     omnia per extrema 315; omnia ...  
     -que ... -que 90; omnibus unus  
     716; omnis pathetic 3; omnis  
     religio 362f.  
 opaca 621; opaci montes 508  
 operata 136  
 opes fractae 53  
 opimis dapibus 224  
 optatae telluris 509  
 optime pater 710  
 opto (parenth.) 498  
 oraculum 143; oracula 456  
 oram litoris 396; oras et litora 75

- orbem medium 512  
 ordine 447, 548  
 ordo uertitur 376  
 ore of river 696  
 oris cunctis 97  
 ostentat 703  
 ostia of river 688  
 ouantes 189; ouantis 545  
  
 pacem exposcere 261  
 palaestras exercent 281  
 palmis passis 263  
 palmosa 705  
 pandimus 520; pandit 479; pando  
   252; pando rem 179  
 para 160  
 parce ... parce 41f.  
 paremus dicto 189  
 parentem primum 58; parentis  
   geminos 180  
 pariter 560  
 parta quies 495  
 partem praedamque 223  
 parua as gloss 402; paruam (of  
   town) 349  
 pascunt herbae 650  
 passis palmis 263  
 passus talia 628  
 pater 89; pater Anchises 9; pater  
   optime 710; pater, ancestor  
   168  
 pateras 67  
 patescit 530  
 patria Ithaca 613; patrias aras 332;  
   patrio 'native' 297; patrio ...  
   regno 249  
 pauca e multis 377  
 pauor 57  
 paupere genitore 614f.  
 pecudem 120  
 pelagi tempestatibus 708; pelagi  
   uolucris 241  
 pellere 249  
 penates 148; penatis Iliacos 603  
 penitus 32  
 per herbam 236; per superos 600  
 peracta fortuna 493  
  
 pereo 606  
 perfectis uotis 548; perfecto honore  
   178  
 perferimus 584  
 perfunditur 397  
 permensi 157  
 pertulit 323  
 pestis et ira deum 215  
 petiisse bello 603; petimus 276;  
   petimus terram 93; petitis ... ibitis  
   253f.,  
 pias manus 42; pios 266; pius (of  
   deity) 75  
 piceo turbine 573  
 picturatas 483  
 pignore praesenti 611  
 pistrix 427  
 placata 69; placemus 115  
 placidi 266; placidissima 78  
 plena luna 152  
 plumis-tergo 242  
 pluuias 516  
 polluit ore dapes 234; pollutum  
   hospitium 61  
 polus lucidus 585f.  
 pondere auri 49  
 ponere sedes 88  
 pontus 417; pontus/caelum 193  
 portas 539  
 portendere 184  
 portus Drepani 707  
 poscas 456; posco 59  
 possis 455  
 postera dies 588  
 postibus aduersis 287  
 postquam 1  
 posuerunt moenia 399; posuit  
   ceruicem 631  
 potens armis 164; potentem 438;  
   potentes di 528  
 potestas datur+infin. 670  
 potis 671  
 potiti tellure 278; potitum 296  
 potitur prosody of, 56  
 praeceps rupe 245  
 praeceps 598; praeceptis 546;  
   praecipitis 682

- praedixit 252, 713  
 praepingue solum 698  
 praesenti pignore 611; praesentia  
   ora 174  
 praesidet 35  
 praestat ... quam 429ff.  
 praetenta 692  
 praeteruehor 688  
 praepetis pennae 361  
 precari ueniam 144  
 precibus poscas 456  
 prendere 450  
 pressat ubera 642; pressus mentem  
   47  
 Priameia uirgo 321  
 prima attracted into rel.clause 27,  
   94f.; prima ... aestas 8; prima ...  
   postrema 426f.; primum  
   parentem 58; primus Achatas  
   523  
 principe 168  
 principio 381  
 priores 693  
 pro omnibus 435; pro quo 604  
 proceres 103; proceres delectos 58  
 processit 356  
 prodigium 366  
 profectus Troiam 615  
 progredior 300  
 prohibent Parcae 379; prohibete  
   minas 265  
 proiecta saxa 699  
 prolem ambiguam 180  
 proluues uentris 216f.  
 proni 668  
 propinquos populos 502  
 propriae sedes 167; propriam  
   domum 85  
 prorumpit transitive 572  
 prospera 362  
 prospicio 648  
 protinus 416  
 prouehimur 72; prouehor 481  
 prudentia 433  
 pube tenus 427  
 pubesceret 491  
 puer Ascanius 339  
 pulcher Apollo 119; pulchro pectore  
   426  
 pulsat 619; pulsataque saxa 555  
 purpureo amictu 405  
 qua 151  
 quadrupedes 542  
 quaecumque, moods after 652  
 quaeso 358  
 qualis quantusque 641  
 quatit membra 30; quatiunt alas 226  
 que ... -que 280  
 quem ... quoue ... ubi? 88  
 quid interrog., advbl. 339; quid non  
   56  
 quies parta 495  
 quieuit 718  
 quin (particle) 403  
 qui for quis before s 608  
 quin 403  
 quis interrog. 317  
 quisnam 338  
 quocumque leto 654  
 quondam 49, 414, 704  
 radimus 700  
 rarescent 411  
 raris uocibus 314  
 rates 192  
 recessit fortuna 53  
 reclusis 92  
 recordor audita 107  
 reddita uox 40  
 redimitus 81  
 reduces accipiet 96  
 refer dicta 170; refero (officialese)  
   59  
 refugit (?visual) 536; refugit 258  
 regna Itala 185  
 regnare 295  
 relegens ... litora 690f.  
 relictis paucis 190  
 religio 363; religione 409  
 relinquo 10  
 reliquias 87  
 remenso mari 143f.  
 remigium 471

- remis uentisque 563  
 renarrabat 717  
 repetens 436; repeto 184  
 reponimus ignem 231; repostas  
     terras 364  
 requies certa 393  
 requirat 170  
 rere 381  
 res 1; res Agamemnonias 54  
 resoluat 457  
 resonantia saxa 432  
 respicimus 593  
 resupinus 624  
 retro 686  
 retrorsus 690  
 reuinxit 76  
 reuocare 451  
 rex ... rex 80  
 rite 36, 107  
 rorantia astra 567  
 rudentem proram 561 f.  
 rudentis 267; rudentis excutere  
     682f.  
 ruina uasta 414  
 ruinis horrificis 571; ruinis  
     Pergameis 476  
 ruit sol 508; ruit (of crowd) 676  
 rumpit ... uocem 246; rumpite  
     funem 639f.  
 rupe cavata 229  
 ruptis caminis 580; ruptis radicibus  
     27  
 rursum 229  
  
 sacerdos 373  
 sacra fames 56; sacra lauro 81; sacra  
     tellus 73  
 sacрати 371; sacrauerat 305  
 sacri sanguinis 67; sacrorum morem  
     408  
 saepe ... saepe 185  
 saeuus, of Ulysses 273  
 salis Ausonii 385  
 sanguine atro 28; sanguis gelidus  
     30  
 sanie 618; sanie aspersa 625  
 satis 318; satis est 653  
  
 saxa ... scopulos 559, 575, 576; saxis  
     caecis 706; saxo uiuo 688  
 scelerare 42; scelerata terra 60  
 scelerum furiis 331  
 scio (the o short) 602  
 scopuli turriti 536; scopulos 272;  
     scopulos ... saxa 559, 575, 576  
 secessu longo 229  
 seclusa 446  
 secreti fluminis 389  
 secundarent uisus 37  
 secundi (winds) 529; secundis uentis  
     683; secundos sinus 455  
 secuti 156; secutus erotic 327  
 sed non 255; sed tamen 541  
 sedem Sibyllae 452; sedes mutandae  
     161; sedes ponere 88; sedes  
     propriae 167  
 seges ferrea 45f.  
 semel 431  
 semesam praedam 244  
 semper of characteristics 218  
 semustum 578  
 sententia 59  
 sentis (comprehend) 360  
 sepultus uino 629  
 sequamur meliora 188  
 sereno caelo 518  
 serua 74; seruas 319; seruare 266;  
     seruatum ex ... 209  
 si qua ... si qua ... si 433f.  
 si quando 500  
 sic (at speech-end) 716; sic fatus  
     118  
 sicco ... litore 135  
 sidera (astrology) 360  
 signa dicere 388; signa, prodigies  
     388; signo 287  
 silentia fida 112  
 simul for simul ac 629  
 simulata+dat. 349  
 sinus 551; sinus secundos 455  
 sistere 7; sistet lux classem 117  
 situs reuocare 451  
 siue ... seu 262  
 socii 71, 560; sociis 12  
 sol ruit 508; soles ("days") 203

- solamen mali 661  
 sollemnis dapes 301  
 sollicito 389  
 solues uota 404  
 somnis, in 151  
 sonantia siluis 442  
 sonitum uocis 669  
 sopor 173  
 sorbet 422  
 sortiti 510; sortiti uices 634; sortitur  
     376; sortitus 323  
 spargite 604  
 specula alta 239; spelunca 424  
 spes 103  
 spinis 594  
 spirabile 600  
 spirate secundi 529  
 spumam elisam 567; spumas  
     torquent 208  
 spumantia cymbia 66; spumantibus  
     undis 268  
 stagnantis Helori 698  
 stant 210; stant arae 63; stant  
     puppes 403; stant ... puppes  
     277  
 stellis fugatis 521  
 sterilis agros 141  
 sternimur (of sleep) 509  
 steterant 110; steterint (of ships) 403;  
     steterunt comae 48  
 stipare 465  
 stipite 43  
 stirpe 95; stirpis 326  
 strata 176  
 sua not always reflexive 469; sua not  
     reflexive 494  
 suasit for persuasit 161  
 sub ('deep in') 443; sub sidera  
     243  
 subducta unda 565; subductae  
     puppes 135  
 subibat 512  
 subicio 314  
 subiere 113  
 subitae 225  
 subito 590; subito cum 137  
 subnixa 402  
 subtemine 483  
 subter 695  
 subtexere 582  
 sudor 175  
 sueti 541  
 summissi 93  
 supera (of prayer) 439; superat  
     ('survives') 339  
 superbo coniugio 475; superbum 2,  
     326  
 superis 2  
 supinas manus 176f.  
 supplet 471  
 supplicibus donis 439  
 supra caput 194  
 suprema macie 590; supremo  
     digressu 482; supremum ciemus  
     68  
 surge age 169; surgunt aequora  
     196f.  
 sus 390  
 suspensum 372  
  
 tabida 137ff.  
 tabo 29; tabo atro 626  
 tacito caelo 515  
 taetrum ... odorem 228  
 tamen 341  
 tandem 309  
 tanti fuerint 453  
 taurum ... taurum 119  
 te ... tua 156  
 tegimen consertum 594  
 tellus Italiae 673f.  
 telorum seges 46  
 tempestatibus pelagi 708; tem-  
     pestatum 528  
 temptamus uiam 520; temptant  
     proelia 240; temptare 364;  
     temptare causas 32  
 tendo manus cum uoce 176;  
     tendunt uela 268  
 teneam cursus 686; teneto condita  
     388; tenuisse fugam 283  
 tenebris inhorruit unda 195  
 teneras frondes 449  
 tenus 427



- tepidi artus 627; tepido lacte 66  
 ter 421; ter ... ter 566f.  
 terebramus 635  
 tergo-plumis 242  
 terra antiqua 164; terrae urbesque  
     72; terras crudelis 44  
 tertia hastilia 37; tertia lux 117  
 testentur 487; testor per sidera  
     599  
 tetigit ('reached') 662; tetigit 324  
 textit 45  
 textilibus donis 485  
 tinxit latera (of sea) 665  
 tollemus in astra 158; tollimur in  
     caelum 564  
 tondentis 538  
 toros 224  
 torquent proras 532; torquent  
     spumas 208; torsit uestigia 669  
 torua fronte 636  
 tot 282  
 totidem 204  
 totus mons 91 f.  
 trabe caua 191  
 tractu caeli 138  
 trahebant corpora 140  
 transmisit habendam 329;  
     transmissae trans 403  
 tremere 90; tremere sub dentibus  
     627  
 triginta 391  
 trilicem auro 467  
 tripodas 360  
 tristia dona 301; tristius monstrum  
     214  
 Troia with prepos. 149  
 Troiugena 359  
 trunca pinus 659  
 tulit (=genuit) 43; tulit 95  
 tum 175, 228, tum sic 153; tum  
     uero 47  
 tumido Austro 357; tumidum  
     aequor 157  
 tumultu 99  
 turba sonans 233  
 turbatus 314  
 turbine piceo 573  
 turriti scopuli 536  
 tutior 377  
 tuto portu 78  
 uada dura 705  
 uade age 462  
 ualet 415  
 uasta ruina 414; uasto antro 431;  
     uasto gurgite 197; uasto ponto  
     605; uastos fluctus 421 f.; uastum  
     aequor 191  
 uatam insanam 443; uates, vbl. force  
     187  
 ubere glabrae 164; ubere laeto 95  
 uberrima regna 106  
 uela cadunt 207; uela fatis dare 9;  
     uela intendere 683; uela legere  
     532; uela uocant; aurae 356 f.;  
     uela uocet cursus 454 f.  
 uelare comas (mediopass.) 405, 174;  
     uelatarum antemnarum 549  
 uellitur 28  
 uenerabar 34; ueneramur 79, 697;  
     uenerata 460  
 ueniam precari 144  
 uenit (of disasters) 138; uentura bella  
     458  
 uentis datis 705; uentis uocatis 253  
 uentris proluuies 216 f.  
 uerberat sidera 423  
 ueris implet 434  
 uerrunt caerulea 208  
 uertere cursum 146; uertitur ordo  
     376  
 uertice celso 679  
 uerum 448  
 uerus nuntius 310  
 uescitur 622; uescitur aura 339  
 ueterum nouo 181; ueterum ...  
     uitorum 102  
 uetustas aevi 415  
 ui 56, 417  
 uia inuia 383; uiam inuenient 395;  
     uias egisse 695  
 uices sortiti 634; uices uoluit 376  
 uictor (of suppliant) 439  
 uictricia arma 54

- uidebar, 'I dreamed' 174; uideo 26;  
 uidi 623; uidimus 567; uidisse  
 431; uisa attollere se terra 205;  
 uisi 150; uisis noun/partic. 172;  
 uisum 2
- uimen lentum 31
- uim-uulnera 242
- uirginei uultus 216
- uirgo 445
- uirdi caespite 304
- uirilis animos 342
- uirtutem antiquam 342
- uiscera auulsa 575; uisceribus 622
- uisu 308; uisus secundarent 37
- uitam duco 315; uitam traho 646f.
- uittas resoluit 370; uittis 81; uittis  
 caeruleis 64
- uiuute felices 493
- uiuo saxo 688
- uix 8, uix ... et 10
- ulciscimur 638
- ulla pathetic 214
- ultro 155
- umbrantur 508
- umbras sociorum 638
- umida nox 198
- una 'in particular' 243; una ante  
 alias 321; unam ... utramque 504;  
 unum e classibus 602 unum ...  
 unum 435
- una undique 634
- uncae manus 217
- unda inhorruit 195; unda Trinacria  
 387; undam fluminis 389
- unde ... quo 145f.
- undique ... undique 193
- undosum Plemyrion 693
- uocabat cursum uentus 269;  
 uocabat manis 303; uocant uela  
 aurae 356f.; uocare 185; uocat  
 (of wind) 70; uocatus Apollo 395;  
 uocet of a deity 101; uocet uela  
 cursus 454f.
- uoce demissa 320; uoce deorum  
 172; uocem et ora 457;  
 uocem..rumpit 246; uoces fractas  
 556; uox 228; uox haesit faucibus  
 48; uox reddita 40
- uolens 457
- uolitantia 450
- uolucrum 216; uolucrum linguas  
 361
- uoluens monumenta 102; uoluere  
 fumum 206; uoluit uices 376
- uoluptas sola 660
- uolutans genibus 607
- uoluunt uenti mare 196
- uota cane 438; uota solues 404
- uotis 279; uotis perfectis 548; uotis  
 precibusque 261
- urbem 86; urbem Cumaeam 441;  
 urbes, urbis 106; urbi dabimus  
 imperium 159; urbis ignibus 149;  
 urbis locus 393
- urgeri 579
- ut temporal 306, 53
- utero 428
- utinam 615
- utrimque 685
- uulgo=passim 643
- uulnera-uim 242
- uultum deiecit 320; uultus 173

## ENGLISH INDEX

- abl. of att. circs. 226; of degree 116; of extension 97, 124, 147, 197, 201, 204, 220, 417(?), 478, 506. 507, 644, 655; of quality/description 685; of time 333; of cause, 529; of description 426, 618, of material 286, of origin 138; abl. in V. 28
- abstract for concrete 471; abstract nouns 37, 296, 323; in *-men* 661; as subj. of *agere* 682; use of 570
- accusative, cognate 191; of destination 253; retained 47, 428
- actives and passives, mixing of 61
- active and pass. senses of adj. 553
- addresses to Gods and humans 374
- adjective as noun 315; as noun with dependent gen. 232; adj. for gen. 117, 322, 396; adj. forms of place/person names 280, 602, 629, 689; secondary formation of 377 f.; adj. qualified by adj. 315; paired 70, paired without copula 383, adjectival forms 401; adjectives in *-alis* 285, in *-ilis* 39, 294, in *-osus* 693
- Adriatic crossing 507, 521
- adverbs in *-orsus* 690; place of 546
- Aeetes 386
- Aegean, centre of 73
- Aeneas-legend and dreams 147–91
- Aeneid 3: structure xiii–xiv; internal contrasts, *ib.*; relations to bks. 2 and 4, xiv–xv; Aeneid, chronol. of composition, xxii–xl; variation of tone and texture in, xxviii–xxix; and V.'s development xxix, xl–xli; excitement, flags xli–xlii; bk.3 and bk.2, priority xxxvi–xxxvii, xxxix; bk.3 and bk.1, xxxix
- aetiologies, explicit 166
- action of *ritus Romanus* 407
- agents, supernatural, doubled 379 f.
- air, and mist 291; living off 339
- allegory of Scylla 427
- alliteration 10, 227, 242; archaic 183; oracular 383; triple 376
- alliterative verb-pair 459, 609; noun-pair 444
- allusions and Serv. 286
- altar-flame 406, 407
- altars 231; to dead 63; ancestral 332; number of 305
- alternative explanations 337
- ambiguity 17, 501, 607(?); denied 377 f.; material, 257
- anachronism 53, 276, 692–707
- anaphora 392, 412, 437, double 399 ff., triple, 523 f.
- anaphoric sequences 404
- anaptyxis 594
- anastrophe 212; of disyll. prepositions 685; of *ne* 473; of prepos. 379; of relative 486 f.
- anatomy 216 f., 622; terminology 427, 428
- ancestor, singular 168
- anchorage, safety of 78 f.
- anchors 276
- anger of gods 215
- animals, sacred 220; as companions, 660; for object 464
- annual rituals 301
- anonymity, rhetorical 51
- antithesis 181; conventional 376
- antonomasia 61, 70
- aphaeresis 154, 312

- Apollonius Rhodius 69–120, 79,  
   introd., xix  
 apostrophe 119, 371, 696; and  
   attraction into voc. 711  
 apposition 305  
 approachability 621  
 approval of *furtim* 50  
 archaism 21, 48, 75, 89, 156, 159,  
   160, 163, 208, 221, 316, 330,  
   354, 402, 403, 410, 417, 550,  
   553, 630, 680, 686; doubtful, or  
   alleged, 3, 402; and grammarians  
   3  
*archegetes* 107  
 arms re-used bear ill-luck 469  
 arrival, offerings on, by sailors 404  
 articulation of Helenus' speech 381  
 ash 573; ashes 303  
 assimilation of prefix 358  
 assonance 199  
 astral navigation 202, 204, 513,  
   517  
 astrology 360  
 astronomy and reader 516–7  
 asyndetic parataxis 163; asyndetic  
   adjs. 383; asyndeton after *vix* 90  
 athletics 281  
 Attis and Polydorus 29  
 attraction of adj. into rel. clause 546  
 audience, Aeneas' 14, 39, introd., xv  
 auguries 89  
 Augustan motifs 85–9; panegyric 97;  
   Augustus in Serv. 493–505; Aug.  
   and V., xxiii–xxiv  
 aura of light 151  
 auspices 374f.; auspices and 'luck'  
   499; auspices, ranking of 374f.;  
   auspicia maiora 374f.  
 authorial comment 463; sympathy  
   613  
 avoidance of hated name 322  
  
 back-references 558f., xxvii–xxviii  
 banqueting 224  
 bay 81  
 beaching of ships 71  
 beards 593  
  
 beds 324, 513; bedclothes, epic  
   176; bedroom ornaments 148;  
   bedtime, in epic 718  
 belching, volcanic 576  
 benches of rowers 289  
 binding 370  
 biographies, short 614f.  
 birds and monsters 216; droppings  
   of 216f.; omens from 360f.  
 blind man and stick 659  
 blood and cold 30; and fear 259;  
   offered 67  
 bone-marrow 57  
 book-roll metaphor 102  
 booty 469; and warrior 614f.;  
   division of 297, 323  
 bow as image of bay 533; of Apollo  
   75f.  
 brailing, brails 207, 267  
 breastplate 667  
 bristling of spray 195  
 brow protects eye 636  
 bull, Cretan 180; sacrifice of 119  
 burial and spirit 62  
  
 cacenphaton 203  
 caesura and neg. prefix 707  
 Callimachus 69–120, 73, 692–707,  
   694, 700; and Actium 280; and  
   islands 210; and Pindar 578; and  
   V. 578, 570–87, introd., xix  
 calm after storm 207  
 camps of sailors 519  
 cannibalism 605, 622  
 captured city 3  
 castaway, figure of 592  
 cataphract 467  
 Cato and Virgil 147–91  
 Catullus, allusion(s) to 325, xvii  
 cauldron 92; as offerings, 466; in  
   oracle *ib.*  
 causation 32, 584  
 cave, oracular 446; caves 441–60  
 celery 705  
 cenotaph 304  
 centrality 73  
 chainmail 467

- characterisation and distortion 249;  
     before speech 320; stylistic. 558  
 cherries, cornel in diet 649  
 chronology 69, 284; of Troy's fall 8;  
     of Aeneid xxii; of Trojans' voyage  
     xxxii  
 chryselephantine gifts 464  
 Cicero, *carm.*, lang. from xvii  
 Cinna, *Propemp.* 276  
 city foundations 17, 85, 132, 159f.,  
     255, 336; in Italy, 393; see xix  
 city, captured 3  
 claws 217  
 cloaks 484  
 closure 208  
 cloud, black 572  
 coevals 491  
 coinages 245, 284, 286  
 cold and blood 30; and fear 29, 48,  
     259, 307  
 collective anonymous 260; collective  
     sing. 400  
 colonies, Alban 391  
 colony, colonisation: animal as  
     guide 389–93; Apollo 79, 85,  
     88; city-founder 387, 399;  
     dreams 147–91; evocative  
     naming 133, 302; farming 136  
     hunger 209–69(iv) with 135–46;  
     material ambiguity in oracle  
     257, 365; incomprehension of  
     settlers 7; intermarriage 136;  
     losses to original number 190;  
     naming by ktistes 334f., with  
     18, 166; pestilence 135–46;  
     reconsultation of oracle 143,  
     146; reinforcements 471; ships  
     and 5; tiredness 78; colonist,  
     Aen. as 387; narratives of, 190,  
     209–69(iv); see too introd., xix  
 colour and sacrifice 120; of sow of  
     Alba 392; colours, dark 64  
 comitas 621  
 compound expression 292f.; with  
     *dare* 337  
 compounds in *-gena* 359  
 conceit 242  
 concentration of anomalies 211  
 concord of number 676  
 congruence of demonstrative 173  
 connective use of *idem* 158  
 consolations 661  
 constructions, two in one subord.  
     235, 236  
 conventional language 191  
 conversational idiom 603  
 copula, superfluous 329  
 Corcyra 291; and Phaeacians 291  
 correction 602  
 courtyards 353  
 Cretan colonists 400; Crete and  
     Troy 104  
 cretic wd., synaloepha of 2f.  
 cretics 211  
 cries and wings 226; of birds 361  
 crimes of Trojans 2f., 3  
 criticism of gods 2  
 crops and plague 141; and spears 46  
 cult acts in ship 527  
 cult-titles of Apollo 280; of Minerva  
     531  
 cumulative vb. and partic. 257  
 cypress 64; and Diana 680f.  
 dactyl, run-on 398; dactylic forms  
     51; dactylic poetry, needs of 377f.  
 Dardanus, story of 94  
 darkness by day 572, 578; compoun-  
     ded by smoke 586  
 dat. of thing/person interested 28,  
     29; of agent 398; of goal 410,  
     678; of motion 137; ethic 412;  
     final 305  
 dawn 1–12, 521, 588ff.  
 dead, blessed 321; honours to 63;  
     land of the 294–505(c); the dead,  
     left behind 190, dead, living  
     307  
 death, soul at 140  
 decorum 216f., 422, 423  
 dedications of arms 286, 287  
 deductio 347  
 defeated victorious 288  
 deity, obedience to 114

- deixis 396, 412, 477  
 deliberative questions 88  
 Delphi 360; at Delos 92  
 democracy and Trojans 58  
 demonstrative, attraction of 393;  
     demonstr. pron., negated 161  
 departure, sacrifice at 118  
 departure-scene 463–505, 520  
 deponent, pp of 143  
 deprecatio 603  
 descendants of Trojans 85  
 desiderative 358  
 destination, Trojans' knowledge of  
     xxix–xxxii  
 development, stylistic in Aen. xxviii  
 didactic manner in oracle 388  
 die, synonyms for 605  
 diet, primitive 649  
 diminutives 343  
 Diomedes in S. Italy 546  
 discipline, Roman 235  
 disembarkation 79  
 dishes, gold 355  
 disjunctive, sacral 262; disjunctives  
     451, 459  
 dislocation of narr., studied 344f.; of  
     word-order 73  
 distances telescoped 557  
 distancing formula 551, 578, 694  
 disyllabic prefixes 634f.  
 disyllables, three at l.-end 695, xxviii  
 divine benevolence, non-specific 688  
 divine intervention swift 90  
 divinity and natural world 90–2  
 doorposts 287  
 dramatic illusion of sleep 174  
 dream, cult-act after 179; washing  
     after ib.,  
 dreams 147–91; and Aen.-legend  
     147–91; and colonisation 147–  
     91; and light sleep 151, 173;  
     reactions to 172; revealed to  
     others 179; statues in 148  
 Dreiheit 37, 421  
 dress and nationality 594  
 drink-offerings 177f.  
 drunkenness, heroic 630  
 dumbfoundedness 48  
 dung, euphemisms for 95, 216f.  
 durability of Trojan line 85  
 ears and wind 514  
 earthquakes 92, 414; immunity from  
     77  
 ekphrasis, temporal 147; typical  
     531–6, 533  
 elision see synaloepha  
 ellipse of dixit 99, 102; of noun  
     563; of object 560; of vb. in  
     dedications 288  
 embracing gates 351  
 embroidery 483, 484  
 emotion triggered by name 313  
 enallage (rejected) 200; enallage  
     246, 294, 357, 455, 533, 542,  
     556; orthodox 439  
 enjambement 2, 2f.  
 Ennian influence (?)704; Ennius  
     12, 375, 380; how cited 384;  
     language, introd., xvi  
 entrails, metaphorical 575  
 epanadiplosis 435  
 epanalepsis 80  
 epic cycle and V. 147  
 epic narrative, tedium of 290  
 epiclesis of Apollo 85  
 epithet, transferred 384; epithets,  
     bookish 35; genealogical, 326,  
     328  
 error of Anch., origin of 104  
 eruption and portent 583  
 est locus 163  
 ethnonym as variation for name 629  
 etymological play 1–12, 4, 7, 165,  
     166, 210, 227, 301, 334, 342,  
     380, 392, 401(?), 402, 414,  
     516, 542, 553, 687, 689, 692–  
     707, 693, 698, 702, 703, 705;  
     signposting 210; etym. of Alba  
     392  
 Euripides and V. 578; xviii–xix  
 even and odd 305  
 excreta 217  
 exile 4, 101

- explanations, alternative, of events  
     337  
 eye and light 658
- facts distorted to characterise 249  
 fainting 308, 309  
 fall of Troy 8; and of Roman repub.  
     325  
 fama, report 165  
 fate and fortune 493f.; oral sense  
     of 'fate' 395, 444; fate, spoken  
     1–12; Fates 376; Fates and Juno  
     379f.  
 father (Anch.) 9; father and son talk  
     182  
 fatigue 78, 276, 511, 568  
 Favorinus 570–87  
 fear and chill 259; and cold 29, 307;  
     and silence 48  
 feeling, shift in 613  
 fertility of *terra mater* 106  
 fides and hospitality 588–691  
 figura etymologica 98  
 fillets 64, 81, 370  
 first-person and third-person xxxvii  
 first thing seen ominous 537  
 flame, lumps of 574; flames at night  
     578  
 flight of birds 361  
 floating islands 75f.  
 foam 534  
 food, primitive 649  
 forests, conventional 442  
 forward references xxvii–xxviii  
 fortune and fate 493f.; fortune,  
     instability of 615  
 foundation of cities 109, 255, 399;  
     foundation-portent 386–93,  
     391, 393 437f., 498f.; naming  
     133; walls 17; oracles, 692–  
     707  
 framing 691  
 fruit in diet 649  
 Furies in theatre 331  
 Furies, mythol. and psychol. 331  
 furnaces of Etna 579  
 furrows in sea and land 495
- games, Actian 280  
 gamonyms 318  
*Gebetstil* see prayer-language  
 germination 193, 247f., 265, 436; in  
     genitive 98  
 gender and sacrifice 120  
 gender of toponyms 271; variation  
     of 145  
 generalising relative 652  
 genealogical proteptic 343  
 genitive depend. on adj. used as  
     n. 232; appositional 256, 468;  
     intensifying 98; objective 145f.(?),  
     149, 393, 394; subjective 256,  
     486; gen. for adj. 117, 212f., 216;  
     gen. inhaerentiae 86f., 385, 396,  
     421, 495, 520; gen. in -ai 354;  
     gen. plur. contracted 550, 704;  
     gen. in -ii 702, first decl. forms of  
     386  
 geogr. slippage 276; geogr. detail 6  
 Georgics, echoes 164  
 gerundive, predic. 329; gerundives  
     235  
 gesture 76, 93, 176f., 315, 351, 372,  
     412, 477, 478, 607, 610; gestures,  
     to supplement narrative 340  
 ghosts 307, 310  
 giant scorched, not slain 578; and  
     Etna 578  
 gift of rule to Rome 159  
 gifts 469  
 gloss 280, 421  
 gods and human ignorance 37;  
     and merit 2; of Troy 1–12, 12;  
     presence of 91  
 gold dishes 355; thread 483, 484;  
     reflections on 57  
 grass, in diet 650  
 gratitude, divine 75f.  
 Great Gods 12  
 great year 284  
 greatness and fall 2f.  
 Grecism 383, 428; Greek forms 475  
 Greeks 398; in Italy 550; change of  
     attitude to 588–691, 613; role of  
     295; theme of 332, 352

- groaning of timbers and tackle  
561 f.
- Hades and sons of gods 311
- hair on end 48
- half-lines 218, 316, 470, 527,  
640; supplemented 340, 661 f.;  
allegedly effective 639 f.; and  
composition, xxxvii–viii
- halo 151
- hand, leading by the 372; hands in  
prayer 176 f., 263; in supplication  
592
- hand, right see right hand
- hapax 420
- harbour, stock 570 f.
- haste 356, 357
- head, drooping 631; veiled 174;  
'head' used of animals 319
- hearth 178
- heat and life 308
- helmet 468
- hendiadys (an unsatisfactory  
term) 143, 148, 180, 215, 223,  
242, 300, 326, 414, 449, 555
- herds, sacred 221
- hero, capacities of 213
- heteroclisia 56
- hexameters, oracular 445
- hiatus at caesura 606
- hierarchy of Trojans 58, 103
- high-water mark 135
- hill-towns 110
- Hippocrates 135–46
- historiographical tone 1(?), 413
- homeland of villain 273
- Homer and V.'s Cyclops 588–91;  
Hom. reduced 203; Hom.,  
political infl. on text of 97; Hom.,  
variation on 617, 627; Hom.  
debate, position taken in 525;  
Hom. geography 291; Hom. use  
of epithet(?) 691; dangers avoided  
204a–c; language, in V.; xvi; as  
source xviii
- homoeoteleuton 301
- homonymy 104, 112
- Horace echoes V. 294; Hor. and  
Aen., xxv
- horses in war and peace 537–43;  
untimely gift 470; white 537
- hospitality 14, 61, 79, 588–691
- houses, apportioning of 137
- humour, possible 190. See Servius
- hunger 209–69(iv), 247–57; and  
pallor 217 f.; motif of 367, 370
- hunting language(?) 330–2
- hymnic language 395
- hypallage 61, 72, 152, 310, 449;  
(rejected) 140. See also 454
- hyperbaton 5 f., 75 f., 162, 245
- hyperbole 1, 282, 283, 291, 363,  
420–8, 422 f., 423, 428, 462,  
564, 565, 567, 570–87, 572, 574,  
576 f., 588–691, 619 f., 632, 674;  
and reality 570–87
- hypermetric tmesis 634 f.
- hysteron-proteron (?) 208, 289
- ignorance of Trojans 7; human and  
gods' 37
- illusion and terminology 407; and  
observers 205
- image of dead among living 489
- image, latent 376
- immobility of Delos 77
- imperative in prohibition 394
- imperative, fut. in *-to* 388; passive  
405
- impersonal expressions 61
- improvisation of phrase 9
- inceptive verbs 530
- incising on ivory 464
- incompleteness 217 f., 316, 319, 340;  
xxix–xxxvii
- inconsistencies 12, 217 f., 221, 347,  
389–93, 441–60, 470; see introd.,  
xxix–xxxv
- indic. for subjunc. 88
- indirect speech 181
- infin. after causative vbs 682 f.; after  
vb. 184; and causative vbs. 257;  
historic 141; V.'s extension of  
use 32; with negat 201; subj.



- of, omitted 184; of purpose 4;  
 prolative 670; uses of 77; act. and  
 pass. 61  
 injustice 249  
 inland digressions unwelcome 292;  
 vd. Dodona  
*insolubilia* in Serv. 270–93  
 interjections 219  
 internal object 56  
 interpolation 204a-c, 230, 661  
 interrogatives 88; alternative 317;  
 parallel 337; econ. use of 368  
 intervention, speed of divine 137  
 intransitivisations 7  
 invectio 247–57  
 invention 588–91; inventions and  
*fama* 294  
 inversion of Hom. motifs 256f.;  
 of Hom. sequence 192–208; of  
 standard lang. 454  
 inverted cum 135ff.  
 invulnerability 242  
 irony 247, 254  
 island names 210; islands, floating,  
 75f.  
 Italy, first sight of 522; names for  
 163, 165; war and peace in  
 536–43  
 ivory, working of 464
- Jason 10  
 joy and tears 347  
 jujube, great 201f.  
 Juno and fate 379, 380; Juno,  
 goodwill of 405  
 Jupiter and Apollo 279; and weather  
 116  
 jussive subj. 456  
 juxtaposition of opposed toponyms  
 171, 418; of opposed pron. 154,  
 156, 252; of opposites 60; of  
 pronouns 458  
 juxtaposition 42, 43
- kill, synonyms for 55, 654  
 king and people 51  
 kinship in diplomacy 502
- kneeling 93  
 knees, clasping 607  
 knots 370  
 ktistic role of Aen. 88; see xix
- lakes, infernal 385  
 land and sea 528  
 landscape and emotion 588–691  
 language see prayer, military,  
 prodigy, legal, historiographical,  
 hunting, nautical; historians'  
 146; religious 144, sacral, 264,  
 265(bis), introd., xvii–xviii  
 last words 67  
 Latin echoes Greek 250  
 laurel 91, 360  
 leaves and wind 441–60  
 leaves, for writing 444  
 legal language (?) 297, 333  
 lengthening of vowel 91  
 libations 354  
 life and heat 308  
 light and eye 658; kindly 311  
 like to like, in sacrifices. 120  
 lineage, privileges of 311  
 line-end, Gk. 553; spondaic 549  
 linen 357  
 lions and Magna mater 113  
 liquefaction of rock 576  
 listening for wind 514  
 literacy and *Aen.* 287, 444  
 living as image of dead 489  
 living dead 307  
 Livy and Aen. xxvi–xxvii  
 locative 162  
 lot of individual 375f.; and Jup.  
 375f.; in mlit. duties 634  
 Lucretius challenged 417; plague of  
 135–46; language from, xvi–xvii  
 lumps of flame 574  
 lunar calendar 645  
 Lupercus (grammarian) 271  
 Lycophron and sow 392; and V.  
 183, 389–93, xxxi
- magistrate, Roman 137  
 makarismos 480, 493; of dead 321

- manes 303  
 mare nostrum 397  
 margins, for additions, 204a-c  
 mastication 626  
 matronym 328  
 meals 231  
 medical terminology 618  
 mediopassive 405; verbs 284  
 messages conveyed in epic 169f.  
 messengers of death 310  
 metaphor, latent 376, lost 317  
 metonomasia 165, 210  
 metonymy 191, 215, 464  
 metre and prophecy 445f.  
 metrical anomalies 211  
 metrical effects 74; concentrated 12  
 military lang. 237, 451, 471, 511  
 milk, offered 66; milking of sheep  
     642  
 Minerva 531  
 mist and air 291; and sky 291  
 modesty 324; of Andr. 320  
 Molossus 294–505(a)  
 monosyllable, final 389  
 monsters, anatomy of 427, 428;  
     marine 427f.; winged 212  
 moon and time 644; full 152; light  
     151  
 mortal and divine names 350  
 mother-city replicated 302  
 mother-country 96  
 mound, burial 304  
 mss of Virgil 106  
 murder at altar 332  
 music, functions of 111  
 mute and liquid 91, 702  
 mysteries 112  
 mythographers 69–120  
  
 Naevius 10  
 name of husband 318; used by  
     speaker 433; omitted 51, 341,  
     313, 317; trigger for emotion  
     313; names of seas 211; of warri-  
     ors 286; mortal and divine 350  
 naming avoided 322; by coloniser  
     334f.  
  
 naming construction 164, 210, 693  
 narratio 614  
 narrator and participant 194  
 nations, rise and fall of 376  
 natural world and divinity 90–2  
 nautical lang., rejected 403; doubtful  
     403, 441; see introd., xvii–xviii  
 navigation 192f., 202  
 Nicopolis 502  
 night 147; sailing by 513; watches of  
     587  
 nimbus 151  
 nomenclature, imitative 302  
 Noric plague 135–46  
 North wind as saviour 687  
 nostos 96  
 noun, forceful use of 187  
 noun-pair 242  
 nouns in *-men* 286  
 nudity and games 281, 282  
 number, variation of 698  
 nymphs, local 34  
  
 oak and Jupiter 680f.  
 oars 384; and sortition 510; and  
     water 384; leaning on 207; sails,  
     wings, reefs 520  
 oarsmen, rivalry of 290  
 obedience to deity 114, 188  
 object, ellipse of 560; internal 56  
 objects, embraced 351  
 odd and even 305  
 Odysseus 192–208  
 oecist 5, 12, 137  
 offerings 303; and food 223; burned  
     231  
*OGR* 147–91  
 oil and games 281  
 Oilean Ajax 399  
 old men 102  
 omens 360, 536–43; and sacrifice  
     407  
 omissions by Helenus 441–60  
 opposed toponyms, juxtaposed 171;  
     opposites, juxtaposition of 60;  
     opposition of contrasting names  
     418

- optical illusion and terminology 407  
 oracles 103–17, 441–60, 717;  
   colonisation 143; to Trojans  
   5 (and cf. xix); collected 445;  
   style 383; themes, V.'s use of  
   692–707  
 order of universe 376  
 order, interlaced 26  
 origin of Trojans 104  
 original sin 248  
 orthography and pronunciation 401;  
   changes in 102, 115  
 Oscan gloss 702  
 oxymoron 383
- Palaephatus 69–120  
 Pallas 531  
 pallor and hunger 217f.  
 panegyric motifs 98; paneg.,  
   Augustan 97; Paneg. Mess.  
   and Aen., xxiv  
 paradox 288  
 paradoxography 75f.  
 paragraph-ending 208  
 paragraphs, closed 269  
 paratactic asyndeton 162  
 parataxis 10, 114  
 parenthesis 39, 382(?)  
 paronomasia 342  
 parsley 705  
 participle, econ. use of 368; at v.-end  
   300; past of depon. 143; rhyming  
   657  
 particularisation 223  
 passive, personal constr. of 700;  
   passive, use of 40  
 past participle of depon. 143  
 past potential 186f.  
 pastoral and realism 221  
 pastoral Cyclopes 657  
 pathetic fallacy 90–2, 673  
 pathos 49; and Cyclops 660  
 patronymic 295, 296  
 pause at 5tr. 480  
 pax deorum 261  
 penates 148  
 penning of sheep 642
- people and king 51  
 perfect, contracted 3; non-  
   reduplicated 82; shortened vowel  
   in 48; true 11  
 periphrasis 49; epic 321, 326  
 periplus 692–707; manner of 270,  
   507, 522f.(?), 531, 551, 552, 554,  
   692, 701; cf. introd., xiii–xiv, xx  
 perjury 248  
 permissio 254  
 personification 555, 556  
 Pherecydes 76  
 Phineus and Buthrotum 294–505  
   (b)(i)  
 physiology 57, 307, 308  
 pietas erga patriam 351; pietas of  
   Greeks 633; piety, motif of in  
   Hel.'s speech 437f.  
 piglets 389–93, 389–91 (colour-  
   coding)  
 pilots 470  
 Pindar 570–87  
 pitch 5f.  
 plague 135–46; as punishment 144;  
   sequence of 141  
 plains of Troy 10  
 pleonasm 161, 321  
 pleonastic negative 201  
 ploughing, metaph. 495  
 plume-holder 468  
 plundering, unethical 209–69  
 plural, poetic 602; (?) 4, 6  
 polarity 193, 201, 204, 528  
 pollution 61  
 polyptoton 156, 329, 388; to avoid  
   rel. clause 388  
 polysyllabic ending 328, 464  
 polysyllables 269  
 polysyndeton 546  
 Pompeian art and V. 661  
 poop of ship 527  
 popular reaction 260; to Aen. 454  
 portage 276  
 portent see prodigy  
 potential, past 186f.  
 poverty in epic 614f.  
 praeteritio 273, 291

- prayer language, Roman 35, 85–9, 86, 89, 174, 262, 359, 374, 395, 456, 460; and human discourse, 374; see too xviii  
 prayer, hands in, 176f.; position during 93  
 prayers, victorious 439  
 prayer-language 262  
 preceptive manner 103  
 predicate and attraction of gender 393  
 predicative adj. 447, 462; expression 388  
 prepos. takes up preverb 403; with town-names 149, 595  
 prescience, human 514  
 presence of deity in prayer-lang. 395  
 present participles, coupled 425  
 preverb 284; preverb and prepos. 403  
 Priam, death of 332  
 pride, synonyms for 326  
 priest-kings 80, 373  
 prisoners of war 324  
 Probus 83  
 Prodigienstil 26, 27, 36, 43, 209–69(iv), 211, 214, 225(bis), 228, 241, 388, 388–93; and eruption 583; cf. too xviii  
 production at caesura 464, 702  
 proemium 1–12; prooemia and dating xxxix–xl  
 prolepsis 141, 196f., 237, 692–707  
 promised land 93ff., 164, 93ff.  
 pronouns, contrasting juxtaposed 154, 156, 458; repet. of 157  
 pronunciation of -gn- 199  
 prooemium 377ff.  
 Propertius and Aen. xxv–xxvi  
 prophecies 85–9, 247–57; remembered late 182–8; prophecy and fulfilment, complicated 394; and mood of recipient 389; limitations upon 379f.; and Delos 85–9  
 prophetesses and sex 445  
 prophetic gifts conferred 251  
 prophetic style 383  
 prose idiom 413  
 prosodic variation 211, 464  
 prosody of Gk. nouns in -a 702; prosody, unstable 56; vowel before z 270  
 prostration 93  
 prosy tone 170  
 protreptic, genealogical 343  
 proverbial expressions 563  
 proviso, clauses of 116  
 puffins 207  
 purification 279  
 purple 405  
 putrefaction 663  
 questions, deliberative 88  
 rags of castaway 594  
 range of Etna's effects 571  
 rank among Trojans 58  
 reactions, intensity of 47  
 reader and astronomy 516–7  
 reclining at meals 224  
 reconciliations with Greeks, with Ju. 405  
 recurrent themes in narr. 219  
 redundant expression 148  
 rel.clause, antecedent attracted 27  
 relationship to bk.1, 192–204, 229, introd., p.xxxix  
 relative, antecedent absorbed into 154  
 religious language, avoided 438, introd., xviii. See sacral  
 repetition 198; of words/phrasing 124, 198, 203, 320, 344, 378, 385, 460, 509, 671, 692; awkward(?) 32, 33; climactic 253; deliberate 389–93; epic 83; justified 344; oracular 383; significant 153; repetitions, tics 387  
 repetition of 3 in later bks 163, introd., p.xxxix, etc.  
 return 101; return-theme 93, 96  
 revelation of future 167; of destination xxx–xxxii  
 revision 218

- Rhegium 414  
 rhetorical distortion 204a-c; rhetoric  
   and inconsistencies xxiii  
 rhyme 657  
 rhythm, blurred 622  
 right hand 610, 611  
 ring-composition 256, 588–691,  
   716, 717  
 ritual, not to be disturbed 407  
 ritus Romanus 174, 405  
 rivers underground 694  
 rock, living 688; rocks 554, 559,  
   566; in sky 575  
 Roman procedure of Aen. 58  
 Rome and Troy, parallel histories  
   109f.  
 rope cut 667; ropes 266f.; mooring  
   266f., 639f.  
 routine business of epic 465, 471  
 rule, bestowed on Rome 195
- sacral language xviii  
 sacrifice 119, 120; and depar-  
   ture 118; and food 223;  
   and omens 407; on arrival  
   404  
 safe passage, vows for 404, 548  
 safety of anchorage 78  
 sailing season 69  
 sailors' language 471, 473, (?) 532;  
   see introd., p.xvii  
 sailors' reactions 454  
 sails 207; brailed 472, 532; sails,  
   wings, oars reefs 520  
 Sallust 410–28, *passim*, 417, 419,  
   421, 425, 591  
 salt for sea 385  
 sanctuary 92  
 Scaurus, critic 484  
 school rule of grammar 70, 595  
 scientific enquiry 32, 584  
 scirocco 139  
 sea and Apollo 275; and Harpies  
   241; and sky mixed 422f.  
 seafaring, details 71  
 sea-monsters 427  
 seas, names of 211  
 seasons 8; for sailing 69; sickly 139,  
   141  
 seer, limitations upon 379f.  
 self-quotation 570–87, 572, 574,  
   577, 580  
 Semitisms 98  
 Seneca mis-cites V. 419  
 senility of Anch., challenged 103–  
   17  
 sermo eroticus 327  
 Serv. and *insolubilia* 270–93; and  
   technical language 292; and V.'s  
   allusions 286; and rules 70; jests  
   339(?)  
 sexual language 427; organs in epic  
   ib.  
 shaking out ropes 267  
 sharing out of destinies 375f.  
 sheep 642; sheep, sacrifice of 120  
 shepherds, when superfluous 221  
 shield, Argive 637  
 shields as mus. instruments 111;  
   dedicated 280, 286, 287  
 shift in feeling 613  
 ship and plough 495; change of  
   276; cult-acts in 527, beached 71;  
   speed of 117  
 shipbuilding 1–12, 5f.  
 shipwrecked sailor 592  
 shoreline, changes to 108  
 Sibyls and Delos 85–9  
 Sicily 384; creation of 414; names of  
   692  
 siege, modern, not Hom. 52  
 sight, primacy of 431, 497, 501,  
   567, 584  
 signposts, poetic 623; cf. 209f., 325,  
   334, 623, 693  
 silence and fear 48; and ritual 112;  
   and speech 39; of sky 515  
 silences of Helenus 441–60  
 Simias of Rhodes 294–505(a)  
 similes xxxvi  
 simple and compound 7  
 simplex pro composito 161, 249,  
   285; cf. 33  
 singular, collective 400

- sky and Jupiter 116; and mist 291;  
     quarters of 516–7  
 slave *contubernium* 329; slave  
     mistress of master 324  
 sleep 147; as liquid 511; deep 173;  
     dram. illusion of 174; light and  
     dreams 151  
 sleeper rolls over 581  
 smoke 3, 206, 573  
 son and father talk 182  
 song, religious 438  
 sons of gods and Hades 311  
 sortition for oars 510; in milit. duties  
     634  
 soul at death 140  
 sounds of Gk. in Latin 250  
 sources, poet cites 623; use of 147–  
     91  
 sow, portent of 389–93, xxxiii–xxxiv;  
     poetic 390; anatomy of, 389–93  
 speaker uses own name 380, 433,  
     487  
 spears and crops 46  
 speech and prelim. characterisation  
     320; and silence 39; tone set by  
     symptoms 492  
 speech-formulae 153  
 speed of divine intervention 90; of  
     ships 117  
 spindles of Fates 376  
 spirit and burial 62  
 spoken idiom 319, 341 f., 362  
 spondee, initial 1, 353  
 spondeiazontes 74  
 spray 534, 567; bristles 195  
 star-lists 516–7  
 stars, dripping 567; flight of 521  
 static objects move 72  
 statues in dreams 148  
 stench 228  
 stevedores 465  
 stick and blind man 659  
 Stoic language 114, 182  
 Stoicism 376, 459  
 storms 192–208  
 Strabo and text of Hom. 97  
 stratagems 236  
 stylistic development in Aen. xxviii  
 subject exchanged 72  
 summer and fall of Troy 8; and  
     plague 141  
 sunset, breeze fails at 568  
 suppliant, victorious 439; suppliants  
     607  
 sweat, chill 175  
 symptoms set tone of speech 492  
 synaloepha 211; of cretic 2 f.;  
     sequences of 658  
 synchronism of Ulysses and Aen.  
     645  
 syncope 143, 152, 319, 594  
 synecdoche 296, 303, 355, 385  
 synzesis 464, 702  
 synonym, geogr. 171; 21 (gods), 28,  
     52, 53, 55, 58, 75, 170, 171, 204,  
     285, 321, 332, 385, 438, 481,  
     554, 626, 654, 686  
 syrinx 661  
 tables, portent of xxxiii–xxxiv, 255–7  
 tacking 357  
 tears 10; and joy 347  
 technical language 59(bis), 150; in  
     *Serv.* 292; of dreams 150; alleged  
     291, 374 f.; technical language,  
     non- 27, 36; cf. xvii–xviii  
 teeth gnashed 664  
 temporal clauses in fut. 255 f.;  
     paratactic 10  
 temporal *ecphrasis* 147  
 tenses in OO 652  
*terra mater* 97, 103–17, 106  
 theme and variation 1, 15, 292 f.,  
     379 f., 449  
 third-person narrative, alleged 686;  
     xxxvii  
 thirty piglets, significance of 391  
 thorns as pins for clothes 594  
 threshold 91  
 Thucydides, plague in 135–46  
 Tibullus and Aen. xxv  
 tic 429; see repetition  
 tides 419, 421  
 time, passage of 356, 587

- time, passage of 587  
 time-scale 8  
 tithe 223  
 tmesis 255, 384, 634f.; of *antequam* 384f.  
 toga praetexta 405  
 topogr. descriptions, conventional 531–6, 533  
 toponyms and *plutoneia* 386  
*totum pro parte* 27  
 town-names, prepos. with 149, 555  
 tragedy, Gk. 209–69(iv); introd., xviii–xix; and Achaem. 588–91; Roman, lang. from xvi; as source, xviii–xix  
 tragedy, intimations of 13–68, 28  
 transitivity 191, 572, 690  
 transmission, indirect 686  
 treason(?) of Helenus 294–505(a), 295, 296, 298  
 tripod 360  
 trisylls. at v.-end, sequence 529  
 triumph, white horses in 537  
 trochee, wd.-end at, 4th and 5th feet 158  
 Troia and 'true' 389  
 Trojan descendants world-wide 502; settlement in Italy 393; words for 53; as orientals 306f.; survival of 294–505(c); unethical behaviour(?) 209–69(i)  
 Troy and Crete 104; reconstructed 302; sacks of 109  
 trumpets 240  
 turning point, metaphor of 700, 714  
 tyranny, of dactyl. metre 179  
  
 uncles in myth 343  
 underground rivers 694  
 unelided *atque* 684, xxviii  
 unity of epic world 306f., 594  
 universe, governance of 376  
*univira*, Andr. as 319  
 unmooring 266f.  
  
 valleys, original settlements in 110  
*variatio* 247  
  
 variation on Homer 617; of tone and texture in Aen.3 xxviii–xxix  
 Varro 276, 399, 401, 444, 531–6, 552, 692–707; xx  
 veiling of head 174, 405  
 veneration, non-verbal 79  
 vengeance 638  
 verb, second pers.sing. of pres. indic. pass. 381  
 victors defeated 288  
 victory cities and games 502  
 villain, homeland of 273  
 Virgil and Cato 147–91; and epic cycle 147; and Pompeian art 661; quotes Virgil 164, 514; learning of 8; methods of writing Aeneid, xxiii; poetic development of xxix, xl–xli; tidy mind? xxix, n.46  
 virtues beyond years 342  
 vocative and nominative 382; of Gk. name 475  
 voice and fear 48  
 vomiting 632  
 vows 404, 438, 548  
 voyages, boring detail 71  
 vulcanology, ancient 570–87  
 vulgarism (?) 539  
  
 walls 85; of city 255  
 war and peace in Italy 536–43  
 way as metaphor 395  
 wealth, reflections on 57  
 weather and stars 516–7; gods of 528  
 weeping 10  
 whirlpool 419, 421  
 white horses 537  
 wife and husband's name 318  
 wind 357; and leaves 441–60  
 windows 152  
 winds 268; sacrifices to, 120  
 wine, unmixed for gods 177f.  
 winged monsters 212, 216  
 wings and cries 226; wings, sails, oars, and reefs 520  
 women, in funerals 65  
 word-end at 4 and 5tr. 158

- word-order 1, 4, 473, 487, 546;  
  dislocated 162; emphatic 379,  
  417
- word-pairs, alliterative 709
- words for Trojan 53
- words, last 67
- writing in epic 287, 444
- yards and sails 207; and yardarms  
  549
- year, great 284
- years, virtues beyond 342
- zeugma 136, 177, 261, 269



## INDEX OF NAMES

- Abas 286  
 Achaemenides 588–691, 614  
 Achates 523  
 Achilles 87; tomb of 322  
 Acragas 703  
 Actia (adj.) 279; Actium and Leucas  
     276, 280  
 Adamasto 614  
 Aeacides of Neopt. 296  
 Aeaeae Circae 386  
 Aegean 74  
 Aeneas and Venus 476; goes to bed  
     718; as magistrate 58; burden of  
     ancestry 374; anxiety of 389  
 Aetna 554, 570–87  
 Agamemnonias 54  
 Ajax, Oilean 399  
 Alba Longa 389–93, 392  
 Alpheus 694  
 Anchisa, form 475; Anchises 263;  
     Anchises pater 9  
 Anchises, active 472f., death of  
     708–15, death prepared for (?)  
     475–81, not foolish 103–17,  
     Anchises, status of 475; death of  
     xxxiv–xxxv, 708–15; gives orders  
     xxxvi; and portent 539–43  
 Andromache 294–505(b), Andr. and  
     Hector 297, and Neopt. 319,  
     offering to Hector's cenotaph  
     303, A., Hector, Astyanax 321 -  
     43, 486–91, use of Hector's name  
     319  
 Anius 69–120, 80  
 Antandro 6  
 Apollo 69–120, 74, 79 (colonisa-  
     tion), 119, 85–9, 85, 154, 162  
     (Delius); and Trojans 337, at Leu-  
     cas 275, confirms Cassandra 183,  
     taught by Zeus; 251f.; Apollo  
     and colonisation 79; and sailors  
     275; Augustan(?) 85–9; in bk.3  
     xxxv–xxxvi  
 Aquilonibus 285  
 Arcturus 516  
 Arethusa 696  
 Argiuae Iunoni 546  
 Argolicas 283, Argolici clipei 637  
 Ascanius age of 339, 491; and  
     Astyanax, ib.; and Creusa  
     340; *uirtus* 342; and uncle 343;  
     presents for 484  
 Asia 1  
 Auerna 442  
 Aurora 588  
 Ausoniae tellus 477, Ausonias 171  
     Ausonii salis 385, portu 378  
 Auster 357  
 Auster 70  
 Boreas 687  
 Buthrotum 293, 294–505(a), as  
     temptation 374  
 Camarina 701  
 Cassandra xxx, 183f., confirms  
     Apollo 183; 294–505(a)  
 Caulonis arces 553  
 Celaeno 211, 245, silences of 713  
 Ceraunia 506  
 Chaon 294–505(a), 293, 334, 335  
 Charybdis 420–2, 420–8, 558, 685  
 Circae 386, as seer 441–60  
 Claros 360  
 Cnosia regna 115  
 Corybantes 111  
 Corythum 170  
 Creta 104, 162, Cretaeis oris 117  
 Cumaeam ... urbem 441  
 Cybelus 111  
 Cyclopes 588–691, Cyclopum oris  
     569

- Cynthus, Mt. 91 f.  
 Danai 87, Danais (adj.) 602  
 Dardania 52, 156, Dardanidae 94  
 Dardanus 167  
 Delos 69–120; and Sibyls 85–9; not  
   oracular 85–9  
 Diana and cypresses 681  
 Dictaea ... arua 171  
 Diomedes interrupts ritual 407  
 Dodona 292, 294–505(a)  
 Dodonaeos 464  
 Doris 74  
 Drepanum 707  
 Dulichium 271  
 Elis 694  
 Enceladus 578  
 Eoo 588  
 Epirus 292, Epirus 294–505(a)  
 Etna 570–82  
 Furies and Harpies 252  
 Geloï campi, Gela 701, 702  
 Getae 35  
 Gradius 35  
 Grai 163, mali 398, urbes 295,  
   nomine 210 see also 288,  
   295  
 Graiugenae 550  
 Grynium xxx  
 Gyarus 76  
 Harpies 209–69, 212, 232 (number),  
   241 (and sea); and Furies 252  
 Hector 294–505(c), 319, in *Aen.* 317,  
   343; cenotaph of 304 Hector;  
   exemplary 294–505(c)  
 Helenus 294–505(a); collaboration/  
   treason, *ib.*, union with Andr.  
   294–505(c), kingdom of 333 f.,  
   omissions by 712, poss. treason of  
   295, 298  
 Helorus 698  
 Herculei Tarenti 551  
 Hermione 328  
 Hesperia 163, 185 f., latus 418  
 Hiems 120  
 Horis 512  
 Hyadas 516  
 Iasius 168  
 Ida Mt. 6, 105  
 Idomeneus 400, 401; in S. Italy,  
   531–6  
 Iliaca fata 182, Iliacis 279, 603  
 Iliades 65  
 Ilium 3, 109  
 Io and Aeneas 374–462  
 Ionian Sea 211  
 Itala regna 185, litoris 396  
 Italia 253, Italiam 166, 381  
 Italiam ... Italiam ... Italiam 523 f.  
 Italy recedes 496  
 Ithaca 613; Ithacus 629  
 Iuno 380, Argiuae 547, need to  
   assuage 437 f.  
 Iuppiter 171, of weather 116, and  
   oaks 681; Jupiter as *deum rex* 375  
 Juno xxxv–xxxvi  
 Lacedaemonian spouses 328  
 Lacinia 552  
 Laertia regna 272  
 Laomedontiadae 248  
 Launa 69–120  
 Lavinia 69–120  
 Ledaeam 328  
 Leto 69–120  
 Leucas and Actium 276, 280  
 Leucata 274  
 Lilybeia ... uada 706  
 Locri Narycii 399  
 Lucrine Lake 386  
 Lyctius Idomeneus 400, 401  
 Magna Mater 111 f.; in Crete 112  
 Magni Di 12  
 Malea, Cape, 192–208, 204a–c  
 Manibus 63  
 Medea and Apsyrtus 605  
 Megara 689  
 Meliboei ducis 401 f.  
 Mineruae castrum 531–6  
 Misenus 239  
 Molossus 294–505(a)(b)  
 Myconus 76  
 Narycii Locri 399  
 Neoptolemus, d. of 332, N. in  
   Epirus/ Molossia 294–505(a),  
   469

- Neptune 3, 74, 119  
 Nereides 74  
 Neritos 271  
 Noti 268  
 Nox 512  
 Oenotri 165  
 Orestes 331  
 Orion 517  
 Ortygia (Delos) 143, 154  
 Ortygia (Sicily) 694  
 Pachyni 429, 699  
 Palinurus 202, 513, 562; sore neck  
     516–7  
 Pantagia 689  
 Parcae 379  
 Pelori 411, 687  
 Penatibus 12, 147–91, 148  
 Pergama 87, 336, 350; (not at Troy)  
     350  
 Pergameae arces 109f.  
 Petelia 402  
 Phaeaces 291  
 Philoctetae 402; P. as colonist 402  
 Phineus 209, 212, 588–691, seer  
     441–60  
 Phoebus 143, 251  
 Phrygia 6, 148; Phrygiam chlamy-  
     dem 484  
 Plemyrion 693  
 Plotai 209  
 Polydorus 13–68  
 Polymestor 51  
 Polyphemus 588–691  
 Polyxena 321  
 Posidon 74  
 Priameia uirgo 321  
 Priamiden 295  
 Priamus infelix 50  
 Prometheus to Io 374–462  
 Pyrrhus See Neoptolemus; as name  
     296  
 Rhegium, etym. of 414  
 Rhoeteas oras 108  
 Sallentini campi 400  
 Same/Samos 271  
 Saturnia Iuno 380  
 Scaean Gate 351  
 Scamander 350  
 Scylaceum 553  
 Scylla 294–505(b), 420, 420–8,  
     423–7, 685  
 Selinus 705  
 Sibyl 441–60, and Anch. xxxix  
 Sicario 692  
 Sicily, origin of 414  
 Siculae orae 410, latus 418, undis  
     696  
 Simois Trojan and Epirote 302  
 Sirius 141  
 Strophades 209  
 Tarenti Herculei 551  
 Teucrum (gen.) 53  
 Teucrus 108  
 Thapsus 689  
 Theoclymenus 588–691  
 Threicio regi 51  
 Thymbraeae 85  
 Tiber 500  
 Tiresias as seer 441–60  
 Trinacria 384, 440, Aetna 554,  
     unda 384, Pachyni 429  
 Triones 516  
 Troia 3, 11; pride and crimes 2f.  
 Troiugena 359  
 Troy  
 Troy revived, survives, inspires 294–  
     505(c), inheritance of 294–505(c),  
     evocative names 302, date of fall,  
     8, defined 86f., earlier sacks of  
     476, fate of 182, walls of 322  
 Ulixes 273, 588–691, interrupts  
     ritual 407, *infelix*, 613, 691;  
     change of attitude to 588–691  
 Venus and Aeneas 476; in bk.3  
     xxxv–xxxvi  
 Xanthus 350  
 Zacynthos 270  
 Zephyri 120  
 Zeus and prophecy 251f.