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BOOK IX

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

The commentator on Virgil is uneasily aware of his position as but the latest in a long line of annotators. In this edition I have incorporated what seems to me to be most valuable in the tradition that goes back to the ancient commentators (of those less frequently consulted today particular mention might be made of the prodigious collection of materials both relevant and irrelevant in de la Cerda), while at the same time attempting to develop through the detail of the commentary the lines of a more literary approach that reflects the insights and biases of critical work of recent decades.

My debts to the living are also extensive. The whole or parts of the commentary were read in draft, and substantially improved, by Dr S. J. Harrison, Professor A. Barchiesi, Dr L. Watson, Professor P. E. Easterling, and Dr S. P. Oakley (who generously gave me access to the materials for his forthcoming commentary on Livy 6–10, revealing the sorry deficiency of most Virgilian critics in the proper utilization of Latin prose works). Dr N. M. Horsfall read a draft of the Introduction. Professor P. G. Walsh and Dr J. D. Christie very kindly allowed me to make use of the unpublished commentary on book IX by the late Professor C. J. Fordyce; borrowings from this are indicated by '[F.]'. Above all I must record the unfailing forbearance, tact, and acumen of Professor E. J. Kenney, who first suggested that I might try my hand at a commentary on one of the later books of the *Aeneid*.

October 1993 *New Hall, Cambridge*

INTRODUCTION

1. THE PLACE OF BOOK IX IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE *AENEID*

Critics since antiquity have seen the last six books of the *Aeneid* as Virgil's 'Iliad', the story of the war in Italy that Aeneas must fight after his 'Odyssey' of wandering and sexual temptation in the first six books.[1] The beginning of the second half of the epic is formally marked by the invocation to Erato at 7.37–41 and by the poet's definition of his new and greater subject-matter at 7.41–5:

> dicam horrida bella,
> dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges
> Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
> Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
> maius opus moueo.

In 'wars' and 'kings' we recognize a return to the grand themes of martial epic from which the poet had been debarred at the start of his career by Apollo in the sixth *Eclogue*, 'when I was about to sing of kings and battles' (3). But after this manifesto the models for books VII and VIII turn out to be largely non-Iliadic: the Fury Allecto, the supernatural agent of war in book VII, is a monster from tragedy rather than epic. After a brief taste of the battle narrative that will largely occupy the last four books of the poem (7.523–39), book VII closes with the Catalogue of Italians (7.641–817), modelled on the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad* II; but instead of continuing with the massed confrontation of Italian and Trojan forces, book VIII whisks Aeneas away up the Tiber to meet the Arcadian king Evander on the future site of Rome. The narrative models for a visit to a friendly king are Odyssean (Telemachus' visits to Nestor and Menelaus in *Odyssey* III and IV); but in the course of this book Virgil takes us far from the Homeric world into previews and prophecies of the Roman future. Book VIII, like book VII, ends with an Iliadic set-piece,

[1] On Virgil's 'Iliad' see Otis 312–82; K. W. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad. An essay in epic narrative* (Cambridge 1984); Cairns ch. 8; Harrison, *X* pp. xxi–xxvi.

the description of the Shield of Aeneas (modelled on the Shield of Achilles in *Iliad* XVIII), but turned to very non-Iliadic ends as the vehicle for a triumphalist survey of Roman history down to the time of Augustus.

The Shield of Aeneas represents the triple triumph of Octavian in 29 BC as the final episode in the long series of wars that must be fought by the Romans and their ancestors in order to achieve the *pax Augusta*. At the beginning of book IX the reader is returned in time to the first in that series, the war in Italy between the forces of Aeneas and Turnus, as the narrator transports us in space from the future-haunted site of Rome to the cockpit of war at the mouth of the Tiber, where the Trojans had built their camp (7.157–9). Book IX is thus the first of the substantially Iliadic four last books of the *Aeneid*; its action is the central Iliadic action of the siege, as Turnus launches a full-scale assault on the Trojan fortifications. Yet in other respects the first book proper of Virgil's 'Iliad' is both incidental and episodic. It is often remembered for the central story of Nisus and Euryalus, a self-contained episode that unfolds in the night between the two days of the book's action. But the whole book has an incidental quality, as may be judged from the fact that at the end the strategic situation is the same as it was at the beginning. Many have died, but while some of these deaths have important symbolic value, none directly affects the future course of the narrative plot, unlike the death of Evander's son Pallas in the next book, which has as its final consequence the death of Turnus at the end of the poem. The fighting in book IX, like that in book XI, takes place in the absence of Aeneas (who returns to the action only at 10.260–75).[2] Similarly, in book XI the cavalry battle and Camilla's *aristeia*, for all their heroic grandeur, are essentially side issues played out in the absence of Turnus. The fighting crucial to the final outcome of the war takes place in the even-numbered books X and XII, in which Aeneas and Turnus are both present on the field of action. But if book IX fails to meet Aristotelian criteria for the organic unity of a plot, it is nevertheless tightly woven into symbolic and thematic patterns of central importance for the epic as a whole.

[2] Otis 345 goes so far as to define the main theme of the book as the absence of Aeneas and its consequences.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF BOOK IX[3]

The action of book IX is for the most part the product of a play of force and resistance: Turnus' desire to storm the Trojan camp, countered by the Trojans' determination to sit tight as Aeneas had told them until their leader returns. Turnus does not fulfil his desire until nearly the end of the book when Pandarus and Bitias wilfully ignore Aeneas' instruction and open one of the gates. Everything between Turnus' arrival in front of the camp and his eventual entry is a series of delays or postponements of Turnus' partial success: the metamorphosis of the ships, nightfall, the Numanus Remulus and Ascanius episode, as well as the more general siege scenes. One reason for the episodic quality of the book is just the inherently static quality of a siege narrative between the initial investment and the final capture of the city; but comparable also is the structure of book XII, a series of postponements or delays, *morae*, of Turnus' initial resolve to confront Aeneas in a duel, a confrontation that is not realized until the end of the book despite Turnus' assertion at line 11 that *nulla mora in Turno*.

The action, like that in the previous book, takes place over two days and a night, yielding a tripartite structure:

1. Day 1. The Italian attack on the camp and the ships (1–175)
   (i) Turnus prompted to action by Iris (1–24)
   (ii) Turnus' advance and attempt to fire the ships (25–76)
   (iii) The metamorphosis of the ships into nymphs (77–122)
   (iv) Turnus' reaction; nightfall (123–75)
2. Night (and dawn). Nisus and Euryalus (176–502)
   (i) Nisus' and Euryalus' proposal of their sortie (176–313)
   (ii) Nocturnal exploits of Nisus and Euryalus (314–66)
   (iii) Detection and death of Nisus and Euryalus (367–449)
   (iv) Italian and Trojan discovery of their losses; the lament of Euryalus' mother (450–502)
3. Day 2. The siege continued and Turnus' entry into the camp (503–818)
   (i) Siege warfare (503–89)

[3] In general on structure see Heinze 348–69 'Composition'; Quinn ch. 3.

(ii) The speech of Remulus Numanus and his killing by Ascanius (590–671)
(iii) Pandarus and Bitias (672–755)
(iv) Turnus' entry into the camp and eventual retreat (756–818)

Further formal and thematic structures emerge. The day–night sequence yields an obvious contrast between the shadows, literal and figurative, of the night episode and the brightness of the two days (in each case heightened at a climactic moment by the intense light of a supernatural revelation, 110–12 and 731–3: see nn.). Beginning and end of the book are joined by elaborate ring-composition: at the beginning Juno sends down Iris to prompt Turnus into action, and Turnus' immediate response is to perform ritual ablution with the water of a river; at the end Jupiter sends down Iris to warn off Juno from further assisting Turnus, who is then forced to retreat to the river Tiber whose waters wash away the gore from his body (818 *abluta caede*). The substitution for Juno of Jupiter, the official arbiter of fate, marks the end of Turnus' limited success as city-sacker.

Within this frame other parallels between the events of the two days balance each other across the night episode. The story of the origin of the Trojan ships and their metamorphosis, often felt to be an alien body in the siege narrative, shares patterns and motifs with events on the second day of the siege: the sequence of epiphany of the Magna Mater accompanying transformation followed by the misguided interpretation of Turnus is mirrored in the Numanus and Ascanius episode, where Numanus' misguided attempt to define the Trojan national character (including a distorted picture of the worship of the Magna Mater) is followed by an action that marks the transformation of Ascanius from boyish hunter into manly warrior, accompanied by the epiphany of Apollo. The epiphany of the Magna Mater in order to rescue her ships is provoked by Turnus' attempt to fire the ships, sending waves of pitchy smoke rolling to the heavens in a figurative assault on the gods themselves; the 'implicit myth'[4] of Gigantomachy recurs in the Pandarus and Bitias episode, where it is now the opponents of Turnus who take on the role

[4] For this term see Lyne 139–40.

of Giants (705–6, 715–16 nn.), culminating in the 'epiphany' of Turnus himself at 731–3 that echoes the epiphany of the Magna Mater. Turnus' final dive into the Tiber echoes the dive of the ship-nymphs into the sea that concluded the earlier episode.

Still closer thematic links connect the three episodes which together constitute the bulk of the book, those of Nisus and Euryalus, of Numanus and Ascanius, and of Pandarus and Bitias. The first and third each tell of a pair of young warriors closely attached to each other; each pair has charge of a gate (176, 675), each enters on a heroic undertaking which leads to their untimely and pathetic deaths through a decision to infringe Aeneas' parting instruction to the Trojans to sit tight in the camp until his return. These tales of failure frame the success story of Ascanius; the tragic outcome of the brave but excessive actions of Nisus and Euryalus, and of Pandarus and Bitias sheds light on Apollo's insistence that Ascanius not follow up his success (653–6: see further section 6 below).

3. LINKS WITH OTHER BOOKS[5]

The sharp contrast between the end of book VIII and the beginning of book IX should not distract us from some pointed parallelisms between the two books. Book IX is the book of Turnus in the absence of his main opponent; book VIII is the book of Aeneas who has absented himself from the rest of his people. But where in IX Turnus is all frenzied action in his frustrated attempt to sack a 'city', in VIII Aeneas is a largely passive observer and listener as he journeys in search of allies to ensure the success of his future war; what he observes and hears are literal and symbolic images of the foundation of the city of Rome and of the defeat of violent forces opposed to Rome. The contrast between Turnus and Aeneas is brought to our attention right at the beginning of IX in the scene of the visitation of Iris (see 1–24 n.).

Book VIII figuratively constructs the city of Rome and reveals its

[5] In general on the complex architectural structure of the *Aeneid* see Gransden, *VIII* 4–7; W. A. Camps, *An introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Cambridge 1969) ch. 6; R. Lesueur, *L'Enéide de Virgile. Etude sur la composition rythmique d'une épopée* (Toulouse 1975) 27–9 for a convenient table of the several proposed schemes.

latest history on the Shield of Aeneas: it thus inverts the themes of book II, that tells of the destruction of the city of Troy, the event that indirectly leads to the foundation of the new city of Rome. Formal parallels between books II and VIII reinforce this thematic inversion. In IX Turnus consciously models his failed attempt at city-sacking on the previous sack of Troy, and the reader's sense of foreboding is heightened by numerous echoes of the successful sacking in book II (see 530–66, 672–755 nn.).

One of the rhythms that articulates the *Aeneid* is a triadic structure dividing the poem into the blocks I–IV, V–VIII, IX–XII.[6] In the first book of each block there is an attempt to destroy by fire the Trojan ships, vehicle for the future survival of the city: in I Juno's attempt to use the thunderbolt against the fleet, in V the Trojan women's firing of the ships at the prompting of Juno and Iris (5.604–63), and in IX Turnus' attempt to fire the ships in obedience to Allecto's command at 7.431.[7] With the metamorphosis of the ships in IX this theme is played out: the Trojans have made their final landing and no longer need the wooden walls of their fleet. On further links between books V and IX see section 9(*c*) below.

4. REWORKING HOMER[8]

Virgil's imitation of Homer is characterized both by a masterly command of the large-scale narrative structures of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and by microscopic attention to detail. What is even more remarkable is the fact that this obsessive attention to the Homeric models does not result in a mere pastiche of the Greek epics, but is transmuted into something unmistakably 'Virgilian'. Virgil's aware-

[6] G. E. Duckworth, *T.A.Ph.A.* 88 (1957) 1–10; id., *Vergilius* 7 (1961) 2–11; W. A. Camps, *C.Q.* 4 (1954) 214–15; id., *C.Q.* 9 (1959) 53–6.

[7] For further details see E. Fantham, *C.Ph.* 85 (1990) 110–12. Otis 344–5 discusses parallels between V and IX in the light of his concentric analysis of the structural scheme of the *Aeneid*.

[8] On the *Aeneid* and Homer the basic work is Knauer; the detailed analysis in what follows is based on Knauer 266–80. There is much excellent recent work on the poetics of imitation and allusion in Virgil: see esp. G. B. Conte, *The rhetoric of imitation. Genre and poetic memory in Virgil and other Latin poets* (Ithaca and London 1986); A. Barchiesi, *La traccia del modello. Effetti omerici nella narrazione virgiliana* (Pisa 1984); Cairns ch. 8.

ness of what was involved in this hybristic challenge to the greatest Greek poems is illustrated in the story that, when challenged with his Homeric 'thefts', he replied that it would be easier to steal his club from Hercules than a line from Homer.[9] Imitation of this kind is not a makeshift in order to construct a narrative with another poet's materials, but a self-conscious and critical engagement with the models that challenges the reader to contrast and compare earlier and later texts in a process that forces us to rethink our interpretation of both Homer and Virgil; the resulting combination of creation and criticism is very much in the manner of the Alexandrian poets such as Callimachus and Theocritus, who were the direct models for Virgil's earlier works. Virgil did not cease to be an 'Alexandrian' poet when he turned to his Roman epic.[10] Awareness of the Homeric models leads us to reflect both on our own interpretation of the events narrated and on the hopes and delusions of the characters within the narrative. For example, Turnus convinces himself that he plays the role of the Greeks taking revenge on the wife-stealing Trojans; our realization of his mental darkness is reinforced by the narrative models in the *Iliad* which show him, even at this stage in the fighting, cast in the role of Hector rather than Achilles (on the theme of knowledge see further section 8).[11]

Aeneid IX tells of what happens while the hero Aeneas is absent from the scene; the main lines of the book are modelled on *Iliad* VIII–XII, the books in which the Trojan champion Hector, in the absence of the greatest Greek warrior Achilles, leads an unstoppable attack on the Greek camp at the ships, culminating in Hector's breaching of the Greek wall at the end of *Iliad* XII.[12] Hector's aim from the beginning has been to set fire to the Greek ships (*Iliad* 8.180–3), a wish whose successful fulfilment at 16.112–24 prompts Achilles to send Patroclus to give aid to the Greeks, thus inaugurating the sequence of events that will lead to the killing of Patroclus by

[9] Donatus, *Life of Virgil* 46.

[10] See W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the tradition of Hellenistic poetry* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1987).

[11] The classic discussion of the reworking of the Iliadic plot is W. S. Anderson, 'Vergil's second *Iliad*', *T.A.Ph.A.* 88 (1957) 17–30.

[12] On the Iliadic parallels in addition to Knauer see R. J. Rabel, *Vergilius* 24 (1978) 37–44; *Latomus* 40 (1981) 801–6.

Hector and so to the return of Achilles himself to the fray in order to avenge his friend. In *Aeneid* IX Turnus' hope of firing the Trojan ships is thwarted by the unexpected metamorphosis of the ships into nymphs; the Homeric model for this is found not in the *Iliad* but in Poseidon's metamorphosis into a rock of the Phaeacian ship that brought Odysseus back to Ithaca in *Odyssey* XIII (see 77–122 n.). In the last four books of the *Aeneid* an Odyssean subplot runs beneath the main Iliadic plot: from one point of view the Trojans in Italy play the part of the Greek invaders of the Troad, but Italy is also, by the Trojans' descent from the Italian Dardanus (3.163–8) and by the design of fate, the once and future home of Aeneas and his race. Aeneas comes to Latium to win his destined bride Lavinia from the suitor Turnus as Odysseus returns home to Ithaca to claim his wife Penelope from the suitors.[13]

The short-circuiting of the Iliadic firing of the ships is also determined by the absence from the *Aeneid* of the central wrath-theme of the *Iliad*: Achilles sulks in his tent because of his anger with Agamemnon, and only the direst extremity of the Greeks leads him to intervene, at first through the intermediary of Patroclus; Aeneas' absence on a mission to gather reinforcements is the result of a general's anxious concern for the survival of his troops, and he will in due course of events return to the battle in the next book. Virgil therefore engineers a conclusion to his reworking of 'Hector at the ships' by imitating a passage near the beginning of the Iliadic sequence (8.397–424) in which Zeus intervenes to warn off Hera and Athene from aiding the Greeks against Hector's onslaught; at *Aeneid* 9.802–5 Jupiter warns Juno from lending further aid to Turnus. Turnus' storming of the Trojan camp, unlike Hector's storming of the Greek camp, is thus without further consequence.

The omission of the Iliadic wrath-theme also affects Virgil's adaptation of Homeric models in the night-episode of Nisus and Euryalus, corresponding to the night of *Iliad* IX and X that interrupts Hector's attack on the Greek camp (for more detail see section 9(*d*)1 below). In *Iliad* IX Phoenix, Ajax, and Odysseus go on an embassy in order to persuade and bribe Achilles to return to the battle; Nisus and Euryalus also set out on a mission to their absent champion, but in

[13] See Cairns ch. 8 on Odyssean aspects of the last half of the *Aeneid*.

order to inform him of dangers to his people of which he is unaware rather than to persuade him to a course of action against which his mind is set.

One extended passage in book IX imitates a scene much later in the *Iliad*, after the deaths of Patroclus and of Hector which are the models for the deaths of Pallas and of Turnus in books X and XII of the *Aeneid*: the parading of the heads of Nisus and Euryalus around the Trojan wall and the grief of the mother of Euryalus are based on Achilles' dragging of Hector's body round the walls of Troy and the grief of Hector's family at *Iliad* 22.395–515. This adaptation of one of the emotional climaxes of the *Iliad* is a further sign of the importance within the *Aeneid* of what might appear to be the story of two rather insignificant youths. The chief Homeric models may be tabulated as follows:

***Aeneid* IX**	**Homer**
1–24 Iris, sent by Juno, prompts Turnus to battle	*Il.* 2.786–810 Iris tells Hector to marshal the Trojan forces
	Il. 18.165–202 Iris tells Achilles to rescue body of Patroclus
25–46 Rutulian advance	*Il.* 3.1–14, 4.422–45 Advancing armies
47–167 Turnus attacks Trojan camp and camps round the wall at nightfall	*Il.* 8.157–565 Hector routs the Greeks and camps round the wall at nightfall
77–122 Ships changed into nymphs	*Od.* 13.125–64 Poseidon changes Phaeacian ship into a rock
77–9 Invocation to Muses: which god saved the Trojan ships from being burnt?	*Il.* 16.112–13 Invocation to Muses: how did fire first fall on the Greek ships?
168–458 Night. Nisus and Euryalus	*Il.* 10 Night. Doloneia *Il.* 9 Night. Embassy to Achilles

459–502 Nisus' and Euryalus' heads carried round Trojan wall; grief of Euryalus' mother	*Il.* 22.395–515 Hector's body dragged round Troy; grief of Hector's wife
503–735 Attack on Trojan camp; Turnus enters the camp	*Il.* 12.35–471 Attack on Achaean wall; Hector breaches the wall
672–755 Pandarus and Bitias	*Il.* 12.127–94 Polypoites and Leonteus
756–61 Turnus would have taken the camp ...	*Il.* 16.698–701 Patroclus would have taken Troy ...
802–5 Jupiter sends Iris to warn off Juno from helping Turnus	*Il.* 8.397–432 Zeus sends Iris to warn off Hera and Athene from helping Achaeans
806–14 Turnus retreats under heavy fire	*Il.* 16.102–11 Ajax retreats from the defence of the ships under heavy fire

5. CITIES AND SIEGES – SOLIDARITY AND DIVISION

Numanus thinks of the Italian siege of the Trojan camp as a repetition of the Greek siege of the city of Troy itself (598–9; cf. Turnus' words at 136–55); the dominant Iliadic model suggests however that we are to see the Trojan camp in the image of the encampment by the sea of the Greek invaders of Troy, although at 756–61 the narrator's comment on how near Turnus came to destroying the Trojans is modelled on Homer's comment that Patroclus almost took *Troy*, at *Iliad* 16.698–701. This ambivalence is reflected in the words that Virgil uses to refer to the Trojan position, which is both *castra* (13, 43, 57, 65, 69, 147, 230, 315, 366, 371, 801) and *urbs* (8, 48, 473, 639, 729, 784).[14] This divergence of perspective enables the narrator to elaborate the wider symbolic and historical significance of the temporary

[14] The foundation of the place is narrated at 7.157–9: it is fortified in the manner of a *castra*, but the line of the walls is marked out with a plough according to the custom for founding a city (cf. 5.755 *interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro*, the new city of Acesta).

fortification thrown up by the newly arrived Trojan refugees at the mouth of the Tiber.

If this place is really a second Troy,[15] then we may expect that it will fall. If it is another 'Achaean camp', then we may expect that it will be the beach-head for a successful assault on the enemy land. This alternative narrative model is almost realized in a too literal way at the point where Aeneas launches an attack on the city of Latinus (12.554–611); for a moment it looks as though the end of the war in Latium will coincide with the end of the Trojan war in the sack of a city. But as a 'city' this new foundation may as well look forward as back. The city may be *both* a recreation of Troy (rather like Helenus' Buthrotum in *Aeneid* III; the coastal siting on the banks of a river may also recall the site of Troy), *and* an image of the Rome to be. The narrative suspense of book IX – will the Trojan camp be destroyed by Turnus or will it survive? – may be expressed as follows: will its destruction be the last in the series of sackings suffered by Troy (Numanus' boast, 598–9), or will it withstand siege to become the first in a series of cities on Italian soil culminating in Rome (Lavinium, Alba Longa, Rome: the series is laid out in the Speech of Jupiter at 1.261–77).

These alternatives can also be viewed generically as competing types of epic plot. The Trojan War is the great model for an epic of war leading to the sack of a city.[16] It is not only the Italian enemy who attempt to define the war in Latium as a second Trojan War; the 'objective' siege narrative itself of book IX repeatedly echoes incidents from Aeneas' first-hand account of the sack of Troy in book II. But foundation, rather than destruction, of cities was a favourite theme of the so-called 'ktistic' epics of the Hellenistic period, epics of local and nationalistic pride.[17] The *Aeneid* can itself be classified as

[15] On the question of whether the name of the camp is actually 'Troia' see 8 n.

[16] The sack itself was the subject of a later poem in the epic cycle, the *Iliupersis* 'Sack of Troy'; but the *Iliad* itself contains emphatic foreshadowings of that later event, rather as the *Aen.* continually refers to the foundation of Rome many years after the events that form its primary narrative.

[17] From κτίζω 'found', the equivalent of Latin *condo*. On the ktistic poems of Apollonius of Rhodes see R. Pfeiffer, *A history of classical scholarship* I (Oxford 1968) 144. On the *Aen.* as foundation-poem see N. M. Horsfall, 'Aeneas the colonist', *Vergilius* 35 (1989) 8–27.

a ktistic epic: the final goal of the action of its hero is summed up at the end of the first sentence of the poem as (1.5–7) *dum conderet urbem | inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum | Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae*; and the proem concludes with the famous line (1.33) *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*. The 'ktistic' matter of the *Aeneid* is concentrated above all in the previous book VIII, which uses various devices of foreshadowing and prophecy to construct an image of the city that will ultimately provide the grand stage for the triumph of Augustus (8.714–28); there is the strongest contrast when we return at the start of book IX to the insignificant walls of the Trojan exiles' 'city', but also an implicit continuity between humble beginning and glorious end of a historical process. In the face of the unsettling echoes of book II that run through book IX the reader may seek assurance that Turnus will not succeed in the allusion at the very beginning of the siege to Hannibal's approach to Rome (see 52–3 n.).[18]

The physical walls of the city are also the symbol of the solidarity of the community. Turnus' attack is a test not simply of the material strength of the earth and stone of the Trojan defences, but also of the resolution of the defenders and their ability to maintain a united front under stress, particularly difficult when unity of purpose demands abstention from action rather than counter-attack. The temptation to division, either through panic or through misguided attempts to save the situation single-handedly, is ever-present. On the first day's fighting the Trojans are faithful to Aeneas' instruction to sit tight within the walls, suppressing emotions that pull towards more positive action (38–46); but cracks appear on the second day. First the feminine emotion of the mother of Euryalus, a woman who leaves her proper place inside to appear on the walls themselves, threatens to undermine the masculine resolve of the Trojan defenders (498–9). Something similar happens at the end of the Numanus and Ascanius episode when Ascanius has to be restrained from further involvement in the fighting (661–3); the implication is that, fired by success and self-esteem, the youthful son of Aeneas is no

[18] For an attempt to construct typological parallels between the events of *Aen.* IX and early fourth-century Roman history (Turnus as Gaul, Aeneas as Camillus, etc.) see M. Sordi, *Athenaeum* 42 (1964) 80–100.

longer able to keep his father's instruction in perspective. Finally and most dangerously Pandarus and Bitias, arrogantly trusting in their own unsupported strength, literally bring about a breach of the defences by opening the gate entrusted to them, with near catastrophic results. The issues raised by these episodes have already been suggested by the Nisus and Euryalus episode, where a mission undertaken with the full approval of the community (the night council) ends in disaster because the narrower group loyalty of two lovers, founded on private emotion, crowds out loyalty to the larger group (had Nisus abandoned his captured friend he might still have got through to Aeneas).

In one direction, then, the theme of solidarity in *Aeneid* IX contributes to the general tension in the *Aeneid* between the pursuits of collective and individual goals, between public and private, duty and emotion (see also section 9(*b*)5 below).[19] Solidarity also has a more particular relevance to the interests of the city, one still burningly topical in Rome after the decades of civil war that preceded the Battle of Actium. In book II the walls of the city of Troy are literally 'divided' (234) to let in the Wooden Horse after disagreement between Laocoon and the other citizens over how to deal with it. This is a form of dissension that still falls within the acceptable limits of civic disagreement (it was unfortunate that the wrong decision was taken). More questionable is the failure of Aeneas to obey the authority of the ghost of Hector, who appears as a kind of phantom of the collective identity of the city (2.289–95; with Hector's instruction to abstain from active resistance to the Greek invaders may be compared Aeneas' instruction in book IX to avoid open confrontation with the Italians); it is symbolically appropriate that the furious despair which prompts the Trojan defenders to confuse the enemy by donning captured Greek armour results in an unwitting scene of civil war as Trojan kills disguised Trojan (2.410–12). In book V the collective Trojan celebration of the funeral games of Anchises in Sicily is interrupted by the 'secession' of the womenfolk from the mission of

[19] Some of the particular manifestations of this tension in book IX are brought out in the interesting article of Saylor, who points to the recurrent use in IX of *globus*, *glomero* as keywords. See also Griffin 178–80 'Rome as a collective state'.

city-founding in Italy and their firing of the ships. Ascanius uses the language of civil war in an attempt to make them see reason:

> 'quis furor iste nouus? quo nunc, quo tenditis', inquit
> 'heu miserae ciues? non hostem inimicaque castra
> Argiuum, uestras spes uritis.'
>
> (5.670–2)[20]

The uncontrolled emotion of the one mother who did *not* stay behind in Sicily, the mother of Euryalus (9.216–18), will nearly dissolve the fighting spirit of the male defenders at 9.498–9. But for an example of the complete breakdown of civic unity in the face of military threat we must look at the last instance of a siege in the poem, Aeneas' decision to attack the city of Latinus after vain attempts to bring Turnus to face him in battle:

> exoritur trepidos inter *discordia* ciuis:
> urbem alii reserare iubent et pandere portas
> Dardanidis ipsumque trahunt in moenia regem;
> arma ferunt alii et pergunt defendere muros.
>
> (12.583–6)[21]

6. YOUNG MEN AT WAR – DEFINING THE EPIC HERO – TROJANS AND ITALIANS

The problems of the city as a collective are but the other side of the coin from what is often conceived as the central issue of epic, the nature and proper behaviour of the individual epic hero. In the *Iliad* the careers of Achilles, Hector, and the other major fighters, focus our attention in one way or another on the problem of reconciling the individual hero's ambitions for honour and fame with the

[20] *quis furor, o ciues?* is the question addressed to his Roman readers by Lucan at the start of his poem of civil war (1.8). Cf. also Aeneas' anguished questions at *Aen.* 12.313–14 to the Trojans and Italians who should now be joined in the treaty.

[21] *discordia* is a central term for civil war (see Cairns ch. 4). Statius imitates this passage at *Theb.* 10.552–79, where panic caused by an Argive assault on Thebes leads to various forms of *discordia* (581 *discordes ... motus*) in the archetypally divided city.

interests of the city or army that he champions.[22] In the *Aeneid* similar tensions have provided material for endless discussion of the conflicting public and private motivations of Aeneas; Virgilian criticism also concentrates on a transcultural version of the problem by raising the question of how far the hero of a *Roman* epic must strive to liberate himself from the behavioural patterns of a hero in the Homeric world, proving himself as the ideal statesman and general (Augustus' roles of *princeps* and *imperator*) rather than striving to be the 'best of the Achaeans'.

The hero, Aeneas, is personally absent from book IX (the only book of which this is true). The vacuum is filled in the first place by Turnus, who consequently enjoys his most glorious *aristeia* in the poem, but one that ultimately ends in failure because of flaws in his behaviour as an epic hero. Some of these flaws he shares with the series of Trojan fighters who must ensure the survival of their community in the absence of their leader. These warriors – Nisus and Euryalus, Ascanius, Pandarus and Bitias – are united by their youth. For them the problem of how to behave is not just a matter of choosing between different sets of values, but the crucially important challenge of growing up, of making the successful transition from boyhood to adulthood. Their trial is analogous to that of the city, one of surviving childhood through a perilous transitional period in order to enter their full maturity.

The stories of youthful Trojan warriors are arranged symmetrically: two episodes of valiant failure, involving in the one case a pair of devoted friends, Nisus and Euryalus, and in the other a pair of brothers, Pandarus and Bitias, flank an episode of successful action, Ascanius' killing of the boastful Numanus. Ascanius provides a model

[22] Central is the analysis of J. M. Redfield, *Nature and culture in the Iliad* (Chicago and London 1975). There is a structural parallel between the Nisus and Euryalus episode, interrupting the narrative of Turnus' assault on the Trojan camp, and the episode of Sarpedon and Glaucus at *Il.* 12.290–435, interrupting the narrative of Hector's assault on the Achaean camp. Sarpedon's famous speech on the motivation of the hero (*Il.* 12.310–28), often taken as a key to the whole question of the Homeric heroic code, finds an analogy in Nisus and Euryalus' musings on the springs of their conduct, also with a wider relevance for the behaviour of the other actors in the book and in the poem.

for the adolescent who succeeds in the perilous transition from being a good hunter to being a good warrior (590–1);[23] a good warrior is one able both to kill others and to preserve himself. There is a contrast between wild nature, the place of the hunter, and the city for which the warrior fights. Both Nisus (177–8; note esp. 178 *uenatrix*) and Pandarus and Bitias (672–4) emerge from a wild, mountainous landscape; it is through hunting that Nisus and Euryalus derive their topographical expertise (244–5). But despite their bravery and strength of arm both pairs are destroyed on the threshold of adult manhood because of a lingering immaturity. The night in which Nisus and Euryalus run amok and then die may also symbolize their failure to emerge into the full daylight of the adult male hero (real men fight during the day).[24]

Ascanius' success is formally recognized in the words of Apollo at 641–4, beginning *macte noua uirtute, puer*, where the juxtaposition of *uirtus* and *puer* marks the transition from boyhood to manhood. The Latin term for the central quality of the hero, *uirtus*, means literally 'the state of being a man' (*uir*). In the words *dis genite et geniture deos* (642) Apollo's speech also points to the importance of Ascanius' success for (i) his family and (ii) his race. (i) Survival to full manhood ensures an heir and successor for his father Aeneas. Ascanius acts

[23] On hunting as a training for war see J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines* (Paris 1951) 469–81. On hunting in the *Aen.* see J. R. Dunkle, *Ramus* 2 (1973) 127–42.

[24] At this point we are close to the symbolic structures of the Greek *ephebeia*, in which hunting and night are associated with the passage of the adolescent to the status of male hoplite. The classic discussion is P. Vidal-Naquet, 'The Black Hunter and the origin of the Athenian *ephebeia*', in R. L. Gordon (ed.) *Myth, religion and society* (Cambridge 1981) 147–62; ephebic patterns have been extensively revealed in recent analysis of many Attic tragedies. For the influence of the Virgilian episodes on later Latin epic see P. R. Hardie in A. J. Boyle (ed.), *The Imperial Muse. Ramus essays on Roman literature of the empire.* II *Flavian epicist to Claudian* (Bendigo 1990) 9–14. There are many points of contact between these episodes in book IX and the story of Camilla in book XI, a *uenatrix* trying (and failing) to make it as a *bellatrix*: see Gransden, *XI* 20–5. In the case of the 'Amazon' Camilla, to the oppositions of wilderness/city, hunting/war, childhood/adulthood must be added the further oppositions of female/male and virgin/wife. The female/male opposition is central to Numanus' attempt to define the Trojans as 'Phrygian women' (9.617), not proper fighting men.

out the part of Telemachus, who establishes himself as adequate partner and heir for Odysseus.[25] (ii) In the case of an ancestor of the Roman race generational continuity within the family is also essential for the continuity of the nation; furthermore the legendary importance of this father–son succession takes on a more immediate reality when the nation comes under the direct rule of the one man Augustus and his heirs. Virgil touches on the central problem for the principate of the succession both in the Marcellus scene at the end of book VI and in the Ascanius and Numanus episode in book IX.[26]

The cost of proving the *uirtus* of Ascanius, a Trojan boy who will become the ancestor of Romans, is the life of the Italian Numanus. Numanus' mistake was to attempt to 'prove', by tendentious rhetoric, the contrast between native Italian virtue and the decadent effeminacy of the foreign Trojans (598–620). His definition of the racial and national characteristics of the Italians and the Trojans is structured according to a scheme of the ages of man and a division of gender roles; Virgil thereby forges close links between personal self-definition (the formation of the adult male hero) and the problem of defining the ideal Italian and Roman national identity. Racial and national definitions are issues central to the *Aeneid* as a whole, an epic that tells of the emergence of a Roman identity through the passage of a hero and his people from one civilization in search of another, and also hints at the more immediate problem faced by the newly successful leader, Octavian/Augustus, in his search for a renewed Roman identity after the chaotic passage of the civil wars. In this work of constructing and defining an identity for the future we see again the underlying continuity of purpose between this book and book VIII, which is largely taken up with images of the future monuments and history of Rome.

The Romans of Virgil's day were inhabitants of a wealthy and culturally sophisticated city who yet often looked for the core of an ideal national identity in the supposed values of a primitive rural

[25] For Telemachus as model for Ascanius see Hatch chs. 4 and 5, showing that the Homeric Telemachus is a model for both Ascanius and for Nisus and Euryalus, further tying together the significance of the two episodes.

[26] On the theme of succession in Latin epic see P. R. Hardie, *The epic successors of Virgil* (Cambridge 1992) ch. 4.

past. These issues are projected back in time into the speech of Numanus: his invective against the over-civilized, decadent life-style of the Trojans echoes the abusive characterization of the Trojans by other enemies (see 614–20 n.); this offers one angle on the values of a materially advanced civilization. The rugged virtues ascribed to the Italians by Numanus' words are actively exemplified in characters such as Camilla and Mezentius, and are paraded in the Catalogue of Italians at the end of book VII. But an ideology that attempts to mould the future through a return to an imagined past is doomed to internal contradictions, both because of the impossibility of recreating primitive rural values in a highly urbanized society, and because such idealizations of ancient 'virtues' are always partial, blind to the less attractive aspects of past societies.[27] The difficulty that critics experience in deciding how qualified our admiration for the Italians in the *Aeneid* should be, and how favourable we should be towards Trojan civilization, reflects this ideological tension within the Virgilian text.

7. TURNUS

Equally divided has been the critical evaluation of the character of Turnus. Some see in him a tragic hero, doomed to destruction through no fault of his own as a sacrifice to the future history of Rome, others find in him a prototype of the 'enemy of the state', pursuing his own ambitions at the expense of the collective good, and bringing destruction upon his own head.[28] In book IX he is seen at the height of his power and confidence: but the turns of the narrative reveal both his strengths and his weaknesses. He is the general of a great army, an example in his own person for his troops and the master of battlefield rhetoric (128–58). On the second day's fighting he displays his prowess in true epic fashion as a single-handed fighter, in the *aristeia* proper beginning with the invocation to the Muses at 525. The roles of both general and single fighter are Ho-

[27] One might compare the difficulty experienced in Britain in the 1980s by those who sought to appropriate 'Victorian values' as a programme for moral and social reform.

[28] A survey of the different approaches in Schenk 7–18.

meric: it is a distortion to see the failure of Turnus as *simply* the result of an inability to progress from a Homeric code of heroism to a more socially responsible 'Roman' kind of leadership.[29] At the climax the 'godlikeness' that marks the Homeric hero is manifested in extreme form in the quasi-epiphany of Turnus once he has entered the Trojan camp and in the 'thunderbolt' of a blow with which he fells Bitias (731–5 n.).

Yet this positive picture is qualified both by the contrast with the absent Trojan general Aeneas, and by characteristics that Turnus shares with some of the younger Trojans. For a start there is the awkward fact that Turnus is able to appear as the 'best' because the greatest hero in the epic is absent. Beyond this, comparison of the opening scene of divine instruction and mortal reaction at 1–24 with similar scenes involving Aeneas in book VIII (see 1–24 n.) shows a hero with imperfect access to the divine plan, who leaps rashly into action where Aeneas ceremonially responds to divine revelation before acting strategically with a view to military action in the future. *audax* comes close to being the stock epithet for Turnus, as *pius* is for Aeneas (3 n.). But if Turnus' *audacia* is living proof of Numanus' claims for the ferocious nature of the Italian, it is not easily to be distinguished from the rash behaviour of the Trojans Nisus and Euryalus, and Pandarus and Bitias; Turnus' failure to open the gate to the rest of his troops is symmetrical with Pandarus' and Bitias' overconfident opening of it, distracted as he is by a battle-frenzy very like that of Euryalus (760 n.). If in this book Turnus in comparison with the two Trojan couples seems a very adult warrior, eventually he too conforms to the pattern of the youthful fighter killed before he can realize his full potential as *paterfamilias*, dying before marriage to be mourned by his old father.

Those who paint Turnus as a tragic hero stress the ignorance and delusion that lead him into error. Turnus' acts are certainly in part the result of an imperfect perception of the human and divine world: in this respect too Turnus' predicament forms part of a wider set of themes, to which we now turn.

[29] If only because the tension between social responsibility and individual fulfilment is already central to the Homeric poems: see Redfield (n. 22). For such interpretations of Turnus as a 'Homeric' hero see Otis, Schenk.

8. HOMERIC GODS AND ROMAN RELIGION – KNOWLEDGE HUMAN AND DIVINE – RECOGNITION

Book IX offers a wide range of the ways in which the epic gods function in the *Aeneid*, and also makes a central issue of the reality and intelligibility of the divine for humans.[30] The book opens and closes with divine interventions of a conventional Homeric kind by the two great gods whose opposing aims motivate the whole plot of the poem: first Juno sends down Iris to rouse Turnus to action, and finally Jupiter sends Iris to warn Juno from further supporting her hero. In the latter instance the drastic reduction of the circumstantial narrative and speeches in the Homeric model[31] makes it possible for the reader to take the statement that Juno lends (764, in parenthesis) or withholds (802–3) strength as little more than a figure of speech for a naturalistic psychological or physical event: Turnus in the first flush of success feels an access of power, and at the end sinks back exhausted under the concerted Trojan counter-attack.[32]

At 720–1 two reasons are given for the confident thrust of the Italians: *quoniam data copia pugnae,* | *bellatorque animo deus incidit.* We might feel that this was merely two ways of looking at the same thing, particularly as the name of the 'warrior-god' Mars (717) is often used as a metonym for 'war' or 'martial spirit'.[33] The alternatives of divine inspiration or manipulation and human volition are raised by Nisus in his first words to Euryalus, in a question that has a relevance for the epic as a whole:[34]

[30] Feeney revolutionizes the whole issue of the gods in the *Aeneid*. For the basics Bailey is still useful.

[31] See 803–5 n. Cf. the ellipse of the result of the weighing of the fates of Aeneas and Turnus at 12.725–7.

[32] For different versions of dealing with this phenomenon see Lyne 66–71; G. Williams, *Technique and ideas in the Aeneid* (New Haven and London 1983) ch. 2.

[33] Cf. 756–61 where Virgil adapts the Homeric pattern of 'and now he would have ... had not a god intervened ...' by substituting for the divine obstacle Turnus' own blind emotions of *furor* and *cupido*.

[34] See Feeney 180.

'dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?'
(9.184–5)

It is a question that is deliberately left unanswered in the rest of the episode. Other matters to do with the gods remain unclear in the murk of the dying fires and the dark wood through which Nisus and Euryalus pursue their doubtfully heroic career. At 404–9 Nisus prays to the Moon to guide his spear. The spear finds its mark, but the narrator does not vouchsafe to us whether it was indeed with divine aid, or just the result of a good aim.[35] And is *Luna* a goddess, or do mortals mistakenly personify the insensible parts of the natural world? There is irony, at least, in the fact that Euryalus had been betrayed by the moon's rays shining on his helmet, narrated in a matter-of-fact way as an accident (373–4).

Volcens sees the gleam on Euryalus' helmet, while Euryalus is unaware (374 *immemorem*) that he has been seen. The reader, however, is aware. Disparity of knowledge between different human actors in the narrative, or between gods and men, or between characters and reader, is a source of irony and dramatic suspense; these narrative devices also contribute to a thematic concern with questions of knowledge and responsibility.[36] The Nisus and Euryalus episode has a marked incidence of authorial foreshadowing and comment (312–13, 315, 337–8) which is determined by more than a striving after pathos and suspense.[37] The ignorance of Nisus and Euryalus as to what is in store for them is related to the more profound delusions under which Turnus labours, from the time that he is got at by Allecto to his final recognition of the truth at 12.894–5. In this book his blindness is seen above all in his interpretation of the epiphany

[35] In contrast the goddess Athene is unambiguously present in Virgil's Homeric model, the Doloneia in *Iliad* x, where she intervenes to assure Odysseus and Diomedes of success so that they are not left 'in the dark'.

[36] On irony in the *Aeneid* see Quinn 330–9 'Tragic irony and insight'; F. Muecke, 'Foreshadowing and dramatic irony in the story of Dido', *A.J.Ph.* 104 (1983) 134–55. There is Homeric precedent: see R. B. Rutherford, 'Tragic form and feeling in the *Iliad*', *J.H.S.* 102 (1982) 145–60 on issues of knowledge and recognition in the *Iliad*.

[37] On foreshadowing see G. E. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and suspense in the epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (Princeton 1933; repr. New York 1966).

of the Magna Mater and the omen of the metamorphosis of the ships (128–39). There is an ironic reversal of this at the height of Turnus' *aristeia*, at the point when he bursts into the camp and Pandarus is blind to the physical presence of the enemy within (728–9), until Turnus himself is revealed in a kind of epiphany that echoes verbally the blaze of light that reveals the presence of the Magna Mater (731–5 n.; but note that her presence is revealed only to the reader; there is no indication that either Trojan or Italian is aware of what is really happening). Yet another reversal follows: after blasting Pandarus, Turnus is blinded to the tactical demands of the situation by his unthinking *furor*. He is also prey to the more fundamental delusion that his role is to re-enact the Greek victory over Troy as punishment for Trojan wife-stealing; the ironic gap here is one between the knowledge of the epic actor and that of the epic reader who increasingly recognizes, from an acquaintance with the Homeric models, that Turnus is fixed in the role of the losing rather than the winning side in the *Iliad* (see section 4 above).

Seeing clearly is linked in book IX with an image of the path, *uia* (a special case of the centrally epic, Odyssean, theme of the path or journey). Turnus' problematic vision of the omen of the *discessus caeli* at the beginning of the book confirms him in a path of action (21 *sequor omina tanta*) that leads him literally to seek a 'way' in to the Trojan camp (58 *per auia*, 67 *quae uia ...?*). Likewise the sharpness of perception and alertness on which Nisus prides himself (187, 243 nn.) leads him to undertake to find a way through to Aeneas (195–6), a path cut through the sleeping bodies of the Italians (321 *hac iter est*, 356 *uia facta per hostis*) but which then goes astray in the tangled darkness of the wood. The paths followed unsuccessfully by Turnus and Nisus and Euryalus are in contrast to the successful if laborious path of Trojan/Roman destiny: the appearance of the Magna Mater marks the end of the first stage, the journey of the Trojan ships to Italy (98–9), while Apollo prophesies the furthest limit of that path (641 *sic itur ad astra*).

Virgilian gods have functions other than that of providing a framework for exploring issues of causality, freewill, and knowledge. Many of the gods who feature in the epic narrative of the legendary past will in the unfolding of history become enshrined in the structures of Roman state religion. The two chief deities, Jupiter and Juno,

will share the *cella* of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter; the ultimate resolution of their epic squabbling corresponds to historical victories of Rome, the city protected by Jupiter, over cities that have Juno as their presiding deity (Veii, and above all Carthage).[38] The two gods who make major appearances in book IX, Cybele, the Magna Mater, and Apollo, are particularly important for Augustus' religious programme. Apollo's patronage of Ascanius/Iulus looks forward to the same god's protection of the latest and greatest of Iulus' descendants, Augustus (see 621–71 n.). Cybele, first introduced to Rome in 204 BC. to ensure the city's victory against Hannibal, was also important for Augustus;[39] the parallelism in book IX between the interventions of Cybele and Apollo (see section 2 above) is a literary reflection of the physical proximity of the temples of Cybele and Apollo on the Palatine, next to the house of Augustus.

9. THE NISUS AND EURYALUS EPISODE

The story of the two young friends who together undertake a daring mission in the Trojans' darkest hour only to meet a tragic death has always been one of the best loved episodes in the last four books of the *Aeneid*. Reactions to it provide a litmus test of varying critical approaches to the meaning of the poem as a whole: Heyne called it 'episodium Aeneidis omnium facile nobilissimum'; a recent critical essay is subtitled 'A paradigm of futile behaviour and the tragedy of youth'.[40] As with the death of Turnus at the end of the last book, such contradictory judgements are provoked by Virgil's practice of constructing complex moral, and even metaphysical, problems, easy answers to which are deliberately withheld: this episode opens with questions by Nisus about the roots of human psychology (184–5) which are never clearly resolved in the text; the main part of the story concludes with an apostrophe by the poet promising immortal

[38] Feeney 130–55; id., *C.Q.* 34 (1984) 179–94.

[39] T. P. Wiseman, 'Cybele, Virgil and Augustus', in T. Woodman and D. West (eds.), *Poetry and politics in the age of Augustus* (Cambridge 1984) 117–28.

[40] Fitzgerald. For modern optimistic readings of the episode see P. G. Lennox, 'Virgil's night-episode re-examined (*Aeneid* IX, 176–449)', *Hermes* 105 (1977) 331–42; E. Potz, '*Fortunati ambo*. Funktion und Bedeutung der Nisus/Euryalus-Episode in Vergils *Aeneis*', *Hermes* 121 (1993) 325–34.

fame to the dead youths (446–9), but the reasons for this commendation are made no clearer than is the exact respect in which the two are declared to be *fortunati*.

(*a*) *Structure*

The main episode is divided into three sections:[41] (i) 176–313: the planning of the expedition, firstly in the conversation between Nisus and Euryalus (176–223), and secondly in the council of the Trojan chiefs (224–313); (ii) 314–66: slaughter in the Rutulian camp; (iii) 367–449: the detection and death of Nisus and Euryalus, capped with the four-line 'epitaph' in the mouth of the poet. There is a coda at 450–502, continuing from the night into the following dawn, describing the reaction of both sides to the slaughter of their own and expanding on the lament of the mother of Euryalus; the war-trumpet at 503 marks a clear break, with a return to full-scale military action.

(*b*) *The place of the episode within the* Aeneid

Beginning with a formal introduction (176–81) of two characters whom we have in fact already met in book v, and concluding with an obtrusive apostrophe to the dead heroes in the mouth of the narrator (446–9), the episode has sometimes been taken as an 'epyllion' written as a separate entity before being inserted in its present place in the *Aeneid*.[42] Other critics see the episode as a kind of digression, a miniature masterpiece that has little to do with the rest of the war in Italy. It is true that the failed mission has no practical effect on the later course of the war; the episode also has a high degree of internal

[41] Duckworth 137.

[42] C. W. Mendell, 'The influence of the epyllion on the *Aeneid*', *Y.C.S.* 12 (1951) 216–19; Mackail 335–6. Berres 172–80 argues that the foot-race in v was tinkered with to form a prelude to the Nisus and Euryalus episode in ix after the latter had been added to the poem (introducing the theme of the couple's friendship for the first time). Similar arguments have been employed to show that the narrative of Camilla's early life at 11.532–94 was originally a separate composition: the issues are discussed by W. Suerbaum, *W.J.A.* 6a (1980) 139–60.

unity, and displays many of the features associated with the neoteric 'epyllion'.[43] But it is typical of Virgil's compositional practice to give unity both to the individual scenes and episodes in his epic and to the larger structure of which they form part;[44] recent critics have been concerned to demonstrate the thematic links that tie the story of Nisus and Euryalus to the wider concerns of the poem.[45]

1. *The death of young warriors.* Nisus and Euryalus are the first in a series of attractive young people cut down before they reach maturity:[46] Pallas, Lausus, Camilla, and eventually Turnus himself. In the case of the male warriors in this series Virgil stresses the pathetic effects on a parent:[47] Evander and Pallas (8.558–84 the leavetaking; 11.139–81 Evander's laments); Mezentius and Lausus (10.841–56);[48] Daunus and Turnus (12.932–6, in prospect); *pater* Aeneas experiences similar emotions vicariously in the case of Pallas (11.36–58) and Lausus (10.821–32). In the present episode the emotional bond between Euryalus and his mother affects Ascanius as an image of the bond between himself and his father (see 294 n.); ironically, in the attempt to reunite father and son Euryalus succeeds only in bereaving his mother. She has to endure the sight of her son's head paraded on a spear before her very eyes, a cruel twist on the motif of the funeral of children *ante ora parentum* (6.307–8; cf. also Pyrrhus' slaughter of Polites in front of his parents Priam and Hecuba at 2.526–32).

[43] See Mendell. 'Epyllion' features include the concentration on passionate emotion revealed in conditions of danger and separation; the use of deliberative questions (390–1, 399–401).

[44] Heinze 349–51.

[45] E.g. Putnam 48–63 (links between books IX and II), Fitzgerald. Duckworth's important article shows that the links are mainly with the last four books of the poem, and that the story of Nisus and Euryalus sets the tone for the whole of the narrative of war in Italy, arguing against an earlier view that book IX coheres more closely with the preceding four books.

[46] See also section 6 above.

[47] In general see M. O. Lee, *Fathers and sons in Virgil's Aeneid* (Albany, NY 1979).

[48] See R. B. Egan, 'Euryalus' mother and *Aeneid* 9–12', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin literature and Roman history* II (Brussels 1980) 157–76, at 161–4 on the parallel situations of Euryalus' mother and the bereaved Mezentius.

2. *The danger of excess and the taking of spoils.* Critics argue endlessly over whether Nisus and Euryalus are doomed by an excessive desire for glory and thirst for blood; at 354 their slaughter is labelled as excessive, but, it should be noted, by Nisus in a moment of self-awareness rather than by the narrator. The question of excess is related to the wider theme of the correct observation of limits and of the proper place and time for overstepping boundaries;[49] this has a particular importance for the treatment of adolescence and the passage to adulthood (see section 6 above). The danger of running to excess also raises the problem of awareness of, and the ability to control, the consequences of one's actions; this is part of the wider issue of the limits of human knowledge and foresight, an issue thematized both in this book (see section 8 above) and elsewhere in the poem. Disaster strikes when Euryalus succumbs to a desire to take spoils, an action foreshadowing Camilla's fatal attraction to the gaudy trappings of Chloreus (11.768–82), and, even more directly, Turnus' despoliation of the body of Pallas (10.495–505). Turnus condemns himself to death by this act, which is viewed by the narrator as the result of an inability to *seruare modum* (10.502); but, as in the case of Euryalus, the particular accident by which the enemy catches sight of the plundered armour could hardly have been foreseen.[50]

3. *The pathos of separation.* The separation of Nisus and Euryalus during their flight and Nisus' final discovery of his friend in the hands of the enemy represent one of the many variations in Virgil's poetry on the theme of the irrevocable loss of one's nearest and dearest, made more unbearable by the engineering of a final meeting where the beloved is so near and yet so far. There are detailed parallels with the story of Orpheus and Eurydice in the fourth *Georgic* and with Aeneas' loss of Creusa at 2.735–94 (see 385, 386, 389, 391–3, 399–401 nn.);[51]

[49] On Virgil's thematization of *satis* and the link with the insatiable ambitions of *Saturnia Iuno* see W. S. Anderson, *S.Ph.N.C.* 55 (1958) 525. Note esp. Apollo's injunction to Ascanius, *sit satis* (653 n.)

[50] Cf. also the Trojan taking of Greek spoils at 2.386–95, for different motives but with equally disastrous results.

[51] Kraggerud 194 n. 219.

more generally comparable are Aeneas' meetings in the Underworld with Dido (6.450–76) and Anchises (6.679–702).

4. *Symbolic Underworlds.* These last parallels form part of a more extensive series of hints that the expedition of Nisus and Euryalus in the dark of the night is somehow like a journey through the Underworld, but from which, unlike Aeneas in book VI, they do not emerge (see 314, 321, 381–3 nn.); nor, unlike Aeneas in his search through the shadows for his father, do they succeed as proxies for Ascanius in his search for his father Aeneas. This confusion of the upper and lower worlds is found elsewhere, in certain details of the narration of the Sack of Troy,[52] and on a larger scale in the last half of the poem as a whole in which Allecto brings the horrors of Hades up into the daylight of Italy.[53]

5. *Public and private.* Modern criticism of Virgil has tended to structure itself around a contrast between the 'public' and 'private' voices of the poet.[54] Superficially, at least, this opposition is clearly visible in the present episode: Nisus and Euryalus are motivated on the one hand by a very private *amor*,[55] and on the other by a desire for a glorious fame, the public recognition given to the exploits of the epic hero (and also one of the driving forces in Roman public life of the late Republic, *gloria*). Nisus sacrifices himself because of his devotion to his friend, and in so doing abandons his chance of succeeding in his mission on behalf of the community (compare Dido's abandonment of her city in death). At the end we see the two bodies physically lying together in the *iuncta mors* of two lovers, but the poet promises a public fame coextensive with the survival of the Roman

[52] Putnam 48–63 on the 'infernal' associations of II and IX, and on the parallels between IX and the end of *Georgics* IV.

[53] On the confusion of upper and lower worlds in Roman epic see P. R. Hardie, *The epic successors of Virgil* (Cambridge 1992) ch. 3.

[54] A. Parry, 'The two voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Arion* 2.4 (1963) 66–80 (repr. in S. Commager (ed.), *Virgil: a collection of critical essays* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1966).

[55] The more private (and un-Roman) the more one stresses the homosexual nature of their relationship.

state. Certain echoes of the description of the bees in the fourth *Georgic* (see 182–3, 400–1 nn.) link this story with another extended meditation on the relationship between public and private values;[56] but comparison with the fourth *Georgic* also reveals that a simple public/private opposition cannot in fact be maintained in this episode (see section (*e*) below).

(*c*) *The games in* Aeneid *V*

Separate attention should be given to the relationship between the present episode and the other place in the *Aeneid* where Nisus and Euryalus appear as actors, the foot-race during the funeral games for Anchises, 5.286–361. There are numerous parallels between the two passages (see 178, 194–5, 240, 253, 272–3, 275–6, 301–2, 306–7, 365, 386, 425–6, 441–2 nn.) which suggest that we are to read each in the light of the other.[57] In the race of v Nisus, cheated at the last of victory by a fall, uses tricky methods to ensure the victory of his beloved Euryalus; the resulting squabble between the participants is resolved amicably and with a laugh by Aeneas, so that nobody goes without a prize. In ix Nisus has succeeded in the race for his life,[58] when he realizes that he has lost Euryalus; his attempts to save his friend meet with deadly hostility, and nobody wins any prizes. In the earlier episode the actors play their part in a burlesque, in the later in a tragedy. This prompts reflection on the relationship between games, in antiquity often seen as a training for war and as requiring many of the same skills and virtues, and the real business of war;[59] the failure of Nisus and Euryalus is the result of their inability

[56] See Griffin 163–82. The conflict between public and private values is at the heart of the essays of Fitzgerald and Pavlock; cf. also Saylor.

[57] Kraggerud 193–211; on the different question of the priority in time of composition between the two episodes see H. Mørland, *S.O.* 32 (1956), 69–80; Berres 169–88.

[58] The grim contrast between races in sport and in war is made explicit at 12.764–5 *neque enim leuia aut ludicra petuntur | praemia, sed Turni de uita et sanguine certant* (imitating *Iliad* 22.159–61).

[59] On the relationship between warring in the *Iliad* and the funeral games in book XXIII see Redfield (n. 22 above) 204–10; the similarity between the two fields of activity is particularly clear in the way in which Pindar uses the ideology of the epic hero in order to praise victors in the games.

to make the transition from the adolescent world of sport (and hunting) to the grown-up world of real fighting.

(*d*) *Models*

While the Nisus and Euryalus episode is so constructed as to echo many other passages in the *Aeneid* it is also the product of the elaborate reworking of many passages in earlier literature, Greek and Roman. One of the reasons for the difficulty in deciding on the meaning of the episode is precisely the conflation of a number of different genres, each of which presupposes different expectations on the part of the reader. The most important models are listed below classified by genre.

1. *Epic. Homer.* The prime model for the whole episode is *Iliad* x (the 'Doloneia'), which tells of the activities of Greeks and Trojans in the night after the Trojans have successfully pushed back the Greeks to their ships and are bivouacking in the plain around the Greek camp.[60] Virgil's imitation of this Homeric model is already complex, for Nisus and Euryalus have characteristics both of the successful Greek scouts, Diomedes and Odysseus, and of the unsuccessful Trojan scout, Dolon (see 224–313 n.).

Overlaid on the action of *Iliad* x are other Homeric models. Nisus and Euryalus set out to bring back the main hero of the epic, Aeneas. In terms of the plot of the *Iliad* this means that they re-enact the Achaean Embassy to Achilles of *Iliad* ix which takes place during the same night as the Doloneia (see 224–313 n.). In Odyssean terms, moreover, their mission overlaps with the journey of Telemachus to secure the return of his father Odysseus in the first four books of the *Odyssey*:[61] Telemachus slips out at night, having sworn the nurse Eurycleia to keep his departure secret from his mother (*Od.* 2.371–6); Athene conveniently casts the suitors into a drunken slumber (2.394–8); when Penelope finally learns of her son's departure she

[60] See section 4 above; Knauer 266–9, 272–5. On V.'s probable awareness of the ancient commentators' criticism of the Homeric Doloneia see Schlunk 59–81.

[61] Well analysed in Hatch 98–120.

is grief-stricken (*Od.* 4.703–41). But the suitors' attempt to ambush Telemachus is unsuccessful, in contrast to Volcens' detection of Nisus and Euryalus; the Odyssean hopes of the latter pair are swallowed up in Iliadic tragedy, reinforcing the contrast between Nisus and Euryalus and the actual son of the hero, Ascanius, for whom they function almost as doomed surrogates, and who by contrast manages to re-enact the success of the Odyssean Telemachus (see 621–671 n.).

Ennius. The proposal to break through an investing enemy force in order to reach other parts of one's army is not in Homer, and it is possible that in this Virgil draws on an episode during the war against Hannibal, treated in the eighth book of Ennius' *Annals*, in which P. Sempronius Tuditanus persuaded soldiers who had escaped to a smaller camp after the disastrous battle of Cannae to break through the disorderly Carthaginians to join those in the larger camp (see 189, 356 nn.). Virgil's concluding apostrophe to the dead pair probably also has an Ennian model (see 446–9 n.).

2. *Tragedy.* The Doloneia is the only episode in the Homeric epics to provide the plot of a surviving tragedy, the *Rhesus* attributed to Euripides. This play draws constantly on the audience's previous knowledge of the Iliadic episode; it stresses human inability to judge the truth of a situation (partly through the deception of the gods), and mistaken overconfidence, both of Hector, contrasted with a prudent and tactically minded Aeneas (87–137), and of Dolon, who is however the opposite of Nisus and Euryalus in his greedy demand for the horses of Achilles as his prize (161–94). For detailed parallels between the *Rhesus* and the Nisus and Euryalus episode see 241, 316–17, 333, 355–6, 376–7 nn.[62]

3. *Lyric and elegy.* One way of introducing a private voice into the public world of epic is to work in material from the various cate-

[62] See B. C. Fenik, 'The influence of Euripides on Vergil's *Aeneid*' (diss. Princeton 1960) 54–96; A. König, *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie. Studien zur imitatio-Technik Vergils* (diss. Berlin 1970); Pavlock. The Doloneia was also the subject of Accius' *Nyctegresia.*

gories of personal poetry, as Virgil does on a large scale in the Dido episode.[63] The most prominent use of such models in the present episode is in the Catullan borrowings in the flower simile of the dying Euryalus (see 435–7 n.), but there are a number of other places where the relationship between the two lovers draws on the topics of personal poetry (see 312–13, 444, 486–7 nn.). Under this heading may also be included features drawn from the 'epyllion', formally a type of poetry with an epic-type third-person narrator but closely linked to more personal kinds of poetry (see above).

(*e*) Amicitia *and* amor[64]

By the time of Ovid's exile poetry Nisus and Euryalus had become a canonical example of the devoted pair of friends, together with Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, and Orestes and Pylades.[65] The episode is an exploration of the issues of male friendship: *amicum* 'friend' is the last word spoken by either of the two (430). It would be easy to see in Nisus' last words a simple dichotomy between private affection and the harsh public world of war and politics (along the lines of a prevalent interpretation of the contrast in *Georgic* IV between the public-spirited, self-sacrificing bees, and Orpheus' obsession with the single object of sexual desire).[66] But the martial spirit of Nisus and Euryalus is largely the product of the

[63] See Cairns ch. 6 'Dido and the elegiac tradition'.

[64] There are some suggestive references to the ancient literature on friendship in P. Colmant, 'L'épisode de Nisus et Euryale ou le poème de l'amitié (*Enéide*, IX, 176–502)', *L.E.C.* 19 (1951), 89–100; A. Thornton, *The living universe: gods and men in Virgil's Aeneid* (Leiden 1976) 171–2.

[65] Ovid, *Tr.* 1.5.19–24; 1.9.27–34 (in both cases Nisus and Euryalus provide the climax to the list).

[66] In fact the Nisus and Euryalus episode echoes *both* the bees section *and* the Orpheus and Eurydice episode in *Georgics* IV (see 182–3 n.). J. Griffin, *Virgil* (Oxford 1986) 94 suggests that Virgil is 'trying to put that essentially homosexual sensibility at the service of the patriotic purposes of his poem'. Cf. J. F. Makowski, 'Nisus and Euryalus: a Platonic relationship', *C.J.* 85 (1989) 1–15, at 8 (commenting on the speech of Phaedrus in Plato's *Symposium*): 'the *eros* of one male for another is inseparable from the striving for fame and valor'. Jeremy Bentham used the story of Nisus and Euryalus to counter Montesquieu's suggestion that pederasty effeminizes men (L. Crompton, *Byron and Greek love. Homophobia in 19th-century England* (London 1985) 97–8).

emotions that unite them (see 182–3 n.). The two fall into an age-old pattern of the two closely-knit friends who fight or go on adventures together, often in a shared exploration of the limits and possibilities of the male world of courage and violence.

The *certamen amoris* 'competition of love' that leads Euryalus to insist that he share in Nisus' possibly fatal venture, and Nisus to insist that Euryalus not risk his life, finds parallels in the behaviour of Pylades and Orestes in tragedy:[67] with 9.199–221 may be compared the scene in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 674–722, in which Pylades says that it would be shameful for him not to share death with Orestes, and the latter attempts to dissuade him, among other reasons so that Pylades may erect a tomb for Orestes back in Greece (cf. *Aeneid* 9.210–15) and so that a female member of his family, Electra, should not be abandoned.[68] The devotion of the two Greeks was also dramatized in a tragedy by Pacuvius,[69] in which both men claim to be Orestes when the hostile king Thoas asks for Orestes to identify himself: *ambo ergo una necarier | precamur.*[70]

But in an Iliadic context the obvious model for a pair of devoted warriors is Achilles and Patroclus. Virgil's reading of Homer here is in line with the assumption, conventional from Aeschylus onwards, that theirs was a homosexual relationship.[71] Euryalus, on the threshold between boyhood and adolescence (181), is clearly an *eromenos*, the younger and more passive partner of the *erastes*. At the first introduction of Nisus at 5.296 Virgil talks of his *pius amor* for Euryalus. The military heroics to which the couple are inspired by their mutual affection is in line with a rich legendary and historical Greek tradition concerning heroic and self-sacrificing homosexual couples,

[67] This paragraph is based on A. König, *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie* (diss. Berlin 1970) ch. 2.

[68] At *I.T.* 709 Orestes addresses Pylades as 'fellow hunter'.

[69] *Trag.* 165–6 Warmington: probably the *Dulorestes*.

[70] Quoted by Cicero, *De fin.* 5.63 as a scene that never failed to arouse wild applause in the theatre.

[71] K. J. Dover, *Greek homosexuality* (London 1978) 197. For attempts to discern the original nature of the relationship see W. M. Clarke, 'Achilles and Patroclus in love', *Hermes* 106 (1978) 381–96; D. M. Halperin, *One hundred years of homosexuality* (New York and London 1990) 75–87.

represented most famously in the speech of Phaedrus in Plato's *Symposium*.[72]

The place of the homosexual relationship of Nisus and Euryalus within the *Aeneid* is harder to assess. In terms of the Iliadic plot there seems to be a displacement on to this otherwise insignificant pair of the mutual affection that might otherwise have found fuller expression in the relationship between Aeneas and the boyish Pallas (the major reflex in the *Aeneid* of the Iliadic tragedy of Achilles and Patroclus); Virgil appears reluctant to detail an emotional intimacy, homosexual or otherwise in nature, between Aeneas and Pallas.[73] Beyond the mechanics of plot, we need to ask what place a heroic homosexual relationship has in a *Roman* epic; if we reply that it is to be understood as one of the archaic, Graecizing, features of Virgil's depiction of the legendary period that will be superseded in later Roman history, we have to face Virgil's emphatic association of the love of Nisus and Euryalus with the history and power of Rome in the final apostrophe to the dead couple (446–9). Theirs is in fact not an isolated story: the theme of the pair of homosexual warriors recurs, on the Italian side, with Clytius the lover and squire of Cydon at 10.324–7.[74] The as yet only partly explored issue of homosexuality

[72] Dover 191–2: e.g. the tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who sacrificed themselves to win freedom for Athens. For a catalogue of the martial heroism, 'in love with danger and careless of love of life', inspired by (mainly homosexual) love see Plut. *Amat.* 760D4–762A. The parallels with the *Symposium* are explored fully in Makowski's important article. Note in particular the Platonic Phaedrus' account of Achilles, who 'boldly chose to help his lover Patroclus and, in avenging him, not only to die on his behalf but also to die after the dead man' (*Smp.* 179e5–180a2). Achilles was rewarded with an afterlife in the Isles of the Blessed; Phaedrus concludes by praising Eros as 'most powerful in obtaining virtue and blessedness for mortals both living and dead' (*Smp.* 180b7–8); cf. Virgil's description of Nisus and Euryalus as *fortunati* (446). The crack élite of the Theban army, the 'Sacred Band', was recruited entirely from homosexual couples. The Greek models are also discussed by La Penna 310–13.

[73] But for an argument that Aeneas' relationship with Pallas *is* erotically charged see M. C. J. Putnam, 'Possessiveness, sexuality and heroism in the *Aeneid*', *Vergilius* 31 (1985) 1–21.

[74] Homosexuality also at 10.189–93 Cycnus and Phaethon (from Phanocles).

in Virgil is not restricted to the *Aeneid*: the first major exploration of love in the *œuvre*, in the second *Eclogue*, deals with the unrequited love of Corydon for the *puer delicatus* Alexis.[75]

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The text is based on the Oxford Classical Text of Sir Roger Mynors (corrected reprint 1972), reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press. Different readings from the OCT are printed at vv. 11, 54, 68, 119, 236, 369, 380, 432, 485, 514, 584, 646, 773, 782, 789. The punctuation is altered at vv. 47–50, 134, 289, 548, 810. I bracket v. 151.

[75] On homosexuality in Virgil see S. Lilja, *Homosexuality in Republican and Augustan Rome* (Helsinki 1983) 62–70. In general on homosexuality in Rome see R. MacMullen, 'Roman attitudes to Greek love', *Historia* 31 (1982) 484–502; Griffin 24–6.

P. VERGILI MARONIS
AENEIDOS LIBER NONVS

SIGLA

F	Vaticanus lat. 3225	saec. iv
M	Florentinus Laur. xxxix. 1	saec. v
P	Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 1631	saec. iv/v
R	Vaticanus lat. 3867	saec. v
V	fragmenta Veronensia	saec. v
$M^2P^2R^2$	corrector aliquis antiquus	

Codices saeculi noni:

a	Bernensis 172 cum Parisino lat. 7929
b	Bernensis 165
c	Bernensis 184
d	Bernensis 255 + 239
e	Bernensis 167
f	Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. F. 2.8
h	Valentianensis 407
n	Neapolitanus Vind. lat. 6
r	Parisinus lat. 7926
s	Parisinus lat. 7928
t	Parisinus lat. 13043
u	Parisinus lat. 13044.
v	Vaticanus lat. 1570
	ω consensus horum uel omnium uel quotquot non separatim nominantur
γ	Guelferbytanus Gudianus lat. 2°.70
def.	deficit (uel mutilus est uel legi non potest)
recc.	codices saec. nono recentiores

P. VERGILI MARONIS
AENEIDOS LIBER NONVS

Atque ea diuersa penitus dum parte geruntur,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
audacem ad Turnum. luco tum forte parentis
Pilumni Turnus sacrata ualle sedebat.
ad quem sic roseo Thaumantias ore locuta est:
'Turne, quod optanti diuum promittere nemo
auderet, uoluenda dies en attulit ultro.
Aeneas urbe et sociis et classe relicta
sceptra Palatini sedemque petit Euandri.
nec satis: extremas Corythi penetrauit ad urbes
Lydorumque manum et collectos armat agrestis.
quid dubitas? nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus.
rumpe moras omnis et turbata arripe castra.'
dixit, et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis
ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.
agnouit iuuenis duplicisque ad sidera palmas
sustulit ac tali fugientem est uoce secutus:
'Iri, decus caeli, quis te mihi nubibus actam
detulit in terras? unde haec tam clara repente
tempestas? medium uideo discedere caelum
palantisque polo stellas. sequor omina tanta,
quisquis in arma uocas.' et sic effatus ad undam
processit summoque hausit de gurgite lymphas
multa deos orans, onerauitque aethera uotis.
Iamque omnis campis exercitus ibat apertis
diues equum, diues pictai uestis et auri;

1–26 *MPR* 9 petiuit ω (*praeter br*) 11 manus *P* et collectos P^2*cesuv:* manum collectos *MR*: manum collectosque *Parrhasius* 17 ac *P*ω: et *MRf* 20 discedere *MPRabr*: descendere *ut uid. st* (disc. *v*): discindere *cefh* (desc. *d*) 21 sequar *Md* 22 et *del.* P^2 25 omnis] adeo (*A.* 8.585) M^2 26 picta M^1R, pictae P^1

Messapus primas acies, postrema coercent
Tyrrhidae iuuenes, medio dux agmine Turnus:
ceu septem surgens sedatis amnibus altus
per tacitum Ganges aut pingui flumine Nilus
cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alueo.
hic subitam nigro glomerari puluere nubem
prospiciunt Teucri ac tenebras insurgere campis.
primus ab aduersa conclamat mole Caicus:
'quis globus, o ciues, caligine uoluitur atra?
ferte citi ferrum, date tela, ascendite muros,
hostis adest, heia!' ingenti clamore per omnis
condunt se Teucri portas et moenia complent.
namque ita discedens praeceperat optimus armis
Aeneas: si qua interea fortuna fuisset,
neu struere auderent aciem neu credere campo;
castra modo et tutos seruarent aggere muros.
ergo etsi conferre manum pudor iraque monstrat,
obiciunt portas tamen et praecepta facessunt,
armatique cauis exspectant turribus hostem.
Turnus, ut ante uolans tardum praecesserat agmen,
uiginti lectis equitum comitatus et urbi
improuisus adest, maculis quem Thracius albis
portat equus cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra.
'ecquis erit mecum, iuuenes, qui primus in hostem – ?
en,' ait et iaculum attorquens emittit in auras,
principium pugnae, et campo sese arduus infert.
clamore excipiunt socii fremituque sequuntur
horrisono; Teucrum mirantur inertia corda,
non aequo dare se campo, non obuia ferre
arma uiros, sed castra fouere. huc turbidus atque huc

27–31 *MPR*; 32–57 *FMPR* 29 (= 7.784) *add. nescioqui recc.* 33 nigro] magno *P* 37 ascendite *MP*: et scandite (-dere *uv*) *FR*ω, *Macrob.* 6.6.16, *Tib.* 42 aciem *FMPabfr*: acies *R*ω 44 pudor] furor (*A.* 2.316) *Non.* 268.16 monstrant *F*, *Tib.* 46 urbibus *M* 52 intorquens *M* 53 campis *R* 54 clamore F^1R, *agnoscit Seru.*: clamorem $F^2MP\omega$

lustrat equo muros aditumque per auia quaerit.
ac ueluti pleno lupus insidiatus ouili
cum fremit ad caulas uentos perpessus et imbris
nocte super media; tuti sub matribus agni
balatum exercent, ille asper et improbus ira
saeuit in absentis; collecta fatigat edendi
ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces:
haud aliter Rutulo muros et castra tuenti
ignescunt irae, duris dolor ossibus ardet.
qua temptet ratione aditus, et quae uia clausos
excutiat Teucros uallo atque effundat in aequor?
classem, quae lateri castrorum adiuncta latebat,
aggeribus saeptam circum et fluuialibus undis,
inuadit sociosque incendia poscit ouantis
atque manum pinu flagranti feruidus implet.
tum uero incumbunt (urget praesentia Turni),
atque omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris.
diripuere focos: piceum fert fumida lumen
taeda et commixtam Volcanus ad astra fauillam.

Quis deus, o Musae, tam saeua incendia Teucris
auertit? tantos ratibus quis depulit ignis?
dicite: prisca fides facto, sed fama perennis.
tempore quo primum Phrygia formabat in Ida
Aeneas classem et pelagi petere alta parabat,
ipsa deum fertur genetrix Berecyntia magnum
uocibus his adfata Iouem: 'da, nate, petenti,
quod tua cara parens domito te poscit Olympo.
pinea silua mihi multos dilecta per annos,
lucus in arce fuit summa, quo sacra ferebant,
nigranti picea trabibusque obscurus acernis.
has ego Dardanio iuueni, cum classis egeret,

58–68 *FMPR*; 69–88 *MPR* 66 durus *P* 67 quae uia P^1R, *ita fit 'sensus absolutior' iudice Seru.*: qua uia $FMP^2\omega$ (qua ui *Ribbeck*) 68 aequor (*A.* 10.451) $P^1\omega$, *Tib., imitatur Orosius* 5.16.9: aequum *FMRa* (-quom P^2) 70 saeptam] clausam *R*

laeta dedi; nunc sollicitam timor anxius angit.
solue metus atque hoc precibus sine posse parentem,
ne cursu quassatae ullo neu turbine uenti
uincantur: prosit nostris in montibus ortas.'
filius huic contra, torquet qui sidera mundi:
'o genetrix, quo fata uocas? aut quid petis istis?
mortaline manu factae immortale carinae
fas habeant? certusque incerta pericula lustret
Aeneas? cui tanta deo permissa potestas?
immo, ubi defunctae finem portusque tenebunt
Ausonios olim, quaecumque euaserit undis
Dardaniumque ducem Laurentia uexerit arua,
mortalem eripiam formam magnique iubebo
aequoris esse deas, qualis Nereia Doto
et Galatea secant spumantem pectore pontum.'
dixerat idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
per pice torrentis atraque uoragine ripas
adnuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.
Ergo aderat promissa dies et tempora Parcae
debita complerant, cum Turni iniuria Matrem
admonuit ratibus sacris depellere taedas.
hic primum noua lux oculis offulsit et ingens
uisus ab Aurora caelum transcurrere nimbus
Idaeique chori; tum uox horrenda per auras
excidit et Troum Rutulorumque agmina complet:
'ne trepidate meas, Teucri, defendere nauis
neue armate manus; maria ante exurere Turno
quam sacras dabitur pinus. uos ite solutae,
ite deae pelagi; genetrix iubet.' et sua quaeque
continuo puppes abrumpunt uincula ripis
delphinumque modo demersis aequore rostris

89–117 *MPR*; 118–19 *FMPR* 90 parentum M^1 91 ne *Pω*: neu (*u.* 42) *MRbfr*: nec *a?u* 99 undas *'alii' ap. Seru.* 103 et] aut *R* secat *Ribbeck* 109 sacras *'ut abominandas ostendas' Diom.* 437.4 110 offulsit *MRad?r*: effulsit (*u.* 731) *Pω* 119 aequore *n*: aequora *FMPRωγ*

ima petunt. hinc uirgineae (mirabile monstrum)
reddunt se totidem facies pontoque feruntur.

Obstipuere animis Rutuli, conterritus ipse
turbatis Messapus equis, cunctatur et amnis
rauca sonans reuocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto.
at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit;
ultro animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro:
'Troianos haec monstra petunt, his Iuppiter ipse
auxilium solitum eripuit: non tela neque ignis
exspectant Rutulos. ergo maria inuia Teucris,
nec spes ulla fugae: rerum pars altera adempta est,
terra autem in nostris manibus, tot milia gentes
arma ferunt Italae. nil me fatalia terrent,
si qua Phryges prae se iactant responsa deorum;
sat fatis Venerique datum, tetigere quod arua
fertilis Ausoniae Troes. sunt et mea contra
fata mihi, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem
coniuge praerepta; nec solos tangit Atridas
iste dolor, solisque licet capere arma Mycenis.
"sed periisse semel satis est": peccare fuisset
ante satis, penitus modo non genus omne perosos
femineum. quibus haec medii fiducia ualli
fossarumque morae, leti discrimina parua,
dant animos; at non uiderunt moenia Troiae
Neptuni fabricata manu considere in ignis?
sed uos, o lecti, ferro qui scindere uallum
apparat et mecum inuadit trepidantia castra?

120–47 *FMPR* 121 (=10.223) *add. recc., post* 122 a^2 123 animis Rutuli (*A.* 8.530) *FRω, Seru.*: animi Rutulis *MPabhr, Asper* 535.14, *DSeru.* 124 turbatis $FMP^2\omega$: turbatus P^1Rbc 129 neque] nec *Rω*(*praeter cr*) 130 exspectans M^1 132 manibus nostris *dhst* (*cf. A.* 2.192) gentes *FPω*: gentis *MRbcr* 135 datum (*A.* 2.291) *Madhstv*: datum est *FPRbcefru, Tib.* 140 sed] si *d* 141 non modo *R* (non *et* nunc *agnoscit Tib.*) perosum *ad*: perosus *r, Char.* 211.5 143 discrimina *PRω*: -ine (*A.* 3.685) *FMb?* parua ω: paruo FMP^2(-uas P^1)*R* 144 at] an *Diom.* 464. 23, *Seru.* ('*legitur et* at'); *cf. A.* 7.363 146 quis *cu*

non armis mihi Volcani, non mille carinis
est opus in Teucros. addant se protinus omnes
Etrusci socios. tenebras et inertia furta
[Palladii caesis late custodibus arcis]
ne timeant, nec equi caeca condemur in aluo:
luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros.
haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga
esse ferant, decimum quos distulit Hector in annum.
nunc adeo, melior quoniam pars acta diei,
quod superest, laeti bene gestis corpora rebus
procurate, uiri, et pugnam sperate parari.'
interea uigilum excubiis obsidere portas
cura datur Messapo et moenia cingere flammis.
bis septem Rutuli muros qui milite seruent
delecti, ast illos centeni quemque sequuntur
purpurei cristis iuuenes auroque corusci.
discurrunt uariantque uices, fusique per herbam
indulgent uino et uertunt crateras aënos.
conlucent ignes, noctem custodia ducit
insomnem ludo.

Haec super e uallo prospectant Troes et armis
alta tenent, nec non trepidi formidine portas
explorant pontisque et propugnacula iungunt,
tela gerunt. instat Mnestheus acerque Serestus,
quos pater Aeneas, si quando aduersa uocarent,
rectores iuuenum et rerum dedit esse magistros.
omnis per muros legio sortita periclum
excubat exercetque uices, quod cuique tuendum est.

Nisus erat portae custos, acerrimus armis,

148–64 *FMPR*; 165–76 *MPR* 151 late *FRbr, Tib.*: summae (*A.* 2.166) *MPω* 155 ferant *FPb?c?r*: putent *MRω* 156 diei *FM*[1]*Pbdrt*: diei est *M*[2]*Rω*, *Non.* 2.13, *Tib.* 158 parati *Macrob.* 5.9.4; 7.1.23 160 flammis (*A.* 10.119) *MPω*: flamma (*A.* 1.673) *FRbr, utrumque Tib.* 161 Rutulo *M*[1], *agnoscit Tib.* 162 secuti *R, Seru., Tib.* 171 instat *Pω, Tib.*: instant *MRa* (*cf. A.* 1.734) 173 '*legitur et* iuueni' *Seru.*

Hyrtacides, comitem Aeneae quem miserat Ida
uenatrix iaculo celerem leuibusque sagittis,
et iuxta comes Euryalus, quo pulchrior alter
non fuit Aeneadum Troiana neque induit arma,
ora puer prima signans intonsa iuuenta.
his amor unus erat pariterque in bella ruebant;
tum quoque communi portam statione tenebant.
Nisus ait: 'dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?
aut pugnam aut aliquid iamdudum inuadere magnum
mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est.
cernis quae Rutulos habeat fiducia rerum:
lumina rara micant, somno uinoque soluti
procubuere, silent late loca. percipe porro
quid dubitem et quae nunc animo sententia surgat.
Aenean acciri omnes, populusque patresque,
exposcunt, mittique uiros qui certa reportent.
si tibi quae posco promittunt (nam mihi facti
fama sat est), tumulo uideor reperire sub illo
posse uiam ad muros et moenia Pallantea.'
obstipuit magno laudum percussus amore
Euryalus, simul his ardentem adfatur amicum:
'mene igitur socium summis adiungere rebus,
Nise, fugis? solum te in tanta pericula mittam?
non ita me genitor, bellis adsuetus Opheltes,
Argolicum terrorem inter Troiaeque labores
sublatum erudiit, nec tecum talia gessi
magnanimum Aenean et fata extrema secutus:
est hic, est animus lucis contemptor et istum
qui uita bene credat emi, quo tendis, honorem.'
Nisus ad haec: 'equidem de te nil tale uerebar,

178–206 *MPR*; 207 *FMPR* 180 neque M^2*PRbchr*: nec $M^1\omega$ 189 soluti] sepulti (*A.* 2.265; 9.236) *adhst, Seru.* 190 perspice *dft* 207 ad haec] ait P^2

nec fas; non ita me referat tibi magnus ouantem
Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspicit aequis.
sed si quis (quae multa uides discrimine tali)
si quis in aduersum rapiat casusue deusue,
te superesse uelim, tua uita dignior aetas.
sit qui me raptum pugna pretioue redemptum
mandet humo, solita aut si qua id Fortuna uetabit,
absenti ferat inferias decoretque sepulcro.
neu matri miserae tanti sim causa doloris,
quae te sola, puer, multis e matribus ausa
persequitur, magni nec moenia curat Acestae.'
ille autem: 'causas nequiquam nectis inanis
nec mea iam mutata loco sententia cedit.
acceleremus' ait, uigiles simul excitat. illi
succedunt seruantque uices; statione relicta
ipse comes Niso graditur regemque requirunt.
Cetera per terras omnis animalia somno
laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum:
ductores Teucrum primi, delecta iuuentus,
consilium summis regni de rebus habebant,
quid facerent quisue Aeneae iam nuntius esset.
stant longis adnixi hastis et scuta tenentes
castrorum et campi medio. tum Nisus et una
Euryalus confestim alacres admittier orant:
rem magnam pretiumque morae fore. primus Iulus
accepit trepidos ac Nisum dicere iussit.
tum sic Hyrtacides: 'audite o mentibus aequis
Aeneadae, neue haec nostris spectentur ab annis
quae ferimus. Rutuli somno uinoque sepulti
conticuere. locum insidiis conspeximus ipsi,
qui patet in biuio portae quae proxima ponto.

208–34 *FMPR*; 235–8 *MPR* 209 aspicis *P* 214 solita] saltem *Peerlkamp* id *del. Mackay* 236 sepulti *efv*: soluti *MP* 237 conticuere] procubuere (*u.* 190) *Pceuv*

interrupti ignes aterque ad sidera fumus
erigitur. si fortuna permittitis uti
quaesitum Aenean et moenia Pallantea,
mox hic cum spoliis ingenti caede peracta
adfore cernetis. nec nos uia fallit euntis:
uidimus obscuris primam sub uallibus urbem
uenatu adsiduo et totum cognouimus amnem.'
hic annis grauis atque animi maturus Aletes:
'di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est,
non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
cum talis animos iuuenum et tam certa tulistis
pectora.' sic memorans umeros dextrasque tenebat
amborum et uultum lacrimis atque ora rigabat.
'quae vobis, quae digna, uiri, pro laudibus istis
praemia posse rear solui? pulcherrima primum
di moresque dabunt uestri: tum cetera reddet
actutum pius Aeneas atque integer aeui
Ascanius meriti tanti non immemor umquam.'
'immo ego uos, cui sola salus genitore reducto,'
excipit Ascanius 'per magnos, Nise, penatis
Assaracique Larem et canae penetralia Vestae
obtestor, quaecumque mihi fortuna fidesque est,
in uestris pono gremiis. reuocate parentem,
reddite conspectum; nihil illo triste recepto.
bina dabo argento perfecta atque aspera signis
pocula, deuicta genitor quae cepit Arisba,
et tripodas geminos, auri duo magna talenta,
cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido.
si uero capere Italiam sceptrisque potiri
contigerit uictori et praedae dicere sortem,
uidisti, quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis

239–69 *MPR* 241 et] ad *cf* 243 fallet *M* 244 uallibus] moenibus P^2 252 laudibus istis (*A.* 10.825) *MPRbceuv, Seru.*: talibus ausis (*A.* 2.535) *adfhrst, Macrob.* 6.6.12 268 dicere *MPa, DSeru. ad A.* 3.323; ducere *Rω, 'alii' ap. Seru., Tib.*: deicere *'alii' ap. DSeru.*

aureus; ipsum illum, clipeum cristasque rubentis
excipiam sorti, iam nunc tua praemia, Nise.
praeterea bis sex genitor lectissima matrum
corpora captiuosque dabit suaque omnibus arma,
insuper his campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus.
te uero, mea quem spatiis propioribus aetas
insequitur, uenerande puer, iam pectore toto
accipio et comitem casus complector in omnis.
nulla meis sine te quaeretur gloria rebus:
seu pacem seu bella geram, tibi maxima rerum
uerborumque fides.' contra quem talia fatur
Euryalus: 'me nulla dies tam fortibus ausis
dissimilem arguerit; tantum fortuna secunda
haud aduersa cadat. sed te super omnia dona
unum oro: genetrix Priami de gente uetusta
est mihi, quam miseram tenuit non Ilia tellus
mecum excedentem, non moenia regis Acestae.
hanc ego nunc ignaram huius quodcumque pericli
inque salutatam linquo (Nox et tua testis
dextera) quod nequeam lacrimas perferre parentis.
at tu, oro, solare inopem et succurre relictae.
hanc sine me spem ferre tui, audentior ibo
in casus omnis.' percussa mente dedere
Dardanidae lacrimas, ante omnis pulcher Iulus,
atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago.
tum sic effatur:
'sponde digna tuis ingentibus omnia coeptis.
namque erit ista mihi genetrix nomenque Creusae
solum defuerit, nec partum gratia talem

270–98 *MPR* 270 rubentis] comantis (*A.* 3.468) *R* 274 is *M* campis *R* quod M^2P^1 *Rbceruv, Seru.*: quos M^1P^2*a?dfst* 283 haut M^1PR (haud *afr*, aud *st*), '*quidam*' *ap. DSeru., Tib.*: aut $M^2\omega$, *Seru.* (*cf. Symm. ep.* 1.28) 287 pericli est (*A.* 5.716; *cf.* 1.78) M^2*acehtuv, Seru.* 288 testes *Asper* 537.24 290 at] hanc *acuv* 292 dedere *Me*: dederunt *PR*ω 296 spondeo *ceu*

parua manet. casus factum quicumque sequentur,
per caput hoc iuro, per quod pater ante solebat:
quae tibi polliceor reduci rebusque secundis,
haec eadem matrique tuae generique manebunt.'
sic ait inlacrimans; umero simul exuit ensem
auratum, mira quem fecerat arte Lycaon
Cnosius atque habilem uagina aptarat eburna.
dat Niso Mnestheus pellem horrentisque leonis
exuuias, galeam fidus permutat Aletes.
protinus armati incedunt; quos omnis euntis
primorum manus ad portas, iuuenumque senumque,
prosequitur uotis. nec non et pulcher Iulus,
ante annos animumque gerens curamque uirilem,
multa patri mandata dabat portanda; sed aurae
omnia discerpunt et nubibus inrita donant.
Egressi superant fossas noctisque per umbram
castra inimica petunt, multis tamen ante futuri
exitio. passim somno uinoque per herbam
corpora fusa uident, arrectos litore currus,
inter lora rotasque uiros, simul arma iacere,
uina simul. prior Hyrtacides sic ore locutus:
'Euryale, audendum dextra: nunc ipsa uocat res.
hac iter est. tu, ne qua manus se attollere nobis
a tergo possit, custodi et consule longe;
haec ego uasta dabo et lato te limite ducam.'
sic memorat uocemque premit, simul ense superbum
Rhamnetem adgreditur, qui forte tapetibus altis
exstructus toto proflabat pectore somnum,
rex idem et regi Turno gratissimus augur,
sed non augurio potuit depellere pestem.
tris iuxta famulos temere inter tela iacentis

299–329 *MPR* 299 sequentur *MRcersuv*: sequetur *Pb*: sequuntur *adf?ht* 316 herbam] umbram (*u.* 314) *Rd* 323 uasta dabo] uastabo *cesuv* 329 tela] lora *R*

armigerumque Remi premit aurigamque sub ipsis
nactus equis ferroque secat pendentia colla.
tum caput ipsi aufert domino truncumque relinquit
sanguine singultantem; atro tepefacta cruore
terra torique madent. nec non Lamyrumque Lamumque
et iuuenem Serranum, illa qui plurima nocte
luserat, insignis facie, multoque iacebat
membra deo uictus – felix, si protinus illum
aequasset nocti ludum in lucemque tulisset:
impastus ceu plena leo per ouilia turbans
(suadet enim uesana fames) manditque trahitque
molle pecus mutumque metu, fremit ore cruento.
nec minor Euryali caedes; incensus et ipse
perfurit ac multam in medio sine nomine plebem,
Fadumque Herbesumque subit Rhoetumque Abarimque
ignaros; Rhoetum uigilantem et cuncta uidentem,
sed magnum metuens se post cratera tegebat.
pectore in aduerso totum cui comminus ensem
condidit adsurgenti et multa morte recepit.
purpuream uomit ille animam et cum sanguine mixta
uina refert moriens, hic furto feruidus instat.
iamque ad Messapi socios tendebat; ibi ignem
deficere extremum et religatos rite uidebat
carpere gramen equos, breuiter cum talia Nisus
(sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri)
'absistamus' ait, 'nam lux inimica propinquat.
poenarum exhaustum satis est, uia facta per hostis.'
multa uirum solido argento perfecta relinquunt
armaque craterasque simul pulchrosque tapetas.
Euryalus phaleras Rhamnetis et aurea bullis
cingula, Tiburti Remulo ditissimus olim

330–53 *MPR*; 354–60 *MPRV* 332 reliquit *befhtuv* 341 multumque M^1P^1Rr 348 morte] nocte *Cornutus ap. DSeru.* 349 purpureum *recc.* (*ex. gr. Paris. lat.* 7930); *ita traiecta distinctione 'multi'*, -eam *'alii' ap. Seru.* 358 pictosque (*A.* 7.277) *Char.* 62.6

quae mittit dona, hospitio cum iungeret absens,
Caedicus; ille suo moriens dat habere nepoti;
post mortem bello Rutuli pugnaque potiti:
haec rapit atque umeris nequiquam fortibus aptat.
tum galeam Messapi habilem cristisque decoram
induit. excedunt castris et tuta capessunt.
  Interea praemissi equites ex urbe Latina,
cetera dum legio campis instructa moratur,
ibant et Turno regis responsa ferebant,
ter centum, scutati omnes, Volcente magistro.
iamque propinquabant castris murosque subibant
cum procul hos laeuo flectentis limite cernunt,
et galea Euryalum sublustri noctis in umbra
prodidit immemorem radiisque aduersa refulsit.
haud temere est uisum. conclamat ab agmine Volcens:
'state, uiri. quae causa uiae? quiue estis in armis?
quoue tenetis iter?' nihil illi tendere contra,
sed celerare fugam in siluas et fidere nocti.
obiciunt equites sese ad diuortia nota
hinc atque hinc, omnemque abitum custode coronant.
silua fuit late dumis atque ilice nigra
horrida, quam densi complerant undique sentes;
rara per occultos lucebat semita callis.
Euryalum tenebrae ramorum onerosaque praeda
impediunt, fallitque timor regione uiarum.
Nisus abit; iamque imprudens euaserat hostis
atque locos qui post Albae de nomine dicti

361–87 *MPRV* 363 praedaque *R* 368 dum] cum *aeuv* 369 regi *codd.*; '*in omnibus bonis* regis *dicitur inuentum*' *DSeru.* 371 portis (*A.* 11.621) *br, Prisc.* 18.199 murosque *PVω, DSeru.*: muroque (*A.* 7.161) *MR, Seru. hic et ad A.* 4.598, *Prisc.* 375 uisu *V* agmine] aggere *P* 378 siluis *PV* 380 hinc atque hinc] huc illuc *Non.* 458.20 abitum (*ut Tac. ann.* 14.37) M^1*cde* (habitum *suv*), '*melior lectio*' *iudice Seru., idem schol. Veron.*: aditum M^2P^2(-tu P^1)*RVabfhrt, Tib.* 382 complebant *M* 383 lucebat M^1*Pcdfhrst*, -bant *R*: ducebat M^2*Vabeuv, utrumque agnoscit Seru.* 387 lucos *cefhu*

Albani (tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat),
ut stetit et frustra absentem respexit amicum:
'Euryale infelix, qua te regione reliqui?
quaue sequar?' rursus perplexum iter omne reuoluens
fallacis siluae simul et uestigia retro
obseruata legit dumisque silentibus errat.
audit equos, audit strepitus et signa sequentum;
nec longum in medio tempus, cum clamor ad auris
peruenit ac uidet Euryalum, quem iam manus omnis
fraude loci et noctis, subito turbante tumultu,
oppressum rapit et conantem plurima frustra.
quid faciat? qua ui iuuenem, quibus audeat armis
eripere? an sese medios moriturus in enses
inferat et pulchram properet per uulnera mortem?
ocius adducto torquet hastile lacerto
suspiciens altam Lunam et sic uoce precatur:
'tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori,
astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos.
si qua tuis umquam pro me pater Hyrtacus aris
dona tulit, si qua ipse meis uenatibus auxi
suspendiue tholo aut sacra ad fastigia fixi,
hunc sine me turbare globum et rege tela per auras.'
dixerat et toto conixus corpore ferrum
conicit. hasta uolans noctis diuerberat umbras
et uenit auersi in tergum Sulmonis ibique
frangitur, ac fisso transit praecordia ligno.
uoluitur ille uomens calidum de pectore flumen
frigidus et longis singultibus ilia pulsat.
diuersi circumspiciunt. hoc acrior idem

388–405 *MPRV*; 406–16 *MPR* 391 resolues M^1: reuoluit *Peerlkamp* 400 enses *Pace?rsuv, 'quidam' ap. DSeru.*: hostes (-tis) (*A.* 2.511, 9.554) *MRVbdfht* 402 torquet *Ribbeck* (*cf. A.* 1.308): torquens *codd., Non.* 246.28 403 altam ad *R* et (*A.* 6.186) *codd., Prisc.* 16.16, *Asper* (*ut uid.*) *ap. schol. Veron.*: *del. ed. Veneta an.* 1470 uoce] ore *r* 412 auersi *r*, *'alii'* (*ut uid.*) *ap. Seru.*: aduersi *codd., Non.* 414.14, *Seru.* (*cui* tergum *pro scuto est*) 416 acrius P^2

ecce aliud summa telum librabat ab aure.
dum trepidant, it hasta Tago per tempus utrumque
stridens traiectoque haesit tepefacta cerebro.
saeuit atrox Volcens nec teli conspicit usquam
auctorem nec quo se ardens immittere possit.
'tu tamen interea calido mihi sanguine poenas
persolues amborum' inquit; simul ense recluso
ibat in Euryalum. tum uero exterritus, amens,
conclamat Nisus nec se celare tenebris
amplius aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem:
'me, me, adsum qui feci, in me conuertite ferrum,
o Rutuli! mea fraus omnis, nihil iste nec ausus
nec potuit; caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor;
tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum.'
talia dicta dabat, sed uiribus ensis adactus
transabiit costas et candida pectora rumpit.
uoluitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus
it cruor inque umeros ceruix conlapsa recumbit:
purpureus ueluti cum flos succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassoue papauera collo
demisere caput pluuia cum forte grauantur.
at Nisus ruit in medios solumque per omnis
Volcentem petit, in solo Volcente moratur.
quem circum glomerati hostes hinc comminus atque hinc
proturbant. instat non setius ac rotat ensem
fulmineum, donec Rutuli clamantis in ore
condidit aduerso et moriens animam abstulit hosti.
tum super exanimum sese proiecit amicum
confossus, placidaque ibi demum morte quieuit.
Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,

417–46 *MPR* 417 summa telum *MRadehrtu, Seru., DSeru. ad A.* 2.231: telum summa *Pbcfsv* uibrabat *dft* 418 iit *Pr* 420 umquam M^1 428 neque *R* 429 haec P^1 432 transabiit (*ut uulgo Statius Theb.* 2.9) *Raesu*: transadigit (*A.* 12.276, 508) M^2(-bit M^1)*Pdrt, Non.* 243.31, *Tib.*: transadiit *bcfhv* pectora candida *Rr* rupit *Rcr* 443 hostis P^2

nulla dies umquam memori uos eximet aeuo,
dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.
Victores praeda Rutuli spoliisque potiti
Volcentem exanimum flentes in castra ferebant.
nec minor in castris luctus Rhamnete reperto
exsangui et primis una tot caede peremptis,
Serranoque Numaque. ingens concursus ad ipsa
corpora seminecisque uiros, tepidaque recentem
caede locum et pleno spumantis sanguine riuos.
agnoscunt spolia inter se galeamque nitentem
Messapi et multo phaleras sudore receptas.
Et iam prima nouo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
iam sole infuso, iam rebus luce retectis
Turnus in arma uiros armis circumdatus ipse
suscitat: aeratasque acies in proelia cogunt,
quisque suos, uariisque acuunt rumoribus iras.
quin ipsa arrectis (uisu miserabile) in hastis
praefigunt capita et multo clamore sequuntur
Euryali et Nisi.
Aeneadae duri murorum in parte sinistra
opposuere aciem (nam dextera cingitur amni),
ingentisque tenent fossas et turribus altis
stant maesti; simul ora uirum praefixa mouebant
nota nimis miseris atroque fluentia tabo.
Interea pauidam uolitans pennata per urbem
nuntia Fama ruit matrisque adlabitur auris

447–74 *MPR* 455 tepidaque ω, *Macrob.* 6.6.3, *Seru.*: tepidumque M^2(-damque M^1)*PRa?* recentem *codd.* (*fortasse* madentem *r*), *Seru.*: recenti (*A.* 8.195) P^2 (tepidumque recenti '*multi*' *ap. Seru.*) 456 pleno MP^2*bhrsuv*: plenos P^1*Racdefl* spumantis *MPRbdfhr, Seru., Tib.*: spumanti *acestuv* 463 cogunt *Wagner*: cogit *codd., Seru.* 464 suos *PR*ω, *Seru.*: suas *Mdr* 465 *u. om. P* mirabile *M, DSeru. ad A.* 2.558 469 dextra M^1*Rbr* 471 mouebant *MR*ω: uidebant *Pcrstv*

Euryali. at subitus miserae calor ossa reliquit,
excussi manibus radii reuolutaque pensa.
euolat infelix et femineo ululatu
scissa comam muros amens atque agmina cursu
prima petit, non illa uirum, non illa pericli
telorumque memor, caelum dehinc questibus implet:
'hunc ego te, Euryale, aspicio? tune ille senectae
sera meae requies, potuisti linquere solam,
crudelis? nec te sub tanta pericula missum
adfari extremum miserae data copia matri?
heu, terra ignota canibus date praeda Latinis
alitibusque iaces! nec te tua funere mater
produxi pressiue oculos aut uulnera laui,
ueste tegens tibi quam noctes festina diesque
urgebam, et tela curas solabar anilis.
quo sequar? aut quae nunc artus auulsaque membra
et funus lacerum tellus habet? hoc mihi de te,
nate, refers? hoc sum terraque marique secuta?
figite me, si qua est pietas, in me omnia tela
conicite, o Rutuli, me primam absumite ferro;
aut tu, magne pater diuum, miserere, tuoque
inuisum hoc detrude caput sub Tartara telo,
quando aliter nequeo crudelem abrumpere uitam.'
hoc fletu concussi animi, maestusque per omnis
it gemitus, torpent infractae ad proelia uires.
illam incendentem luctus Idaeus et Actor
Ilionei monitu et multum lacrimantis Iuli
corripiunt interque manus sub tecta reponunt.
At tuba terribilem sonitum procul aere canoro
increpuit, sequitur clamor caelumque remugit.

475–504 *MPR* 481 illa *Rdtv* 484 extremum $P^2R\omega$: -mis MP^1: -ma *dt* 485 date *recc.*: data *ceteri* 486 ad tua (funera) *Iulius Sabinus*: in tua *Iahn* funere *P. Bembus*: funera *codd.*, *Macrob.* 6.2.21, *Non.* 372.35, *Seru.* magne] summe *Seru. ad A.* 2.645 501 *u. ima pagina add. P*: *ante u. bcev* 502 sub] in *dt*

accelerant acta pariter testudine Volsci
et fossas implere parant ac uellere uallum;
quaerunt pars aditum et scalis ascendere muros,
qua rara est acies interlucetque corona
non tam spissa uiris. telorum effundere contra
omne genus Teucri ac duris detrudere contis,
adsueti longo muros defendere bello.
saxa quoque infesto uoluebant pondere, si qua
possent tectam aciem perrumpere, cum tamen omnis
ferre iuuat subter densa testudine casus.
nec iam sufficiunt. nam qua globus imminet ingens,
immanem Teucri molem uoluuntque ruuntque,
quae strauit Rutulos late armorumque resoluit
tegmina. nec curant caeco contendere Marte
amplius audaces Rutuli, sed pellere uallo
missilibus certant.
parte alia horrendus uisu quassabat Etruscam
pinum et fumiferos infert Mezentius ignis;
at Messapus equum domitor, Neptunia proles,
rescindit uallum et scalas in moenia poscit.
Vos, o Calliope, precor, aspirate canenti
quas ibi tum ferro strages, quae funera Turnus
ediderit, quem quisque uirum demiserit Orco,
et mecum ingentis oras euoluite belli.
Turris erat uasto suspectu et pontibus altis,
opportuna loco, summis quam uiribus omnes
expugnare Itali summaque euertere opum ui
certabant, Troes contra defendere saxis
perque cauas densi tela intorquere fenestras.
princeps ardentem coniecit lampada Turnus
et flammam adfixit lateri, quae plurima uento

505–35 *FMPR*; 536 *MPR* 506 pellere M^2R uallo (*u.* 519) M^2 iuuat F^2*esuv*, *Gramm.* (*hinc faciunt* lubat M^1, iubat P^2c): iubet P^1r: libet F^1M^2*Rabdfht*, *Aug. de gramm.* 523.16, *Tib.* 1.264 524 in] ad *Pc*, *DSeru.* *ad G.* 514 526 tum *FR*ω: tunc *MPc* 529 (= 7.645) *add. R*

corripuit tabulas et postibus haesit adesis.
turbati trepidare intus frustraque malorum
uelle fugam. dum se glomerant retroque residunt
in partem quae peste caret, tum pondere turris
procubuit subito et caelum tonat omne fragore.
semineces ad terram immani mole secuta
confixique suis telis et pectora duro
transfossi ligno ueniunt. uix unus Helenor
et Lycus elapsi; quorum primaeuus Helenor,
Maeonio regi quem serua Licymnia furtim
sustulerat uetitisque ad Troiam miserat armis,
ense leuis nudo parmaque inglorius alba –
isque ubi se Turni media inter milia uidit,
hinc acies atque hinc acies astare Latinas,
ut fera, quae densa uenantum saepta corona
contra tela furit seseque haud nescia morti
inicit et saltu supra uenabula fertur –
haud aliter iuuenis medios moriturus in hostis
inruit et qua tela uidet densissima tendit.
at pedibus longe melior Lycus inter et hostis
inter et arma fuga muros tenet, altaque certat
prendere tecta manu sociumque attingere dextras.
quem Turnus pariter cursu teloque secutus
increpat his uictor: 'nostrasne euadere, demens,
sperasti te posse manus?' simul arripit ipsum
pendentem et magna muri cum parte reuellit:
qualis ubi aut leporem aut candenti corpore cycnum
sustulit alta petens pedibus Iouis armiger uncis,
quaesitum aut matri multis balatibus agnum
Martius a stabulis rapuit lupus. undique clamor
tollitur: inuadunt et fossas aggere complent,
ardentis taedas alii ad fastigia iactant.
Ilioneus saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis

536–69 *MPR* 552 furit] ruit P^2 565 matris *Racsu*

Lucetium portae subeuntem ignisque ferentem,
Emathiona Liger, Corynaeum sternit Asilas,
hic iaculo bonus, hic longe fallente sagitta,
Ortygium Caeneus, uictorem Caenea Turnus,
Turnus Ityn Cloniumque, Dioxippum Promolumque
et Sagarim et summis stantem pro turribus Idan,
Priuernum Capys. hunc primo leuis hasta Themillae
strinxerat, ille manum proiecto tegmine demens
ad uulnus tulit; ergo alis adlapsa sagitta
et laeuo infixa est alte lateri, abditaque intus
spiramenta animae letali uulnere rupit.
stabat in egregiis Arcentis filius armis
pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera,
insignis facie, genitor quem miserat Arcens
eductum matris luco Symaethia circum
flumina, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici:
stridentem fundam positis Mezentius hastis
ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena
et media aduersi liquefacto tempora plumbo
diffidit ac multa porrectum extendit harena.
Tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam
dicitur ante feras solitus terrere fugacis
Ascanius, fortemque manu fudisse Numanum,
cui Remulo cognomen erat, Turnique minorem
germanam nuper thalamo sociatus habebat.
is primam ante aciem digna atque indigna relatu
uociferans tumidusque nouo praecordia regno
ibat et ingentem sese clamore ferebat:
'non pudet obsidione iterum ualloque teneri,
bis capti Phryges, et morti praetendere muros?

570–99 *MPR* 578 sagitta est *ceruv* 579 adfixa *P*, *Seru. in lemmate* alte lateri *Housman ad Manilium I lxv*: lateri manus *codd.* (eminus *Gemoll*) 580 rumpit *bdfrt* 584 matris γ, *Macrob.* 5.19.15: martis *MPR*ω Simoentaque *R* 586 hastis *MPbr*: armis (*A.* 10.52) *R*ω 599 morte protendere M^1

en qui nostra sibi bello conubia poscunt!
quis deus Italiam, quae uos dementia adegit?
non hic Atridae nec fandi fictor Vlixes:
durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
deferimus saeuoque gelu duramus et undis;
uenatu inuigilant pueri siluasque fatigant,
flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu.
at patiens operum paruoque adsueta iuuentus
aut rastris terram domat aut quatit oppida bello.
omne aeuum ferro teritur, uersaque iuuencum
terga fatigamus hasta, nec tarda senectus
debilitat uiris animi mutatque uigorem:
canitiem galea premimus, semperque recentis
comportare iuuat praedas et uiuere rapto.
uobis picta croco et fulgenti murice uestis,
desidiae cordi, iuuat indulgere choreis,
et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae.
o uere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges, ite per alta
Dindyma, ubi adsuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.
tympana uos buxusque uocat Berecyntia Matris
Idaeae; sinite arma uiris et cedite ferro.'
Talia iactantem dictis ac dira canentem
non tulit Ascanius, neruoque obuersus equino
contendit telum diuersaque bracchia ducens
constitit, ante Iouem supplex per uota precatus:
'Iuppiter omnipotens, audacibus adnue coeptis.
ipse tibi ad tua templa feram sollemnia dona,
et statuam ante aras aurata fronte iuuencum
candentem pariterque caput cum matre ferentem,
iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam.'
audiit et caeli genitor de parte serena
intonuit laeuum, sonat una fatifer arcus.

600–31 *MPR* 604 saeuoque] duroque *Pc* 610 'sera, *in aliis* tarda' *Seru.* 619 uocant *bcf* 623 intendit *P* 631 fatifer *MRbr*: letifer (*A.* 10.169) *Pω*

effugit horrendum stridens adducta sagitta
perque caput Remuli uenit et caua tempora ferro
traicit. 'i, uerbis uirtutem inlude superbis!
bis capti Phryges haec Rutulis responsa remittunt':
hoc tantum Ascanius. Teucri clamore sequuntur
laetitiaque fremunt animosque ad sidera tollunt.
Aetheria tum forte plaga crinitus Apollo
desuper Ausonias acies urbemque uidebat
nube sedens, atque his uictorem adfatur Iulum:
'macte noua uirtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,
dis genite et geniture deos. iure omnia bella
gente sub Assaraci fato uentura resident,
nec te Troia capit.' simul haec effatus ab alto
aethere se mittit, spirantis dimouet auras
Ascaniumque petit; formam tum uertitur oris
antiquum in Buten. hic Dardanio Anchisae
armiger ante fuit fidusque ad limina custos;
tum comitem Ascanio pater addidit. ibat Apollo
omnia longaeuo similis uocemque coloremque
et crinis albos et saeua sonoribus arma,
atque his ardentem dictis adfatur Iulum:
'sit satis, Aenide, telis impune Numanum
oppetiisse tuis. primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo
concedit laudem et paribus non inuidet armis;
cetera parce, puer, bello.' sic orsus Apollo
mortalis medio aspectus sermone reliquit
et procul in tenuem ex oculis euanuit auram.

632–58 *MPR* 632 effugit *Mdfhst* (efugit *c*), *'melius legitur' auctore Seru.*: et fugit *PRberuv* adducta *MRbefru*: adlapsa (*A.* 9.578, 12.319) *P*: elapsa *cdhstv* 634 traicit (*A.* 10.400, 11.685) *Mbf*: traiecit ω: transigit P^1: transadigit (*A.* 12.276) *R*: transiit P^2 (*et* traicit *et* transiit *Tib.*) i M^2*Pbcer*: *om.* M^1*R*ω 645 mittit *Mbdfhrt*: mittit et *Reu*: misit *Pc*^{2}*v*(aeth. sensit c^1) 646 formam *Mdfhr?t*: forma *PR*ω 651 albos *MPbc?fv*: flauos (*A.* 4.559) *Rdehrtu* 657 aspectus ω: aspectu *MPR*

agnouere deum proceres diuinaque tela
Dardanidae pharetramque fuga sensere sonantem.
ergo auidum pugnae dictis ac numine Phoebi
Ascanium prohibent, ipsi in certamina rursus
succedunt animasque in aperta pericula mittunt.
it clamor totis per propugnacula muris,
intendunt acris arcus amentaque torquent.
sternitur omne solum telis, tum scuta cauaeque
dant sonitum flictu galeae, pugna aspera surgit:
quantus ab occasu ueniens pluuialibus Haedis
uerberat imber humum, quam multa grandine nimbi
in uada praecipitant, cum Iuppiter horridus Austris
torquet aquosam hiemem et caelo caua nubila rumpit.
Pandarus et Bitias, Idaeo Alcanore creti,
quos Iouis eduxit luco siluestris Iaera
abietibus iuuenes patriis et montibus aequos,
portam, quae ducis imperio commissa, recludunt
freti armis, ultroque inuitant moenibus hostem.
ipsi intus dextra ac laeua pro turribus astant
armati ferro et cristis capita alta corusci:
quales aëriae liquentia flumina circum
siue Padi ripis Athesim seu propter amoenum
consurgunt geminae quercus intonsaque caelo
attollunt capita et sublimi uertice nutant.
inrumpunt aditus Rutuli ut uidere patentis:
continuo Quercens et pulcher Aquiculus armis
et praeceps animi Tmarus et Mauortius Haemon
agminibus totis aut uersi terga dedere
aut ipso portae posuere in limine uitam.

659–87 *MPR* 661 ac] et *M* 667 flictu *Pω*, *Seru.*: adflictu *M*(atf-) *Rr* 671 nubila] lumina M^1 674 patriis iuuenes *Pc* 676 animis *Bentley (cf. Hom. Il.* 12.135) 678 coruscant *M*: coruscis *Macrob.* 5.11.26 679 liquentia *MPRber, Macrob., Diom.* 464.7: Liquetia ω, *Seru.* 685 Marus *M* (*Sil. Ital.* 6.74) 686 aut uersi] auersi P^1R

tum magis increscunt animis discordibus irae,
et iam collecti Troes glomerantur eodem
et conferre manum et procurrere longius audent.
  Ductori Turno diuersa in parte furenti
turbantique uiros perfertur nuntius, hostem
feruere caede noua et portas praebere patentis.
deserit inceptum atque immani concitus ira
Dardaniam ruit ad portam fratresque superbos.
et primum Antiphaten (is enim se primus agebat),
Thebana de matre nothum Sarpedonis alti,
coniecto sternit iaculo: uolat Itala cornus
aëra per tenerum stomachoque infixa sub altum
pectus abit; reddit specus atri uulneris undam
spumantem, et fixo ferrum in pulmone tepescit.
tum Meropem atque Erymanta manu, tum sternit Aphidnum,
tum Bitian ardentem oculis animisque frementem,
non iaculo (neque enim iaculo uitam ille dedisset),
sed magnum stridens contorta phalarica uenit
fulminis acta modo, quam nec duo taurea terga
nec duplici squama lorica fidelis et auro
sustinuit; conlapsa ruunt immania membra,
dat tellus gemitum et clipeum super intonat ingens.
talis in Euboico Baiarum litore quondam
saxea pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante
constructam ponto iaciunt, sic illa ruinam
prona trahit penitusque uadis inlisa recumbit;
miscent se maria et nigrae attolluntur harenae,
tum sonitu Prochyta alta tremit durumque cubile
Inarime Iouis imperiis imposta Typhoeo.
  Hic Mars armipotens animum uirisque Latinis
addidit et stimulos acris sub pectore uertit,

688–718 *MPR* 689 eodem] in unum (*u.* 801) *Reu* 690 gradum (*A.* 6.488) et procedere l. audet *Non.* 268.18 710 talis *MR*: qualis *Pω* 714 tolluntur *bdrt, Tib.*

immisitque Fugam Teucris atrumque Timorem.
undique conueniunt, quoniam data copia pugnae,
bellatorque animo deus incidit.
Pandarus, ut fuso germanum corpore cernit
et quo sit fortuna loco, qui casus agat res,
portam ui multa conuerso cardine torquet
obnixus latis umeris, multosque suorum
moenibus exclusos duro in certamine linquit;
ast alios secum includit recipitque ruentis,
demens, qui Rutulum in medio non agmine regem
uiderit inrumpentem ultroque incluserit urbi,
immanem ueluti pecora inter inertia tigrim.
continuo noua lux oculis effulsit et arma
horrendum sonuere, tremunt in uertice cristae
sanguineae clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit.
agnoscunt faciem inuisam atque immania membra
turbati subito Aeneadae. tum Pandarus ingens
emicat et mortis fraternae feruidus ira
effatur: 'non haec dotalis regia Amatae,
nec muris cohibet patriis media Ardea Turnum.
castra inimica uides, nulla hinc exire potestas.'
olli subridens sedato pectore Turnus:
'incipe, si qua animo uirtus, et consere dextram,
hic etiam inuentum Priamo narrabis Achillem.'
dixerat. ille rudem nodis et cortice crudo
intorquet summis adnixus uiribus hastam;
excepere aurae, uulnus Saturnia Iuno
detorsit ueniens, portaeque infigitur hasta.
'at non hoc telum, mea quod ui dextera uersat,
effugies, neque enim is teli nec uulneris auctor':

719–48 *MPR* 719 timorem] furorem P^1 721 animos M^1c^1 722 cernit *MRω*: uidit *Pcfv* 723 qui *Mω*, *Char.* 91.10 (*cf. A.* 5.649): quis *PR* 724 multa] magna *M* 731 offulsit (*u.* 110) *R*, *Tib.* 733 clipeique *P* mittit M^2(-tet M^1)ω, *Tib.*: mittunt *PR*, *Macrob.* 5.13.35 741 animi *Re* 747 uersat] librat *Pcv* 748 is] es *Pdh*

sic ait, et sublatum alte consurgit in ensem
et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem
diuidit impubisque immani uulnere malas.
fit sonus, ingenti concussa est pondere tellus;
conlapsos artus atque arma cruenta cerebro
sternit humi moriens, atque illi partibus aequis
huc caput atque illuc umero ex utroque pependit.
Diffugiunt uersi trepida formidine Troes,
et si continuo uictorem ea cura subisset,
rumpere claustra manu sociosque immittere portis,
ultimus ille dies bello gentique fuisset.
sed furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido
egit in aduersos.
principio Phalerim et succiso poplite Gygen
excipit, hinc raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas
in tergus, Iuno uiris animumque ministrat.
addit Halyn comitem et confixa Phegea parma,
ignaros deinde in muris Martemque cientis
Alcandrumque Haliumque Noemonaque Prytanimque.
Lyncea tendentem contra sociosque uocantem
uibranti gladio conixus ab aggere dexter
occupat, huic uno deiectum comminus ictu
cum galea longe iacuit caput. inde ferarum
uastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter
tinguere tela manu ferrumque armare ueneno,
et Clytium Aeoliden et amicum Crethea Musis,
Crethea Musarum comitem, cui carmina semper
et citharae cordi numerosque intendere neruis,
semper equos atque arma uirum pugnasque canebat.
Tandem ductores audita caede suorum
conueniunt Teucri, Mnestheus acerque Serestus,

749–79 *MPR* 764 tergus P^1Rr, *Char.* 71.25 *et* 146.7, *DSeru. ad A.* 1.211: tergum $MP^2\omega$, *Non.* 414.9 765 confixum M^2P^2 769 dextra M^1*cdehuv* 773 tinguere P^1: unguere P^2Ra: ungere $M\omega$

palantisque uident socios hostemque receptum.
et Mnestheus: 'quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis?' inquit.
'quos alios muros, quae iam ultra moenia habetis?
unus homo et uestris, o ciues, undique saeptus
aggeribus tantas strages impune per urbem
ediderit? iuuenum primos tot miserit Orco?
non infelicis patriae ueterumque deorum
et magni Aeneae, segnes, miseretque pudetque?'
talibus accensi firmantur et agmine denso
consistunt. Turnus paulatim excedere pugnae
et fluuium petere ac partem quae cingitur unda.
acrius hoc Teucri clamore incumbere magno
et glomerare manum, ceu saeuum turba leonem
cum telis premit infensis; at territus ille,
asper, acerba tuens, retro redit et neque terga
ira dare aut uirtus patitur, nec tendere contra
ille quidem hoc cupiens potis est per tela uirosque.
haud aliter retro dubius uestigia Turnus
improperata refert et mens exaestuat ira.
quin etiam bis tum medios inuaserat hostis,
bis confusa fuga per muros agmina uertit;
sed manus e castris propere coit omnis in unum
nec contra uiris audet Saturnia Iuno
sufficere; aëriam caelo nam Iuppiter Irim
demisit germanae haud mollia iussa ferentem,
ni Turnus cedat Teucrorum moenibus altis.
ergo nec clipeo iuuenis subsistere tantum
nec dextra ualet, iniectis sic undique telis
obruitur. strepit adsiduo caua tempora circum
tinnitu galea et saxis solida aera fatiscunt
discussaeque iubae capiti nec sufficit umbo

780–810 *MPR* 781 fuga P^1 782 quae iam *MRbdfhrt*: quaeue *Pceuv* 786 nonne M^2 789 pugnae (*A.* 10.441) *PR*: pugna *Mω* 790 unda] amni (*u.* 469) *bdt* 793 at *Pbcfrtv*: ac *MRdehu*

ictibus; ingeminant hastis et Troes et ipse
fulmineus Mnestheus. tum toto corpore sudor
liquitur et piceum (nec respirare potestas)
flumen agit, fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis
in fluuium dedit. ille suo cum gurgite flauo
accepit uenientem ac mollibus extulit undis
et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit.

811–18 *MPR* 814 aeger] acer *'quidam' ap. DSeru.* (*cf. A.* 5.432) 816 flauo] uasto (*A.* 1.118, 3.197, 6.741) *Pceu* 817 excepit fugientem *d*

COMMENTARY

1–24 Juno sends Iris to prompt Turnus into action

As often in the *Aen.*, a new stage in the action, here the beginning of the full-scale war that occupies the last four books, is abruptly set in motion by a divine intervention; so, on a grander scale, Juno uses Allecto in book VII to motivate the outbreak of war. Servius observes that 'in this book there is a complete change [from book VIII]: for both the characters and the setting are different, and a different action is begun'; book VIII had been Aen.'s book, book IX is T.'s book. The sharp division between books invites us to reflect on parallels and contrasts between the situations and actions of the two leaders (see Schenk 50 n. 55): T.'s supernatural encounter in a sacred grove followed by ablution and prayer reminds us of the beginning of book VIII, Aen.'s nocturnal vision of the river-god Tiber followed by ablution and prayer (8.18–80; cf. also Aeneas' encounter with Venus in the grove of Silvanus, 8.597–616, and Latinus' visit to the sacred grove of Albunea at 7.81–101: a supernatural visitation in a sacred place in the Italian countryside thus occurs at or near the beginning of books VII, VIII, and IX). The celestial omen at 9.19–21 is a pendant to the omen of the arms in the sky at 8.524–9. There is also a carefully contrived parallelism between the first scene of book IX and the last (802–18), in which Iris is again sent on a mission, but this time by Jupiter to persuade Juno to *remove* T. from the action; here too the sequel is a visit by T. to a river, as he escapes from the Trojan camp into the Tiber (see E. L. Harrison, *A.N.R.W.* II 31.1 (1980) 385–7). Ring composition emphasizes the self-contained nature of book IX within the action of the *Aen.*

There are several Iliadic models: at *Il.* 18.166–203 Hera sends Iris to Achilles to prompt him to arm in order to prevent Hector capturing the body of Patroclus; at *Il.* 2.786–810 Zeus sends Iris to prompt the Trojans to take the field against the advancing Achaeans (inaugurating the regular battle action of the poem, as does Iris' intervention here); at *Il.* 11.195–210 Zeus sends Iris to promise Hector success in reaching the ships after Agamemnon will have retired from the

field wounded (T. too is urged to grasp the opportunity of the enemy general's absence).

On the scene see W. Kühn, *Götterszenen bei Virgil* (Heidelberg 1971) 124–6; J. J. O'Hara, *Death and the optimistic prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton 1990) 70–3; Schenk 48–61.

1 A prosy line after the portentous elevation of the end of the previous book. Books VIII–X narrate separately two simultaneous strands of action: the chronology is not entirely clear, but this seems to be the dawn of the day on which Aen. goes to Caere in book VIII: see G. E. Duckworth, *A.J.Ph.* 59 (1938) 135–44; Perret 166–70.

atque is a transitional formula, 'and further', as at 7.540.

diuersa penitus ... parte 'in a completely different place'.

2 From the fifth century BC Iris is normally the messenger of Hera, while Hermes is the messenger of Zeus (Roscher II 325–32) (for the exception in V. see 803–5 n.). The ancient commentators on Homer and V. note that she is often sent to foment strife, and point to the similarity between her name and Ἔρις 'Strife'. This line is repeated from 5.606 where Juno sends down Iris to incite the Trojan women in Sicily to set fire to the Trojan ships; in book IX T. will also try to fire the Trojan ships.

Saturnia Iuno: the patronymic is Ennian (*Ann.* 53); Ennius also calls Italy *Saturnia terra* (*Ann.* 21), from the story that Saturn once ruled there (so *Saturnia tellus*, *Geo.* 2.173, *Aen.* 8.329). Here the epithet may have a special aptness, as Juno urges the Italian T. to attack the foreign Trojans (see L. A. Mackay, *G.&R.* n.s. 3 (1956) 59–60; W. S. Anderson, 'Juno and Saturn in the *Aeneid*', *S.Ph.N.C.* 55 (1958) 519–32).

3 audacem: T. is *audax* when we first meet him at 7.409, and a rash boldness characterizes all his actions in this book (on T.'s *audacia* see Schenk 27–35; C. Lazzarini, *M.D.* 9 (1982) 157–66). For the use of *audax* in contemporary Roman politics see C. Wirszubski, *J.R.S.* 5 (1961) 12–22.

parentis is here used loosely to mean 'ancestor'; at 10.619 we are told that Pilumnus is T.'s great-great-grandfather. Like Silvanus, in whose grove Aen. receives the armour from his mother, Pilumnus is an ancient Italian god (see further Harrison on 10.76).

4 sacrata is virtually synonymous with *sacra* 'sacred', but it may

retain a vestige of the verbal notion that this vale has been 'consecrated' to Pilumnus: cf. 8.600 *Siluano fama est ueteres sacrasse Pelasgos.*

sedebat: we should perhaps be content with the introductory formula *forte* and not ask further why T. is sitting in a sacred grove at this critical point, but there may be truth in Servius' suggestion that he had gone there for supernatural guidance, *omen capere* (as Latinus goes to the sacred grove of Albunea to incubate at 7.81–101). The Roman augur sat while watching for a sign (see Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 74). *sedebat* also conveys T.'s inactivity, from which Iris will rouse him; there are formal parallels between this scene and 10.215–55 where Aen., 218 *sedens*, is informed of the state of the war by the nymph Cymodocea and commanded to go into action (241 *surge age*).

5 Thaumantias 'the daughter of Thaumas', the son of Pontos and Gaia (Hes. *Theog.* 237–8); the ancients took the similarity of his name to θαυμάζω 'I wonder' as a reference to the wondrousness of the rainbow (Ἶρις) (see Pease on Cic. *De nat. deor.* 3.51).

roseo ... ore locuta est: V. likes to introduce or conclude speeches with the redundant *ore loqui*, probably echoing Ennian usage (Norden 373–4). Here it is expanded with the epithet *roseo* (used elsewhere by V. of the lips (2.593) and neck (1.402) of the goddess Venus), perhaps hinting at the colours of the rainbow, although *roseus* is not one of the colours standard in Latin descriptions of the rainbow (but cf. Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 4.77 *uelocem roseis demittit nubibus Irin*); see also 14–15 n.

6–13 Iris' exhortation falls into three sections: 6–7, a general announcement of unexpected good news; 8–11, a detailed account of that news; 12–13, the conclusion, an urgent command to seize the moment.

6–7 In the *Aen.* the gods are often unable to fulfil their wishes: e.g. 9.94–7 (the Magna Mater's prayer for her ships impossible for Jupiter to fulfil); 10.464–72 (Hercules unable to answer Pallas' prayer). Here Iris uses the *topos* deviously; Aen.'s absence from the Trojan camp is in fact at the behest of the gods. The second word in the relative clause, *optanti* 'in answer to your prayer', is in strong contrast to *ultro* 'of its own accord', the last word in the main clause.

nemo: a rare word in epic verse, used elsewhere in the *Aen.* only at 5.305, 349, 383; see Williams on 5.305; Axelson 76.

7 uoluenda dies 'time as it rolls along'. The use of the gerundive form as a participle is archaic (cf. 1.269 *uoluendis mensibus*); expressions of this sort imitate Homeric phrases such as περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν 'as the years go round'. *dies* here means 'time' in general; the feminine is for metrical convenience (Austin on 6.429). For the idea that time brings all things to birth compare Herodotus 5.9 'over the length of time all things might come to pass'; Soph. *Ajax* 646–7. *uoluenda* may also suggest the idea of *uolubilis fortuna* (Cic. *Pro Mil.* 69; cf. Nisbet on Cic. *In Pis.* 22): T. is the favourite of Fortune (*uoluenda dies*) but the enemy of Fate and the gods (*diuum*) (Schenk 52–5); he himself appeals to the unpredictability of Fortune at 11.425–7 *multa dies uariique labor mutabilis aeui | rettulit in melius, multos alterna reuisens | lusit et in solido rursus Fortuna locauit.*

8 The unhoped-for godsend is expressed in the bare statement that Aeneas has been separated from the Trojan people, whose survival is his own reason for being.

urbe: the camp which the Trojans had built at their landfall at the mouth of the Tiber, 7.157–9, landwards of their moored fleet. By altering the usual tradition in which Aeneas comes to shore at a point further south in the *ager Laurens*, V. locates the camp on the site of the future Ostia; attempts to identify the camp with the fourth-century *castrum*, whose walls were still visible at Ostia in V.'s time, and to discover in the text other topographical realities are probably based on a misconception of the poet's way of constructing his landscape (in general see N. M. Horsfall, *G.&R.* n.s. 32 (1985) 197–208): see Carcopino; T. Frank, 'Aeneas' city at the mouth of the Tiber', *A.J.Ph.* 45 (1924) 64–7; B. Tilly, *Vergil's Latium* (Oxford 1947) 1–30; della Corte 121–94; Perret 172–5; timely scepticism in R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford 1973²) 483–7. On the significance of the description of the military camp as an *urbs* see Introd. (section 5). That the name of the new 'city' is 'Troia' may be suggested by 7.233; 9.644; 10.27 (see Harrison ad loc.), 74, 214, 378.

9 'seeks the royal dwelling of Evander' (Page), with hendiadys of *sceptra* (poetic plural) and *sedem.*

Palatini is a surprising anachronism, the adjective from *Palatium* 'the Palatine hill', a name which Roman antiquarians derived from *Pallanteum*, the name of Evander's city on the site of Rome (8.54), called after the Arcadian city *Pallantion* (Fordyce on 8.51ff.). *Palatium*,

not used elsewhere in the *Aen.*, is not a name that T. will know. The collocation *sceptra Palatini* will remind the Roman reader that the Palatine was to be the site of king Romulus' dwelling and later of the palace of the Roman emperor: *the* city that matters.

petit Euandri: the final syllable of the present *petit* is lengthened 'irrationally' in the fifth arsis before the molossus *Euandri*, giving a spondaic fifth foot; compare *Geo.* 2.5 *grauidus autumno*; and for irrational lengthening in this position cf. also 7.398.

10 nec satis 'nor [is that] enough'. 'A remarkable ellipse ... the omission of the emphatic pronoun *illud* is unparalleled' [F.].

Corythi: the father of Dardanus, who emigrated from Etruria to the land of Troy and became the ancestor of the Trojans (3.170, 7.209); Corythus was also the founder of the Etruscan city Cortona (Silius, *Pun.* 4.719–20): *Corythi ... urbes* thus means 'the cities of Etruria' in general. Iris exaggerates: in fact Aen. goes no further than Caere (modern Cerveteri), 44 miles north-west of Rome, to join up with the Etruscan forces assembled under Tarchon (8.597–605). The distortion of fact (comparable to the exaggerations of Venus in the Council of Gods in book x) serves two purposes. First, it is rhetorically effective: T. is to act *now* both because Aen. is a very long way away, and because he will presently return with a large force from the furthest reaches of Etruria. Secondly, in going to the 'cities of Corythus', Aen. fulfils the command of the Penates at 3.170 to 'search out Corythus' (thus reversing the journey of Dardanus who had left Corythus to 'penetrate' to the cities of Phrygia, 7.207). (N. M. Horsfall's attempt, *J.R.S.* 63 (1973) 68–79, to identify Corythus with Tarquinii is discussed by E. L. Harrison and N. M. Horsfall in *C.Q.* n.s. 26 (1976) 293–7, and Horsfall in J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall (eds.), *Roman myth and mythography* (London 1987) 89–104.)

11 Lydorumque: the reference to the supposed origin of the Etruscans in Lydia (Herodotus 1.94) jars if we remember that descent from the Etruscan Corythus establishes Italy as the original motherland of Aeneas.

collectos: *colligere* is often used of the *ad hoc* gathering of troops, e.g. Cic. *Catil.* 2.8 *nunc uero quam subito* [*Catilina*] *non solum ex urbe, uerum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat.* With the reading *et* (or Parrhasius' *collectosque*) T. is told that he will have to

face an army of both Etruscan townsmen and the local countryfolk. Without *et*, punctuation after *urbes* in line 10 leaves *Lydorumque manum*, i.e. the inhabitants of the Etruscan cities, in apposition to *collectos ... agrestis*, which would more naturally refer to troops such as the simple countrymen who take arms when Ascanius kills the stag of Sylvia (7.504); while punctuation after *manum* makes *Lydorumque manum* a feeble expansion of *extremas Corythi ... ad urbes*.

12 Compare the closing words of Venus to Aen. when she hands over the divine armour (8.613–4): *ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos | aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum*. At 12.326–7 T. *poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus | emicat in currum*. But at 49–50 T. appears on horseback, not in a chariot.

tempus 'the right moment' (καιρός), which T. is always eager to seize: cf. 11.459, 12.96. Contrast Jupiter's attempt to defer the gods' eagerness for war at the beginning of the next book, 10.11 *aduenit iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus*.

13 rumpe moras omnis 'break off all delays': cf. Mercury's words to Aen. at 4.569 *heia age, rumpe moras*. The phrase is probably Virgilian, first at *Geo.* 3.43.

turbata arripe castra 'snatch the camp and throw it into confusion': *turbata* is best taken proleptically of the effect of T.'s sudden swoop on the Trojan camp (for the sequence compare 9.537–8 [*flamma*] *corripuit tabulas ... | turbati trepidare intus*). Alternatively 'snatch the camp while it is in turmoil (because Aen. is away)' (cf. Statius' imitation, *Theb.* 9.844–5 *turbatos arripit ense | Arcadas*). In that case Iris again distorts the truth: at 44–6 we find the Trojans composed in the absence of Aen.; but T. will be more eager if he foresees an easy prey (for this interpretation cf. 12.302 *caesariem ... turbati corripit hostis*).

castra: the same as the *urbs* of v. 8 (see n.).

14–15 This pair of lines reproduces, with minor variation, 5.657–8, where Iris, who in the disguise of Beroe has tried to persuade the Trojan women to fire the ships, reveals her true identity as she flies off. At 4.694–702 Iris descends with the rainbow as her train. In Homer Iris is dissociated from the rainbow (Ἶρις); V. often re-establishes the connection between an epic anthropomorphic god and the natural phenomenon with which he or she is linked; it is probable that Ennius had already connected the messenger Iris and

the rainbow (see Skutsch on *Ann.* 399). At *Il.* 17.544–52 the dispatch of Athena, wrapped in a dark cloud, by Zeus to stir up the Greeks to battle is compared to a rainbow, a sign of war or of storm; for the Greeks and Romans the rainbow is not a good omen.

14 paribus ... alis 'on balanced wings': also at 4.252 (Mercury).

15 'And in her flight traced a huge bow beneath the clouds.' *ingentem* and *arcum* arch over the line in enclosing word-order.

secuit ... arcum: *secare* is used of 'cutting' a path through the waves or the air; V. also uses *secare uiam* on the analogy of Greek τέμνειν ὁδόν lit. 'cut a path' (6.899). Here '*secare arcum* = *secando aera facere arcum*' (Williams on 5.658).

sub nubibus: the ancients commonly believed that the rainbow was a reflection of the sun *in* a cloud (O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* (Leipzig 1907) 604–16). V.'s line-ending may owe something to Lucr. 6.526 *tum color in nigris exsistit nubibus arci.*

16–17 The pattern of recognition of a god who reveals true signs of his or her divinity only on departure is repeated at 9.659–60 (Apollo), and at 1.405–6 (Venus and Aen.) *ille ubi matrem | agnouit tali fugientem est uoce secutus.* At *Il.* 13.66–72 Ajax recognizes the disguised Poseidon from behind as he flies off. Here, however, we are not told that Iris had put on a disguise. T.'s recognition and reaction are conveyed in a tricolon crescendo.

duplicisque 'both'. *palmas* is precise: the ancients prayed with hands uplifted and palms upturned to the sky (3.176–7 *supinas | ad caelum ... manus*).

ad sidera: just 'towards the sky' (cf. 1.93, 10.667), but note 20–1.

17 sustulit: the repetition of this word from line 14 perhaps conveys ironically the dupe T.'s attempt to associate himself with the puropses of the powers on high. In this century there has developed an orthodoxy that ancient poets were less sensitive to verbal repetition than modern (see Fordyce on 7.491); for considerations to the contrary see P. E. Easterling, *Hermes* 101 (1973) 14–34.

18–19 T.'s question is modelled on that of Achilles to Iris at *Il.* 18.182 'goddess Iris, what god has sent you to me as a messenger?'; Achilles receives an answer, but in V. humans rarely enjoy prolonged conversation with the gods (see Feeney 181–3). Turnus' uncertainty here is also contrasted with the circumstantial divine

communications received by Aen. in the previous book, from Tiberinus (8.36–65) and Venus (8.608–14), and in the following book from the ship-nymph Cymodocea (10.219–45). T. adds visual detail to Achilles' unadorned question: Iris is addressed as 'glory of the sky', a reference to her manifestation as the rainbow (compare Nisus' address to Luna as 9.405 *astrorum decus*; Hor. *Carm. saec.* 1–2 *Phoebe siluarumque potens Diana,* | *lucidum caeli decus*); instead of Homer's simple 'who sent you?' T. maps out Iris' descent from the *caelum*, borne on the *nubes* of the middle air, to *terrae*; cf. Genesis 9.13 'I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth.'

18 nubibus actam 'riding on the clouds', 'as it were in a chariot' (Henry): a slightly strange expression, as it is clouds that are normally 'driven' by the wind (e.g. *Geo.* 1.421).

19 detulit 'brought down', unexpectedly for 'sent down'; perhaps there is a hint of the nautical sense of *defero* 'bring to land': flying is often described in terms of sailing or rowing. Cf. also (in a meteorological context) Lucr. 5.1092 *fulmen detulit in terram mortalibus ignem.*

terras 'the earth', as often in the plural.

19–21 Turnus now describes a quite different meteorological apparition, the *caeli discessus* or 'parting of the sky', recognized as an (ill) omen in technical treatises on augury (cf. Cic. *De div.* 1.97 with Pease ad loc.), but not otherwise connected with the rainbow. Are we to imagine that the clouds part along the line of the rainbow that Iris has cut through them (for a rather similar apparition cf. 1.586–8 *cum circumfusa repente* | *scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.* | *restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit*)? V.'s description of this cosmic marvel has a strongly Lucretian colouring: cf. Lucr. 3.16–17 (the revelation brought on by the words of the divine Epicurus) *moenia mundi* | *discedunt, totum uideo per inane geri res*; 2.1030–5 (habit blunts our sense of wonder) *principio caeli clarum purumque colorem,* | *quaeque in se cohibet, palantia sidera passim,* | *lunamque et solis praeclara luce nitorem;* | *omnia quae nunc si primum mortalibus essent,* | *ex improuiso si sint obiecta repente,* | *quid magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici?*; *repente*, less common in V. than *subito*, is found very frequently in Lucretius at line-end. There is also a Homeric model, the description of a clear night in a simile (*Il.* 8.558–9; 8.558 = 16.300) 'the immense aether was cleft in the heavens, and all the stars were visible', which describes the

watchfires of the Trojans on the night before the attack on the ships (and T. is about to attack the Trojan ships). In the structural parallelism between books VIII and IX this omen corresponds to Aen.'s vision of arms in the sky at 8.524–9. But T.'s vision is difficult to interpret: can we even be sure that he is not 'seeing things' (stars in broad daylight?), as the omen is not narrated directly? As we read on we shall be struck by the contrast between the evasiveness of this omen and the authority of the epiphany and miracle at 107–22.

20 tempestas 'weather'.

medium: of the quarter of the sky in which the parting occurs, as in Ovid, *Fasti* 3.371 *a media caelum regione dehiscere coepit.*

21 palantisque ... stellas: probably the stars moving across the sky (not the 'wandering' planets), as *palantia sidera* at Lucr. 2.1031 (quoted above at 19–21 n.). In the context of this irregular omen *palor* may have its normal sense of disorganized movement.

sequor: the present of immediate intention. Compare the responses of Anchises to the *omen impetratiuum* of the shooting star at 2.701 *iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et qua ducitis adsum*, and of Aen. to the command of Mercury at 4.576–7 *sequimur te, sancte deorum,* | *quisquis es.*

22 quisquis: *quisquis*, like *quicumque*, is frequent in prayer-formulae, to cover all possibilities (it is essential to address the right god); here it also expresses a real doubt on Turnus' part: he does not know who has sent Iris. Cf. 4.577 (quoted 21 n.), 1.330 *sis felix nostrumque leues, quaecumque, laborem* (Aen. to Venus, whom he does not recognize but suspects to be a god).

22–4 Turnus' ceremonial hand-washing and prayer following his acceptance of the omen is expressed in a tricolon with solemn language: *effatus* is a poetic and augural word, much used by V.; *unda*, *gurges*, and *lympha* are all poetical words for 'water'. At 8.68–78 Aeneas, after his dream-vision of the Tiber, washes his hands and prays to the Nymphs and the Tiber

24 multa: an adverbial accusative, like Greek πολλά; cf. *Il.* 5.358 πολλὰ λισσομένη 'beseeching much'.

onerauitque aethera uotis 'and burdened the sky with vows', i.e. promises of weighty offerings contingent on success (or perhaps just 'with prayers', in which case the phrase is simply a variant on *multa deos orans*), on the analogy of phrases like 10.620 *onerauit limina*

donis. But whereas to load a temple threshold or altar with gifts can only honour the god, here there is a suggestion that T.'s prayers are a tiresome burden (cf. 7.582 *Martemque fatigant*; *OLD* s.v. *fatigo* 3b); and there is a paradox in loading down the *aether*, literally the 'upper air' and lightest of the elements (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.242–3 *grauitate carent ... | ... aër atque aëre purior ignis* (= *aether*). The air is in any case an unsafe depository: see 312–13, 745 nn.

25–46 The Italian army advances to the Trojan camp

This marks the beginning of full-scale operations, the natural sequel to the catalogue at the end of book VII after the interlude of book VIII: compare *Il.* 3.1–14 describing the advance of the Trojan and Achaean armies after the catalogues of book II. The retreat of the Trojans into their camp postpones full pitched battle until the next book and introduces the siege which occupies the bulk of book IX. For the first time we see the Trojans coping in the absence of Aeneas.

25 apertis: open and level, and hence suitable for the Italian cavalry (cf. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 3.26.6 *quos equitatus apertissimis campis consectatus*) and for the pitched battle (cf. *Geo.* 2.280 *campo stetit agmen aperto*) which the Trojans will deny T. by shutting themselves away.

26 A striking picture of the power and brilliance of the Italian army. For the genitive after *diues* 'rich in' cf. *Ecl.* 2.20, *Aen.* 1.343. Fordyce compares Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.13 (= *Ars poet.* 421) *diues agris, diues positis in faenore nummis*, a line which Lejay *ad loc.* suggests may echo an old poet.

pictai uestis et auri: for the combination of embroidered (*pictus*, sc. *acu* as at 582, often has this sense) fabrics and golden trappings cf. 7.277–9 (the gear of the horses given to the Trojans by Latinus) and 11.775–7 (the fantastic costume of Chloreus). The words here may be a hendiadys, 'clothes embroidered with gold' (cf. 3.483 *picturatas auri subtemine uestis*; and see Fordyce on 7.142). *pictai*, the original genitive form (also at 3.354, 6.747, 7.464), is an archaism; the brilliant glory of this army has long vanished (cf. 7.645–6). There is also a hint of a barbarian splendour: we remember enemies of Rome on the Shield of Aeneas in book VIII, the Gauls dressed in gold and stripes and Antony's eastern hordes in their barbaric opulence; this is a very different image of Italian soldiery from that painted by Remulus Nu-

manus later in the book. For Roman disapproval of opulent armour see Livy 9.40.4–6; 10.39.12–13 *non enim cristas uulnera facere, et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum, et candore tunicarum fulgentem aciem, ubi res ferro geratur, cruentari*; Tac. *Ann.* 6.34.3.

27–8 A parenthesis giving the order of the marching column (28 *agmen;* strictly speaking 27 *acies* denotes the line of battle; *acies* and *agmina* are used without distinction at 12.861). On the organization of the Roman *agmen* into vanguard, centre, and rear, see L–S s.v. *agmen* B.II; D–S I 142–6. Messapus, *equum domitor, Neptunia proles*, is one of the more prominent Latin leaders, introduced in the catalogue at 7.691–4; Ennius claimed descent from him (Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 524) (see further Harrison on 10.353–4). The Tyrrhidae are the sons of Tyrrhus, the shepherd who called the Italian farmers to arms after Ascanius accidentally killed his daughter Silvia's pet stag (7.483–510); their presence is a reminder of the immediate *casus belli.*

27 coercent 'keep in line', a variation on the technical military term *agmen cogere* 'bring up the rear'. There is a zeugma in the use of *coercent* with *primas acies* in place of a verb like *ducit.*

28 medio dux agmine Turnus: in the place of honour, as Pallas at 8.587–8 (the *profectio* of Aen. and his Arcadian allies, a scene with a general parallelism to the present). The position of *dux* in the middle of *medio ... agmine* mirrors the sense.

After 28, in later MSS, 7.784 has been interpolated.

30–2 Similes are a standard feature of Homeric descriptions of armies on the move. The main correspondence here is between the massive and ordered movement of the army, a host of contingents now obedient to one command, and the calm and inexorable flow of the Ganges, fed by its tributaries, or of the Nile, collecting its waters after the annual flood. There are detailed correspondences between the silent course of the Ganges and the implied silence of the Italian advance: sight not sound will reveal them to the Trojans (at *Il.* 3.8 and 4.431 the Achaeans advance 'in silence'; cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 180 'I see dust, the voiceless herald of the army'); *pingui* of the Nile echoes *diues* in v. 26; the Nile's confinement within its bed is like the discipline of the *agmen* 'kept in line'; 30 *surgens* is picked up by 34 *insurgere*; 32 *campis* is repeated at 25 and 34; 32 *iam* looks back to 25 *iamque.* The simile, which has no close extant models, is made easier by the poetic use of *agmen* to refer to the 'march' of a river (e.g.

2.782); it is imitated by Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 8.90–1. Although the simile refers to the Italians there is also an 'irrational correspondence' (for this term see D. West, 'Multiple-correspondence similes in the *Aeneid*', *J.R.S.* 59 (1969) 42–3 (= Harrison, *Oxford readings* 433–5) between the Nile 'hiding' itself in its bed and the Trojans 'hiding' themselves in their camp (*se condere*, 32 and 39). It is striking to find an *Italian* army compared to *Oriental* rivers: V. hints at a parallel between T.'s attack on the Trojans and Antony's attack on Rome with his Asian and Egyptian forces, a scene fresh in our minds from the description of the Shield of Aeneas in book VIII, which ends with pictures of conquered rivers in the triumph of Augustus; cf. *Geo.* 3.27–9 *Gangaridum ... arma ... atque Nilum* in a reference to Actium.

30–1 'Just as the Ganges [flows] silently, swelling high with seven calmed streams', taking the *amnes* as tributaries. The Ganges delta seems to have been unknown in V.'s time (Strabo 15 c690 talks of one mouth; see *RE* VII 1.703–7), and the picture of a river flowing out through seven mouths would anyway be irrelevant as a comparison for the Italian army. *sedatis* may allude to the belief that the Ganges descends from the mountains as a tumultuous torrent to flow gently through the plain (Pliny, *Nat.* 6.65). *altus* may be taken either as the adjective 'high' (or 'deep') or as the past participle of *alo*, 'fed [by the seven tributaries]' (so R. D. Williams, *C.Ph.* 63 (1968) 148): for *alo* in this sense cf. Mela 2.62, Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.6. The spondaic line with alliteration of *s* adds to the picture of the grand river.

31 per tacitum 'silently'.

pingui flumine both (i) 'with its mud-thickened stream' and (ii) 'with its enriching stream': Servius cites *Geo.* 4.293 (the Nile) *uiridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena.* The metonymy in sense (ii) is of the type whereby the agent is given an attribute proper to that on which it acts, like 6.275 *pallentes ... Morbi.* War enriches the fields with human blood (*Geo.* 1.492; N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.29).

32 refluit campis 'flows back from the fields' (after the annual inundation).

alueo is scanned as a disyllable by synizesis (the running together of two vowels).

33–4 The dust raised by an army on the move is another *topos* that

goes back to Homer (e.g. *Il.* 3.13–14); V. makes something far more ominous of it by repetition (the apparition of the dust-cloud is stated first in 33, and then varied in 34 *tenebras insurgere campis* and again in Caicus' description in 36), and by presenting it through the eyes and words of the Trojans threatened by it; it thus enters the complex of light and dark imagery that runs through the book. Cf. 11.876–7 (the Trojans move on the city of Latinus) *uoluitur ad muros caligine turbidus atra | puluis.* Lucan screws up the emotional response still further, 6.296–7 *Caesaris ut miles glomerato puluere uictus | ante aciem caeci trepidus sub nube timoris* ... De la Cerda cites parallels from the historians, e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 53 *Romani ex improuiso puluueris uim magnam animaduertunt.*

glomerari: on the thematic use of *glomero* (six of the 13 uses of the verb in the *Aen.* occur in this book) and *globus* in book IX see Saylor.

34 campis: local ablative rather than dative.

35 Caicus, who appears elsewhere only at 1.183, is briefly brought into focus to give a dramatic individual response to the communal threat. He is called after a river in Mysia (V. likes to call people after rivers: see Fordyce on 7.532); Silius Italicus takes the name for the man who first challenges Hannibal from the walls of Saguntum, the first episode in the Second Punic War (*Pun.* 1.306); Silius may thus indicate his awareness that the figure of Hannibal lies behind Turnus at this point in the *Aeneid* (see 48, 52–3, 757 nn.). On V.'s choice of names see M. Scarsi, *EV* s.v. *onomastica*, Holland, Saunders, Duque.

ab aduersa ... mole 'from the opposing rampart', a bold use of *moles* without further qualification to mean a wall or rampart.

36 globus ... caligine uoluitur atra: Warde Fowler 93 n. 2 comments on the variation of the phrasing in v. 33: '*nigro puluere* is only Virgil's description, while *caligine atra* is the excited expansion of Caicus, who is trying to make an impression on his hearers'. *ater* carries a strong emotional charge in V. (see Fordyce on 7.525). The scene is imitated by Claudian, *De bell. Got.* 455–7 *puluueris ambiguam nubem speculamur ab altis | turribus, incerti socios apportet an hostes | ille globus.*

o ciues: an appeal to communal solidarity to remind the Trojans that they are defending a 'city' against T. Cf. 783.

37 Asyndeton (whose effect would be weakened by the well-

attested variant *et scandite*), repetition of *f* and *t*, and the postponement until 38 of the answer (*hostis adest*) to his own question in 36, combine to lend a hurried urgency to Caicus' call to arms. Cf. 4.594 *ferte citi flammas, date tela, impellite remos!*

citi is used as a predicative adjective with adverbial sense.

38 The third-foot elision over the speech-ending catches the effect as Caicus' unceremonious and colloquial shout *heia* is immediately taken up by general shouting among the Trojans.

heia: the colloquialism is sanctioned in epic by Enn. *Ann.* 603.

39 A line framed with verbs at beginning and end, a favourite Virgilian pattern (Norden 392–3), here reinforced by alliteration. Gates and walls are the main props of the action in book IX; walls, ultimately *altae moenia Romae* (1.7), are a central theme of the whole epic (see J. Morwood, *G.&R.* n.s. 38 (1991) 212–23).

complent 'man', a military technical term.

40–3 This flashback shows that even though, as Iris had told T., Aen. is absent in person, his presence is felt in book IX through the prudent orders he gave as he set off, the orders of a cautious *imperator* who leaves nothing to chance (R. G. M. Nisbet, '*Aeneas Imperator*: Roman generalship in an epic context', *P.V.S.* 17 (1978–80) 50–61). As we read on we are kept in suspense first as to whether the Trojan defences are sufficient against the Italian siege assault, and secondly as to whether the Trojans will succeed in keeping their word to their leader while he is away, or whether they will succumb to temptation, led astray by their passions (like Orpheus in the fourth *Georgic*, in defiance of Proserpina's edict). Aen. spells out his orders unmistakably in one line of negative and one of positive instruction.

40 optimus armis: cf. 1.544–5 (Ilioneus' description of Aen.) *quo iustior alter | nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis.* Part of the military excellence of the Roman commander lies in knowing when *not* to fight, like a Fabius Maximus.

41 'If any emergency should have arisen' (Conington). Cf. 172 *si quando aduersa uocarent*; *fortuna* here is euphemistic.

fuisset represents the future perfect *fuerit* in direct speech.

42 credere campo: 'put their faith in the battlefield', another way of saying *struere aciem.*

43 castra at the beginning of the line contrasts strongly with the alliterating *campo* at the end of the previous line.

seruarent contains the notions both of 'protecting' and of 'keeping to', 'staying within' the walls.

tutos . . . aggere muros 'the wall rendered secure by the mound or rampart built up against it on the inside' (Henry on 10.23–4). Henry seems to be correct here, although Virgil and later epicists use the phrase *agger murorum* as apparently little more than a periphrasis for *muri* (see also Harrison on 10.23–4). *tutos* here retains something of its original verbal force as the perfect passive participle of *tueor,* and the etymological play is reinforced by its juxtaposition with *seruarent* in the same sense.

44 Shame and anger, half personified, dictate a course contrary to Aen.'s calm strategy; cf. *Il.* 13.121–2 'but each of you put shame and indignation (νέμεσιν) in your minds'. *pudor* is guaranteed by Claudian's imitation at *De sext. cons. Hon.* 246; the alternative reading *furor* for *pudor* is a reminiscence of 2.316–17 *furor iraque mentem | praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis*: here, as there, if the Trojans are to survive rational conduct of war must replace obedience to the passions. *pudor* is the Homeric hero's sense of shame, αἰδώς; Numanus tries to play on Trojan *pudor* in his taunts at 9.598; *pudor* is a spur to fighting at 5.455; 9.787; 10.398, 871. Shame (e.g. Livy 6.24.7) and anger are also frequent spurs to action in the historians.

45 obiciunt 'throw in the way of' (the Italians), a vivid way of saying 'close'.

facessunt: a near-synonym of *facio*, with an added notion of alacrity, as at *Geo.* 4.548 *haud mora, continuo matris praecepta facessit.* The choice of verbs in this line emphasizes the whole-heartedness with which the Trojans initially throw themselves into Aen.'s defensive strategy.

46 cauis highlights the fact that the Trojans are holed up inside their defences (*OLD* s.v. 3a 'hollow . . . with the added notion of concealing, protecting'); the adjective is used of the hiding-place of the Greeks inside the Wooden Horse (2.38, 53, 260), 'manned with armed soldiers' (2.20), which Laocoon vainly tries to breach (on further parallels between books II and IX see 503–89 n.). Propertius combines echoes of this passage and of the encounter between Ascanius and Numanus later in the book in his account of Romulus and Acron, 4.10.5–16: cf. esp. 13 *hunc uidet ante cauas librantem spicula turris.*

47–167 Turnus' attempt to fire the Trojan ships; the metamorphosis of the ships; Turnus' speech at nightfall

T. obeys Allecto's command at 7.431 *pictasque exure carinas*. The main Iliadic model is *Il.* 8.158–565, Hector's attack on the Achaean ships with the intention of firing them, broken off by nightfall at the end of the book; there are also elements from Hector's successful attack on the ships in *Il.* 15 and 16. Inset is an adaptation of the Odyssean episode of the metamorphosis of the Phaeacian ship into a rock: see 77–122 n. and Knauer 270–2.

47–53 It seems best to punctuate after 47 *agmen* and take 48 *et* as co-ordinating *comitatus* and *improuisus* (so Conington and Page). Mynors extends the *ut* clause to 49 *adest*, which yields an atypically long and clumsy period stopping only at 53. To take *ut ante uolans* as 'like one flying in front', with Ribbeck, is implausible. Henry's parallels for anacoluthon after 50 are not convincing. Peerlkamp's *comitantibus* for *comitatus et* is attractive.

47 Turnus: the Trojans' wait (46) for the enemy is not delayed beyond the first word of the next sentence as the Rutulian leader hurtles into view out of the dust-cloud, no longer *medio agmine* (28). This dramatic emergence of a leading character from a group is thoroughly Virgilian: cf. 2.40–1 *primus ... ante omnis ...* | *Laocoon* (cf. the pleonasm here in *ante ... prae-*); 8.110–11 *audax quos rumpere Pallas* | *sacra uetat raptoque uolat telo obuius ipse.* Laocoon and Pallas, like T., rush out brandishing a spear.

48 comitatus: the retinue appropriate for a great personage. The number 20 may be an arbitrary one, but it may be relevant that 20 was the number of the *fetiales* and that 2,000 was the number of the cavalry who accompanied Hannibal to Rome according to Livy 26.10.3 (see 52–3 n.).

urbi: see 8 n.

49 improuisus adest: like the Greeks who, in one of the more truthful parts of Sinon's speech at 2.182, *improuisi aderunt.* T. repeatedly thinks of himself as re-enacting the Greek siege of Troy, but the futility of his spear-throw may remind *us* rather of Laocoon's equally bold and useless spear-throw at the Wooden Horse (2.50–6).

49–50 maculis quem Thracius albis | portat equus: cf. 5.565–6 (Polites) *quem Thracius albis | portat equus bicolor maculis.* The

horses of the Thracian king Rhesus were 'whiter than snow and as fleet as the winds' (*Il.* 10.437:), a line translated at 12.84 in a description of the horses given to T.'s ancestor Pilumnus by Orithyia, wife of Thracian Boreas; this horse is presumably of that stock. T. is constantly associated with fine horses (see Harrison on 10.20–2).

50 tegit: of a helmet at Ovid, *Met.* 3.542; *Fast.* 2.13.

aurea rubra: the combination of red (or purple) and gold occurs also at 163 (n.) and 270. The combination of white, gold, and red recurs in the arming of T. at 12.81–89. T.'s fearsome helmet is described at 7.785–8. Roman legionaries wore purple or black feathers in their helmets (Polyb. 6.23.12).

51 T.'s language is vigorously colloquial: *ecquis* is frequent in Comedy, as also the animated breaking off of the sentence after *hostem* (aposiopesis; see Austin on 1.135). One might place a question mark after *iuuenes*, giving two brief questions: the form *qui* for the interrogative pronoun is also of a lower stylistic register, although elsewhere in V. it is found only before initial *s* for reasons of euphony, as at 9.146 (L–H–S 540–1, Williams on 3.608).

52–3 'He shews what he means by action instead of words' (Page); cf. the manner in which Ascanius 'answers' the blustering Numanus at 621–37. T.'s words break off with the ejaculation *en* occupying the first syllable of 52. His action carries overtones of later Roman history: in 211 BC Hannibal rode up to the walls of Rome and, according to one version (Cic. *De fin.* 4.22; Pliny, *Nat.* 34.32), hurled a spear within the walls of Rome (see N. M. Horsfall '*Turnus ad portas*', *Latomus* 33 (1974) 80–6). Commentators from Servius on see an allusion to the ritual declaration of war made by the *fetiales* by casting a spear into the territory of the enemy (Livy 1.32.12–14); on this and other types of first spear-throw see J. Bayet, *M.E.F.R.* 52 (1935) 51–4. Within the *Aen.* cf. the spear-throw of the Italian augur Tolumnius at 12.258–68 that breaks the truce between Aen. and Latinus.

52 attorquens: a Virgilian neologism which in sense seems to differ little from the more frequent *intorquere*; other compound verbs with *ad-* first found in V. are 5.246 *aduelare*, 10.432 *addensere*, 10.628 *adlacrimare*.

in auras: the breezes are the medium of a missile (*per auras*); here the spear-throw is symbolic with no definite target. Cf. 745 n.

53 principium pugnae: in apposition to the sentence; cf.

10.310–11 *primus turmas inuasit agrestis | Aeneas, omen pugnae* (Aen.'s first appearance in battle after his return to the camp, matching T.'s first act of aggression here).

campo sese arduus infert = *Geo.* 2.145 (the Italian war-horse). T.'s *superbia* finds physical expression as he towers on horseback (cf. 7.784 *toto uertice supra est*); at the very end he will be *humilis* (12.930). *arduus* is particularly appropriate for the ruler of *Ardea*, whose name Servius (on 7.412) derives from *ardua*; V. puns himself at 7.412–13 *magnum manet Ardea nomen, | ... tectis hic Turnus in altis*, as he does on the homonymous bird at *Geo.* 1.364 *altam supra uolat ardea nubem* (cf. Lucan 5.553–4 *ausa uolare | ardea sublimis*). See J. J. O'Hara, *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 375 n. 17; Maltby s.vv. *ardea, Ardea.*

54 clamore: the reading *clamore excipiunt* 'greet [his spear-throw] with a shout' yields a typical theme and variation (*fremituque sequuntur*), like 636–7 *clamore sequuntur | laetitiaque fremunt*; the variant *clamorem excipiunt* makes the slightly different point that they 'take up his shout' (i.e. 52 '*en*') (cf. Livy 24.31.4 *a Cretensibus clamor est ortus, deinde exceptus ab aliis*). But it is the spear, not the shout, that is at the centre of attention. On the battle-cry see Wickert 455–6.

sequuntur: probably 'back up', rather than literally 'follow [up to the walls]', as at 10.799; cf. 8.90 *rumore secundo* (with Fordyce).

55 horrisono: 6.573 (see Norden's n.); Cic. *Arat.* 13; Lucr. 5.109.

inertia 'unwarlike', a term of strong abuse; cf. 11.732–3 *o semper inertes | Tyrrheni, quae tanta animis ignauia uenit?*

56–7 The structure of the Rutulians' bemused thoughts is closely parallel to that of Aen.'s command at 42–3 (two negative clauses, one positive), but the different choice of words conveys their contempt (*aequo, dare se* (instead of *credere*), *arma uiros, fouere*).

57 arma uiros: one of the eleven repetitions (with varying case and number of *uir*) in the poem of the first two words of the poem *arma uirum*; four occur in this book (also 462, 620, 777), a central theme of which is the definition of the hero (see Introd. (section 6)). In the eyes of the Rutulians the Trojans are not fighting as 'men' of the heroic age should (*uiros* is emphatic), a charge that is later developed at length in the speech of Numanus Remulus at 598–620, which concludes 620 *sinite arma uiris et cedite ferro*. See A. Bloch '*Arma uirumque* als heroisches Leitmotiv', *M.H.* 27 (1970) 206–11; Norden 368 n. 2.

fouere 'sit snug in', like chicks in a nest; cf. *Fama*'s contemptuous report of Dido and Aen. at 4.193 *nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fouere.*

turbidus: of T. also at 10.648; 12.10, 671 (and cf. 12.685). His agitation is opposed to the settled resolve of the Trojans.

atque huc: a rare type of line-end with a monosyllable preceded by an elided disyllable, as at 440 (Norden 438–9). Elision over the caesura at a full stop conveys excitement.

58 lustrat: here combining the sense of 'go round' and 'survey' as at 8.230–1 *ter totum feruidus ira | lustrat Auentini montem* (Hercules prowling around the cave of Cacus, a passage which displays other verbal and thematic parallels with the present one). On the uses of *lustrare* in V. see Warde Fowler 96–8; Fordyce on 7.391. Silius, *Pun.* 12.565 *nunc aditus lustrat*, of Hannibal outside the walls of Rome, may allude to this line (see 52–3 n.).

per auia: *auius*, usually 'trackless', is here used in the sense *inuius* 'that cannot be entered'. On the image of *uia* in book IX see Introd. (section 8).

59–64 The simile is constructed mainly from two Greek (non-Iliadic) models: (i) *Od.* 6.130–4 (Odysseus emerging from the bushes to meet Nausicaa) 'He went like a lion bred in the mountains, trusting in its strength, which goes through rain and wind, and its eyes blaze; he comes among cattle or sheep, or goes after wild deer; his stomach bids him even to enter into the strongly-built farmstead to attack the flocks.' Lines 130 and 133–4 are adapted from part of a simile at *Il.* 12.299–306 describing Sarpedon's assault on the Achaean wall (a structural parallel to the Virgilian simile). (ii) Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1243–7 (Polyphemus wandering in the wilderness looking for Hylas) '... like some wild beast, whom the cry of sheep reaches from afar, that goes after them burning with hunger, but it does not find the flocks, for the shepherds had gathered them before in the folds; it bellows and roars tremendously, until it is tired.' At 565–6 T. is compared to a wolf successful in snatching a lamb; at 339–41 Nisus and Euryalus are compared to a wolf in a simile that echoes the present one. Cf. 2.355–8 (Aen. and his desperate band) *inde, lupi ceu | raptores atra in nebula, quos improba uentris | exegit caecos rabies catulique relicti | faucibus exspectant siccis* (the detail of the wolf-cubs is pointedly absent here). Milton imitates the simile in the description

of Satan's entry into Paradise, *Paradise Lost* 4.183–7 'As when a prowling wolf, Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey, Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve In hurdled cotes amid the field secure, Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold.' There is a strong contrast between the first simile of the book, 30–2, picturing the common resolve of the Italian army led by T., and this image of T. as a lone wolf (in Homeric similes wolves appear only in packs). See further Schenk 194–9.

59 pleno: 39 *moenia complent.*

insidiatus: cf. *Geo.* 3.537 *non lupus insidias explorat ouilia circum.* 'Ambush' is hardly exact for Turnus' attack on the camp; V. is perhaps influenced by the wish to strengthen the parallel with the *insidiae* by which the Greeks took Troy (2.65 etc.); see also 237 n.

60 fremit: 54 *fremituque.*

caulas = 'a fence made of bars with openings between them' (Nettleship).

61 nocte super media: there seems to be no exact parallel for this temporal use of *super* in the sense of Greek ἐπί + dative 'at', 'during'.

tuti: 43 *tutos.*

sub matribus: this detail is not found in the models, and prepares us for the role of Euryalus' mother later in the book. Cf. also 565.

61–2 agni | balatum exercent: cf. *Geo.* 4.435 *auditisque lupos* os *acuunt balatibus agni.*

62–3 Cf. the description of the water-snake at *Geo.* 3.434 *saeuit* uit *agris asperque siti*; 9.794 *asper, acerba tuens*, in a lion simile of T., had been used by Lucretius 5.33 of a serpent.

asper 'fierce', but also 'rough-sounding', like the *rs* in the second half of 62.

improbus: a favourite Virgilian adjective, describing 'a complete absence of modesty or moderation' (Page on 11.512); see also Austin on 4.386.

ira: 66 *irae.*

saeuit in absentis: adapted from the description of a hunting-dog in the *De morte* of Varius Rufus fr. 4.1–3 Büchner *ceu canis umbrosam lustrans Gortynia uallem ... | saeuit in absentem* (for other Virgilian imitations of this passage see Thomas on *Geo.* 3.253–4). The expres-

sion is the more striking in that *saeuire in* is normally used of the actual performance of violence, 'to vent one's rage on'; 'rage against' is a misleading translation. The description of animals (or men) committing violence on absent or imaginary prey becomes a cliché in later epic. This is a rare example of a line with a trochaic caesura in both fourth and fifth feet (see Norden on 6.140; Austin on 1.188).

63–4 edendi | ... rabies: on the analogy of expressions like 8.184 *amor edendi.* V. conflates the innate *rabies* of the wolf with the pangs of hunger; Ovid pointedly separates the two in the description of a wolf at *Met.* 11.369–70, *qui quamquam saeuit pariter rabieque fameque,* | *acrior est rabie.*

ex longo: temporal (*TLL* s.v. *longus* 1643.21: a rare use).

siccae sanguine 'dry of blood', with the ablative on the analogy of words like *uacuus*: cf. 8.261 *siccum sanguine guttur*, Cacus' throat 'drained of blood'.

65 The use of *Rutulus* to refer to Turnus in this fiery context perhaps puns on *rutilus.*

66 By a turn common in V. (Hardie 232–3) the figurative or physiological flame of T.'s anger will manifest itself in the external fires of the torches in 71–6. The representation of passion (anger, love, etc.) as a heating in the bones goes back to primitive notions about the marrow as seat of the life-soul (R. B. Onians, *The origins of European thought* (Cambridge 1951) 149–50), and such expressions in V. have an archaic (possibly Ennian: see Norden on 6.54–5) feel to them; cf. e.g. 5.172 *exarsit iuueni dolor ossibus ingens*; 7.355 *ossibus implicat ignem.* Fiery anger is particularly associated with T. (7.462–6, 12.101–2; see 731–5 n.). Thus far in this book the Trojans have controlled their anger (44–5).

irae: V. prefers the plural to the singular (see Austin on 4.197).

dolor: frequently of the distress accompanying anger, e.g. 1.25–6 (of Juno) *necdum etiam causae irarum saeuique dolores* | *exciderant animo.*

67–8 For the indirect deliberative questions without introductory verb of thinking cf. 399–401; *Geo.* 4.504–5.

et is here disjunctive (*TLL* 894.30): Turnus looks either for a method of breaking in or for a way (*uia* is virtually synonymous with *ratio*) of forcing the Trojans to come out. For a similar disjunctive use of *-que* cf. 2.36–7 *suspectaque dona* | *praecipitare iubent subiectisque urere flammis*; 5.68.

excutiat ... effundat: the pair of verbs is used of downing a charioteer at 12.531–2 *ingentis turbine saxi | excutit effunditque solo.*

in aequor: this, the more difficult reading (but also a line-ending at 10.451), was read by Orosius 5.16.9 and perhaps by Valerius Flaccus (*Argon.* 6.30 *hinc fundit in aequora Persen*). *aequor* most commonly means 'sea' and it is distracting that the next word is *classem.* Peerlkamp compares Livy 22.13.1 (Hannibal) *inritat ... ducem Romanum, si forte ... detrahere ad aequum certamen possit.*

69–76 The Achaean ships are fired by the Trojans at *Il.* 16.112–24, fulfilling Hector's wish at 8.180–3.

69 classem: the word-order graphically represents T.'s thought-process: he thinks suddenly of the fleet, considers its position (*quae ... latebat*), and then attacks (*inuadit*).

lateri ... latebat: the jingle (*paronomasia, adnominatio*: see Norden on 6.204ff.) reinforces the idea that the fleet was tucked away to the side of the camp. Cf. the word-plays on *lateo, latebra* at 8.322–3, 12.389.

70 The fleet (moored at 7.106) is probably to be envisaged lying in the angle between the wall of the camp and the river as it bends round, as the line is enclosed by *aggeribus ... undis.* In the *Iliad* the Trojans fire the ships only after breaking through the Achaean wall.

saeptam: R's variant *clausam* comes from 1.310–12 *classem ... | arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris | occulit.*

71 inuadit ... poscit: *hysteroproteron, ut auiditatem iuuenis ostenderet* (Servius Dan.). At the corresponding point in the *Iliad*, 15.716–25, Hector finds time for an eight-line address to his men, beginning (718) 'bring fire, and at the same time all together raise a shout' (ἀϋτήν, at line-end like *ouantis* here). V. places more emphasis on the sensory (and symbolic) quality of the fire.

72 pinu: either metonymically 'pine-torch' (on the analogy of Greek πεύκη), or hyperbolically, like Eur. *Her.* 372–3 πεύκαισιν ὄθεν χέρας | πληροῦντες '[Centaurs] then filling their hands with pine trunks' (see Bond *ad loc*). T. has affinities with mythological monsters of unreason: see 75–6 n. and cf. 521–2 n.

flagranti feruidus: the same alliterating conceit is found at 7.397–8 *ipsa inter medias flagrantem feruida pinum | sustinet.* Amata, like T., has been inflamed with the torches of Allecto; see 66 n.

73 tum uero: marking a crisis. Cf. 4.397 *tum uero Teucri incumbunt.*

praesentia Turni: 'Turnus is *praesens* in the sense in which the word is applied to an assisting power' [F.]. The divine or demonic quality of T. reaches a climax in his 'epiphany' at 731–5 (n.). More naturalistically, it is a *topos* that troops seek to distinguish themselves before the eyes of their general (many examples in de la Cerda).

74 accingitur 'arm themselves'; with this extended use cf. 12.811 *flammis cincta*; 6.570–1 *accincta flagello | Tisiphone.* Claudian puts an adaptation of this line into the mouth of Allecto, *In Ruf.* 1.49 *quid facibus nequiquam cingimur atris?*

75 diripuere focos: a perfect of instantaneous action amidst the historic presents. Servius Dan. comments *quaeritur, quid ibi faciant foci. sed in carminibus quaedam nec ad subtilitatem nec ad ueritatem exigenda sunt.* An answer might be that these are the fire-altars of the gods (*focus* is frequent in this sense, *TLL* 989.83), set up during the religious celebrations at 7.133–47. Cf. the sacrilegious use of the sacred fires at 12.285 *craterasque focosque ferunt*, 12.298–301; and also 5.660–1 (the Trojan women set fire to the ships) *rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem, | pars spoliant aras.*

75–6 There are verbal parallels with the descriptions of the smoky flames of Etna hurled skywards at 3.572–4 and of the flames belched forth by Cacus at 8.252–5. All three passages also find echoes in the language used of the advancing black dust-cloud at 33, 36. T. is aligned with the forces of Hell; we have already seen his helmet with its device of the Chimaera *Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis* (7.786). See S. G. P. Small, 'The arms of Turnus: *Aeneid* 7.783–92', *T.A.Ph.A.* 90 (1959) 243–52; Buchheit 110–12.

piceum . . . lumen: V. likes paradoxical expressions of this kind ('darkness visible'): 7.456–7 *atro | lumine fumantis . . . taedas*; 4.384 *atris ignibus*; 8.198–9; 11.186. T. charges onto the scene with a *piceum lumen* and leaves it in a *piceum flumen* of sweat (813–14).

Volcanus 'fire', by metonymy as often (cf. 2.311; 5.662 (the burning of the ships); 7.77). There will be extra point if G. Dumézil, *Fêtes romaines d'été et d'automne* (Paris 1975) 65 n. 1, is correct in seeing in the episode of the ships preserved from Vulcan's flames an allusion to the festival of the Volcanalia.

ad astra: the hyperbole is not idle; it marks the attempt to fire the ships as an affront to the gods (like Etna, the mountain lying on the defeated Enceladus, which 3.574 *sidera lambit* with its flames), and also

shifts the scene to the place of the gods to whose conversation we are privy in the next scene (see 637 n.).

77–122 The metamorphosis of the Trojan ships into sea-nymphs

Since antiquity many critics have felt this episode to be implausible and incongruous; Ovid cites it as an example of *fecunda licentia uatum* (*Am.* 3.12.38). But metamorphosis is found prominently elsewhere in the poem, e.g. the bleeding bush into which the spear-riddled body of Polydorus is transformed (3.22–48); and more abstract kinds of metamorphosis, or mutability, are thematically central to the *Aen.* (see P. R. Hardie, 'Augustan poets and the mutability of Rome', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman poetry and propaganda in the age of Augustus* (Bristol 1992) 59–82). This transformation has no direct effect on the outcome of the war, and V. avoids infringing the human limitations of the epic hero by miraculous supernatural assistance of the kind that is at home in romance (Jupiter makes the point at 95–7). The episode may be V.'s own invention: the apotheosis of heroic ships has a precedent in the catasterism of the *Argo* (for allusions to the *Argo* see 77–9, 85–7, 87, 91–2, 119–21 nn.), but the chief model is *Od.* 13.125–64, Poseidon's metamorphosis to stone (with Zeus's approval) of the Phaeacian ship that had transported Odysseus back to Ithaca; in both Homer and V. the transformation also symbolizes the end of the hero's journeying. Ovid, in his reworking of the Virgilian episode, pointedly contrasts the hardening into stone of the Phaeacian ship with the softening into flesh of the Trojan ships (*Met.* 14.549–65). The episode is parallel to 5.680–99, the miraculous prevention of the burning of the Trojan ships by a rainstorm sent in answer to Aen.'s prayer to Jupiter; more remotely cf. Neptune's intervention in book 1 to save Aen.'s ships from a storm raised by an agent of Juno (see Introd. (section 3)). Viewed as an omen the intervention of Cybele may be compared with the apparition of arms in the sky at 8.524–9. Bibliography: R. D. Williams, *Antichthon* 1 (1967) 38–40 = Harrison, *Oxford readings* 33–5; E. Fantham, '*Nymphas . . . e nauibus esse*: decorum and poetic fiction in *Aeneid* 9.77–122 and 10.215–59', *C.Ph.* 85 (1990) 102–19; P. R. Hardie, 'Ships and ship-names in the *Aeneid*', in M. Whitby et al. (eds.), *Homo viator* (Bristol 1987) 163–71.

77–9 The echo of the invocation of the Muses at *Il.* 16.112–13 introducing Hector's firing of the Achaean ships draws attention to V.'s reversal of the Homeric theme (T. will not even have the limited amount of success granted to Hector). The invocation also prepares us for the extraordinary nature of what is to follow (Heyne compares the appeal to the Muses at Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1381–2 introducing another tall story about a ship), and eases the sudden introduction of the flashback interrupting the chronological sequence of events (cf. 7.37–45; see Heinze 308).

78 auertit . . . depulit: this is a story of the apotropaic power of the gods. *Auerruncus* is the name of a Roman deity who warded off evil (Varro, *De ling. lat.* 7.102 *ab auertendo auerruncare, ut deus qui in eis rebus praeest Auerruncus*); cf. Persius 5.167–8 *dis depellentibus agnam | percute*; *CIL* VIII 2621 *Ioui depulsori genio loci.*

79 dicite: Homeric ἔσπετε (*Il.* 16.112, etc). Muses are called upon to give true knowledge of past events (*Il.* 2.485–6 'for you are goddesses, and are present and know all things, but we hear only the report and have no knowledge') and to ensure the continuation of memory (*Aen.* 7.645–6 *et meministis enim, diuae, et memorare potestis; | ad nos uix tenuis famae perlabitur aura*). But the meaning of the present formulation is far from clear: the chiastic alliteration of *p.f. . . . f.p.* suggests oppositions between *prisca* 'old' and *perennis* 'enduring', and between *facto* (the event) and *fama* (the report of the event) (for the pair *factum/fama* see also 194–5 n.). Time may obliterate a tradition, but antiquity is normally a guarantee of the reliability of a surviving tradition, rather than the reverse (10.792), and '*priscus* is used of things "old and venerable", not "old and contemptible"' (Page). Heinze 211 n. 6 compares Livy 7.6.6 *fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat uetustas fidem*, but in our passage it is the *fides* itself that is *prisca*. The problem lies in *sed*; and also, if there is taken to be no sharp opposition between *prisca* and *perennis*, in the usefulness of the Muses for the purpose. Waddel proposed *factast et* for *facto sed*; if we wish to emend, Prof. Kenney's suggestion of *factost et* is palaeographically neater.

80–1 We are referred back to the time at 3.5–6, where (in Aen.'s own narrative) there had been no mention of Cybele's aid. Compare the use of 'postponed exposition' to present Diana's narrative of the story of Camilla at 11.535–94.

formabat 'gave shape to'. The choice of verb is perhaps conditioned by the fact that the original meaning of *materia*, *-es* '[unformed] matter' is 'wood as building material' (for ships etc.), as at *Aen.* 11.328. V. may also pun on the similarity between *Ida* and ἰδέα (Platonic) 'form' (for much later attestations of the etymology see Buffière, *Les Mythes d'Homère* s.v. *Ida*). For other hints of an eschatological allegory beneath the surface of the story see 98–102 n.

82 Cybele, the Magna Mater, identified with Rhea, mother of Zeus, was worshipped on Mt Ida; her title *Berecyntia* is equivalent to 'Phrygian', after the *Berecyntes*, a Phrygian people, or *Berecyntus*, a Phrygian mountain. V. was possibly the first to connect her with the Trojan legend (see Austin on 6.784ff.). She is a goddess both of the wild mountain (as in Catullus 63) and of civilization and cities (Lucr. 2.606–13; *Aen.* 6.784–7): Numanus will make a fatally partial association at 617–20. She has a particular connection with the establishment of Roman empire, for her cult was brought to Rome in 204 BC in order to ensure the defeat of Hannibal, a historical event that may be relevant to the allegorical identification of T. with Hannibal (see 35 n.): at 10.156–8 Aen. returns to do battle in a ship whose figurehead is Mt Ida. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.251–4, 273–6 explicitly links Aen.'s ship-building with the historical fetching of Cybele from Ida (on the association see E. S. Gruen, 'The advent of the Magna Mater', in *Studies in Greek culture and Roman policy* (Leiden 1990) 5–33). On the place of Cybele in Augustan Rome see T. P. Wiseman, in T. Woodman and D. West (eds.), *Poetry and politics in the age of Augustus* (Cambridge 1984) 117–28; R. M. Wilhelm, 'Cybele, the Great Mother of Augustan order', *Vergilius* 34 (1988) 77–101; G. Arrigoni, *EV* s.v. *Cibele.*

The interview between Cybele and Jupiter has a model in the discussion between Poseidon and Zeus that precedes the petrifaction of the Phaeacian ship at *Od.* 13.127–58; with typical economy V. reduces the two Homeric pairs of speeches to one. Compare also the interview between Thetis and Zeus at *Il.* 1.498–530, which ends, like the present scene, with the Nod of Zeus.

fertur: allusion to a tradition in the Alexandrian manner (see Norden on 6.14) follows a full-scale invocation to the Muses in the

Homeric manner, as at *Geo.* 4.315–18 (*ut fama*) and *Aen.* 1.8–15, 7.37–48. On expressions of this kind in V. see Norden on 6.14; Heinze 211 n. 6; N. M. Horsfall, *P.L.L.S.* 6 (1990) 49–63.

magnum: the 'great' son of the 'Great Mother'.

83–4 Cybele makes her request directly and with dignity, relying on her son's filial piety (*nate, parens*, 90 *parentem*: Servius Dan. comments *dicendo 'nate' et 'parens' iteratione auxit adfectum*); for Lucretius (2.614–17) the Magna Mater has a special interest in ingratitude to parents. But in heaven, as on earth, the parent–child relation does not count for everything: cf. 10.464–73.

da: cf. 5.689 *da flammam euadere classi.* With *da ... petenti* cf. Liv. Andr. *Trag.* 20–1 Warmington *da mihi | hasce opes, quas peto, quas precor.*

84 domito ... Olympo: apparently an indirect reminder of Rhea's services in saving her son Zeus from being swallowed by his father Kronos.

85–7 The awkwardness of the connection between lines 85 and 86 (it seems best to take *lucus* in apposition to *silua*), the vagueness of the subject of 86 *ferebant*, the multiplication of types of timber (but note a similar confusion about the material of the Wooden Horse in *Aen.* 2.16, 112, 258), and the awkward reference of 88 *has* may be indications that this passage lacks the *summa manus* or that 85 is to be deleted. The pine is the tree into which Cybele's favourite Attis was transformed (Ovid, *Met.* 10.103–5).

For the transformation of mountain trees into sea-going ships cf. Cat. 4.10–16 and 64.1–2: Catullus' version of the *Argo* legend in poem 64 is an important model for the present episode: see 91–2, 119–21 n.

85 Cf. 2.714–15 *antiqua cupressus | religione patrum multos seruata per annos*; 7.59–60 *laurus erat ... | sacra comam multosque metu seruata per annos.*

86 arce 'mountain-top' (cf. 92 *nostris in montibus*), not 'citadel'; for this sense of *arx* cf. *Geo.* 1.240, 4.461.

87 nigranti picea: 'black' both because of the shade and because pitch comes from the pitch-pine.

trabibusque 'tree-trunks', as at Enn. *Trag.* 208–9 (on the building of the Argo) *utinam ne in nemore Pelio ... accidisset abiegna ad terram trabes*; there may also be a hint of the metonymical sense of *trabes*

'ships', into which these trees will be transformed (e.g. Cat. 4.3, *Aen.* 3.191). V. plays on the double sense of *pinus*, 'pine-tree' and 'ship', at 116, and at the second appearance of the ship-nymphs, 10.230.

88 has: the *picea* and the *trabes acernae.*

Dardanio iuueni: Cybele angles for Jupiter's sympathy: Dardanus was his son, and Aen. is called a *iuuenis* only here in the poem.

89 It is a serious offence to cut down a sacred grove without the consent of its presiding deity: see R. F. Thomas, 'Tree violation and ambivalence in Virgil', *T.A.Ph.A.* 118 (1988) 261–73. The execution in 30 BC by Octavian of Antony's friend D. Turullius was seen as also making just amends to Asclepius for Turullius' felling of wood in the god's grove on Cos to build a fleet (Dio 51.8.3).

anxius angit: cf. Lucr. 3.993 *quem uolucres lacerant atque exest anxius angor.* V.'s line ends with four words expressing anxiety. Emphatic alliteration continues in the next three vv. (*precibus ... posse parentem, cursu quassatae, uenti* | *uincantur*).

90 solue makes a forcible contrast with the preceding word *angit* 'constrict'.

91–2 For the distribution of *quassatae ... uincantur* over the two clauses cf. 12 *nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus.*

uincantur: cf. 1.120–2 *iam ualidam Ilionei nauem ...* | *uicit hiems.* Servius points out the forceful brevity of Cybele's last five words, where *his* and *esse* are to be understood.

nostris may be an example of the use of the plural 'of proprietorship' for the first person singular; alternatively Cybele may hint that Ida belongs to Jupiter also: at *Il.* 8.47–8 Zeus is said to have a sanctuary on the top of the mountain.

ortas: sc. *esse. ortas* suggests the birth or sprouting of living things, as if the ships were her nurselings (the next word is *filius*); another linguistic trick by which V. eases the metamorphosis into living nymphs. Cf. Cat. 64.1 *Peliaco quondam prognatae uertice pinus.*

93 Jupiter is the god who makes heaven rotate on its axis (a role also ascribed to Atlas, 4.482 = 6.797); his direct physical power over the universe is also described at the end of the scene (106). But the god who moves the stars (claims he) cannot alter fate. On the relationship between Jupiter and Fate in V. see Bailey 220–34; further bibliograpy at V. Neri, *A.N.R.W.* II 16.3 (1986) 1978.

94–103 Jupiter carefully picks up keywords from Cybele's speech: 94 *genetrix* ~ 83 *nate*; *petis* ~ 83 *petenti*; 97 *permissa potestas* ~ 90 *sine posse*; 100 *Dardaniumque ducem* ~ 88 *Dardanio iuueni*; 101 *formam* ~ 80 *formabat*; for similar echoing of the previous speaker's words see the speeches of Juno at 10.63–95 and of T. at 11.378–444. Jupiter's reply begins with four lines of surprised questions (compare the shocked reaction of Zeus to Poseidon's speech at *Od.* 13.140), followed by a six-line period in which his decision is grandly and authoritatively laid out.

94 fata uocas is a paradoxical phrase; normally Fate does the calling as at 10.471–2 *etiam sua Turnum | fata uocant*; 11.97, 6.147.

istis 'with these prayers of yours' (cf. 10.625–6 *sin altior istis | sub precibus uenia ulla latet*). Some take *istis* to refer to the ships.

95–7 The oppositions *mortalis/immortalis*, *certus/incertus* define the boundary between the human and divine spheres in epic. Aristotle fr. 18 Rose contrasts the eternity of the κόσμος with the perishability of things like houses constructed by human hand, χειρόκμητα. In Cicero and Lucretius *manu factus* is used in opposition to *natus*, *natura*: Jupiter implicitly corrects Cybele's last word *ortas*. In Christian writers *manu factus* (χειροποίητος) is a regular antonym of *aeternus*.

immortale ... | fas 'the rights enjoyed by immortal beings'.

certusque incerta: a favourite opposition in early Latin drama, e.g. Enn. *Trag.* 351 *amicus certus in re incerta cernitur*; Ter. *Hec.* 17 *spe incerta certum mihi laborem sustuli*. At the time of the ship-building the Trojans are described by Aeneas as (3.7) *incerti quo fata ferant*: that is a properly human point of view, but how honest is Jupiter in claiming it as his perspective?

lustret 'journey through', with an abstract object by a slight extension of such examples as 3.377–8 *lustres | aequora*.

98–102 In keeping with V.'s tendency to personify ships the language hints at the apotheosis of humans whose life has run its course: *defunctus* is used to mean 'dead' from Cicero on, *finis* may mean 'end of life', 'death'; escape from sea into harbour is a common funerary image (see Fordyce on 7.598; Jocelyn on Enn. *Trag.* 298; A. Grilli, *Il problema della vita contemplativa nel mondo greco-romano* (Milan and Rome 1953) 173–4); *rapere*, *eripere* are used of the snatching away to heaven

by Venus of Julius Caesar's soul at Ovid, *Met.* 15. 840, 845 (an episode which has other parallels with the present: see 108 n.). See also 116, 118 nn.

98 immo 'but instead'.

defunctae 'have come to the end', or understand *periculis* (cf. 6.83).

99–100 Jupiter looks forward to the conclusion of Aen.'s wanderings, whose stages are marked by the words at the end of each line, *undis* and *arua*; cf. 2.780–1 (the shade of Creusa to Aeneas) *uastum maris aequor arandum,* | *et terram Hesperiam uenies.* The limits of the journey are also marked by the two epithets *Dardanium* and *Laurentia*: cf. 1.1–3 *Troiae qui primus ab oris* | *Italiam fato profugus Lauiniaque uenit* | *litora*; there is a very different contrast at 4.224–5 *Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc* | *exspectat.* The transformation of the ships marks the definitive end of the Trojans' wandering. Of the original 20 ships (1.381), one was lost at 1.584, four were burned at 5.699, and two went with Aen. to Pallanteum (8.79).

Laurentia ... arua 'Latin land'; strictly the *ager Laurens* is the coastal region of north Latium between the Tiber and Antium.

101 Jupiter will 'snatch away' the mortal shape that clothes the beings in the ship-timbers and leave the immortal nymphs. This transformation is not so bizarre when one recalls the belief that trees are the habitations of nymphs: Cybele's Dryads become Nereids. Compare Ovid's description of the apotheosis of Aen. at *Met.* 14.603–4 *quidquid in Aenea fuerat mortale, repurgat* | *et respersit aquis: pars optima restitit illi*; and cf. *Met.* 4.539–40 (transformation of Ino and Melicertes into sea-deities) *Neptunus ... abstulit illis* | *quod mortale fuit.*

102–3 'Like Doto and Galatea who cut through the sea.' Doto ('Giver') and Galatea occur in the catalogues of Nereids at Hes. *Theog.* 240–64 and *Il.* 18.37–49 (the companions of Thetis). Line 103 has a highly-wrought pattern of *s*s, *p*s, and *t*s. The language suggests that there is in any case a natural similarity between ships and nymphs: *seco* is frequently used (like Homeric τέμνω) of a ship 'cutting' or 'ploughing' through the sea; and cf. 10.212 (a figurehead in the shape of Triton) *spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda.*

104–6 V. combines two signs of divine authority, Zeus's Nod (*Il.* 1.528–30) and the inviolable Oath by the Styx (*Il.* 15.37–8, Zeus's promise to Thetis, = *Od.* 5.185–6). Macrobius, *Sat.* 5.13.23 suggests

that by this combination V. compensates for the inferiority of his rendering of the Homeric Nod, which omits the details of Zeus's eyebrows and hair; but this is in keeping with the less fully realized anthropomorphism of V.'s supreme god. With the exception of the first three words these lines are repeated at 10.113–15.

104 ratum: sc. *esse.*

Elevated language expresses the solemnity of the oath: enallage ('transferred epithet') of *Stygii* for *Stygia*, the 'poetic plural' *flumina*, and alliteration.

105 pice ... atraque uoragine: best taken as a hendiadys, 'a black abyss of pitch'; alternatively *atra uoragine* is a descriptive ablative functioning as a compound epithet for *ripas.*

torrentis 'burning', but also suggesting the 'rushing' liquid; for the pun cf. 6.550; Lucr. 4.1100. Jupiter's heavenly authority rests on hellish guarantees; his final agent in the poem is a Fury (12.843–68). Here Jupiter's burning black pitch is the talisman that frustrates the black pitch torches of the 'hellish' Turnus (74–6).

106 adnuit: the carry-over and the pause after the first foot make Jupiter's simple gesture the more impressive. *tremefecit Olympum* reproduces the shape of *Il.* 1.530 ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον 'he shook Olympus' (at line-end); but the placing of *adnuit* in the first foot and the *figura etymologica* of *adnuit ... nutu* come from Cat. 64.204 *adnuit inuicto caelestum numine rector*: a good example of the minute care of V.'s imitative practice.

107–9 The transition back to the main narrative time is effected through an inverted *cum*-clause (see Williams on 5.84–5).

108 debita: Fate is thought of as a creditor. *defungor* (98) may be used of 'discharging' a debt. With the whole passage cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.816–17 (Jupiter discusses the apotheosis of Julius Caesar with Venus) *hic sua compleuit, pro quo, Cytherea, laboras,* | *tempora, perfectis quos terrae debuit annis.* The petrifaction of the Phaeacian ship was also interpreted as the fulfilment of an old prophecy (*Od.* 13.172, 178).

109 depellere taedas: cf. 78 *tantos ratibus quis depulit ignis*; 76 *taeda*: ring-composition to mark the end of the flashback. For *sacris* the grammarian Diomedes reads *sacras*, meaning 'abominable', but cf. 116 *sacras ... pinus.*

110–13 This is the second heavenly sign of the book (after 14–22), a burst of light to answer the smoky cloud rising from T.'s torches.

The combination of light, cloud, and sound is similar to the omen at 8.524–9, but one should not with Conington rationalize it away as a thunderstorm. There are close verbal parallels in the 'epiphany' of T. at 731–5 (n.). Silius Italicus stages an auditory miracle at the moment that Claudia Quinta takes hold of the rope drawing the Magna Mater's ship, *Pun.* 17.41–3 *fremitusque leonum | audiri uisus subito, et grauiora per aures | nulla pulsa manu sonuerunt tympana diuae.*

110 primum 'to start with', followed by 112 *tum*, as at 2.410–13.

noua lux: Fordyce compares Prop. 4.6.27–30 *cum Phoebus ... | astitit Augusti puppim super, et noua flamma | luxit ...*

111 nimbus: gods often manifest themselves in clouds. Here *nimbus* is probably a 'dark cloud' rather than equivalent to *noua lux*, 'a cloud of light' (a sense not definitely attested before Servius: but see Austin on 2.616).

ab Aurora: from the direction of Cybele's home in the east.

112 Idaeique chori: Corybantes, the ecstatic followers of Cybele with their clashing cymbals and wailing flutes.

uox horrenda: for supernatural voices cf. *Geo.* 1.476–7, *Aen.* 4.460–1; Livy 6.33.5 *uox horrenda edita templo cum tristibus minis* (with Kraus and Oakley *ad loc.*).

113 excidit 'fell from' (the sky); the word often has the sense of accidental or unintentional utterance, but here only from the point of view of the surprised human audience.

agmina complet: cf. 4.189 *haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat.*

114 trepidate 'be in a hurry to', followed by the infinitive; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.4.23–4 *octauum trepidauit aetas | claudere lustrum.* The heavenly voice reinforces Aeneas' instructions (40–3).

115 exurere: (i) 'burn up' (ships: 1.39, 7.431, etc.); (ii) 'dry up' (a body of water: *Geo.* 3.432 *exusta palus*).

116 pinus: see 87 n.

solutae: *soluere* is used of loosing mooring ropes; there is also a hint of the 'breaking up' or 'softening' of the structure of the ships in the process of metamorphosis, and perhaps of the release of the soul from the body (see 98–102 n.).

117 ite deae pelagi 'go as goddesses of the sea'. The repeated *ite ... ite* suggests a ritual command to devotees of the goddess, as at Cat. 63.12–13: see 617–18 n.

genetrix: she is both their 'mother' and the Great 'Mother'.

et implies the immediacy of the sequel: gods' commands are obeyed without delay, even *dicto citius* (1.142).

118 uincula 'mooring ropes', as at 1.168. δεσμός is used in the same sense at *Od.* 13.100. *abrumpere uinc(u)la* is used by Enn. *Ann.* 536, followed by V. (*Aen.* 11.492), in their adaptation of a famous Homeric simile describing a horse breaking loose from its tether (*Il.* 6.507); at *Od.* 4.708 ships are called ἁλὸς ἵπποι 'horses of the sea'. *uinculum* is also used of the body viewed as the prison of the soul (*OLD* s.v. 1b): see 98–102 n.

119–22 V. delicately suggests the first stage of the metamorphosis, from inert ship into animated being, through a simile (with which cf. 5.594–5, the interweaving of the *lusus Troiae* like dolphins playing in the sea); *rostris* is well chosen, as *rostrum* may denote both 'snout' (as of a dolphin, e.g. Acc. *Trag.* 393) and 'beak' (of a ship). At Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.933–6 the Nereids who appear to help the *Argo* through the Wandering Rocks are compared to dolphins. These lines also recall Cat. 64.12, 14–15 *quae simul ac rostro uentosum proscidit aequor* | ... | *emersere freti candenti e gurgite uultus* | *aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes*; *mirabile monstrum* is a frequent tag, possibly Ennian in origin, but in the context it alludes to the wonder of Catullus' nymphs. V.'s ship-nymphs have features of both ship and nymphs in Catullus: metamorphosis operates even at the level of literary borrowing. *monstrum*, as well as meaning 'unnatural event', here retains its original meaning of 'sign' (see Fordyce on 7.21): a sign that the Trojans' wandering is finally over, although T. will interpret it otherwise (128).

119 demersis aequore rostris 'dipping their beaks in the surface of the sea', retaining the original sense of *aequor* (see E. Laughton, *C.R.* n.s. 11 (1961) 5–6).

122 reddunt se is another complex use: 'return' (from the depths of the sea), but also 'present themselves in due number' (corresponding to the number of ships), and 'render themselves' (in their new shape).

facies is common in descriptions of metamorphosis: *TLL* s.v. 45.77ff.

Some manuscripts, perhaps because *totidem* is felt to require a correlative, insert, either before or after 122, 10.223 *quot prius aeratae steterant ad litora prorae*; but for *totidem* on its own cf. 10.83 *et potes in totidem classem conuertere nymphas.*

123–75 Undismayed by the omen, Turnus exhorts his men to the attack before breaking off the action. Rutulian and Trojan preparations for the night

T.'s *cohortatio*, his first long speech in the poem, reveals a stubbornly misguided view of the divine and human worlds, based on a mistaken analogy with the past. He compares his 'just war' against the Trojans to that of the Atreids at Troy; but the main literary models are speeches by a Trojan, Hector, in the course of his attack on the Achaean ships at *Il.* 8.173–83 (recognizing Zeus's triple thunderclap as a favourable omen for the Trojan attack); 8.497–541 (giving instructions for a watch around the Achaean camp at the end of the day's fighting); 12.231–50 (rejecting Polydamas' interpretation of the eagle and serpent omen as unfavourable to the Trojans); 15.718–25 (as he grasps the prow of an Achaean ship, claiming that Zeus now favours the Trojans). Contrast Alcinous' reaction to the petrifaction of the Phaeacian ship at *Od.* 13.172–83, recognizing the truth of the ancient oracle and offering a placatory sacrifice to Poseidon. At *Aen.* 12.257–65 the augur Tolumnius disastrously takes an eagle and swan omen as a cue to plunge Trojans and Latins back into full-scale war. T.'s speech is a pungent blend of bravado and scorn; there are few end-stopped lines as the words pour forth. The language is blunt and at times colloquial. On the speech see Highet 87–9; Schenk 63–70.

123–5 A tricolon abundans describing the stunned reaction of man and nature isolates by contrast the *audacia* of T. For other examples of this 'spotlight' technique cf. 2.685–8 (Anchises alone understands the portent); 4.522–32 (Dido alone cannot sleep); 8.530–1 (Aen. alone understands the arms in the sky: see 77–122 n.).

124 Even Messapus, *equum domitor* (7.691, 9.523), cannot control his horses; the son of Neptune is dismayed by the marine omen.

124–5 'and the river Tiber hesitates, roaring hoarsely, and draws back his step from the sea'. Compare the reaction of the Tiber to Hercules' breaking open of Cacus' cave at 8.240 *refluitque exterritus amnis*. *Tiberinus* is an adjective here. *pes* is found elsewhere of 'running' rivers (Lucr. 5.272, Hor. *Epod.* 16.48); there is also a hint of the literal 'foot' of the river-god Tiberinus, who appears in person at 8.31–65.

126 A spondaic line after the dactyls of 125: T. is immovable in his

purpose. On *audaci* see 3 n. This line is repeated with slight variation at 10.276, preceding another *cohortatio* by T. after the ominous apparition of Aeneas returning by sea to the war.

127 'Taking the initiative, he encourages and berates them.' 'He is not only undaunted but goes *further*' (Page). The unusual repetition of *ultro* at beginning and end of line is very emphatic.

128 T. goes straight to his point, forcing his own blinded interpretation on events. But he is unable (or unwilling) to read into the sign (*monstra*) more than a literalist military assessment of possibilities; contrast Hector's correct interpretation of Zeus's thunder at *Il.* 8.172–6. But we should also allow that it is the mark of a good general to capitalize on inauspicious moments, like Julius Caesar, Suet. *Div. Iul.* 59 *ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam ... est. prolapsus etiam in egressu nauis uerso ad melius omine 'teneo te' inquit 'Africa.'*

petunt 'are directed against'.

Iuppiter: Servius suggests that *auxilium* in the next line is meant to remind us of the ancient etymology of *Iuppiter* from *iuuans pater*; cf. 2.689–91 *Iuppiter omnipotens ... | da deinde auxilium, pater.*

his: sc. *monstris* (not *Troianis*), which gives a more effective anaphora.

129–30 The subject of *exspectant* is best taken as 'the ships' (turning the uncanny animation of the ships into a joke), rather than 'the Trojans'; T.'s men, their eyes riveted on the metamorphosed ships, would naturally understand it so. Henry compares 10.231–2 (Cymodocea, one of the ships now turned into nymphs, speaks) *perfidus ut nos | praecipitis ferro Rutulus flammaque premebat.* On the theme of *uia* see Introd. (section 8).

129 solitum: T. scornfully (and unfairly) implies that the Trojans habitually save their skins by flight overseas.

131 rerum pars altera 'one half of the world', i.e. the sea. Cf. 10.39–40 *nunc etiam manis (haec intemptata manebat | sors rerum) mouet.* For the topic of 'flight by land and sea' compare 10.377–8, and in general see Hardie 305–7. Cf. also *Il.* 16.67–70 (Achilles' assessment of the Achaean predicament).

132–3 'So many thousands of men, the peoples of Italy, bear arms.' Failure to understand the apposition may be responsible for the variant *gentis.*

133–4 Contrast with T.'s rash dismissal here of the 'gods' fate-revealing oracles' his panic-stricken recognition of the truth at the end of the epic, 12.894–5 (to Aeneas) *non me tua feruida terrent | dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis. si qua* and *Phryges* are full of contempt. *prae se iactant* 'they make a great show of' is a livelier version of the phrase *prae se ferre* 'to parade'; there is also a suggestion of the literal sense, 'the Phrygians wave oracles in front of themselves' (as a defence), while the Italians bear (real) arms (cf. 621 n.).

fatalia 'decrees of fate'; for the substantival use cf. Livy 39.46.4.

135–6 The Trojans' lofty appeals to fate are brusquely dismissed: *sat . . . datum* speaks the language of business (see Austin on 2.291); *fatis Venerique* is virtually a hendiadys, implying that the Trojan claim to divine patronage extends no further than the special pleading of the contemptible Venus (cf. 1.227–53).

tetigere: *tangere* is *vox propria* for 'making landfall in' (e.g. *Geo.* 1.303, *Aen.* 4.612); here T. also means 'touch, and no more'.

136–7 For the idea of conflicting sets of fates cf. 1.239, 7.293–4, and see Bailey 212–13; W. Pötscher, *Vergil und die göttlichen Mächte* (Hildesheim and New York 1977) 63–6. In lines 137–8 T. almost redefines fate as 'that which is morally fitting', or even as 'that which lies in the strength of my weapons'; the implied rejection of a supernatural sanction brings him close to Mezentius, the *contemptor diuum* who prays blasphemously at 10.773–4 *dextra mihi deus et telum . . . | nunc adsint!* Cf. also Hector's rejection of Polydamas' unfavourable interpretation of a bird-omen at *Il.* 12.243 'one omen is best, to defend one's country'.

mea . . . mihi: heavily emphatic.

137 The *f*s and *s*cs emphasize T.'s hatred.

138 coniuge: in fact Lavinia is not even T.'s *sponsa*. The anticipatory use of *coniunx* (cf. 3.331) serves T.'s analogy between himself and Menelaus, robbed of his wife Helen, a distortion of the true state of affairs that links T. with Juno in her attempt to pervert the course of history (7.319–22; cf. 7.361–4, 10.79, 10.774, 11.484).

138–9 Cf. *Il.* 9.340–1 (Achilles complaining that Agamemnon has stolen his woman) 'do the Atreids alone of mortal men love their wives?'

140–2 An imaginary Trojan appeal for pity is answered by T.:

'Their previous sinning might have been enough for them, with a heartfelt hatred for all but the whole race of women.' But the limiting phrase *modo non* is awkward, and the text may be corrupt. 'The participle *perosos* is used timelessly, its action being subsequent to that of *peccare*, and loosely attached to the sentence: *perosis* might have been expected' [F.]. T. spits out the *p*s and *s*s and *t*s of 140–1. The heavy pause after *femineum* lends it misogynistic emphasis; cf. 4.569–70 *uarium et mutabile semper | femina.*

medii 'intervening'.

143 leti discrimina parua 'thin dividing-lines between life and death'. Cf. the commonplace about the slender separation from death provided by the walls of a ship: e.g. Sen. *Med.* 306–8 *potuit tenui fidere ligno | inter uitae mortisque uias | nimium gracili limite ducto*; Mayor on Juv. 12.58.

145 For T. there is no comparison between the hastily thrown-up earthworks and palisade (wood easy to cleave, 146 *scindere*) of the Trojan camp and the well built (*fabricata*) walls of Troy erected by Neptune for Laomedon (*Il.* 21.441–7); he presumably does not know that it took the same god to destroy them (2.610–12), a fact known only too well to Aen. after the vision granted him by Venus (2.604–7, giving an added irony to T.'s question *at non uiderunt . . .?*).

considere in ignis = 2.624, one of a number of verbal echoes of book II in T.'s speech.

146–7 Like Hector at *Il.* 12.440–1, T. exhorts his 'chosen men' (cf. 48) to assault the camp. Some have felt that these lines are out of place as T. will shortly conclude by instructing his men to break off for the night (156–8, modelled on another Iliadic speech by Hector); but these lines are a necessary prelude to the boasting of 148–55. Highet 89 thinks that T. shows himself an irresolute captain in suddenly breaking off, but the following day's events do not show up a blunder in T.'s siege-tactics. Throughout this book T.'s fault is rashness rather than over-caution.

147 mecum: like a good general Turnus will himself fight beside his soldiers (cf. 51).

148 armis . . . Volcani: the armour made for Achilles in *Il.* XVIII. It is a little awkward, as Servius points out, that T. does in fact have a sword made by Vulcan (12.90–1).

non mille carinis: 2.198 *non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae.* The traditional number goes back at least to Aeschylus (Austin *ad loc.*).

150–1 tenebras et inertia furta: referring to the Wooden Horse (152), a typical example of Virgilian repetition with variation; for *furtum* = 'stratagem', 'trick' cf. 10.735, 11.515; Sen. *Ag.* 626 (of the Wooden Horse). Line 151 is a repetition with slight variation of 2.166 *Palladium caesis summae custodibus arcis*; it is a dubiously relevant allusion in the present circumstances, and *late* makes little sense: T. would hardly emphasize the courage of the sneak-thieves Diomedes and Ulysses in cutting a swathe through the guards (contrast Nisus' boast at 323). If 151 is retained, we might accept Conington's suggestion that *late* is a corruption of *altae* (the sense of which may be preserved in *summae* of MP).

152 Cf. 2.401 *scandunt rursus equum et nota conduntur in aluo.*

153 luce palam 'in broad daylight', in emphatic position. The combination is found in prose: e.g. Cic. *De off.* 3.93 *ut ... luce palam in foro saltet*; Livy 22.24.6. Brave men fight in the open (*Il.* 7.243–4; Soph. *Trach.* 277–9).

igni circumdare muros: of regular siege investment; cf. 10.119. Continuing the analogy with Troy and for rhetorical effect T. now talks of *muri* not a *uallum.*

Horace had lines 150–3 in mind when he wrote of Achilles at *Carm.* 4.6.13–24 *ille non inclusus equo Mineruae | sacra mentito male feriatos | Troas et laetam Priami choreis | falleret aulam; | sed palam captis grauis, heu nefas! heu! | nescios fari pueros Achiuis | ureret flammis, etiam latentem | matris in aluo, | ni tuis uictus Venerisque gratae | uocibus diuum pater adnuisset | rebus Aeneae potiore ductos | alite muros.*

154–5 The blunt-sounding phrase *res esse cum* is also found in military exhortations in Livy, e.g. 9.17.16 *non cum Dareo rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum ac spadonum agmen trahentem ... incruentus deuicit.*

154 faxo: an archaic future of *facere*; its use with a paratactic subjunctive is common in Plautus and Terence; in this line it probably has a colloquial tone.

pube Pelasga: an archaic-sounding phrase. On the use of *Pelasgus* = 'Greek' see Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 14.

155 Compare the reported words of Diomedes at 11.288–90 *quidquid apud durae cessatum est moenia Troiae, | Hectoris Aeneaeque manu uictoria*

Graium | haesit et in decimum uestigia rettulit annum. Servius points out that T. sensibly omits any reference to Aen.'s part in the defence of Troy; but traditionally Hector was the chief obstacle, *belli mora*, to Achaean victory (see Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 211). Greater vividness is gained by making 'the Greeks' rather than 'the Greek victory' the object of *distulit*. The sense of 'talking' or 'claiming' in *ferant* is not quite expected, and the variant *putent* may be right (cf. 11.686 *siluis te ... feras agitare putasti?*).

156–8 The chief Homeric model is Hector's instructions to the Trojans at the end of the first day's fighting at the ships, esp. *Il.* 8.502–3, 530–1. Responsible Homeric and Roman generals take care that their fighting men are in good physical shape, in particular that they go into battle on a full stomach; the Rutulians will have rather too much of a good time in the evening that follows.

156 adeo lends a strong emphasis to *nunc*: 'now', as opposed to the fighting of the morrow.

melior 'better' in the sense of 'greater'. *bonus* is frequently used to mean 'large', 'considerable', but this use of the comparative seems to be unique.

157 quod superest: a formulaic adverbial phrase, 'as for the rest', 'as for what remains to be done'; although here it could also mean 'for the rest of the day' (see Williams on 5.796).

bene gestis ... rebus: T. tries to make his troops feel satisfied with the day's work, although in fact they have achieved nothing themselves.

158 procurate: for the more common *corpora curare* (*Geo.* 4.187, *Aen.* 3.511).

pugnam sperate parari 'look forward to preparations for battle', presumably by Turnus rather than the Trojans, a feeble conclusion to the speech. Servius Dan. compares 11.18 *arma parate animis et spe praesumite bellum*, but that refers to mental anticipation of battle, not material preparations for battle. The variant *parati* is attested only in Macrobius, but Henry's parallels for the general exhorting his troops to be prepared are impressive: e.g. 10.259, Livy 5.28.10 *collaudatos corpora curare, paratosque esse quarta uigilia iubet.*

T. drives home his final words with alliteration of *p*; for alliteration at the end of a speech cf. 9.103, 10.95, 10.259.

159–75 The Iliadic model is varied: at *Il.* 8.542–65, after the

speech of Hector, the confident Trojans light watch-fires in the plain before Troy and refresh themselves with food and drink; on the other side there is panic in the Achaean camp, *Il.* 9.1–8. But in V. Rutulian *fiducia* leads to an over-relaxed indulgence in wine (of food there is no mention), and the *uigiles* (159) will fail to stay awake (189), while Trojan alarm leads to responsible precautions. The contrast is pointed up by verbal parallels: 159 *excubiis*, 175 *excubat*; 159, 169 *portas*; 163 *iuuenes*, 173 *iuuenum*; 164, 175 *uices*. See also 189 n.

159 interea may here be understood 'in the time between the last event, Turnus' speech, and the future event referred to' (T. E. Kinsey, *Glotta* 57 (1979) 263), but *interea* in V. often has the sense 'now, moreover' (O. W. Reinmuth, *A.J.Ph.* 54 (1933) 323–39).

160 moenia cingere flammis: the words are repeated at 10.119, but with the sense of 9.153 *igni circumdare muros*; here the reference is to watch-fires.

161–2 The numbers are a variation on *Il.* 9.85–6 where 7 Achaean leaders of the watch are each accompanied by 100 youths.

161 milite: this use of the singular for plural is common in historians.

muros ... seruent 'watch the walls'. Fordyce, observing that *obsidere* and *seruare* are used together of defenders at 2.449–50 (and for *seruare* of defenders see also 9.43), remarks on the curious fact that the Iliadic model for 161–2 is also concerned with defenders not besiegers. Conversely 169–70 *portas explorant*, which might naturally describe the reconnoitring of besiegers, is used of defenders 'testing' their defences. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.270–1 *Argolicas hine ausi obsidere portas,* | *hi seruare uiros?* (of besiegers).

163 A symmetrical line conveying the proud beauty of young warriors soon to be slaughtered; cf. 26 n. V. likes the combination of purple and gold: 7.814–16, 11.772–7, 12.126 *ductores auro uolitant ostroque superbi*; T. wears red and gold, 9.50, 270. With the transferred adjective *purpurei* cf. 269–70 *quibus ibat in armis* | *aureus*. Purple is also the colour of youth: 1.590–1 *lumenque iuuentae* | *purpureum*.

164 discurrunt: *either* 'they run to their several stations' (around the walls) *or* 'they run to and fro' as they 'change guard' (*uariantque uices*).

fusique per herbam: 1.214, *Geo.* 2.527. A picnic atmosphere hardly suitable for the time and place.

165 Wine in the *Iliad* is a proper and fortifying part of the hero's diet (e.g. as prescribed by Odysseus at *Il.* 19.167–70), in V. it leads easily to excess and forgetfulness; see P. Heuzé, *L'Image du corps dans l'œuvre de Virgile* (Paris 1985) 386–92, and 159–75 n.

uertunt 'they upturn' the mixing bowls to empty them in their hearty drinking. *uertunt crateras aënos* is Ennian according to Servius (*Ann.* 532).

166–7 'The guard passes the sleepless hours of the night in gaming.' Cf. *Geo.* 3.379 (the carefree and leisured Scythians) *noctem ludo ducunt.*

167 The first of six half-lines in this book (295, 467, 520, 721, 761), an obvious sign of the poem's lack of final revision. See Austin on 6.94, Fordyce on 7.129, J. Sparrow, *Half-lines and repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford 1931).

168 super is best taken as an adverb (with *haec* the object of *prospectant*), but it might also be a preposition in anastrophe with *haec.*

169 trepidi formidine are strong words (cf. 756 *trepida formidine*), particularly after the description of Trojan determination at 44–6: the Trojans are unsettled not just by the Rutulian menace but also by the transformation of their ships; this is the first mention of the Trojans since the miracle, whose full significance will only be revealed to Aen. in the next book. Cf. also the panic (φύζα) of the Achaeans at *Il.* 9.1–2.

170 explorant: see 161 n.

pontisque et propugnacula: probably defensive towers outside the walls (for such see 530–41 and 12.672–5) joined to the walls by bridges. This is Roman rather than Homeric siege practice: cf. Hirtius, *De bell. Gall.* 8.9.3.

171 tela gerunt 'they bring up weapons', 'they supply weapons' for the outworks (in the sense *suggerunt*; cf. 10.333); cf. Livy 24.1.3 *reficere muros ac portas telaque in propugnacula congerere cogebantur.* The sense is intolerably weak if it simply means 'they bear weapons'.

Mnestheus acerque Serestus also ends a line at 779 and 12.549. After Achates (absent in book IX), Mnestheus is one of the most prominent of Aen.'s men, notable in particular for his honourable performance in the boat-race in book V; in this book he also plays a prominent role at 306, 781–812.

172 pater Aeneas: a frequent collocation, here making a contrast with *iuuenum* in the next line.

si ... uocarent: a further example of Aen.'s forethought; cf. 40–3. On IX as a book of the young see Introd. (section 6).

173 A line suggestive of authority and discipline without reference to specific offices. *rectores* and *magistros* are close in sense: cf. 5.176 (of a helmsman) *ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister.* Aen. was likewise entrusted by Evander with his son Pallas: 8.515–17 *sub te tolerare magistro* | *militiam ...* | *adsuescat.*

dedit 'appointed', a prose sense, but here taking a poetic infinitive.

iuuenum: Servius records a variant *iuueni*, i.e. Ascanius, but Heyne observes that Ascanius is elsewhere a *puer*, not a *iuuenis.*

174 legio 'army', an archaic sense, as at 7.681, 8.605, 9.368, 10.120.

175 'keeps watch and takes turns, each man with respect to his allotted guard-duty'. *quod* is accusative of respect, introducing the relative clause.

176–449 The Nisus and Euryalus episode

176–81 The episode (see Introd. (section 9)) is strongly separated from the preceding narrative (as it is also from what follows it by the apostrophe to the dead youths at 446–9) by a detailed description of Nisus and Euryalus as if we had not been introduced to them before in the foot-race at 5.286–361; this has been taken as evidence of composition prior to book V (M. M. Crump, *The growth of the Aeneid* (Oxford 1920) 74–5, 117) or as a separate epyllion (L. J. D. Richardson, *Hermathena* 51 (1938) 141 n.). Each character is allotted three lines.

176–8 The description of Nisus is built up in the cumulative fashion typical of Homer (see G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: a commentary. Vol. I: books 1–4* (Cambridge 1985) 34–7); lines 177 and 178 both run on with an epithet, which then leaves the rest of the line to be filled up.

177 Hyrtacides: at *Il.* 2.837 the patronymic of one Asios from Arisba in the Troad. It is also the patronym of Hippocoon, one of the competitors in the archery contest at *Aen.* 5.492. For an attempt to trace the associations in V.'s mind that led to this choice of

patronym see H. Mørland, *S.O.* 32 (1956) 69–80; see also Kraggerud 207–9. On the choice of the names Nisus and Euryalus see Mørland, *S.O.* 33 (1957) 87–109; Berres 180–2.

Ida is here probably the name of Nisus' mother (rather than of the mountain as his place of origin), a romantic huntress-nymph like the disguised Venus at 1.314–20 (319 *uenatrix*); there is a similar problem with the identification of 7.762 *mater Aricia* (town or nymph? See Fordyce *ad loc.*). Her name is appropriate: Mount Ida, 'mother of wild beasts' (*Il.* 8.47, etc.) is the scene of the hunt during which Ganymede is snatched away by Jupiter at 5.252–5; on the importance of hunting in this episode see Introd. (section 6). For further speculation on the name *Ida* see Mørland, *S.O.* 35 (1959) 71–87. Pandarus and Bitias are also sons of a woman of the wilds, 9.673, one of a number of similarities between the two episodes. Nisus has been sent to attend on Aen. like Sinon on Palamedes, 2.86–7 *illi me comitem ... | ... pater ... misit.*

178 celerem 'agile', 'quick' at shooting javelins and arrows, here the weapons of the hunter turned to purposes of war; for the construction cf. 5.68 *iaculo ... melior leuibusque sagittis.* But *celerem* also reminds us of Nisus' fleetness of foot at 5.318–19. Swiftness is conveyed by a run of anapaestic words (see Norden on 6.288ff.).

179–80 quo pulchrior alter | non fuit: a phrase of a common type: cf. 1.544–5, 6.164–5, 9.772–3, and especially 7.649–50 *filius huic iuxta Lausus, quo pulchrior alter | non fuit excepto Laurentis corpore Turni.* The comparative assessment of the beauty of heroes is Homeric: *Il.* 2.673–4, Nireus, 'the most beautiful of the Greeks to come to Troy after excellent Achilles', and *Od.* 8.115–17, (another) Euryalos, 'who was the best in appearance and body of all the Phaeacians after excellent Laodamas'. Cf. 5.295 *Euryalus forma insignis uiridique iuuenta.*

180–1 V. exploits the sentimental and even sensual association of virginal youth and war (*arma ... puer*); for boyish beauty amidst arms cf. 10.132–8 (Ascanius). On the taste of the first century AD for such things see Dewar pp. xxxiv–xxxvii.

181 'a boy showing the first signs of youth's down on his unshaven cheeks'. Euryalus is an intensely erotic object of homosexual desire: cf. *Il.* 24.348 '[a young man] with his first beard, when youth is at its most attractive'; Headlam on Herondas 1.52; S. L. Tarán, *J.H.S.* 105 (1985) 90 n. 1 (but the first down may also be regarded as marking the

end of boyish beauty: see Dewar on Stat. *Theb.* 9.702–3). Cf. 10.324–5 *tu quoque, flauentem prima lanugine malas | dum sequeris Clytium infelix, noua gaudia, Cydon. iuuenta* is abstract for the concrete *lanugine*; cf. the use of ἥβη = 'beard'. *intonsa* also hints at the vegetable image common in descriptions of first down (cf. the pun at Ovid, *Fast.* 3.409 *Ampelon intonsum*, a boyfriend of Bacchus whose name, ἄμπελος, means 'vine'); the word thus foreshadows the cut-flower simile of the dying Euryalus at 9.435–6. At 9.681–2 Pandarus and Bitias in their pride are like oaks with *intonsa capita.*

182–3 After the separate descriptions of the two a couplet stressing their unanimity and inseparability: the 'grammatical rhyme' (see Fordyce on 7.187–8) of *ruebant . . . tenebant* seems to reinforce the coincidence of aim spelled out in the words *unus, pariter, communi.*

amor unus: probably 'common love [for each other]', rather than 'shared passion [for war]', as Servius Dan. and Henry take it. But the reference of the word *amor* is often problematic in V.; in the present episode erotic and martial passion are difficult to disentangle, as also in the jingling description of T.'s reaction to Lavinia's blush at 12.70–1 *illum turbat amor figitque in uirgine uultus; | ardet in arma magis* (see R. O. A. M. Lyne, *G.&R.* 30 (1983) 60). Cf. *Il.* 16.218–20 'the two men Patroclus and Automedon, having one spirit (ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες), armed themselves to fight in front of the Myrmidons'. The friendship of Nisus and Euryalus reads like a minimalist version of the society of the bees in *Georgics* 4 (cf. esp. *Geo.* 4.184–5 *omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus: | mane ruunt portis*), but the result of their *amor* is as disastrous as that of Orpheus and Eurydice (see 386, 399–401, 400–1 nn.).

184–96 Nisus' proposal combines elements from both Nestor's speech at *Il.* 10.204–17, asking for volunteers for the night expedition into Trojan lines, and Diomedes' reply at 220–6. But there the old counsellor asks for others to volunteer and promises both renown and material reward; Diomedes is keen to go, but asks for a companion. Nisus conceives his great adventure himself, and thinks of reward only for his constant companion who is, exceptionally, *not* to accompany him on this mission. Four lines of philosophically tinged self-analysis (184–7), with Lucretian echoes, provide a suitably sublime introduction to his ambitious proposal.

184–5 A famous dilemma. The alternatives are Homeric (*Od.* 4.712–13 'I do not know whether some god aroused him, or whether his own heart was moved to go to Pylos'), but Nisus' question wears the long history of post-Homeric speculation on the nature of the mind and of the traditional gods: the intervention of Homeric gods was later often allegorized in terms of a naturalistic psychology (e.g. at *Il.* 1.193–222 Athene restraining Achilles in his anger against Agamemnon was taken as an allegory of reason overcoming passion: Buffière 282–3). The conventions of epic allow for either natural (e.g. 2.355 *sic animis iuuenum furor additus*) or supernatural (e.g. 9.717–18 *Mars ... animum uirisque Latinis | addidit*) motivation. Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.802–5 teasingly combines supernatural and human causation: 'So came into action the plan of the destructive goddess, who cast wit-destroying delusion on them; they hated their lawful wives, and yielding to *their own folly* they drove them from their homes.' G. E. Duckworth, *A.J.Ph.* 88 (1967) 135, finds an answer to Nisus' question at 10.111–12 *sua cuique exorsa laborem | fortunamque ferent*: but Jupiter's words there are notoriously slippery. See further R. Schaerer, in *Mélanges offerts à M. Max Niedermann* (Neuchâtel 1944) 99–104; Feeney 180.

dira cupido: the collocation (also *Geo.* 1.37, *Aen.* 6.373, 721) is Lucretian, 4.1090 *tam magis ardescit dira cuppedine pectus* (in the demythologizing account of sexual love). *ardorem* and *cupido* both hint at further erotic overtones in this story of martial heroism; at Plato, *Smp.* 179b1–3 Phaedrus claims that the god Eros inspires courage like a Homeric god. *Dira* and *Cupido* when capitalized do of course both become divine beings; Ovid exploits the ambiguity between naturalistic and supernatural senses of *cupido* in Medea's monologue, *Met.* 7.19, 73: see Feeney 239.

186–7 *Il.* 10.220 (Diomedes) 'Nestor, my heart and brave spirit urge me to go among the nearby enemy army.'

aliquid: here in the sense *aliud quid*, as at 2.48.

187 mens agitat = 6.727, in the course of Anchises' lofty speech on the nature of the world-soul.

placida ... quiete is another Lucretian collocation (1.463); elsewhere in the *Aen.* it refers to sleep (1.691, 5.836), and here suggests the contrast between the passively slumbering Rutulians and the active

and waking Nisus and Euryalus, sharp of sense and wit, who will only cease from their heroics in the quiet of death (445 *placidaque ibi demum morte quieuit*).

189 somno uinoque soluti: one of the numerous echoes in Latin poetry of Enn. *Ann.* 288 *nunc hostes uino domiti somnoque sepulti* (the variant reading *sepulti* here is probably a reminiscence of 2.265 *inuadunt urbem somno uinoque sepultam*, on which see Austin; see also 236 n., and T. Berres, *Rh.M.* n.f. 120 (1977) 255–68). Imitation of the Ennian passage will here be more extensive if it is correct that the line comes from a speech of P. Sempronius Tuditanus (of which a version is given in Livy 22.50) encouraging the soldiers who had escaped to the smaller camp after Cannae to join those in the larger camp and break through to Canusium (see Skutsch *ad loc.*); this would be one more example of allusion to the Hannibalic war in book IX. In Livy 22.50.4 the messenger from the larger camp urges those in the smaller to join them *dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret.* In the historians such nocturnal drunkenness in the field is typically the mark of barbarian enemies (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 4.48.1). The parallel with *Aen.* 2.265 is the first of a number between this episode and events in book II (see 236, 247–50, 385, 386, 389, 391–3 nn.). At *Od.* 2.393–404 Athene casts sleep on the drunken suitors to allow the safe departure of Telemachus on *his* journey in search of his father.

190 late loca: a favourite Virgilian phrase (*Geo.* 4.515, *Aen.* 2.495, 698; 8.24), with an Ennian feel to the alliteration.

percipe porro: a didactic tag (Lucr. 6.46).

191 quid dubitem 'what I am debating'.

192 populusque patresque irresistibly suggests the Roman 'senate and people', as in Lucilius 1228–30 Marx *a mani ad noctem ... populusque patresque | iactare indu foro se omnes*; cf. 8.679, 4.682. Servius comments *transfert in Troianos Romanam consuetudinem, ut solet plerumque.*

193 reportent: simply 'report' (to Aen.), like *referant*, rather than 'bring back' news (from Aeneas); cf. 228 *quisue Aeneae iam nuntius esset.*

194–5 facti | fama: the jingle sums up the Homeric hero's main goal of achieving renown through glorious deeds; cf. 10.468–9 (Jupiter is the authority) *famam extendere factis, | hoc uirtutis opus.* At *Il.* 10.212 Nestor promises 'great fame, reaching to the heavens' to the man

who ventures into the Trojan lines. Contrast Nisus' interest in material prizes at 5.353–6. Ironically at 446–9 the poet promises Nisus undying *fama*, but not for the deed he set out to accomplish.

195–6 Nisus' route will presumably be on or close to the line of the *uia Ostiensis* from Rome to Ostia. For attempts to trace the exact route of Nisus and Euryalus see B. Tilly, 'The topography of *Aeneid* 9 with reference to the way taken by Nisus and Euryalus', *Arch. Class.* 8 (1956) 164–72; della Corte, 181–94; Perret 173.

muros et moenia Pallantea: it is probably over-nice to distinguish here between *muri* 'city-walls' and *moenia* 'walls of buildings'; the two words are interchangeable at 11.506. The *spondeiazon* ends with a quadrisyllabic Greek name (see Williams on 5.320).

197 obstipuit: the Homeric model continues: *Il.* 10.218 (at the end of Nestor's speech) 'so he spoke, and they all fell silent'.

laudum ... amore: *either* '[Euryalus'] love for [Nisus'] heroism' (for *laudes* in this sense see 252, 8.273), *or* 'love, desire, for praise [for Euryalus himself]', as 7.496 *ipse etiam eximiae laudis succensus amore* (Ascanius); cf. 6.822–3 (Brutus) *infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores:* | *uincet amor patriae, laudumque immensa cupido.* But 182 *amor unus* (n.) should remind us not to discriminate too finely between aspects of the couple's passions; when it comes to heroics Euryalus is a copy-cat. Behind *magno laudum percussus amore* lies a famous Lucretian passage, 1.922–5 *sed acri* | *percussit thyrso laudis spes magna meum cor* | *et simul incussit suauem mi in pectus amorem* | *Musarum.*

198 simul 'at once', 'immediately', as often, following on his momentary speechlessness (*obstipuit*). With the rest of the line cf. 652 *atque his ardentem dictis adfatur Iulum*, where, however, the speaker Apollo succeeds in dissuading Iulus from a potentially disastrous course of action. *ardentem* may also have an erotic overtone.

199 mene opens a speech also at 1.37, 2.657, 5.848; see also 4.314 (Dido to Aeneas) *mene fugis? mene* opens the speech of the wife Imilce replying to Hannibal's Nisus-like words at Silius, *Pun.* 3.109–10 *mene, oblite tua nostram pendere salutem,* | *abnuis inceptis comitem?* The desire or willingness to share in extreme danger is a *topos* of *amicitia*: see N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.1, 2.17.10, but the form of the plea here is that of a wife to her husband going on an expedition (many other parallels in de la Cerda).

201–3 Servius, alive to the tricks of ancient panegyric, comments

ipse puer est necdum probatus: unde se et a belli temporibus et a patris uirtute commendat. But these lines are also an answer to Numanus' invidious comparison between Italian youth and the Trojans at 603–16.

201 Opheltes is otherwise the name of the nurseling of Hypsipyle killed at Nemea by a serpent, at whose funeral the first Nemean games were held. For the association of names cf. perhaps *Il.* 6.20 'Euryalos killed Dresos and Opheltios.'

203 sublatum erudiit 'emphasizes the two facts (1) that the brave Opheltes acknowledged Euryalus as his son, and (2) that he trained him so that he might prove himself by his acts a true son, worthy of a brave father' (Page). *tollere* refers to the father's formal recognition of a new-born child by picking it up from the ground.

204 Euryalus continues to justify himself vicariously and by association. By syllepsis *secutus* has a spatial sense with *Aenean* and an abstract sense with *fata* (although *extrema* may mean 'remotest' as well as 'desperate': cf. 8.333 *pelagique extrema sequentem*). The words also hint at a Stoic submission to fate; cf. 5.709 *quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur* (see Williams *ad loc.*; M. W. Edwards, 'The expression of Stoic ideas in the *Aeneid*', *Phoenix* 14 (1960) 151–65). In his tireless devotion he is also his mother's son: cf. 217–18, 492.

205–6 For Euryalus as for Nisus fame or glory is the ultimate good. The *geminatio* of *est* gives passionate emphasis; cf. e.g. Cic. *Catil.* 1.3 *fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica uirtus.*

206 bene ... emi 'is a bargain'. For the commercial colloquialism cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 6.38–9 'the godlike man bought the return of his father at the cost of death', Hor. *Carm.* 3.14.2 *morte uenalem ... laurum.* The sentiment is familiar from the less serious world of the games, 5.230 *uitamque uolunt pro laude pacisci* (echoed in T.'s grim determination at 12.49 *letumque sinas pro laude pacisci*).

207–18 Nisus makes an impassioned but well-constructed reply: three lines denying Euryalus' insinuation, followed by three counter-arguments (219 *causas*) each of three lines.

208 nec fas: cf. 11.180–1 *non uitae gaudia quaero,* | *nec fas.* Nisus regards their friendship and the respect due to it as a sacred trust. Many editors punctuate after *non*, taking the following clause as an example of the common 'so help me God' construction with *ita.* But the parallels for the emphatic repetition of the negative involve a second occurrence of *non* itself (e.g. Cic. *De har. resp.* 37 *non ignouit, mihi*

crede, non), and it is better to punctuate heavily after *fas*; *non ita me* etc. then means 'may I not return exultant on those terms (*ita*)', i.e. of doubting your courage. 'For *non* used in an optative or jussive clause, especially when the negative is closely connected with a single word or phrase (K–S II 1.191ff.) cf. *Geo.* 1.456–7, 3.140–1' [F.].

ouantem: cf. the description of Nisus just before he slips in the foot race at 5.331 *hic iuuenis iam uictor ouans.*

209 Nisus is given to metaphysical suspension of belief: cf. 184–5, 211 *casusue deusue. quicumque* here raises a doubt as to the identity of the deity presiding over human affairs; the caution is typical of prayer-ritual (see 22 n., Austin on 1.330). With this line cf. 4.372 *nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.*

210 quae multa: like the Homeric οἵά τε πολλά 'such as often'; cf. 7.199–200 *siue errore uiae seu tempestatibus acti,* | *qualia multa mari nautae patiuntur in alto.*

211 casusue deusue: cf. 12.320–2 *incertum . . .* | *quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne deusne,* | *attulerit.* Nisus avoids the ill omen of saying *me.*

213 Nisus envisages the standard Homeric ways of recovering a fallen body, either by snatching it out of the battle from the enemy or by ransom. The elegiac lover is also concerned that his *puella* should attend his funeral rites, e.g. Tib. 1.1.59–68, Prop. 1.17.19–24.

214 Editors are divided whether to punctuate after *solita* or after *humo.* The former makes *humo* an ablative where the dative would be normal, and 'the earth in which men usually come to rest' makes unexceptionable but weak sense; with the latter punctuation it is difficult to see in what sense it is an accustomed caprice of Fortune to deny burial. L. A. MacKay, *C.J.* 34 (1938) 171–3 deletes *id*, leaving *solita* as neuter plural; Peerlkamp suggests *mandet humo; aut saltem*; one might try *solitum*, 'if some Fortune denies that customary office'.

215 ferat inferias: probably an example of the *figura etymologica* (L–H–S 790–3): Paul. *Fest.* 99 Lindsay *inferiae sacrificia, quae dis Manibus inferebant. infero* is used frequently of funeral offerings (3.66, 5.652; *TLL* s.v. 1376.14ff.).

decoretque: frequently used of funeral 'honours' as at 6.217, 11.25.

sepulcro: here of a cenotaph, a burial-place (*sepelio* = *mandare humo*) without a burial. The collocation with *decoret* may suggest a pun on *pulc(h)er*: see Maltby s.v. *sepulcrum.*

216–18 Nisus' final argument prepares us for the coda to the Nisus and Euryalus episode at 473–502. Pathos in these lines is heightened by the vocative *puer*, and by the alliteration of *m*. Euryalus' aged mother has accompanied him as Anchises accompanied Aen. on his wanderings, 6.112–14. On mothers in the *Aen.* see S. F. Wiltshire, *Public and private in Vergil's Aeneid* (Amherst 1989) 38–55.

218 After the burning of the Trojan ships in Sicily by the travel-worn *matres* Aen. had settled them and other faint-hearts in the new city of Acesta, named after and to be ruled by king Acestes (5.715–18, 746–61).

219 causas ... inanis 'in vain do you weave your futile excuses'. Cf. 4.51 *indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi.* Tiberius Donatus comments *sed ille animum gerens reipublicae necessarium priuatis praetulit quod publicum fuit.*

221 'acceleremus' ait = 6.630 (the Sibyl to Aen.). Euryalus answers Nisus' arguments with one word at the beginning of a rapidly moving dactylic line, and a heavy pause after the fifth foot adds to the sense of excitement (Winbolt 55).

222 succedunt seruantque uices 'relieve them and take their turn'.

statione relicta: forming a ring with 183 *portam statione tenebant.*

223 regemque 'the prince' (Ascanius) (*OLD* s.v. 6a). At this stage Nisus and Euryalus observe a Roman obedience in seeking permission to break ranks.

requirunt: after the division of their debate the paragraph ends with a plural verb. Latin lacks the dual.

224–313 The night council

The Trojan council combines elements from the several nocturnal deliberations in *Iliad* IX and X: (i) the decision to send Nisus and Euryalus out among the enemy corresponds (*a*) to the Achaean decision to send out the pair Odysseus and Diomedes among the Trojans, *Il.* 10.1–273, and (*b*) to the Trojan decision to send Dolon as a spy to the Achaean ships, *Il.* 10.299–337. (ii) The decision to send Nisus and Euryalus as envoys to Aeneas corresponds to Agamemnon's decision in council, *Il.* 9.89–181, to send Ajax and Odysseus, together with

Phoenix, as ambassadors to the absent Achilles. See Knauer 266–9, 272–5. There is also a parallel with the assembly called by Telemachus at the beginning of *Odyssey* II, at which he sits in his father's seat (14) and announces his intention of travelling in search of news of his father (209–23). The Homeric models are transformed by the charge of the various emotions that overflow (in floods of tears) at this moment of crisis: the admiration of old age for youth, the idealistic *amicitia* of young heroes, and the love between children and parents. Ascanius, amidst his guardians, takes his first steps in the arts of a very Roman kind of council, as later in the book he is initiated in war. De la Cerda compares a historical episode, Sall. *Iug.* 23.2 (Adherbal besieged in Cirta) *ex iis qui una Cirtam profugerant duos maxume impigros delegit; eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam pergerent.*

224–5 The contrast between watchfulness and sleep in the previous section is continued with the *topos* of *nox erat*: cf. 3.147, 4.522–7 (with Pease's notes), 8.26–7. Of the various Homeric models particularly important is *Il.* 10.1–2 contrasting the sleep of the other Achaean leaders with Agamemnon's anxious insomnia (beginning ἄλλοι μέν 'the others': cf. 224 *cetera*). At *Od.* 15.4–8 Peisistratus' sound sleep is contrasted with the wakefulness of Telemachus worried about his father. Such watchfulness is also the mark of the good Roman general: see Harrison on 10.217.

225 curas et corda: an assonance possibly based on an etymological pun: Varro, *De ling. lat.* 6.46 *cura quod cor urat.* Homer puns in a similar passage, *Od.* 20.56–7 ὕπνος ... λύων μελεδήματα θυμοῦ, | λυσιμελής 'sleep that looses the cares of the spirit, the looser of limbs'.

oblita: proleptic (L–H–S 413–14). This line, with the variant of *lenibant* for *laxabant*, occurs in some inferior manuscripts at 4.528, where it is generally regarded as an insertion from the present context.

226 Cf. Lucr. 1.86 *ductores Danaum delecti, prima uirorum*, a line also echoed at 2.14.

delecta iuuentus = 4.130, 8.499. *iuuentus* means 'company', 'soldiery' here, rather than specifically 'young men'.

227 According to Servius this is a close adaptation of Lucilius 4

consilium summis hominum de rebus habebant; the line introduced a council of the gods which was also a model for V.'s Council of the Gods at the beginning of book x. Behind both Lucilius and V. may lie Ennius. *summis regni de rebus* suggests an epic version of Roman deliberations on the highest affairs of state: see *OLD* s.vv. *summa* 6c, *summus* 16b.

regni: V. elevates the dignity of the small band of Trojan survivors by calling them a 'kingdom', just as he calls the hastily thrown-up camp an *urbs*. Ascanius plays the role of king Agamemnon in the Iliadic models (223 *regem*).

228 At *Il.* 10.37–41 Menelaus worriedly asks Agamemnon whom he might get to go as a scout into the Trojan lines.

229 An impressive picture of the Trojan leaders, exhausted but still at action stations. The rhythm is repeated at 6.652–3 *stant terrae defixae hastae passimque soluti | per campum pascuntur equi*; both that passage and this are reworkings of *Il.* 3.134–5 'they now sat in silence – warring had ceased – leaning on their shields, and their long spears were fixed [in the ground] beside them'.

230 castrorum et campi medio is an awkward phrase. The scene must be inside the Trojan camp (cf. 309), and Page represents the usual interpretation: 'Probably Virgil means in the middle of the open space which in a Roman camp was left in the centre of the camp around the general's tent, the *Principia*'; but the Latin would more naturally mean 'midway between the camp and the battlefield'. At *Il.* 10.198–200 the Achaean chiefs hold their council on the other side of the ditch that surrounds their camp, and this may have influenced V.'s choice of phrase.

231 admittier orant: the archaic form of the passive infinitive, used frequently by Lucretius, occurs six times in V., four times in the fifth foot (also 4.493, 7.70, 11.242). *oro* with the infinitive is a Virgilian innovation (L–H–S 346). V. continues to suggest a more formal world than the Homeric: Nisus and Euryalus request an 'audience', as if in the *consilium* of the Roman general.

232 pretiumque morae fore 'it would be worth the time taken [to hear it]'. Cf. the more common phrase *pretium operae* (*esse*) (*OLD* *pretium* 2b).

233 trepidos 'excited'; 'the exact opposite of *placati*' (Page on 11.300).

234–45 Nisus presents his proposal in an orderly and skilful fashion, beginning with a *captatio beneuolentiae* (234–6), then proceeding to describe the opening they have observed (236–40) before outlining the plan (240–3), and concluding with their particular qualification for the mission (243–5). A sense of urgency is maintained by the placing in line 234 of *o* after the imperative, *audite*, with which it goes (see E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 242 n. 1); and by the enjambment between the several parts of the speech.

234 mentibus aequis: comic prologues often contain a request for *aequanimitas*, e.g. Ter. *Andr.* 24 *fauete, adeste aequo animo et rem cognoscite.* Nisus asks that his listeners consider the *res*, not the *persona* of the speaker, to avoid the experience of the young Scipio at Livy 28.45.1 *minus aequis animis est auditus Scipio.*

235 nostris spectentur ab annis 'be judged in the light of our youth'. In prose the construction is with *ex.* Cf. 311 (Ascanius) *ante annos animumque gerens curamque uirilem.*

236–41 These lines convey the same information to the Trojan leaders as 188–96 did to Euryalus, but V. mostly avoids close verbal repetition of the Homeric kind (see 236, 237 nn.).

236 sepulti: C. E. Murgia, *Hermes* 116 (1988) 493–9 demonstrates that the scholiastic tradition is unanimous in reading *sepulti* instead of *soluti*; *sepulti* has the further advantages of reinforcing Nisus' persuasiveness (the Rutulians are so sound asleep that there is no danger of their waking) and of establishing another link with the narrative of book 11, 265–6 *inuadunt urbem somno uinoque sepultam*; | *caeduntur uigiles* (see 189 n.).

237 conticuere: the variant *procubuere* has crept in from 190. *somno uinoque sepulti* | *conticuere* is a compression of Nisus' first formulation at 189–90 *somno uinoque soluti* | *procubuere, silent late loca.*

insidiis: the required sense 'clandestine breakout' seems to be unparalleled; alternatively 'unseen attack' on the unconscious Rutulians. Cf. 59 n.

238 in biuio portae 'where two roads lead from the gate'. When such a junction is approached by a third road it becomes a *triuium.* B. Tilly, *Arch. Class.* 8 (1956) 170 attempts to identify this spot with the Porta Marina of the fourth-century *castrum* at Ostia.

proxima ponto: alliteration in feet 5 and 6 is common (Cordier 55–7).

239 interrupti ignes 'the line of fires is broken' where they have been allowed to die down. Smoke rather than firelight now reaches up to the sky; contrast Hector's instruction to light watch-fires round the Achaean camp at *Il.* 8.509 'let us light many fires, and let their gleam reach to the sky'.

240 fortuna ... uti 'make use of the lucky chance'. Cf. 2.387–8 *qua prima ... fortuna salutis | monstrat iter ... sequamur*; 12.932 *utere sorte tua*. At 5.356 Nisus complains of the *fortuna inimica* that robbed him of victory in the foot-race. Cf. Turnus' opportunism (12 n.).

241 The text and punctuation of this line have been much debated in the belief that our judgement of Nisus' sense of responsibility hangs thereby. The majority of the manuscripts read *et*: *quaesitum* is then an unusual use of the supine (L–H–S 381) to express a final clause dependent on the notion of journeying implied in *fortuna uti*, and we will place a comma after *Pallantea*. Reading *ad*, it is possible to punctuate after *uti* (240) and take *quaesitum Aenean ad moenia Pallantea* as the subject of *adfore* (243); the slaughter and plunder of 242 will then be the work of the returning Aen. and his troops. But even on the first alternative *Aenean* may be supplied as the subject of *adfore*, and even if we understand *nos* the implication will be that Nisus and Euryalus will wreak slaughter as they return with Aen., rather than that they will recklessly take time to kill Rutulians instead of stealing through the lines to Pallanteum. E. L. Harrison, *Vergilius* 28 (1982) 62 suggests reading *usi* for *uti*: 'if, exploiting Fortune, you send us through to seek Aeneas ...', with the supine after a verb of sending; but the resulting word order is awkward, and the sense of *permitto* is unexpected in the context of a request for leave to carry out a mission.

The failure of Nisus and Euryalus is often interpreted as the result of a failure properly to distinguish between the two goals of getting intelligence to Aen. and killing defenceless Rutulians; this duality of purpose finds precedent in Nestor's proposal for a night expedition in *Il.* 10.206–7 'on the chance that he might pick off one of the enemy at the edge of the camp, or might overhear some talk among the Trojans'. The Dolon of the *Rhesus* is unambiguously bloodthirsty: (222–3) 'not with unbloodied hand shall I return to the houses before light dawns on the land'.

242 spoliis: the first introduction of a theme central to the episode.

243 nec nos uia fallit euntis 'nor is the way we go unknown to us' (Page). These words are echoed tragically at 385 *fallitque timor regione uiarum.* Nisus repeatedly stresses precision of perception: 237 *conspeximus,* 238 *patet,* 243 *cernetis,* 244 *uidimus,* 245 *cognouimus.* See 187 n.

244 'While down in dark valleys we have seen the edge of a city.' They look up to Pallanteum built *in montibus* 8.53; cf. 3.109–10 *nondum Ilium et arces | Pergameae steterant; habitabant uallibus imis.* The Roman reader would have felt the strongest contrast with the present-day approach to the city on great roads passing through rich cultivation and sumptuous villas.

245 On the importance of hunting in this episode see Introd. (section 6).

adsiduo: in fact there has hardly been enough time since the landing for much hunting.

246 animi maturus: genitive of 'sphere in which'; cf. 5.73 *aeui maturus* (with Williams ad loc.); 9.255 *integer aeui,* and see L–H–S 74–5.

247–50 The picture of the aged Aletes addressing the two youths and calling on the ancestral gods of Troy emphasizes the theme of national continuity through new generations. Cf. the scene at 2.679–711 where the future of Troy is ensured through the aged Anchises' response to the omen of the flame round the head of his grandson Ascanius, esp. 701–3 *sequor et qua ducitis adsum, | di patrii; seruate domum, seruate nepotem. | uestrum hoc augurium, uestroque in numine Troia est;* and the prayer at *Geo.* 1.498–501 to the *di patrii* to allow the young Octavian to save Rome. At *Od.* 4.754–6 Eurykleia reassures Penelope, distraught at learning of Telemachus' departure, that 'I do not think that the race of Laertes is completely hateful to the blessed gods, but there will yet be one to inherit the lofty palace and the rich fields that lie far and wide'.

248 Cf. 5.687–8 (Aen. prays to Jupiter) *Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum | Troianos, . . .*

249–54 Cf. the language used by Aen. to his 'saviour' Dido at 1.603–606 *di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid | usquam iustitiae est et mens sibi conscia recti, | praemia digna ferant. quae te tam laeta tulerunt*

| *saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?* In both cases extravagant praise is followed by disaster.

250–1 Cf. 6.699 (Aen. after addressing the shade of Anchises) *sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat.*

251 uultum . . . atque ora: for the pair cf. 10.821 *at uero ut uultum uidit morientis et ora* (the dying Lausus).

252–3 For the sentiment and the repeated interrogative adjective cf. 10.825–6 (Aen. to the dying Lausus) *quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,* | *quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?*; 11.508–9 (T. in response to Camilla's heroic but doomed offer to take on the Trojan advance cavalry) *o decus Italiae, quas dicere grates* | *quasue referre parem?*

252 uiri: a pointed choice of word with which to address two very young warriors.

pro laudibus istis 'in return for this heroism'; for *laudes* = 'praiseworthy deeds' see 197 n. The variant *pro talibus ausis* may be a recollection of 12.351 (an allusion to the Doloneia on which the present episode is based), or of 2.535.

253 praemia: prizes form one of the links between this episode and the foot-race in book v, but in this particular at least the (expressed) attitude of Nisus and Euryalus has changed; at 5.353–5 Nisus asks *si tanta . . . sunt praemia uictis,* | *et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso* | *digna dabis, primam merui qui laude coronam?*

solui: for the commercial image see 206 n.

253–4 Their highest reward will come from the gods and from an awareness of their own virtue ('Virtue is its own reward': see Otto s. v. *virtus* 1; Cic. *Phil.* 2.114 *satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat*; Silius, *Pun.* 13.663 *ipsa quidem uirtus sibimet pulcherrima merces*). A close parallel is found in 1.603–5 (quoted 249–54 n.) if that passage is punctuated so that *di* and *mens sibi conscia recti* are both the subject of *praemia digna ferant* (see Conington ad loc.).

255 actutum: an archaism, used only here by V.

pius Aeneas: the formula (see Austin on 1.378) is appropriate in a context resonating with thoughts of devotion to gods, family, and state.

integer aeui: Ennian (*Trag.* 401 *deos aeui integros*). On the genitive see 246 n. 'Ascanius' youth is in point: his memory will last the longer' [F.].

256 Cf. 6.664 *quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo.* Memory

(fame) will in fact be the only reward that Nisus and Euryalus can receive: 447 *nulla dies umquam memori uos eximet aeuo.* Cf. the sentiment of Diomedes in Accius' play the *Nyctegresia* based on the Homeric Doloneia, *Trag.* 488 Warmington *an ego Vlixem obliscar umquam aut quemquam praeponi uellem?*

257 immo 'indeed', putting detail on Aletes' hint.

258 magnos ... penatis: at 3.12 Aen. leaves Troy *cum ... penatibus et magnis dis* (= 8.679, accompanying Augustus at Actium). According to Varro (ap. Servius on 3.12) the Roman *penates* were the same as the *di magni*, an identification possibly alluded to in *magnos* here. See R. B. Lloyd, *A.J.Ph.* 77 (1956) 38–46; S. Weinstock, *J.R.S.* 50 (1960) 112–14. The *penates* and Vesta (in whose temple the Roman *penates* were kept) are guarantees of the continuity of the Trojan (and Roman) state, and were commended to Aen. by the ghost of Hector at 2.293–7; the *Lar* betokens the survival of the family of Aen. Ascanius lists the *di patrii* (247).

259 Assaracus was Anchises' grandfather (*Il.* 20.239; Enn. *Ann.* 28).

canae ... Vestae: *aut antiquae aut propter ignis fauillas* (Servius on 5.744 *Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae*). Cf. 1.292 *cana Fides et Vesta* ('hoary *Fides*').

260 obtestor has a mixed construction: with *uos* as object it means 'implore', but it is then followed by a statement in keeping with the sense 'solemnly declare'; Ascanius' request is postponed until 261. The anacoluthon may suggest strong emotion.

fides 'grounds for confidence'.

261 in uestris ... gremiis: cf. the Homeric θεῶν ἐν γούνασι 'in the lap [lit. 'knees'] of the gods'. This passage is imitated by Silius, *Pun.* 6.610–12 *gremio deponere tuto | Romuleam sedem Fabioque salutis habenas | credere ductori.*

261–2 Ascanius' longing for the return of his father is reinforced by the threefold repetition of the prefix *re-* in *reuocate ... reddite ... recepto.* Cf. 2.750–1 *stat casus renouare omnis omnemque reuerti | per Troiam et rursus [< re-uorsus] caput obiectare periclis*; 11.627 *retro ... reuoluta resorbens*; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 1.655–6 *emicuit reserata dies caelumque resoluit | arcus et in summos redierunt nubila montes*; and see 391–3 n.

262 reddite conspectum: cf. 6.108–9 (Aen.'s longing for *his* father) *ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora | contingat.*

nihil illo triste recepto: joy at the *reditus* of the emperor becomes a stock *topos* of imperial panegyric, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.46–8 *'o Sol | pulcher! o laudande!' canam, recepto | Caesare felix.*

263–74 At *Il.* 10.214–17 Nestor promises that each of the Achaean heroes will give a black sheep to the man who undertakes the proposed nocturnal mission; at 10.305–6 Hector promises to whoever undertakes the mission a chariot and the two best horses in the Achaean camp. But other models in *Iliad* IX and X feed the extravagance of Ascanius: his promise of the horse and armour of Turnus himself (269–71) corresponds to Dolon's request for the horses and chariot of Achilles (*Il.* 10.321–3); but above all the length and many of the details of Ascanius' list are based on the great catalogue of compensation with which Agamemnon hopes to make amends to Achilles at *Il.* 9.121–57. See Knauer 269.

263 Cf. 5.267 *cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.*

aspera signis 'encrusted with reliefs'. Cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 6.40 οἰνοδόκον φιάλαν χρυσῶι πεφρικυῖαν 'wine-holding cup bristling with gold'; Prop. 2.6.17–18 *aspera ... pocula.*

264 Arisba: there were two places of this name, one in the Troad (an ally of Troy in the Trojan War) and one in Lesbos. What, if any, earlier tradition of a capture of an Arisba by Aen. V. is drawing on it is not now possible to say. Is it coincidence that the Arisba in the Troad was the home of Asios (*Il.* 2.837–8), whose patronym *Hyrtacides* is borrowed for Nisus (177)?

265 Agamemnon's promised gifts to Achilles include (*Il.* 9.122) 'seven tripods that have not known fire and ten talents of gold'.

magna talenta: the Attic talent seems to have been called *talentum magnum* to distinguish it from currencies of less value (*OLD* s. v. *talentum* 2), but it is probably best to take *magna* here as a non-defining adjective.

266 dat: for the present of a past event cf. 360–1 *cingula, Tiburti Remulo ditissimus olim | quae mittit dona*; 4.228, 7.363, 11.172: grammarians differ as to the intended effect.

267–74 Agamemnon likewise divides his gifts to Achilles into those to be given immediately, and those dependent on the capture of Troy (*Il.* 9.135–40) and on the return to Argos (141–56).

267 Ascanius thinks big, of the conquest of all Italy and of monarchy; contrast Aen.'s modest conditions in the event of Trojan victory

at 12.187–94. Fordyce comments 'Ascanius is incoherent in his enthusiasm: "If I succeed and have booty to distribute – you have seen the horse and the armour with which Turnus appeared yesterday: I shall pick out that very horse, his shield and his plume, as a special prize for you."'

268 praedae dicere sortem 'prescribe the terms of the lottery for the booty'. Neither of the variants *ducere* (cf. 6.22) or *deicere* (cf. 5.490) is appropriate for the action of the general presiding over the apportionment of booty to his troops.

269 Cf. 5.310 (Aen. names the prizes for the foot-race) *primus equum phaleris insignem uictor habeto.*

ibat: possibly an example of the indicative in an indirect question (see Austin on 6.615), but *quo* and *quibus* may be taken as relatives, so that the clauses are equivalent to *uidisti equum quo Turnus ibat, arma quibus ibat.*

270 The line is enclosed by the two colour terms (for the gold and scarlet cf. 50, 163 nn.), heightening the visual impact of Ascanius' description.

ipsum illum: the horse.

271 excipiam sorti: *sorti* may be either dative or an archaic ablative in *-i*. For examples of special prizes set aside from those distributed by lot see *Il.* 9.367, *Od.* 14.232–3. At 8.551–3 Evander's Arcadians give horses to the Trojans, reserving a special one for Aen.: 552 *ducunt exsortem Aeneae.*

272–3 Agamemnon promises to give Achilles seven women captured on Lesbos (*Il.* 9.128–31) and the twenty most beautiful Trojan women (139–40). Here it is unclear whether 12 is the number of the female and male captives combined, or whether one should supply *bis sex* again before *captiuos.*

lectissima matrum | corpora: cf. 2.18 *delecta uirum ... corpora.* The periphrastic use of *corpora* with the genitive goes back to Ennius (Skutsch on *Ann.* 88). In V. it usually has particular point; here the mothers are chosen for their physique and looks, and perhaps because, as Conington says, 'slaves are spoken of'. At 5.284–5 Aen. gives Sergestus a slave-girl with twins at the breast as a consolation prize for the boat race.

suaque omnibus arma 'and their own arms with them all'; cf. 6.233 *suaque arma uiro* 'the hero's own gear'.

274 Agamemnon promises Achilles enormous grants of territory, *Il.* 9.149–56. Latinus has a *temenos*, a special domain, like a Homeric king. The MS variants may largely be explained by the rare prepositional use of *insuper* with the ablative in the sense 'in addition to', and the partitive genitive *campi*.

275–80 Ascanius uses towards Euryalus that same language of impassioned friendship that Nisus and Euryalus had used to each other, marked by emphatic use of the first and second person pronouns. The sentiments are standard in the ancient literature on friendship, e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 3.2 *si aliquem amicum existimas cui non tantundem credis quantum tibi, uehementer erras ... cum placuerit fieri, toto illum pectore admitte* (cf. 276 *pectore toto*).

275–6 Ascanius sees life's course in the common image of a race (see Powell on Cic. *De sen.* 83) in which he follows Euryalus at a short interval; cf. 10.472 *metasque dati peruenit ad aeui*; Lucr. 2.78–9 *inque breui spatio mutantur saecla animantum | et quasi cursores uitai lampada tradunt*; Lucr. 3.1042; Hor. *Ep.* 1.16.79 *mors ultima linea rerum est.* The language of the games in book v continues to pervade this wartime episode: cf. 5.320–2 *proximus huic, longo sed proximus interuallo, | insequitur Salius; spatio post deinde relicto | tertius Euryalus.*

276 uenerande puer: a remarkable phrase bordering on oxymoron. Cf. T.'s reaction to Camilla's noble offer at 11.507 *oculos horrenda in uirgine fixus.* De la Cerda compares *Culex* 25–6 *Octaui uenerande ... | sancte puer.* See also 311 n.

276–7 pectore toto | ... complector: two faded metaphors (*OLD* s. vv. *pectus* 4b, *complector* 2a), which in juxtaposition revitalize each other; the effect is heightened by the assonance of *pectore*, *-plector* (in the same metrical position in consecutive lines).

277 comitem casus complector in omnis: see 199 n.

279–80 Ascanius emphasizes the comprehensiveness of his friendship with two 'polar expressions' chiastically arranged, *pacem ... bella* and *rerum uerborumque*, and his speech ends with the keyword *fides* 'trust'. Euryalus is virtually offered a permanent place in the *consilium principis* as an *amicus* (cf. J. Crook, *Consilium principis* (Cambridge 1955) ch. 3).

contra quem 'in reply to him', on the analogy of the frequent use of *contra* as adverb = 'in reply' without any notion of opposition.

281–92 Euryalus' asseveration of his own valour and his request

on behalf of his mother correspond formally to Dolon's undertaking to spy on the Achaeans and his request that in return Hector promise him the horses and chariot of Achilles, *Il.* 10.319–27; the differences between the two speeches are also striking.

281–2 Euryalus' prediction will ironically come true as death fixes him in his moment of heroism, before another day can put his steadfastness to the test; his words are picked up in the authorial intervention at 447 *nulla dies umquam memori uos eximet aeuo*; cf. 256 n.

arguerit: the future perfect looks to a future certainty (K–S 1 147).

282–3 tantum ... cadat 'only let fortune turn out favourable, not hostile'. Of the transmitted readings *haud* seems preferable; with *aut*, *tantum* will either be taken (= *tam*) with *dissimilem*, giving an awkward phrase, or, almost impossibly elliptically, to mean 'so much I can promise of myself' (followed by a pause). Perret's opposition between the immutability of Euryalus' resolve and the changeability of fortune ('let fortune only be fickle ...') gives attractive sense, but seems impossibly elliptical. Peerlkamp's *umquam* for *tantum* would give another link with line 447. The contrast between 281 *fortibus* and 282 *fortuna*, in the same part of the line, hints at the terms of the proverb *fortes fortuna adiuuat* (Otto 144), variants on which are found e.g. at Enn. *Ann.* 233 *fortibus est fortuna uiris data*; *Aen.* 10.284.

284 unum oro = 6.106, where another son, Aen., prays that he may be able to visit the ghost of his father; and 12.60, where Amata begs T., once her prospective son-in-law, not to risk death in combat.

285–6 Cf. 216–18. A son leaving Troy with his aged parent reminds us (and no doubt Ascanius: see 294 n.) of Aen. and Anchises; cf. 6.110–14.

287 huius quodcumque pericli 'of this danger, whatever it may be'.

288 inque salutatum: a striking example of tmesis; cf. 10.794 *inque ligatus* (with Harrison *ad loc.*). Tmesis has an archaic flavour; it is particularly affected by Lucretius (L–H–S 217). *saluto* is rare of farewell, but cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4.19.

288–9 At *Od.* 2.371–6 Telemachus asks Eurycleia to wait 11 or 12 days before telling Penelope that he has gone away, in order to spare her tears. Cf. 12.72–3 (T. to Amata) *ne, quaeso, ne me lacrimis neue omine tanto | prosequere in duri certamina Martis euntem.* The young Octavian left

to gather an army without telling his mother, lest her feminine and maternal weakness should hinder his plans (Nicol. Damasc. 132–4).

Nox: the deity, as at 7.138. See Bailey, *Religion* 185–6.

dextera: the guarantee of Ascanius' *fides:* cf. 7.234–5.

289 perferre parentis: an alliterative pair in final position functioning as a clausula.

290 Elisions in the first, third and fourth feet reinforce the urgency of Euryalus' request.

inopem 'in her helplessness'.

290–1 succurre ... | hanc sine me: cf. Nisus' prayer to the he
Moon at 404 *nostro succurre labori,* 409 *hunc sine me turbare globum.*

291–2 Euryalus ends his speech, as he began it, with reference to to
his own bravery; *audentior* picks up 281 *ausis. in casus omnis* picks up the words of Ascanius at 277. With the phrasing cf. 6.95–6 (the Sibyl to Aeneas) *tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito, | qua tua te Fortuna sinet.*

291 There is hiatus between *tui* and *audentior,* before a strong pause in the sense: see Austin on 4.235.

292 percussa: 197 *magno laudum percussus amore.*

293 pulcher Iulus: formulaic: also at 5.570 (*formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus*), 7.107, 7.477–8, 9.310. Servius objects that the epithet is here incongruous; but one beautiful boy feels for another (179).

294 Part of the power of this line lies in its open-ended reference (emotions and relationships in Virgil tend to merge into one another: cf. 197 n.). *patria pietas* may mean either a father's *pietas* to his son (Anchises' to Aen., Aen.'s to Ascanius), or a son's *pietas* to his father (Ascanius' to Aeneas). *imago* may mean either 'image', 'replica' (the relationship between Euryalus and his mother is an image of that between Ascanius and Aen., as at 3.489 Andromache sees in Ascanius an *imago* of her dead son Astyanax); or 'mental representation' (as at 2.560 the sight of the death of Priam arouses an *imago* of Anchises in Aen.'s mind). The line is nearly repeated at 10.824 *et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago,* where the sight of Lausus dying as he tries to protect his father reminds Aen. of his own relationship with his father (for other echoes of the Lausus episode see 251, 252–3 nn.). Reaction to another's sorrow with grief for a sorrow of one's own occurs at several points in Homer: Heyne points to *Il.* 19.338–9 where Achilles' sorrow at the thought of his aged father sitting at home prompts the Achaean old men to grieve at the memory of what they

have left behind at home; at *Il.* 24.486–507 Priam, trying to win Achilles' sympathy, succeeds in softening him by reminding him of his own father, old and bereft like Priam, a scene exploited by V. at 12.933–4 where T. tries (unsuccessfully) to engage Aen.'s sympathy for his own father Daunus by reminding Aen. of Anchises. *Il.* 24.507, describing the arousal of Achilles' tearful longing for his father, is repeated at *Od.* 4.113 where Telemachus weeps after Menelaus speaks of the troubles of Odysseus: on the parallels between Ascanius and Telemachus see 224–313, 224–5 nn.

strinxit 'grazed': Page suggests that Virgil thinks of Epicurean *imagines*, εἴδωλα, physical films of atoms which literally touch the mind (for another 'Lucretian' *imago* see 10.636–44, with Harrison on 10.641, 642). *stringo* is also used of wounding by a graze or scratch; there is pain in Ascanius' thought.

295 A half-line: see 167 n.

296 sponde: the reading of the major MSS, 'promise yourself', 'assure yourself', a bold use of *spondeo* for which cf. Livy 28.38.9 *spondebantque animis, sicut C. Lutatius superius bellum Punicum finisset, ita id quod instaret P. Cornelium finiturum.* The variant *spondeo* yields a more usual sense, but there is no parallel for this synizesis in a second conjugation verb (although final *-eo* does undergo synizesis elsewhere: Fordyce on 7.33); and *spondeo* cannot be scanned as a dactyl in V.

digna: 252.

297 Cf. *Ecl.* 1.7 *namque erit ille mihi semper deus.*

nomenque Creusae: although we are informed of the names of the other three parents of Nisus and Euryalus (177, 201) we never learn the name of Euryalus' mother.

298 partum . . . talem 'the bearing of such a child'. She is honoured for her son, not for what she might be in herself.

300–2 The oath corresponds formally to Hector's oath at *Il.* 10.329–31 (also three lines) that he will give Dolon the horses of Achilles.

300 Swearing by someone's head was common in Greece and Rome: see Pease on 4.357 *testor utrumque caput* (Aen. speaks; some commentators take one of the two heads to be that of Ascanius). Swearing by one's own head: cf. e.g. Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.151; Ovid, *Tr.* 5.4.45 (a poem much influenced by V.'s Nisus and Euryalus episode). In book IX Ascanius must act in his father's place, and one re-

sult is that he swears by his own head. That head is elsewhere singled out for special attention at 2.681–6 and 10.132–8.

301–2 Ascanius avoids the ill omen of actually stating the alternative of failure to return; Servius comments *tacet aduersa et magis intellectui et subauditioni relinquit.* See 211 n. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 14.35 *qui autem ex illis quibus illa [praemia] promissa sunt pro patria occiderunt, eorum parentibus, liberis, coniugibus, fratribus eadem tribuenda censeo.* The language of the games is in this particular appropriately echoed: 5.348–9 (Aen. to the squabbling contestants in the foot-race) *munera uobis | certa manent, pueri, et palmam mouet ordine nemo.*

303 sic ait inlacrimans = 11.29, concluding Aen.'s instructions to carry the body of Pallas back to his father. *inlacrimo* is otherwise found in Virgil only at *Geo.* 1.480.

303–7 The arming scene is modelled on *Il.* 10.254–71 where Thrasymedes and Meriones give Diomedes and Odysseus various items of armour for their expedition. There is a secondary model at *Od.* 8.400–6 where a Phaeacian named Euryalos (see 179–80 n.) gives Odysseus a bronze sword with a silver hilt and an ivory scabbard.

303–5 The description of the sword is built up in the 'additive' manner typical of Homer: see 176–8 n.

auratum ... eburna: for the combination of materials see 3.464, *Geo.* 3.26; Hardie 122 n. 7. The two adjectives frame the two lines 304–5, a formal echo of *Od.* 8.404 (in the description of the sword given to Odysseus by Euryalos), a line framed by ἀργυρέη 'silver' and ἐλέφαντος 'of ivory', the materials respectively of the hilt and the scabbard.

304 Lycaon in the *Iliad* is the name of (i) the father of Pandarus; (ii) a son of Priam. A Cretan artist Lycaon is otherwise unknown. What matters is that this valuable sword is a 'named piece' (see Harrison on 10.499).

305 habilem 'for easy handling'; cf. 12.88–9 *aptat habendo | ensemque clipeumque.*

306–7 pellem horrentisque leonis | exuuias: *-que* is epexegetic, the *exuuias* being the same as the *pellem*; cf. 2.722 *ueste super fuluique ... pelle leonis.* A lion-skin is one of the prizes in the foot-race, 5.351–2. At *Il.* 10.334 Dolon cloaks himself in the skin of a wolf before going out into the night; at *Il.* 10.177 Nestor had put on a lion-skin.

308–10 Cf. the scene at the beginning of the *lusus Troiae*, 5.553–5 *incedunt pueri pariterque ante ora parentum | frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis euntis | Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaeque iuuentus.*

310 prosequitur uotis: V. combines two uses of *prosequor*: the band of leaders (i) 'send them on their way with prayers' (e.g. 12.73); (ii) 'escort them up to the gates'. Cf. 6.897–8 *his ... natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam | prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna.* Again we are in a more ceremonial world than the Homeric; the scene is reminiscent of the imperial *profectio*.

311 The situation requires that Ascanius be a grown-up before his time, the *puer* must cope with a *cura uirilis*; on the theme of adolescence in book IX see Introd. (section 6). At *Od.* 4.204–5 Menelaus congratulates Nestor's son Peisistratus for speaking with the wisdom of an older man. The young Zeus matures swiftly at Callim. *Hy.* 1.55–7. Precocious maturity also marks out gifted mortals such as Scipio Africanus (Livy 26.18.7–11; Silius Italicus uses V.'s Ascanius as a model for his depiction of Scipio at *Pun.* 4.472–9), and becomes a topic of imperial panegyric: e.g. Ovid, *Pont.* 2.2.71 *praeterit ipse suos animo Germanicus annos*; *Ars am.* 1.184–6 *Caesaribus uirtus contigit ante diem; | ingenium caeleste suis uelocius annis | surgit* (with Hollis *ad loc.*); *Consol. ad Liuiam* 447 *uixi maturior annis.* Octavian himself had been forced to early responsibility by the death of his adoptive father Julius Caesar: Cic. *Phil.* 14.28 *an uero quisquam dubitabit appellare Caesarem imperatorem? aetas eius certe ab hac sententia neminem deterrebit, quandoquidem uirtute superauit aetatem.* On the antique and post-antique *topos* of the *puer senex* see H. Herter, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1975) 600–1; E. L. Curtius, *European literature and the Latin middle ages* (transl. W. Trask, New York 1953) 98–101.

annos animumque: for the assonance cf. 246 *hic annis grauis atque animi maturus Aletes*; Ovid, *Pont.* 2.2.71 (quoted above).

312 mandata dabat: in the same *sedes* at 6.116, of Anchises' instructions to his son Aen.

312–13 The earliest example of the *topos* of the wind carrying away words (on which see N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.2, McKeown on Ovid, *Am.* 1.4.11–12) occurs at *Od.* 8.408–9 in the mouth of the Euryalos who gives a sword to Odysseus (see 303–7 n.). The present formulation is indebted to Catullan models: Cat. 30.9–10 *tua dicta omnia factaque | uentos irrita ferre ac nebulas aerias* [cf. 313 *nubibus*] *sinis*;

64.142 [*blanda promissa*] *quae cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita uenti* (Cat. 64.139 is echoed at *Aen.* 11.45–6, 152 in the context of Aen.'s and Pallas' fruitless promises to Evander on departure). This is one of a number of places where the episode picks up a flavour of personal, even elegiac, poetry; for other echoes of Catullus see 399–401, 435–7 nn. In terms of the epic model the authorial comment corresponds to Homer's anticipation of Dolon's fate at *Il.* 10.336–7 'but he was not going to return from the ships and bring a report to Hector'.

314–66 Night slaughter

The rampage of Nisus and Euryalus through the sleeping Rutulian camp is modelled on *Il.* 10.469–514 where Diomedes and Odysseus massacre the sleeping Thracian allies of the Trojans with their king Rhesus. Nisus instructs Euryalus to be on watch while he himself opens up a way through the Rutulians with his sword; Diomedes slaughters the Thracians while behind him Odysseus drags the bodies out of the way so that they will have a clear run to escape with the horses of Rhesus as their prize. Nisus and Euryalus break off at the point at which they reach Messapus and his horses; had they taken those horses they might have escaped from the Rutulian horsemen who overtake Euryalus. Instead the objects that they do plunder prove their undoing. Speeches of Nisus open (320–3) and close (355–6) the slaughter; in Homer a speech of Odysseus prompts Diomedes to slaughter (*Il.* 10.477–81), and a speech of Athene warns him to stop (509–11). V. develops the symmetry of his episode beyond that of the Homeric model: the exact centre of the 53-line passage is occupied by a simile (339–41) dividing the narratives of the exploits of Nisus (324–38) and Euryalus (342–54). Euryalus forgets Nisus' instruction to act as watch, so proving the truth of 182 *pariterque in bella ruebant.* Roman history supplies other models: Henry quotes Livy 5.45.1–3 *contione dimissa, corpora curant, intenti quam mox signum daretur. quo dato, primae silentio noctis ad portas Camillo praesto fuere. egressi haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti cum ingenti clamore inuadunt. nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur.* For the possible relevance of an episode in the war against Hannibal see 189, 356 nn.;

for a possible parallel in the epic *Messeniaca* of Rhianus see A. Couat, *Alexandrian poetry* (transl. J. Loeb, London 1931) 368–9, M. M. Crump, *C.R.* 35 (1921) 157.

314 noctisque per umbram: cf. *Il.* 10.297 (Diomedes and Odysseus set out on their sortie) 'they set off like two lions through the black night'. Cf. also the opening of another night journey 6.268 *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*; for other allusions to the Underworld in this episode see 321, 381–3, 383, 386 nn.; Introd. (section 9(*b*)4).

315–16 multis tamen ante futuri | exitio 'they were nevertheless to be the destruction of many men before', i.e. before they met their own end. Many seek the notion of the undoing of Nisus and Euryalus in the word *inimica*, taken in the sense 'hostile', 'dangerous' rather than 'belonging to the enemy'; but in fact it is Volcens' troop, not the Rutulian *castra*, that is the source of death for the pair, and it may be better to understand *tamen ante* as qualifying the anticipation of disaster in 312–13. T. opts knowingly for such a career at 12.678–80 *stat conferre manum Aeneae, stat, quidquid acerbi est,* | *morte pati,* ... | ... *hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem.*

316 passim 'in a scattered fashion', the original sense. Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 366–8 *omnes mortales uictores, cordibus uiuis* | *laetantes, uino curatos somnus repente* | *in campo passim mollissimus perculit acris.*

316–17 per herbam | ... fusa: 164 n. There is a strong contrast with Homer's Thracians, whose sleep is the result of exhaustion not inebriation, and whose weapons are neatly laid out in rows beside them (*Il.* 10.471–3); but at Eur. *Rhes.* 762–9 Rhesus' men lie down to sleep in random order and without guards.

317 Henry notices the conceit whereby the human bodies, normally upright, are laid out horizontally, while the chariots, normally extended lengthwise, are set on end.

318–19 The loosely strung-together list of items conveys the impression of random disorder.

uina 'jars of wine', as at 1.724.

320–3 Nisus begins with three lapidary phrases. Both here and at 355–6 he keeps his words to a minimum (cf. 324 *uocemque premit*, 353 *breuiter*); in this respect, at least, he has a sense for what is militarily appropriate.

ipsa uocat res: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 422 *quo res sapsa loco sese ostentatque iubetque* (with Skutsch ad loc.). *res* provides a monosyllabic ending also at 5.638, 7.592, 9.723, and contributes to the archaic, Ennian feel (Norden 439).

321 hac iter est: 6.542 *hac iter Elysium nobis*, another of the parallels with Aen.'s journey through the Underworld.

manus 'hand', probably, rather than 'band'.

321–2 ne ... custodi et consule longe: equivalent to *custodiendo longe consule ne* ... 'by keeping watch into the distance see to it that no ...'

323 uasta dabo: the 'causative' use of *dare* is found in early Latin, but is much extended by Virgil: see Fordyce on 8.570–1. The variant *uastabo* is probably to be explained as a gloss.

lato ... limite: cf. 10.513–14 *latumque per agmen | ardens limitem agit ferro.*

324 uocemque premit 'stopped speaking', rather than 'spoke quietly'. This passage is imitated by Ovid, *Met.* 14.778–80 *inde sati Curibus tacitorum more luporum | ore premunt uoces et corpora uicta sopore | inuadunt.*

325 Rhamnetem: *R(h)amnes, -ium* is the name, derived from an Etruscan gentile name (W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin 1904) 218) of one of the three original Roman tribes. This is the first of a number of names in this passage having associations with early Roman history: cf. 330 *Remi*, 360 *Remulus*; see E. Bréguet, *M.H.* 13 (1956) 54–62.

325–6 tapetibus altis | exstructus: the participle is boldly transferred from the heaped-up coverings to the king proudly raised up on them. At *Il.* 10.156 Diomedes lies with his head on a *tapes.*

326 toto proflabat pectore somnum: cf. Theocr. 24.47 δμῶας ... ὕπνον βαρὺν ἐκφυσῶντας 'the servants blowing out heavy sleep'. Servius suggests that this is a periphrastic way of avoiding the humble word *stertere* 'snore'; it is also a highly effective description of total abandonment to sleep.

327–8 The Homeric model is *Il.* 2.859–60 'The Mysians were led by Chromis and Ennomos the watcher of birds (οἰωνιστής); but with his bird-omens he did not ward off black death.' V. also applies the pathetic formula in his own catalogue (7.750–8) to Umbro the witch-

doctor whose spells were useless to himself against Trojan spears; cf. also 2.429–30, 11.843–4.

327 Cf. 3.80 *rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos*; 'like the Roman kings, Anius combined the offices of *rex* and *sacerdos*' (Williams).

328 depellere pestem has the air of a sacral formula; cf. 11.792–3 (in a prayer by Arruns to Apollo) *haec dira meo dum uulnere pestis | pulsa cadat*; see also 78 n. It also represents the Homeric λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι 'ward off ruin'; λοιγός, like *pestis*, is applied to death both by plague and by war. The actual death of Rhamnes is not narrated (but see 330 n.).

329 temere 'in a haphazard way'; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.11.13–14 *sub alta uel platano uel hac | pinu iacentes sic temere . . .*

330 premit = *opprimit* 'catch unawares' or 'overpower'. Some commentators, uneasy at the indirect way in which Remus is introduced, want to read *Remum*, who is then the armour-bearer of Rhamnes; one might note that in that case the count of specified individuals killed by Nisus and Euryalus reaches 13, the same number as the Thracian victims of Diomedes (*Il.* 10.495). *tori* in 334 would then refer to the *tapetes* of 325, enclosing the whole episode in a ring-composition. The rare pause after the third foot perhaps conveys excitement (Winbolt 37).

331 nactus 'coming across', as at 12.749–51 *inclusum ueluti si quando flumine nactus | ceruum . . . | uenator . . . canis.*

332 Cf. 12.382 *abstulit ense caput truncumque reliquit harenae.*

333 sanguine singultantem: 'an atrocious phrase' (Page), which well captures the surreal effects of violent death; the headless trunk 'sobs', catching at a stream of blood rather than air (cf. 349), with perhaps a suggestion that it weeps blood rather than tears; the sound of the phrase reinforces the mechanical repetitiveness of sobbing. Cf. Eur. *Rhes.* 789 'as I lifted my head I heard the snorting (μυχθισμὸν) of corpses' (see B. C. Fenik, 'The influence of Euripides on Vergil's *Aeneid*' (diss. Princeton 1960) 75–8).

334 A line with alliteration and assonance at beginning and end. *Lamyrus* is not otherwise attested as a personal name; in Greek λαμυρός means 'greedy' or 'wanton'. Λάμος is the name of a king of the cannibalistic Laestrygonians (*Od.* 10.81), who were later local-

ized in the Italian town of Formiae; by one of the genealogical fictions dear to Roman antiquarians Lamus became the ancestor of the family Aelii Lamiae (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.17).

335 Serranum: later an *agnomen* of the Atilii, notably C. Atilius Regulus, consul in 257 (6.844).

plurima: adverbial, for *plurimum* on the analogy of *multa.*

336–7 multoque iacebat | membra deo uictus: the 'god' might be either Bacchus (*multo* is made easier by the common metonymy Bacchus = wine, e.g. *Ecl.* 5.69 *multo ... hilarans conuiuia Baccho*) or Somnus (cf. 5.838; sleep is commonly the 'conqueror'). The Rutulians have been overpowered by sleep brought on by wine: cf. Prop. 3.17.42 (a hymn to Bacchus) *hoc sollicitum uince sopore caput*; Ovid, *Fast.* 1.421–2 *uino somnum faciente iacebant | corpora diuersis uicta sopore locis.*

protinus 'straight on', 'without a break'.

337–8 felix, si ... tulisset: yet another authorial comment. For the form of the conditional 'makarismos' cf. 4.657–8 *felix ... si litora tantum | numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae*; *Geo.* 2.458–9. The pathetic reflection breaks into the narrative and leaves the accusatives in 334–5 hanging without a verb.

339–41 The immediate Homeric point of departure for this simile is *Il.* 10.485, comparing Diomedes slaughtering the Thracians to a lion attacking flocks; in detail it is closer to *Il.* 12.299–301, comparing Sarpedon to a lion long starved of meat venturing into the homestead after sheep, a simile partly repeated at *Od.* 6.133–4 (see 59–64 n.). There are points of contact between this simile and those at 59–64 (T. compared to a hungry wolf) and 792–6 (T. at bay compared to a lion). The first line and a half are partly repeated at 10.723–4 (of Mezentius) *impastus stabula alta leo ceu saepe peragrans | (suadet enim uesana fames)* ... The frenzied blood-lust of the two young Trojans is figuratively leonine, but we should not forget that Nisus is literally wearing a lion-skin (306–7); likewise in the Doloneia Dolon goes out as a 'lone wolf', and is indeed clad in a wolf-skin (*Il.* 10.334).

339 turbans 'running amok'. Fordyce compares Cic. *De fin.* 1.34 *id ne ferae quidem faciunt, ut ita ruant itaque turbent ut earum motus et impetus quo pertineant non intellegamus.*

340 suadet enim uesana fames: cf. *Od.* 6.133 (the starving lion) κέλεται δέ ἑ γαστήρ 'his stomach urges him' (V. avoids the undignified *uenter*: see J. N. Adams, *B.I.C.S.* 27 (1980) 53). The lion's

hunger corresponds to the *nimia cupido* of 354, the same passion that fires T. at 760 *caedisque insana cupido.*

341 The *ms* seem to suggest the animals' terrified muteness. The Rutulians are also silent, but in sleep not fear (note however the state of the one waking Rutulian, Rhoetus, at 346 *metuens*). Cf. 12.718 *stat pecus omne metu mutum*; Lucr. 1.92.

molle 'soft' in body and spirit.

fremit ore cruento = 12.8, in a lion simile applied to T. Both passages echo 1.296 *fremet horridus ore cruento*, ending the description of *Furor* (cf. 343 *perfurit*); Trojan and Italian alike are prone to *furor.*

342 nec minor Euryali caedes: we expect the simile to refer to Nisus, but there is no apodosis to the *ceu* of 339, and the words *nec minor* are an invitation to apply the details of the simile as much to Euryalus as to Nisus, thus emphasizing their community of spirit; Pavlock 215 comments 'mad rage is transferred with unfortunate ease from one individual to another'. The simile is Janus-headed, acting as the pivot of this episode: a precedent is found in the similes in Catullus 68, and such things are frequent in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, where 'Double syntax occurs when three word groups *a*, *b*, *c* are connected in such a manner that *ab* forms one chain of discourse and *bc* another' (J. Carey and A. Fowler, *The poems of John Milton* (London and New York 1968) 434). *nec minor* perhaps also alerts us to the fact that the 25 lines following the simile equal the number of lines in the first half of the paragraph.

343 in medio 'lying in his way'; or perhaps 'in the middle of the camp'. It is unclear whether the four individuals in the next line are Italian 'heroes' as opposed to the *plebs*, or whether they are examples of the *plebs*, *sine nomine* not literally but in the sense 'inglorious' (see 454 n.) (Burman compares Florus 2.4 *C. Gracchum, hominem sine tribu, . . . sine nomine*).

344 A line consisting all (or nearly all) of proper names is in the Homeric manner: cf. 767 (n.), 10.123. *Fadus* is perhaps to be thought of as the ancestor of the Roman *gens Fadia*. *Herbesus* is the name of two towns in Sicily (see Duque 47). *Rhoetus* (or *Rhoecus*) is the name of various mythological characters, including a centaur (see below). *Abaris* is otherwise the name of a famous Hyperborean shaman.

345 The general statement *ignaros* is then qualified by a partial exception, *uidentem* at the end of the line contrasting with *ignaros* at the

beginning, in what seems to be an elliptical *correctio rei superioris* (see Harrison on 10.301–2).

346 There is a curious echo of *Geo.* 2.455–7 *Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit; ille furentis | Centauros leto domuit, Rhoecumque* [*Rhoetumque* MR] *Pholumque | et magno Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem.* The battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs was another occasion when wine-drinking turned into massacre.

347–8 Cf. 12.950 *ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit.*

condidit ... et multa morte recepit: *recepit* is probably 'withdrew', the opposition with *condidit* being reinforced by the enclosing word-order. *multa morte* then alludes to the great stream of blood which accompanies the retracted sword and signifies Rhoetus' death; the bold use of abstract for concrete is perhaps eased by the analogy of φονός, both 'slaughter' and 'gore'. A number of commentators translate *recepit* as 'welcomed', 'received': cf. Lucr. 6.146–7 *haec* [*nubes*] *multo si forte umore recepit | ignem, continuo magno clamore trucidat*; *Il.* 5.238 'when he approaches I will receive him (δεδέξομαι) with my sharp spear'.

349 purpuream uomit ille animam: another vividly gruesome phrase that forces together concrete and abstract. The starting-point is expressions like *animam exspirare* (11.883) 'breathe out one's [last] breath'; *anima* also means 'life' or 'soul', here thought of as contained in or sustained by the blood: cf. 10.908 *undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore,* 10.487. Cf. also the Homeric expression πορφύρεος θάνατος (which V. might well have taken to mean 'purple death'), and *Hom. hy. Apoll.* 361–2 λεῖπε δὲ θυμὸν | φοινὸν ἀποπνείουσα 'she left her blood-red spirit, breathing it out'. *uomit* suggests the condition of the over-indulgent reveller: cf. 3.632–3 (Polyphemus) *saniem eructans et frusta cruento | per somnum commixta mero.* According to Servius some read *purpureum,* punctuating after it so that it goes with *recepit* 'he withdrew the sword purple with much death'; this destroys a remarkable phrase.

350 For the contrast between the victim drained of life and the killer animated with the fire of battle cf. 12.950–1 *ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit | feruidus; ast illi soluuntur frigore membra* (see 347–8 n.).

351–2 ignem | deficere extremum 'the last flickers of the fire were dying down' (because untended by the sleeping men); Fordyce compares Petron. 22 *lucernae ... umore defectae tenue et extremum lumen*

spargebant. The elision between fifth and sixth feet in 351 *ibi ignem* is unusual (Norden 456).

religatos rite: at least the companions of Messapus, in charge of the night watch (160), have kept some kind of discipline, like Rhesus' troops who in Homer had laid out their arms in order (*Il.* 10.472 εὖ κατὰ κόσμον) and tethered their horses to their chariots (*Il.* 10.474–5).

353 breuiter: see 320–3 n., and cf. 6.538–9 *sed comes admonuit breuiterque adfata Sibylla est:* | *'nox ruit, Aenea . . .'*

354 nimia caede atque cupidine ferri: *caede atque cupidine* is best taken as an example of hendiadys (rather than understanding *cupidine* as 'lust for booty': cf. 760 *caedisque insana cupido*), but the separation of the two elements is more than a merely stylistic device: the experience of killing creates the desire for more. The *cupido* of 185 for heroism and fame has degenerated into a crazed lust for blood. The passive *ferri* 'to be carried away' indicates the loss of control (e.g. 4.376 *heu furiis incensa feror!*); *nimia* points to the problem of establishing limits, a central theme of this book. H. W. Garrod, *C.R.* 24 (1910) 119–20, finding the hendiadys harsh, suggests repunctuating (*sensit enim*) *'nimia caede et cupidine ferri* | *absistamus'* 'let us cease from excessive slaughter and lust for the sword-edge', comparing 7.461 *saeuit amor ferri.* This is neat, but destroys the brevity of *absistamus.*

355–6 At *Il.* 10.509–11 Athene, goddess of wisdom, advises Diomedes to return to the ships before the Trojans wake up; the scholion on line 509 comments that 'it is necessary especially in times of good fortune to look out for what is to come and not to use one's good luck with insatiable desire'. At Eur. *Rhes.* 668–9 Athene tells Odysseus 'you two are being too eager; lay your sharp swords to rest'.

355 This line is modelled on *Il.* 10.251 (at the *beginning* of Diomedes' and Odysseus' sortie) 'But let us go; for night is quickly drawing to a close and dawn is near.'

lux inimica: Servius compares 5.738–9 (the ghost of Anchises) *torquet medios Nox umida cursus* | *et me saeuus equis Oriens adflauit anhelis.*

356 poenarum exhaustum satis est 'we have drunk deep enough of vengeance' (Sidgwick). Servius comments *bene 'exhaustum', ut ostendat eos auidos caedis fuisse et cruoris hostilis*; the Rutulian drinking party has turned into a feast of blood for the ravenous Trojan

pair; cf. Livy 26.13.13 *tanta sanguinis nostri hauriendi est sitis.* With the admonition cf. 653 (Apollo to Ascanius) *sit satis.*

uia facta per hostis: cf. Livy 22.50.9 *ferro atque audacia uia fit quamuis per confertos hostis*, and see 189 n. Livy may draw on an Ennian model, which V. may in turn have had in mind again at 10.372–3 *ferro rumpenda per hostis | est uia* (although phrases such as *ferro, ui uiam facere* are common in Livy; see also Austin on 2.494). This line encapsulates the problem of the motivation of Nisus and Euryalus: is it primarily to kill Rutulians or to get a message to Aen.?

357 argento perfecta = 263.

358 armaque craterasque simul: the same juxtaposition of instruments of war and the symposium as at 318–19 *simul arma iacere, | uina simul.*

359 phaleras 'bosses' worn as decoration by men or horses; they are recovered by the Rutulians at 458. At 5.310 the first prize in the foot-race is a 'horse adorned with *phalerae*'.

aurea bullis | cingula 'gold-studded sword-belt'. *aurea bullis* is equivalent to a Greek compound adjective like χρυσόηλος; for such complexes of adjective and descriptive ablative see Fordyce on 7.639–40. Cf. 12.942 *notis fulserunt cingula bullis*: Euryalus like T. dies as a result of the spoils he takes. The second prize in the foot-race at 5.311–13 is a full quiver with a gold-studded shoulder belt (*balteus*).

360–3 An object with an elaborate pedigree, in the Homeric manner: cf. *Il.* 10.266–70 (the boar's-tusk helmet worn by Odysseus); *Il.* 2.101–8 (the sceptre of Agamemnon). The 'additive' manner of composition is also Homeric: see 176–8 n.

360 Remulo: also the *cognomen* of Numanus (592–3); otherwise the name of a king of Alba.

361–2 mittit ... dat: on the present tenses see 266 n. Cf. *Il.* 10.269 'Amphidamas gave it [*sc.* the boar's-tusk helmet] to Molos to be a gift of guest-friendship (ξεινήϊον).'

hospitio ... iungeret absens: the normal constructions are *hospitium iungere* and *hospitio se alicui / cum aliquo iungere.*

362 Caedicus: the Caedici were a central Italian tribe; there was also a *gens Caedicia* at Rome.

ille suo moriens dat habere nepoti: cf. *Il.* 2.106 'as he died Atreus left it [*sc.* his sceptre] to Thyestes rich in lambs'.

363 According to Servius this passage is one of the twelve 'insolu-

ble' problems in Virgil, the difficulties being the namelessness of the *nepos* in 362 and the identity of the person whose death is mentioned in 363. But the name of the *nepos* is not essential, and it is easy to take *post mortem* as picking up *moriens*: 'as Remulus was dying ... after his death'. The Rutulians then take it in battle from the unnamed grandson.

pugnaque: the variant *praedaque* has probably come in from 450.

364 Cf. 2.509–10 (Priam) *arma diu senior desueta trementibus aeuo | circumdat nequiquam umeris*; 11.535–6 *Camilla ... nostris nequiquam cingitur armis.*

365 cristisque decoram: *bene praemittit dicens 'decoram'; nam eius splendore prodente Euryalus capitur* (Servius: although strictly it is the gleam of the metal, not the crest, that betrays the wearer). Contrast the helmet of Diomedes at *Il.* 10.258 'having neither boss nor crest' ('to escape detection', according to the scholiast). The third prize in the foot-race at 5.314 is an *Argolica galea.*

366 tuta capessunt 'make for safety'; cf. 6.358 *iam tuta tenebam*; 11.871 *tuta petunt.*

367–445 The capture and death of Nisus and Euryalus

Thus far Nisus and Euryalus have enjoyed the success of Diomedes and Odysseus in *Iliad* x; to conclude their tale Virgil looks to another episode in *Iliad* x (338–468), the capture and killing of the swift-footed Trojan spy Dolon.

367–74 The scene is set with two periods of four lines each, mostly end-stopped, presenting the new actors and their first sighting of Nisus and Euryalus, before the more dramatic treatment of the encounter itself from 375 on.

367 Cavalry is sent on in advance as at 11.511–13. We are given only so many details as are needed to make the arrival of a new force seem plausible, and should perhaps not inquire too closely into the part played by Latinus in this business, or what the *responsa* come in answer to. But after 25–8 (*omnis ... exercitus*) it is a little odd to find that a substantial part of the Italian army has not yet arrived.

368 legio: see 174 n.

369 regis responsa: the MSS all have *regi*, but *regis* 'is found in all good texts' according to Servius Dan. *responsum* is frequently used

of the reply given *by* a ruler (here Latinus): *OLD* s.v. 1b, and cf. 11.226–7, 294. The alteration to *regi* in the archetype may have been made by a scribe who remembered that at 7.600 Latinus is said to have given up the reins of power; but he is again acting as king in the council in book XI.

370 The details suggest early Roman history: 300 was the original number of the Roman *equites*, and Volcens is a *magister equitum*, the title of the second-in-command to a Roman dictator. *scutati* is probably to be taken generally, 'armed with shields', rather than with specific reference to the *scutum*, the oblong wooden shield carried by heavy infantry as opposed to more lightly armed cavalry (Heinze 161–2). The shape of the line, divided at the caesurae in second and fourth feet, into three phrases, each of two words, suggests the economy of a military report.

Volcens: the name is perhaps linked with *Volsci*, or the Etruscan city Volci (see Duque 80–1, Harrison on 10.563–4).

371 castris murosque: probably of the Trojans (43, etc.), but possibly of the Rutulians if *muros* can be taken of the earthen ramparts thrown up around a siege-camp. There is little to choose, in MS authority or Virgilian usage, between *murosque* and *muroque*.

372 laeuo flectentis limite 'bending their steps on the left-hand path', perhaps bending back towards the river and the track to Pallanteum after rounding the besieged camp. 'The intransitive use is regular of military manoeuvres' [F.]. Cf. *Il.* 10.339–40 'he [*sc.* Dolon] went quickly along the road; but Odysseus spotted him as he came towards them'. It is now the turn of the Italians to be sharp-sighted.

373 sublustri 'glimmering'; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.31–2 *nocte sublustri nihil astra praeter | uidit et undas.*

374 immemorem 'heedless', as at 2.244 *instamus tamen immemores caecique furore;* 3.617.

375 haud temere est uisum 'it was not for nothing that they saw'; on V.'s liking for the impersonal passive see Austin on 4.416.

agmine: the variant *aggere* is perhaps due to a recollection of 35 *ab aduersa conclamat mole* (= *aggere*) *Caicus.*

376–7 quiue . . . ? | quoue . . . ?: the use of *-ue* to link questions with cumulative effect has a blunt colloquial tone (*OLD* s.v. *-ue* 3; see also Fordyce on 7.131), as also the address *uiri*: cf. 2.373 *festinate uiri*,

on which Servius Dan. comments *increpantis est, ut solet in milites dici.* For the shape of the line see 370 n. At *Il.* 10.370 Diomedes challenges Dolon, 'Either halt, or I shall hit you with my spear.' At Eur. *Rhes.* 682 the chorus of guards challenge Odysseus 'What band is this? From where do you come? Of what country are you?' At Livy 23.34.5 a Roman commander challenges some Macedonian envoys trying to escape *cum quaereret qui et unde et quo tenderent cursum* ...

377 nihil illi tendere contra 'they did not press on to meet them' (*nihil* adverbial). Cf. Eur. *Rhes.* 778 (Odysseus and Diomedes challenged by the charioteer) 'they [said] nothing' οἱ δ' οὐδέν.

378 Dolon 'got his knees working quickly in flight' (*Il.* 10.358–9) when he realized that Diomedes and Odysseus were the enemy; they set off in pursuit like two hunting dogs chasing their prey through woody country (360–2). Nisus and Euryalus literally plunge into the woods, as hunters now become the hunted.

379 diuortia 'branching of roads', presumably the *biuium* of 238, rather than the bypath (properly *deuerticulum*) of 383, which is obviously not blocked off as Nisus succeeds in escaping by it.

380 abitum: the concrete sense 'exit' is otherwise found only at Tac. *Ann.*14.37 *circumiecta uehicula saepserant abitus.*

381–3 An ecphrasis of a forest, one of the many scenes in the *Aen.* set amidst dark woods, which constantly hover on the edge of becoming symbolic *selve oscure.* Woods are places of perplexity and error: 1.164, 314, 578; 6.443–51; the habitation of the numinous and monstrous: 3.258; 7.505; 8.350; the locus for primitivism hard or soft: 3.590, 675; 6.765; 8.350; for hunting: 9.605; 11.686; and for regression: 7.385, 11.531, 570; associated with journeys into the Underworld: 6.131, 136–9, 270–1. They may also be places of privileged return to the past, of reintegration: 6.704; 8.597–9. Here the dark spaces of the *fallax silua* (392) are the setting for a failure of reason (see Fitzgerald 123–6), and perhaps also symbolize the return of Nisus and Euryalus from the world of war to the adolescent world of the hunt, under the sign of Diana.

381–2 silua ... dumis ... horrida: cf. 8.347–8 *Capitolia ... siluestribus horrida dumis.*

383 'The occasional path was visible along concealed tracks.' *callis* is technically used of the rough tracks by which herds were taken to their mountain summer pastures; cf. Livy 22.14.8 *nos* ...

pecorum modo per aestiuos saltus deuiasque calles exercitum ducimus conditi ... siluis; Stat. *Theb.* 2.496–7 *fert uia per dumos propior, qua calle latenti | praecelerant.* Cf. the picture in the simile which introduces Aen.'s journey into the Underworld, 6.270–1 *quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna | est iter in siluis.* The image of a path shining through the dark is found at 2.693–8 (track of a shooting-star) and 11.143–4 (torches lining the road for the return of the body of Pallas). This is a 'golden line' (see Williams on 5.46, L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin artistry* (Cambridge 1963) 215–16).

lucebat: the variant *ducebat* is much less effective. *lucebat* is both 'shone' (picked out by the rays of the moon) and 'was conspicuous', as Prop. 2.14.17 *ante pedes caecis lucebat semita nobis.* Cf. also Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1281 (a description of dawn) 'the paths shine out' (διαγλαύσσουσι).

384 onerosaque: *onerosus,* not attested before V., is used once again in the *Aen.,* 5.352, of a lion-skin that is one of the prizes in the foot-race.

385 fallitque timor regione uiarum 'fear leads him astray from the line of the paths'. See 243 n. *regio* is used in its original sense 'line', 'direction': cf. 2.737 *nota excedo regione uiarum,* in a passage revealing wider similarities with this: Aen. panics at the approach of hostile troops, and when he stops finds that Creusa, following behind him, has disappeared; 11.530 *huc iuuenis fertur nota regione uiarum,* Turnus taking up position for ambush in a forest.

386 Nisus abit: cf. 5.318–19 (the foot-race) *primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus | emicat.* Servius notes *bene meminit uelocitatis, quam ei in quinto dedit.*

imprudens 'unthinking'; cf. 374 *immemorem.* Cf. 2.741–3 (Aen. losing Creusa) *nec prius amissam respexi animumue reflexi | quam tumulum antiquae Cereris ... | uenimus.* Aen.'s loss of Creusa is like Orpheus' loss of Eurydice, an episode also alluded to here: *Geo.* 4.485 *iamque pedem referens casus euaserat omnis*; 4.488 *cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem.* Even the name Euryalus is similar in shape to Eurydice. Nisus' thoughtless flight is in contrast with his concern to assure victory for Euryalus when he slips in the foot-race, 5.334 *non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum.*

387–8 At the point of greatest suspense V. briefly distracts the reader with one of the geographical and etymological details so

frequent in the *Aen.*, contrasting past and present; cf. 12.134–5 *at Iuno ex summo (qui nunc Albanus habetur; | tum neque nomen erat neque honos aut gloria monti*); 8.99–100 *tecta uident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo | aequauit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat.* The formula *de nomine dicti* is normally used to explain proper names (e.g. 1.277 [*Romulus*] *Romanosque suo de nomine dicet*), but *loci Albani* is not otherwise known as the specific designation of a region. Some ninth-century MSS read *lucos* (cf. Cic. *Pro Mil.* 85 *Albani tumuli atque luci*), which may be accommodated metrically by reading *ac* for *atque*; others emend to *lacus* (for the plural cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.19); but the *lacus Albanus*, *mons Albanus*, and the site of Alba Longa, are all an improbably long way for Nisus to have run. Fordyce suggests that 'it is the place in the region of Laurentum where Tyrrhus kept the royal herds and the quarrel between Trojans and Latins began (7.485ff.)'. Perhaps this is a merely plausible literary topography: see 8 n. Further discussion in Carcopino 286–8, 471–2; della Corte 190–4.

stabula alta: formulaic in Latin epic, and perhaps derived from an older poet: cf. Norden on 6.179, where it means 'deep lairs' of wild beasts. Here it is more likely to mean 'high stalls' (cf. 7.512 *ardua tecta ... stabuli*); Ovid uses it unambiguously in both senses ('deep lairs' *Met.* 6.521; 'high stalls' 5.627, 8.554). In this line the presence of trochaic caesurae in fourth and fifth feet (see Norden on 6.140–1) and the elision on the accented syllable of *alta* may also be signs of an archaic model.

389 Cf. *Geo.* 4.490–1 *restitit, Eurydicenque suam iam luce sub ipsa | immemor heu! uictusque animi respexit*; *Aen.* 2.741 *amissam respexi* (Aen. and Creusa).

390 infelix (a word often associated with death in V. (R. Rieks, *Affekte und Strukturen. Pathos als ein Form- und Wirkprinzip von Vergils Aeneis* (Munich 1989) 132–3)) is used by Nisus of Euryalus here, of himself at 430, throwing weight on the question of what the narrator means by *fortunati ambo* at 446; it is also used of Nisus as he slips at 5.329.

391–3 Many editors continue Nisus' words down to 392 *siluae.* If we do not, *et* in 392 is ungrammatical; on the other hand it may be felt that two brief desperate questions are more appropriate in the situation. Peerlkamp suggests reading *reuoluit.* Cf. Theocr. 13.64–7 (Heracles in search of Hylas) 'longing for the boy amidst the un-

trodden prickles ... lovers are reckless; so many were the toils that he suffered as he wandered over mountains and thickets'.

rursus 'turning backwards' (< *re-uorsus*), reinforcing the *re-* of *reuoluens*, *retro* (see 261–2 n.).

reuoluens: the image is of winding back an entangled (*perplexum*) thread, like Theseus in the labyrinth (6.29–30; Hyg. *Fab.* 42 *Theseus ... licium reuoluendo foras est egressus*); *fallax*, *fallacia*, and *uestigia* also occur in descriptions of labyrinths (Cat. 64.113; Ovid, *Met.* 8.168). The first hand of M has *resolues* (for *resoluens*), the verb used at 6.29 *ambagesque resoluit.*

uestigia retro | obseruata legit: cf. 2.753–4 (Aen. looking for Creusa) *uestigia retro | obseruata sequor.*

silentibus: providing a contrast with the sudden sounds of the next line. Cf. *Geo.* 1.476 *uox quoque per lucos uulgo exaudita silentis.*

394 The sudden burst of sound is conveyed by the repetition of *audit* and the alliteration of *s*.

signa sequentum 'signals of the pursuers', or perhaps 'indications of pursuit'.

395–8 Events are succinctly described through Nisus' perceptions of sounds and of the passage of time until the moment that he sees Euryalus; circumstantial detail is appended in a relative clause.

397 fraude loci et noctis: the forest has proved *fallax* (392) and the night in which they put their trust (378 *fidere nocti*) has betrayed them. Cf. 5.849–51 (Palinurus to Somnus) *mene huic confidere monstro? | Aenean credam (quid enim?) fallacibus auris | et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?*

399–401 Cf. *Geo.* 4.504–5 (Orpheus) *quid faceret? quo se rapta bis coniuge ferret? | quo fletu Manis, quae numina uoce moueret?* 'The despairing deliberative questions of epyllion' (R. F. Thomas *ad loc.*); cf. Cat. 64.177–83; *Aen.* 4.283–4 *heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem | audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?*; 12.486. bis

400–1 The noble act is adorned with interlaced alliteration of *m*, *m*, *m*, ... *p*, *p*, *p*, ... *m*. m,

pulchram properet per uulnera mortem: adapted from *Geo.* 4.218 (the bees: see 182–3 n.) *pulchramque petunt per uulnera mortem* (= *Aen.* 11.647). For the thought cf. 205–6. On the *topos* of *pulchra mors* see L. Alfonsi, *Latomus* 22 (1963) 85–6.

402–3 The MSS read *torquens*, which makes *et* in 403 impossible

(Priscian's solution, that *et* is postponed and connects *torquens* and *suspiciens*, is very harsh). Either *et* is to be deleted, which leaves a clumsy sequence of two participles; or *torquet* is to be read (Wagner), with 'irrational' lengthening of the final syllable; or *suspicit* is read in 403, entailing further surgery to the line. A further problem is that *torquet* 'hurls' anticipates an action that is not realized until 411 *conicit*, unless *torquet* refers to the 'winding' of the spear in the throwing-strap (see 534 n.).

adducto . . . lacerto: 'drawing the arm in to the body' preparatory to the throw.

uoce precatur: on this redundant use of *uoce* see Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 43. Ancient prayers were normally uttered aloud.

403–9 A moment of stillness at the exact centre of the section (367–402 and 410–45 are both of 36 lines). Prayers before discharging a missile: *Il.* 4.119–21 (Pandarus); *Od.* 24.521 (Laertes); *Aen.* 9.625–9; 10.421–3; 11.557–60 (Metabus to Diana); 11.785–93. Cf. also the prayers of Odysseus and Diomedes to Athene during their night expedition, *Il.* 10.277–94. Adaptations of Nisus' prayer are placed by Statius in the mouths of Parthenopaeus (*Theb.* 6.633–7) in the course of a foot-race modelled on that in *Aen.* v, and of Dymas, the squire of Parthenopaeus (*Theb.* 10.365–70). The prayer is formally constructed with an *inuocatio* of two lines, followed by three lines reminding the deity of past offerings (promise of future gifts as at 626–9 might be over-optimistic), concluding with the specific request in one line. Diana–Artemis, with whom Luna is here identified, naturally receives hunters' offerings (see Dewar on Stat. *Theb.* 10.589ff.).

404 tu, dea, tu: emphatic repetition rather than the anaphora typical of the 'Du-Stil' of hymns and prayers.

praesens: the standard term for the helping presence of a god: see N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.2. Nisus is unaware that the presence of moonlight has caused the present disaster.

succurre: cf. *Geo.* 1.500–1 *hunc saltem euerso iuuenem succurrere saeclo | ne prohibete.*

405 astrorum decus: cf. Hor. *Carm. saec.* 1–2 *Phoebe siluarumque potens Diana, | lucidum caeli decus.* The moon is the glory of the night sky, outshining the stars: N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.48. *decus* (ἄγαλμα, γάνος) is a conventional word in an invocation (E. Norden, *Agnostos theos* (Berlin 1912) 173 n. 1).

nemorum Latonia custos: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.22.1 *montium custos nemorumque, Virgo.* At 11.557 Metabus, another man of the woods, invokes *alma ... nemorum cultrix, Latonia uirgo* to guide his spear-throw. On further links between the episodes of Nisus and Euryalus and of Camilla see Introd. n. 24.

406–8 The reminder of past offerings is regular in prayers: e.g. *Il.* 1.39–41 'Smintheus [Apollo], if ever I built you a shrine that pleased you, or if ever I burnt you the fat thighs of bulls or goats, grant me this wish.'

pater Hyrtacus: like Euryalus (201–3), the youthful Nisus finds it convenient to buttress an appeal with reference to the services of his father. But he is fated to become another Virgilian son who cheats his father's hopes by dying.

si qua ... auxi: the desire for formal parallelism (*si qua ... si qua ...*) seems to have affected the expected *si ea ... auxi* 'if I increased their number'. Sidgwick suggests 'that we have here a religious word used, like *mactare, adolere,* first in the sense "increase", "magnify", applied to gods, and altars ...; and secondly in the sense of *offer* (again like *macto, adoleo*)'. See Fordyce on 7.71, 7.93.

408 Nisus carefully distinguishes two standard ways of depositing offerings in or on a temple (*suspendere, figere*), the two verbs emphasized through enclosing order.

tholo: a circular shrine.

409 hunc sine me: cf. 291 *hanc sine me spem ferre tui* (in a 'prayer' to Ascanius).

rege tela per auras: in Homer gods may direct the weapons of their favourites (e.g. *Il.* 5.290, 17.632). Metabus concludes his vow to dedicate Camilla to Diana if she survives her passage across the torrent bound to his spear with the words 11.559–60 *accipe, testor,* | *diua tuam, quae nunc dubiis committitur auris.*

410–21 De la Cerda compares the sequence at Theocr. 25.227–43 where Heracles shoots two arrows at the Nemean lion from the cover of bushes before the lion spies him.

410–11 The effort put into the throw is suggested by the repetition of the intensive suffix *con-* and by the strong pause after the first dactyl in 411; after the spondees of 410 the dactyls of 411 convey the speed of the spear.

noctis diuerberat umbras: cf. 5.502–3 *sagitta* | ... *uolucris diuerberat auras*; 6.294 *frustra ferro diuerberet umbras. diuerbero* is found first in Lucretius, who uses it to suggest the materiality of the air, 2.150–2 *at uapor is quem sol mittit lumenque serenum* | *non per inane meat uacuum; quo tardius ire* | *cogitur, aerias quasi dum diuerberat undas.*

412 auersi: one of Servius' *loci insolubiles.* Almost all MSS read *aduersi* 'facing', which is found in the similar passage at 5.502–4 *sagitta* | *Hyrtacidae* [also the patronym of Nisus] *iuuenis uolucris diuerberat auras,* | *et uenit aduersique infigitur arbore mali*; *tergum* must then mean 'shield', an extremely rare use (probably not found at 10.718: see Harrison *ad loc.*). It is easier to read *auersi* 'turning away'. The spear hits Sulmo, one of the Latins crowding round the captured Euryalus, in the back, the head breaks off, and the splintered shaft passes through his vitals; see further R. Sabbadini, *Historia* 4 (1930) 537–9.

Sulmonis: the name of another Italian at 10.517; otherwise the name of a town of the Paeligni later renowned as Ovid's birthplace, and also of a place in Latium (Pliny, *Nat.* 3.68). V.'s Italian is immortalized only through the manner of his death, 'spewing forth a hot river from his breast': it is curious that the Paelignian town was famed for its abundance of cool waters, *Sulmo ... gelidis uberrimus undis* (Ovid, *Tr.* 4.10.3).

414 uomens: cf. 349, 11.668 *sanguinis ille uomens riuos cadit.*

calidum de pectore flumen: borrowed from Lucr. 2.354 *sanguinis exspirans calidum de pectore flumen.*

414–15 calidum ... frigidus: 'an extremely artificial antithesis' (Page), but not unique in V.: cf. 12.950–1 (quoted at 350 n.). *frigidus* may be taken either with the preceding line, or with the rest of 415 (with *et* postponed) to give two stages to the death agony: first the outpouring of blood, and secondly the convulsive sobbing of the drained and chilled body.

longis singultibus ilia pulsat: cf. *Geo.* 3.506–7 *imaque longo* | *ilia singultu tendunt* (the effects of the plague on the horse).

416 diuersi circumspiciunt 'they peer round in different directions'. Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.1.36 cites as model a line from Pacuvius' *Medea* (265 Warmington) *diuersi circumspicimus, horror percipit.* For the rhythm with a long compound verb in *circum-* spanning the third-foot caesura cf. 8.490 (and see Norden 431); at 2.68 another part of

the weighty verb, *circumspexit*, is used as a spondaic hexameter ending to suggest the anxious uncertainty of Sinon as he peers round his captors.

acrior: cf. 176 *acerrimus armis.*

417 summa telum librabat ab aure 'he poised [and threw] the spear from a point beside the top of his ear'; imitated by Ovid, *Met.* 2.624–5 *lactentis uituli dextra libratus ab aure | tempora discussit ... malleus*; *Met.* 2.311.

418 trepidant 'scurry in alarm'.

it hasta ... per tempus utrumque: cf. *Il.* 4.501–2 'Odysseus ... struck him with a spear in the temple; the bronze point passed through the other temple.' *it* is the contracted perfect. But uncontracted *iit* may be the better reading (see Conington's excursus on *Geo.* 2.81).

Tago: otherwise the name of a river in Spain: cf. 35 n.

419 stridens: in emphatic position, with a pause after the first spondee, as at 4.185.

traiectoque haesit tepefacta cerebro: cf. 701 *fixo ferrum in pulmone tepescit*; 12.537 *fixo stetit hasta cerebro.*

420–1 teli ... | auctorem: see 748 n. The lines are wittily reworked by Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 1.700–1 *saeuit atrox Pelias inimicaque uertice ab alto | uela uidet nec qua se ardens effundere possit*: he *can* see the object of his wrath, but is still powerless to act.

422 The closest of several echoes of Enn. *Ann.* 95 ... *nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas* (Romulus about to kill Remus; cf. 7.595, 766; 10.617; 11.592).

423 persolues: in origin a financial image: see 206 n.

amborum: either genitive of the persons avenged (both Sulmo and Tagus; cf. the Homeric genitive of the dead person for whom ποινή 'blood-money' is given), or genitive of the persons paying the penalty (the captive and the unseen spearman). The latter is perhaps better given the importance to the two friends of sharing everything, for better or worse. Nisus is faced with the worst possible outcome, survival after the death of Euryalus; cf. 427 *me, me*, and 210–12. *ambo* is used of Nisus and Euryalus at 251, 446.

424 tum uero exterritus, amens: cf. 4.450 *tum uero infelix fatis exterrita Dido*; 3.307 (Andromache) *arma amens uidit, magnis exterrita monstris.*

425–6 Contrast the comic self-revelation of Nisus on his friend's behalf at 5.357–8 *et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat et udo | turpia membra fimo.*

426 Cf. 4.419–20 (Dido) *hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, | et perferre, soror, potero.*

427 The repeated *me, me* (cf. 8.144, 12.260) is given greater emphasis through having no grammatical dependence within the sentence; this is lost in the imitation at Sen. *Phaedra* 1159–61 *me, me, profundi saeue dominator freti, | inuade et in me monstra caerulei maris | emitte*; but Milton recovers something of the effect in the jerky syntax of *Paradise Lost* 10.934–6 'The sentence from thy head removed may light On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe, Me me only just object of his ire.' In the mouth of Euryalus' mother the challenge to the enemy's weapons becomes mere emotional rhetoric, 493–4 *figite me, si qua est pietas, in me omnia tela | conicite, o Rutuli, me primam absumite ferro.*

428–9 fraus 'crime'.

nihil iste nec ausus | nec potuit: for the double 'epexegetic' negative (L–H–S 802–3) cf. 11.801–2 *nihil ipsa nec aurae | nec sonitus memor.* Nisus lies in his despair: Euryalus has indeed proved his words at 281–92; see 291–2 n.

429 Oaths and appeals by the sky and stars: cf. 2.154–5, 3.599–600, 4.519–20, 6.458, 12.197; Juv. 8.149–50 *sed luna uidet, sed sidera testes | intendunt oculos*; it is particularly apt for the present scene under the night sky.

430 The last words spoken by either of the two (and *amicum* is the last word), having something of the quality of an epitaph.

nimium: see 354 n. There is an oxymoronic quality in the combination of *tantum ... nimium*, imitated by Tac. *Ann.* 16.32 *non criminibus mariti conexam: nimiae tantum pietatis ream.*

431 Nisus' words (*dicta*) are met with the physical force (*uiribus*) of Volcens; cf. 621–71 n. The powerlessness of speech is a constant theme of the *Aen.*: see D. C. Feeney, 'The taciturnity of Aeneas', *C.Q.* 33 (1983) 204–19.

432 transabiit 'passed through (the ribs) and beyond [into the pectoral cavity]'. The better attested reading *transadigit* leads to an unwelcome repetition of parts of *adigo*; it may indeed arise through the influence of the preceding word, as well as through recollection of *transadigit costas* at line-beginning at 12.276, 508.

rumpit 'bursts open'.

433–4 In the death of Euryalus is reached the climax of a tendency, apparent throughout the episode, to contrast with the partial and impassioned perceptions of the actors a detailed and lingering particularity in the narrator's descriptions, above all of wounds and death. These lines are carefully patterned, with framing verbs, a tricolon abundans in 433–4, and triple alliteration of *c* at the end of 434; we are thus prepared for the vivid pictorialism of the following simile.

pulchros: cf. 179 *pulchrior.*

435–7 The simile has two main models, one epic and one lyric (in keeping with the wider conflation of the epic quality of the episode with more personal genres: see 312–13 n.): *Il.* 8.306–7 (the death of Gorgythion) 'as a poppy in a garden casts its head to one side, weighed down with fruit and the spring showers'; Cat. 11.21–4 *nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,* | *qui illius culpa cecidit uelut prati* | *ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam* | *tactus aratro est* (parodying the epithalamium *topos* of plucking flowers: cf. Cat. 62.39–40), ending a poem that begins with the *topos* of friends prepared to share dangerous travels to the ends of the earth: see 199 n. Cf. also Stesichorus, *Geryoneis* (*SLG* S15 col. ii 12–17) (Hercules wounding the monster Geryon) 'the arrow ... defiled with purple blood the breastplate and mortal limbs; it made Geryon's neck droop to one side, as when a poppy, spoiling its soft form, suddenly throwing off its leaves ...' The frequent association of the violent death of a virgin warrior with sexual defloration (on which see D. P. Fowler, 'Vergil on killing virgins', in M. Whitby et al. (eds.), *Homo viator* (Bristol 1987) 185–98) here marks the 'consummation' of a love story, in which the two lovers are united in death. The present simile is closely related to that at 11.68–71 applied to the corpse of the youth Pallas. It is carefully reworked by Ovid, *Met.* 10.190–3 of the dying boy Hyacinthus, the *paidika* of Apollo; Servius suggests that the present simile hints at a comparison with Hyacinthus. For further discussion see R. Drew Griffith, *Vergilius* 31 (1985) 40–4.

435 purpureus ... flos: cf. Sappho 105c (probably from an epithalamium) 'like the hyacinth which the shepherds tread underfoot in the mountains, and on the ground the purple flower

(πόρφυρον ἄνθος) . . .' The words are appropriate in other ways: *purpureus* is used of the bright glow of youth (e.g. 1.591; 11.819 (the dying Camilla) *purpureus quondam color ora reliquit*) and *flos* is often used to denote the 'bloom' of youth.

436 languescit moriens: both words more properly used of animal bodies than of plants. Cf. 11.69 *languentis hyacinthi.*

lasso: a prosaic alternative to *fessus* (Axelson 29–30), found in the *Aen.* only here and (in a variant) at 2.739.

436–7 collo | . . . caput: two more words proper to the body of a man or animal.

demisere: a gnomic perfect.

438 ruit in medios: cf. 182 *pariterque in bella ruebant*: *pariter* no longer.

438–9 solumque . . . | Volcentem . . . in solo Volcente: for the anaphora with polyptoton cf. 10.442–3 *solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas | debetur*; 6.166–7 *Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum | et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.27–9 *nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice: Teucri | certus enim promisit Apollo | ambiguam tellure noua Salamina futuram.* The pause after the second foot in v. 439 adds to the excitement (Winbolt 27–8).

in . . . moratur 'is fixed on'.

440 quem: Nisus.

glomerati: in strong contrast with *solum . . . solo . . .* On the use of *glomero, globus* in book IX see 33–4 n.

hinc comminus atque hinc: for the verse-ending cf. 57 *huc turbidus atque huc.*

441 proturbant: used in military prose, e.g. Livy 5.47.5 *alii congregati telis . . . proturbare hostes.*

441–2 rotat ensem | fulmineum: *ensem fulmineum* is also found at 4.579–80. *fulmineus* is first attested in V. in a transferred sense; in Homer the flash of weapons is compared to lightning: see 733 n. *roto* is first found in Lucretius, and the present phrase may recall a wider Lucretian context, in an account of the origin of the thunderbolt, 6.200–3 (winds trapped inside clouds) *ignis | semina . . . cogunt | multa rotantque cauis flammam fornacibus intus, | donec diuulsa fulserunt nube corusci.* Nisus reveals his lightning qualities the first time that he is seen in action, 5.318–19 *primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus |*

emicat et uentis et fulminis ocior alis; now he exits with a flash of lightning in the darkness, before he himself goes into the eternal dark. *fulmineum* is further emphasized by its position in the first one and a half feet of the line, followed by a pause.

442–3 clamantis in ore | condidit: cf. 10.323 *iaculum clamanti sistit in ore.*

443 The elision of a word ending in *-m* between fourth and fifth feet is rare.

444 Cf. Lucr. 6.1256–8 *exanimis pueris super exanimata parentum | corpora nonnumquam posses ... uidere | ... edere uitam.* After the reciprocity of the dying Nisus' slaughter of his enemy, the two lovers are finally reunited in death in a manner not unlike the dying leap of Hero on to the drowned body of Leander (*Geo.* 3.263 *moritura super crudeli funere uirgo*; for parallels see Kost on Musaeus, *Hero and Leander* 342–3). This is the shared death of which Anna complains that Dido has cheated her (4.677–9); the theme of *iuncta mors* is common in tragedy (many examples in de la Cerda), and becomes a cliché in later epic: Ovid, *Met.* 4.147–66 (Pyramus and Thisbe), 5.59–73 (Lycabas and Athis), 8.707–10 (Baucis and Philemon), 11.696–707 (Ceyx and Alcyone), 12.393–428 (the centaurs Cyllarus and Hylonome: the episode is modelled closely on that of Nisus and Euryalus); Stat. *Theb.* 2.637–43; Silius, *Pun.* 9.401–10, 17.470–1. In some cases the motif is linked to that of shared burial, which goes back to *Il.* 23.83–92, the request of Patroclus' ghost that his bones and those of Achilles should be buried together. Some of the Ovidian examples are found in episodes whose models are as much elegiac as epic; cf. also the *topos* in erotic poetry of the continuation of the couple's love in the Underworld (Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 11.61–2). At Plato, *Smp.* 179e5–180a2 Phaedrus says that Achilles 'was emboldened to choose to help and avenge his lover Patroclus, and not only to die for him but also to die after his death'.

Tiberius Donatus remarks on the symmetry of the whole story: *Euryalus enim noluit Nisum relinquere in pericla pergentem, ecce et Nisus, qui euaserat, ne amico exanimi superstes extitisset, properauit ad mortem.*

placidaque ... morte quieuit: an ironic echo of 187 (see n.); Virgil lends point to the common euphemistic use of *quies, quiesco* of death, as he does in a different way at 6.371 (the unquiet shade of Palinurus) *sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.*

446–9 The poet and his heroes

V. reserves for this young couple the most emphatic authorial intervention in the epic and the only explicit reference to the power of his own poetry. Given the nature of his legendary subject-matter such a claim could only be advanced for minor characters of his own invention, but it is impossible not to feel that the futile tragedy of these two adolescents exemplifies a particularly obsessive and memorable set of themes in V.'s poetry; cf. the apostrophe to Lausus, another youth who dies in the attempt to save a loved one, at 10.791–3 *hic mortis durae casum tuaque optima facta,* | *si qua fidem tanto est operi latura uetustas,* | *non equidem nec te, iuuenis memorande, silebo*; and to Pallas at 10.507–9. The *Aen.* as a whole tells of suffering and heroism in the remote past whose fruits endure to the present (*imperium Romanum*), but in this final comment on the Nisus and Euryalus story we see a more Homeric idea (typified above all in the person of Achilles), that in the end the only lasting result of heroic struggle and death is undying *kleos*; perpetual fame is also a stock consolation of the funerary epitaph, of which in a sense these four lines are an example (Lattimore 241–3). Roman imitators of Homer are readier than their model to talk about themselves: these lines probably owe more than a little to the prologue to Ennius, *Annals* XVI, a book which Pliny (*Nat.* 7.101) says Ennius added because of his admiration for the deeds of the brothers Caecilii, where Ennius contrasted the transience of royal monuments of kings with poetry's power to confer everlasting fame: see Skutsch 563–70; W. Suerbaum, *Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter* (Hildesheim 1968) 151–65; G. Mazzoli, *Athenaeum* n.s. 42 (1964) 331–3. The passage was imitated by Lucan 9.980–6, Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 2.242–46, Stat. *Theb.* 10.445–8, Silius, *Pun.* 4.396–400. Ovid offers a more forthright statement of the power of V.'s poetry at *Am.* 1.15.25–6 *Tityrus et fruges Aeneiaque arma legentur,* | *Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit*; and of his own at *Tr.* 3.7.51–2 *dumque suis uictrix omnem de montibus orbem* | *prospiciet domitum Martia Roma, legar.*

446 fortunati ambo!: the passage is formally a 'makarismos'; cf. *Geo.* 2.458–9 *o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,* | *agricolas!* (opening a passage that centres on V.'s discussion of his own poetic choices). The words come as a shock after the tale of the unfortunate pair

(*infelix* 390, 430), and Page is hardly right in saying that *fortunati* is a weaker word than *felices*. They enjoy a certain good fortune in their union in death, but a greater one in the satisfaction of their thirst for glory (194–5, 197, 205–6). At Eur. *Rhes.* 196 Dolon is promised that he will be 'blessed' μακάριος – but only if he succeeds in his mission. Cf. Bion fr. 12.1 Gow ὄλβιοι ⟨οἱ⟩ φιλέοντες ἐπὴν ἴσον ἀντεράωνται 'blessed are men in love when they return equal love', with the examples of Theseus and Pirithous, Orestes and Pylades, and Achilles and Patroclus, happy respectively even in Hades, on the Black Sea, in death.

si quid mea carmina possunt: a qualified formulation, very different from Horace's reworking of the Ennian themes in *Carm.* 3.30 into a proud assertion of the power of poetry to immortalize the poet (rather than the subjects of his poetry); but V. is more optimistic here than at *Ecl.* 9.11–13 *carmina tantum | nostra ualent, Lycida, tela inter Martia quantum | Chaonias dicunt aquila ueniente columbas.*

447 'No day will ever steal you from the memory of time.' Cf. Prop. 3.2.25–6 *at non ingenio quaesitum nomen ab aeuo | excidet*; Silius, *Pun.* 4.398 *aeternumque decus memori celebrabitur aeuo.*

nulla dies: cf. 281.

umquam memori: cf. 256 *non immemor umquam*; 282–3 n.

448–9 For the form of the qualification cf. Tib. 1.4.65–6 *quem referent Musae, uiuet, dum robora tellus, | dum caelum stellas, dum uehet amnis aquas* (note the odd coincidence of name in v. 63 *carmine purpurea est Nisi coma*); *Aen.* 1.607–9 *in freta dum fluuii current, dum montibus umbrae | lustrabunt conuexa, polus dum sidera pascet, | semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.* Commentators worry over the precise reference of *domus Aeneae* (*gens Iulia* or *populus Romanus*?) and *pater Romanus* (Augustus, the *princeps* of the day, father Jupiter, the senate?); it may be preferable not to confine the resonance of these phrases.

domus Aeneae: the other occurrence of the phrase is in the grand prophecy of Rome's eternal and universal power at 3.97–8 *hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris | et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.*

Capitoli immobile saxum: at the end of the poem (12.701–3) Aen. is compared to other masses of immovable rock, Mount Athos, Mount Eryx, and *pater Appenninus*. There is a suggestion that the Roman empire will share in the fixity of the Capitoline rock.

Closely related is Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.7–9 *usque ego postera | crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium | scandet cum tacita uirgine pontifex.*

450–502 The Rutulians discover the massacre in the Italian camp. Dawn. The mother of Euryalus

450–8 The passage corresponds (i) to the return of Diomedes and Odysseus with the horses of Rhesus and the spoils of Dolon to the Achaean camp *Il.* 10.564–71; (ii) to the Thracian and Trojan realization of the slaughter in the Thracian camp, *Il.* 10.515–25. The contrast between 450 and 451 points up the very qualified nature of the Rutulians' success; there is *luctus* (452, 500) in both the Italian and the Trojan camps; even the spoils of 450, taken from the dead Trojans, will take on a different aspect when they are recognized for what they really are.

451 Cf. 10.841–2 *at Lausum socii exanimem super arma ferebant | flentes.*

exanimum: with adjectives of variable declension V. tends to choose forms that avoid repetition of the final syllable of the noun qualified (Norden 406).

454 Serranoque Numaque: the first *-que* introduces particular examples of the *primi* after the general expression, as at 7.535 *corpora multa uirum circa seniorque Galaesus.* Serranus was named at 335, but this is the first we hear of Numa, another name from early Roman history (see 325 n.; Duque 59–60); Schrader therefore suggested reading *Lamoque* (cf. 334). Another Numa appears at 10.562, next to one Camers, son of a Volcens.

454–6 Cf. *Il.* 10.520–5 (the Thracian Hippocoon roused from sleep) 'when he saw the empty space where the swift horses had stood and men gasping in the pains of the carnage, he groaned and called out his friend's name. There burst out a shout and huge uproar as the Trojans rushed together; and they looked on the terrible things that the men had done before going to the hollow ships.'

ipsa | corpora: not only do they mourn the dead, they actually go to stare at the bodies. At 1.469–71 Aen. is the spectator of a work of art depicting the slaughter of Rhesus' Thracians, *nec procul hinc Rhesi niueis tentoria uelis | agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno | Tydides multa uastabat caede cruentus.*

seminecisque: the compound adjective is probably a Virgilian coinage.

tepidaque recentem | caede locum: a double hypallage (see Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 404, F. Burkhardt, *Gymnasium* 78 (1971) 416), like the famous 6.268 *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*; the more normal distribution of adjectives is indicated by 8.195–6 *recenti | caede tepebat humus*. The device forces together abstract and concrete concepts (see 349 n.), and enlivens language by making it less familiar; but the expression is made easier by the fact that *caedes* may have the concrete sense 'blood', 'gore' in poetry (*OLD* s.v. 4), and cf. 6.674 *prata recentia riuis* 'meadows freshly watered with streams'.

pleno spumantis sanguine riuos: streams 'foam with blood' (e.g. 6.87 *Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine*) but *plenus* in the sense 'copious' is rare, and this expression, like the preceding, would be more natural (if less effective) if the adjectives were switched round to give *plenos spumanti sanguine riuos* (the reading of some MSS; confusion is easy because of the initial *s* of *spumanti* and *sanguine*).

457–8 The *spolia* victoriously carried off at 450 themselves turn out to be a reminder of grief.

galeamque nitentem: a standard epithet for a piece of armour (*Il.* 13.805 'bright helmet'), but one which here reminds us of the role of this particular helmet in the plot (373–4); see 365 n.

phaleras: 359.

multo . . . sudore: at *Il.* 10.572–3 Diomedes and Odysseus, after the latter has affixed the 'bloody spoils of Dolon' to the prow of his ship, 'washed off much sweat in the sea'.

459–64 V. continues straight on from the end of *Iliad* X with the events of the beginning of *Iliad* XI: dawn, the arming of a general (Agamemnon), and the rousing of troops (Knauer 266–7). The same day dawns at 10.256–7.

459–60 = 4.584–5. According to Servius (on 11.183; cf. Heinze 293–4) Asinius Pollio claimed that V. always chose a dawn description in some way fitting to the present events; in book IV these lines occur at the point when another 'spouse', Aeneas, is leaving his partner. Relevance here, if any, lies in the fact that the closest Homeric dawn to this appears at the beginning of *Iliad* XI (see 459–64 n.), 1–2 (= *Od.* 5.1–2) 'dawn rose from her bed at the side of noble Tithonus, that she might bring light to the immortals and to mortals'. The

wording of 460 draws on the *Annales* of an earlier Latin epic poet, Furius Bibaculus fr. 7 Büchner *interea Oceani linquens Aurora cubile.* Three details, *spargebat, terras*, and *croceum*, are reminiscent of another Homeric dawn description, *Il.* 8.1 (= 24.695) 'saffron-robed dawn spread herself over all the earth'. Line 460 (= *Geo.* 1.447) is couched in the language of mythological personification, while line 459 is adapted from the materialist Lucretius, 2.144 *primum aurora nouo cum spargit lumine terras.*

croceum: doubly apt, as being the colour of wedding robes.

461 rebus luce retectis: cf. 4.119 (Titan) *radiisque retexerit orbem* = 5.65 [Aurora]; 6.272 *rebus nox abstulit atra colorem*, in a simile introducing Aen.'s descent to the Underworld. Here the world wakes up after a night that has had much of the infernal about it.

462 An elegantly constructed line with enclosing word-order *Turnus ... ipse* and polyptoton of *arma ... armis.* On the echo of the opening words of the poem see 57 n.; after the night interlude V. gears up for full-scale epic warfare (see 503–4 n.). This is the first mention of T. since 158, where he was playing the role of a Hector. He now plays the part of Agamemnon at *Il.* 11.15–16 'The son of Atreus shouted out and ordered the Greeks to gird themselves for action; he himself put on the flashing bronze.' V., unlike Homer, does not continue with a full scene of the arming of T.; that is reserved for 12.87–106.

463–4 With this text and punctuation T. rouses his troops to arm themselves, and then the several leaders muster them into line and fill them with battle rage. The agreement in number of *cogunt* with *acuunt* is more elegant and avoids the danger of at first taking T. as the subject of *cogit*; *quisque suos* 'each [mustering] his own men' is parenthetical.

in arma ... ipse | suscitat: cf. 2.618 *ipse deos in Dardana suscitat arma.*

uariisque acuunt rumoribus iras: cf. 12.590 *magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras.* There is word-play on the literal sense of *acies* 'sharp edge' in 463. With the whole of 462–4 cf. 12.107–8 *nec minus interea maternis saeuus in armis | Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitat ira* (hinting at the image of anger as 'the whetstone of courage', Cic. *Tusc.* 4.43). For the inflammatory power of rumour cf. 4.203, 7.549–50, 12.228; at 473–5 it has the opposite effect of inspiring panic.

465–502 V. now switches from the beginning of *Iliad* XI to *Iliad* XXII: the parading of the heads of Nisus and Euryalus before the Trojan walls and the grief of Euryalus' mother are based, in general and in many details, on the dragging of the body of Hector before the walls of Troy and the reactions of Hector's father, mother, and wife (*Il.* 22.405–515). This material could not be used later in the *Aen.* once V. had taken the decision to *end* his poem with the death of T., modelled on the death of Hector (Knauer 275–7). Cf. also the grief-stricken reaction of Penelope to the news that the suitors are plotting to kill Telemachus on his return to Ithaca, *Od.* 4.703–6 (see 288–9 n.).The reaction of a parent to the death of a child is a recurrent theme in the *Aen.*: 2.526–43 (Polites killed in front of Priam); 10.843–56 (Mezentius is brought the body of Lausus); 11.139–81 (the body of Pallas brought to Evander). On the scene see La Penna 315–40.

465 quin ipsa: as well as enraging the troops with stories of what Nisus and Euryalus did in the night, they go so far as to display their heads as reminder of the outrage. The Italians do to the heads of Nisus and Euryalus what, according to Iris, Hector wanted to do with the head of the slain Patroclus (*Il.* 18.176–7: see 1–24 n.; Knauer 31, 275); Homer also stresses the defilement of the *head* of Hector by Achilles (*Il.* 22.398, 402–3, 405). De la Cerda's many parallels include Plut. *Crass.* 26.3–4, where the Parthians ride up to Crassus with the head of his son fixed on a spear, a sight which fills the Roman troops with dismay and panic (but Crassus delivers a defiant speech).

uisu miserabile: cf. 1.111.

in hastis | praefigunt: the prose construction is *praefigere* with the dative.

467 The half-line (167 n.) separates two blocks describing the action on the two sides, as do 520 and 721.

468 Aeneadae: this choice of name for 'Trojans', coming immediately after mention of Nisus and Euryalus, reminds us of the object of their failed mission.

duri: cf. 3.94 *Dardanidae duri.* The question of national hardiness will be central in the Numanus episode: see 603 n. *duri* here comes at the beginning of a scene in which the Trojans are in danger of becoming softened by a woman's grief.

468–9 Servius Dan. comments *prooeconomia est, quia postea castris per fluuium Turnus euadit.*; cf. 789–90 *Turnus . . . fluuium petere ac partem quae cingitur unda.* 'Left' and 'right' are most easily understood from the point of view of one travelling down the Tiber from Rome (Heinze 285 n. 110; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.241–2 *ipse solum colui, cuius placidissima laeuum | radit harenosi Thybridis unda latus*).

470 ingentisque . . . altis: the line is framed with adjectives stressing the size of the city-like camp: see 8 n. *tenent fossas* is odd: one would not expect the defenders to be 'manning the ditches'. For the picture of the Trojans standing in their towers cf. 10.121–2 *miseri stant turribus altis | nequiquam.*

471–2 Cf. 8.196–7 *foribusque adfixa superbis | ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo* (the cave of Cacus: cf. 454–6 n. for another echo of that scene).

ora: by synecdoche for 'heads', but also because the 'faces' are the parts by which they are recognized. Also, perhaps, the 'mouths' that have failed to transmit their message to Aen. But these silent masks are the source of a stream of rumour and *Fama* both in the here and now (464, 473–5) and in the future through V.'s poetry.

472 Cf. 3.626–7 (Achaemenides watching the fate of *his* companions) *uidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo | manderet.*

nimis miseris: V. is not unduly sensitive about jingles like *-mis mis-*: see Austin on 2.27.

473–5 *Fama* in the *Aen.* is often associated with wild and uncontrolled emotion, particularly female: 4.298–301, 666–8 (the reaction to Dido's self-stabbing, introducing a passage heavily indebted to Homer's description of the reaction in Troy to the death of Hector in *Iliad* XXII: see 465–502 n.); 7.392–3; 8.554–7; 12.604–11. *Fama* herself is personified as a wild woman of a particularly monstrous sort: with 4.666 *bacchatur Fama per urbem* cf. 4.300–1 (Dido, as a result of the operation of *Fama*) *totamque incensa per urbem | bacchatur.* The mother of Euryalus is likewise turned into an agent of *Fama*: 477 *euolat* (473 *uolitans*); 478 *cursu* (474 *ruit*); 500 *incendentem luctus* (n.). The Homeric models for, and later imitations of, Virgilian *Fama* are collected by Pease on 4.173.

uolitans: by V.'s time this word had become naturalized of the 'flight' of verbal reports (*OLD* s.v. 2b).

pennata: for the wings and feathers of *Fama* cf. 4.180–1. Virgil

may also have in mind Lucr. 5.737–8 *Veneris praenuntius ante | pennatus graditur.*

per urbem: in descriptions of *Fama* at 4.666; 8.554; 12.608; *per urbes*: 4.173; 7.104. Cf. *Od.* 24.413 'the messenger (ἄγγελος) Rumour swiftly went in every direction through the city'. The Trojan camp is now on the scale of a Troy or a Carthage.

nuntia: cf. *Od.* 24.413, Lucr. 5.737; 11.139 *et iam Fama uolans, tanti praenuntia luctus* (bringing news of a dead son to Evander). The word also inverts a Homeric model, *Il.* 22.437–9 'but Hector's wife had not yet heard; for *no true messenger* (ἐτήτυμος ἄγγελος) had come to her to announce that her husband had stayed outside the gates'.

475 subitus is often used with adverbial force; but elsewhere in the *Aen.* the noun it qualifies refers to something that appears, rather than disappears, suddenly.

miserae: of Euryalus' mother at 216, 285, 484.

calor ossa reliquit = 3.308 of the fainting Andromache, whose grief at *Il.* 22.437–515 is the model for the present passage.

476 Andromache was weaving in the interior of her house (*Il.* 22.440–1) when she heard the groans announcing the mutilation of Hector, whereupon (448) 'her limbs trembled and the shuttle fell from her to the ground'. Shock causes the woman to abandon the instruments of women's work and then force a way into the world of men (478–9 *agmina ... prima*); cf. the warrior-maiden Camilla, *non illa colo calathisque Mineruae | femineas adsueta manus* (7.805–6); Andromache rushes forth like a maenad (the antithesis of the domestic woman) to the tower and the throng of men (*Il.* 22.460–2). We are also reminded of Anna rushing to address the dying Dido at 4.672–4.

excussi: Servius comments *bene 'excussi', quasi nescienti: melius quam si diceret 'proiecti'.*

pensa: usually the portions of wool from which thread is spun, but here probably 'threads wound round the shuttle', which 'unwind' as the shuttles fall to the ground.

477 euolat: in the same position at 7.387, where the subject is Amata, another matron abandoning her proper place in the house.

infelix: cf. 390, 430.

femineo ululatu = 4.667 (brought on by *Fama*). The hiatus and the quadrisyllabic ending suggest Greek verse technique (Norden 438). At 7.395 the *matres* who follow Amata into the woods *ululatibus*

aethera complent; ritually channelled *ululatus* accompany the funeral at 11.190.

478 scissa comam: the reaction of Hector's mother Hecabe, *Il.* 22.406 τίλλε κόμην 'she tore her hair' (also at line-beginning). On the 'middle' use of the perfect participle see Fordyce on 7.503; Harrison 290–1.

amens: cf. 424. Euryalus' mother repeats the emotions, and some of the words (see 490–1 n.), of Nisus.

478–9 Elaborate patterning of *c*s, *m*s, *a*s and *p*s. Some of the effects are similar to 3.307 (Andromache) *arma amens uidit, magnis exterrita monstris.*

prima goes with *agmina* rather than with the subject of *petit*; she rushes to the 'front lines'.

479–80 non illa uirum, non illa pericli | telorumque memor: heedless both of propriety and safety; the point of *uirum* is brought out clearly in Statius' imitation, *Theb.* 11.318 (Jocasta tries to prevent Eteocles fighting his brother) *non sexus decorisue memor.* The emphatic repetition of *non illa* (on this 'pleonastic' or 'resumptive' use of *ille* see Williams on 5.186) forces our attention to the figure of this woman trying to enter the world of *arma uirumque.*

pericli | telorumque: hendiadys, 'the weapons' danger'.

memor: cf. 11.801–2 (Camilla) *nihil ipse nec aurae | nec sonitus memor.*

dehinc: scanned as one syllable (synizesis).

questibus implet: cf: *Geo.* 4.515 *maestis late loca questibus implet.*

481–97 The main Homeric models for the speech are the laments of Andromache at *Il.* 22.477–514 and 24.725–45; there are points of contact with the tragic lament of Electra, Soph. *El.* 1126–70, addressing her brother in the form of an urn of dust. Cf. also Cicero's list of *loci* for the *conquestio* (*oratio auditorum misericordiam captans*) at *De invent.* 1.106–9. Comparable within the *Aen.* are the laments, tinged with rebuke, of Evander for his son Pallas (11.152–81) and of Anna for her sister Dido (4.675–85; this has points of contact with both of the Homeric laments of Andromache). On Virgilian laments see Heinze 329; A. Barchiesi, *M.D.* 1 (1978) 110–12. The speech is a carefully constructed representation of violent emotion: four lines of indignant questions to Euryalus (*te . . .? tune . . .? te . . .?*; for anaphora of *tu* in a lament cf. Cat. 68.21–4) are followed by five lines brooding on the present state of the body; the address to Euryalus

concludes with a fresh outburst of deliberative and rhetorical questions in three lines; in the last five lines she turns to herself and asks to be put out of her misery. La Penna (339) emphasizes the way in which V. 'expresses the mother's grief in its stark and unbounded desperation ... V. thrusts the woman outside the values of the community, into the limbo of nature without history.'

481 hunc ego te: the collocation conveys bleakly the nature of her recognition; this is and is not her son (*hic* does not normally refer to the second person, and is further contrasted with *ille* referring to the presence now lost: see 481–2 n.); if we are in danger of forgetting that this is a speech to a severed head we are reminded by *hoc* at 491, and more grotesquely by the implications of 485–6 *heu ... iaces!* Anna's last speech to Dido opens with threefold *hoc* introducing agitated questions (4.675–6). Statius imitates this opening twice, at *Theb.* 3.151–2 *hosne ego complexus genetrix ... tuor?* (a mother to the bodies of her twin sons killed in battle), and 12.322–4 *hunc ego te, coniunx ... aspicio?* (Argia to the body of her husband Polynices). The mother also unwittingly echoes Euryalus' words about her, 287–8 *hanc ego nunc ... linquo.*

481–2 tune ille senectae | sera meae requies: cf. 12.57–8 (Amata to Turnus) *spes tu nunc una, senectae | tu requies miserae*; 8.581 (Evander to Pallas) *care puer, mea sola et sera uoluptas. ille* is the reading of most of the major MSS, and *illa* is an easy corruption. The unexpected agreement of *ille* with *tu* rather than with *requies* focuses the cruel awareness of the difference between what he was and what he is now (cf. the famous reaction of Aeneas to the mangled apparition of Hector at 2.274 *quantum mutatus ab illo*). *sera* means 'in the late years of my life' rather than that Euryalus was 'late-born'. There is an irony in the fact that her son has now found rest, in death (cf. 445). With the emotional elisions in line 481 cf. 427.

potuisti linquere 'had you the heart to leave me'; for this use of *posse* cf. Prop. 3.12.1 *Postume, plorantem potuisti linquere Gallam*; Fordyce on 7.309. Andromache complains to Hector 'you leave me a widow in the house' (*Il.* 22.483–4, 24.725–6).

crudelis: at line-beginning and followed by a heavy pause also at 4.310–11 *et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum, | crudelis?*

483–4 At *Il.* 24.743–5 Andromache complains that she has been deprived of a dying word from Hector to treasure in memory.

sub tanta pericula: this use of *sub* is perhaps on the analogy of *pericula subire.*

extremum: adverbial neuter accusative. The variant *extremis* may have arisen through anticipation of the first syllable of the next word.

485–6 Abandonment as prey to dogs and birds is the standard epic (and tragic) indignity for the unburied corpse (*Il.* 1.4–5; specifically Trojan, as Latin here, dogs at *Il.* 17.255); Andromache imagines Hector's body eaten by dogs and worms, *Il.* 22.508–10; Laertes complains to the unrecognized Odysseus (*Od.* 24.290–6) 'perhaps far from his friends and his fatherland the fish have eaten him [*sc.* Odysséus] in the sea, or else he has become the prey of wild beasts and birds on the land. But we his mother and father, who bore him, did not lay him out and mourn him; nor did his richly dowered wife, sensible Penelope, lament over her husband on his bier, as was proper, closing his eyes.' Cf. 10.557–9 *non te optima mater | condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro: | alitibus linquere feris.*

terra ignota: cf. 5.871 *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*; 11.865–6 *illum exspirantem ... | obliti ignoto camporum in puluere linquunt*; Tib. 1.3.3; Ovid, *Tr.* 3.3.37 *tam procul ignotis igitur moriemur in oris*; Lattimore 200–2.

date: *data* has been introduced from the preceding line. S. F. Wiltshire, *Public and private in Vergil's Aeneid* (Amherst 1989) 53 comments on the poignant effect of the 'disparate similarities' of 484 and 485 (the same metre, elision, as well as the verbal repetition).

486–7 The idea of the mother's inability to perform the funeral rites is Homeric (in battlefield taunts: *Il.* 11.452–3, 21.123–4) and tragic (e.g. Enn. *Trag.* 138–9 *neque terram inicere neque cruenta conuestire corpora | mihi licuit neque miserae lauere lacrimae salsum sanguinem*); it is incorporated into the elegist's obsession with death by Tibullus, 1.3.5–6, one of the several points of contact between this lament and the *querelae* of love elegy that sustain the semi-elegiac tone of the whole Nisus and Euryalus episode before the return to a fully Ennian world of war at 503.

funere: Bembo's conjecture is the best of many attempts to explain or emend the transmitted *funera*: Servius' claim that *funera* is an adjective, pertaining to an attendant at a funeral, is without basis; the idea that the mother pauses after *te* to correct herself ('you – no, your funeral') would be a clumsy extension of the point made so

effectively by *hunc ... te ... tune ille* in 481 (see n.); to supply *in* or *ad* before *tua* yields phrases without great appeal.

produxi 'escorted' (to the pyre). The hysteron proteron seems to be conventional in complaints of this kind (see Jocelyn on Enn. *Trag.* 138–9).

pressiue oculos: the traditional closing of the dead person's eyes. The eyes are even now staring sightless at her.

488–9 Andromache was weaving when interrupted by the wailing over Hector; at the end of her lament she talks of Hector's fine robes, now lying useless in the palace, which she will burn. It is difficult not to be reminded also of the cloak that Penelope claimed to be weaving as a winding-cloth for Laertes, on which she too worked day and night (in a different way!), *Od.* 2.96–105. The reason for the urgency of the work is not clear: she is presumably not weaving the robe specifically as a shroud in the expectation that Euryalus may be killed, and it is frigid to suppose that she is hurrying to finish it before her own death; her busy haste is perhaps a way of taking her mind off her other worries. The woman working by both day and night is a picture of domestic virtue in the simile at 8.408–13. Cf. the *uestis*, woven by Dido, with which Aen. covers the body of Pallas at 11.72–7. At 10.818, as Lausus is killed, Aen.'s sword passes through *tunicam molli mater quam neuerat auro.*

490–1 quo sequar? aut quae nunc ... tellus habet?: these two questions are not quite appropriate in the context, as if V.'s model were a lament for one presumed to have died violently in a land far distant from the speaker. *quo sequar* unwittingly echoes the words of Nisus at 391: cf. 478 n.

funus 'corpse'. *artus*, *auulsaque membra*, and *funus lacerum* all mean the same thing.

491–2 hoc mihi de te, | nate, refers?: rephrasing 481 *hunc ego te, Euryale, aspicio?* with the word *nate* reserved for a position of maximum pathos. Cf. Soph. *El.* 1158–9 (Electra's lament over the supposed urn of her brother's ashes) 'who escorted you to me like this, ashes and a powerless shade instead of that form I loved so well'. Fordyce compares Prop. 3.12.13 *neue aliquid de te flendum referatur in urna* (see 481–2 n.).

terraque marique secuta: cf. 217–18. Alone of the mothers she

has submitted to the Trojan destiny of wandering by land and sea, but out of purely personal motives rather than out of a sense of national destiny.

493–4 Words closely comparable to those of Nisus at 427–8, but drained of all purpose and comfort by her situation: she cannot offer her life as a substitute for her son's, nor are the Rutulians likely to take her at her word, nor can she look for the solace of falling over her son's body. The triple repetition of *me* in a tricolon serving the rhetoric of grief is very different from the threefold *me* forced from the lips of Nisus. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 387 'stab me, do not spare me, I gave birth to Paris'. This appeal is related to the conceit that the mourner has to be restrained from suicide: see Dewar on Stat. *Theb.* 9.76ff.

si qua est pietas: cf. 2.535–7 (Priam to Pyrrhus who has just killed his son in front of him) *at tibi pro scelere ... | di, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet, | persoluant grates dignas.* Here she appeals to a human 'pity' (on the senses of *pietas* in V. see Henry I 175–87); at the end of an episode which revolves around various relationships of *pietas* the only variety still available is a purely negative one: R. B. Egan, in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin literature and Roman history* II (Brussels 1980) 164–7 shows how the tensions in the use of *pietas* here foreshadow the problems raised by the killing of T. Lucan was to take much further this inversion of central values, e.g. in the mutual slaughter of Caesarean soldiers on the raft of Vulteius (4.565–6 *pietas ferientibus una | non repetisse fuit*).

in me omnia tela: with the harsh elision of the monosyllable in the fifth foot cf. 2.69–70 *'heu, quae nunc tellus,' inquit, 'quae me aequora possunt | accipere?'* The passage is imitated at Stat. *Theb.* 9.633–4 (Atalanta addressing Diana after the death of her son Parthenopaeus) *cunctis hunc fige sagittis | infelicem uterum.*

495–6 Cf. 5.691–2 *uel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti, | si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra*; 4.25 *uel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras.* At *Il.* 6.410–11 Andromache, begging Hector to stay on the tower, says 'if I lost you it would be better for me to go under the earth'; at 22.425 Priam says that grief for Hector 'will swiftly bring me down into Hades'. The prayer for release by thunderbolt has a tragic tone.

miserere: for this kind of pity cf. 2.645–6 (Anchises) *ipse manu*

mortem inueniam; miserebitur hostis | exuuiasque petet. The word is given emphasis by its position before the pause after the fifth trochee (Winbolt 51).

inuisum: the full idea may be supplied from the sequel to the words of Anchises quoted above: 2.647–8 *iam pridem inuisus diuis et inutilis annos | demoror.* She takes her catastrophe to be the expression of divine displeasure, and ironically looks for 'pity' in the ultimate punishment of Jupiter. There is perhaps also a hint of the other *inuisus* 'unseen', taken proleptically: 'thrust me down to Tartarus [= Hades, Ἀ-ϊδης 'the unseen'] where I shall be unseen'.

caput 'life'. Cf. *Il.* 11.54–5 '[Zeus] intended to hurl forth many strong men [lit. 'heads'] to Hades.' The expression jars slightly when a literal head is being paraded around.

497 Cf. 8.579 (Evander taking leave of his son, and supposing the worst) *nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere uitam*; 4.631 (Dido) *inuisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.*

abrumpere uitam 'break off the thread of life' (Page).

498–9 A tricolon abundans. Cf. *Il.* 22.429 'so he spoke weeping, and the citizens groaned in answer' (cf. *Il.* 22.515, 24.746). What in Homer is the ritualized response of the crowd to the solo mourner here becomes the dangerous infection of fighting-men by a woman's grief; the process is akin to the undesirable spread of *Fama* (see 473–5 n.); cf. the effects of the suicide of Amata, a disaster (12.594) *quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem*; the mechanism for the spread of that grief is given at 12.608 *hinc totam infelix uulgatur fama per urbem.* On the dangerous excess of female grief see N. Loraux, *Les Mères en deuil* (Paris 1990).

infractae ... uires: cf. Prop. 1.14.17 (Venus, another feminine source of enfeeblement) *illa potest magnas heroum infringere uires.* At 289 Euryalus had recognized that his resolve could not withstand the tears of his mother.

500 incendentem luctus: her own grief spreads like wildfire. Cf. 11.146–7 *matres ... maestam incendunt clamoribus urbem*; *Od.* 20.353 οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηε 'wailing has blazed out'; the same verb is used of Ὄσσα 'Rumour' at *Il.* 2.93; Cat. 64.226 (Aegeus' forebodings for his son) *nostros ... luctus nostraeque incendia mentis*; *Aen.* 4.360 *desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis.*

Idaeus shares the name of the Trojan herald and charioteer of

Priam whom Aen. meets in the Underworld at 6.485; as adjective *Idaeus* = 'of Mount Ida' and hence 'Trojan'.

Actor is the name of a variety of mythological and legendary characters, chosen here perhaps as a derivative of *ago* for a character who prevents the Trojans from sinking into the passivity of grief.

501 Ilionei: the senior Trojan who inaugurates relations with Dido and Latinus on Aen.'s behalf. The genitive of his name is quadrisyllabic by synizesis.

multum lacrimantis Iuli: Iulus has particular reason for tears: see 294 n. He already shows something of his father's self-control in acting to minimize the disturbance despite his own emotion. At 5.667–74 he excitedly attempts to check the rebellious Trojan women. Line 501 is framed by the two names, 502 by the two verbs *corripiunt ... reponunt*, providing a sense of closure for the whole episode.

502 interque manus: 'an everyday expression for lifting bodily (cf. Plaut. *Most.* 385 *abripite hunc intro actutum inter manus*, Cic. *Verr.* II 5.28 *ut alius inter manus e conuiuio tamquam e proelio auferretur*)' [F.].

reponunt: they 'put her back' but also 'put her where she belongs'; this woman's place is certainly in the house. At *Il.* 22.440 we find Andromache weaving in the μυχός 'innermost part' of the house. Cf. 8.584 (at the end of Evander's speech of farewell to his son) *famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant.* After Cannae, according to Livy 22.55.6, Fabius ordered the senators *ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant.*

503–89 The Italian assault on the Trojan camp

This is the first full-scale engagement between T. and the Trojans. The Homeric model is the fighting at the Achaean walls in *Il.* 12.35–471, but battle is joined at the blast of an Ennian trumpet (see 503–4 n.), and the siege-craft is Roman rather than Homeric (see 505, 507, 530–66 nn.; F. H. Sandbach, *P.V.S.* 5 (1965–6) 32–3 [= Harrison, *Oxford readings* 459–60]). There are also echoes of the Greek 'siege' of the palace of Priam at 2.438–505 (see 515–18, 516–17, 530–66 nn.).

503–4 V. polishes up Ennius' notoriously onomatopoeic (and

dactylic) line, *Ann.* 451 *at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit. sonitum* is an internal accusative after *increpuit*; the change from the Ennian ablative is conditioned by the presence of another adverbial phrase in the ablative, *aere canoro*. With the non-Ennian constituents of these lines cf. *Geo.* 4.70–2 *namque morantis | Martius ille aeris rauci canor increpat, et uox | auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum*, and 8.526 *Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor*. De la Cerda comments *apta peripetia ad commouendos animos. ecce a fletibus ad tubam, ab eiulatu ad terribilem sonitum, a gemitibus feminae ad bellicum clamorem et mugitum caeli.*

505 acta ... testudine: cf. 2.441 *obsessumque acta testudine limen. testudo* may denote either a siege-shed under whose cover sappers approach walls, or a screen formed by troops locking their shields together over their heads; 505 *pariter*, 514 *densa*, and 517–18 *armorum ... tegmina* point to the second here, although *acta* is the term proper to the drawing forward of a siege-shed (e.g. Caes. *De bell. Gall.* 5.43.3 *turris testudinesque agere*). Here the attackers are Camilla's Volsci; at 517 they have become T.'s Rutuli (on the imprecision of V.'s use of *Rutuli* see Perret 176–8): there is a curious similarity between this passage and Livy 2.25.2–3 describing a *Volscian* attack on a Roman camp in 495 BC, *postero die prima luce Volsci fossis repletis uallum inuadunt. iamque ab omni parte munimenta uellebantur* ... V. may also draw substantially on Ennius' account of the siege of Tarracina when the Volscians were the *besieged*: see 532 n. and Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 151.

506 uellere uallum: Roman poets and orators like this kind of jingle (*paronomasia, adnominatio*); cf. e.g. 4.238 *parere parabat* (with Austin ad loc.), and see Norden on 6.204ff. Here the effect is produced by 'a regular military phrase: e.g. Livy 9.14.9' [F.].

507 aditum et scalis ascendere muros: a hendiadys, 'to gain access by climbing the walls on ladders'. Ladders are another un-Homeric feature; cf. 2.442 (the attack on Priam's palace) and 12.576 (the attack on the city of Latinus: T.'s siege of the Trojan camp at the beginning of the war is matched by Aen.'s siege of the Italian city at the end). After the night interlude the Italians resume their attempt of the previous day, 58 *aditum ... quaerit.*

508 Cf. Livy 4.59.5 *quattuor cohortes ... ex loco altiore qua nullum erat praesidium ... moenia inuasere* (the capture of Tarracina: see 505 n.). Nisus and Euryalus had spotted a break in the ring of Rutulian

watch-fires (239); now it is the Rutulians' turn to look for a gap. In the event it is the Trojans who breach the close-packed (514 *densa*) *testudo*.

corona 'ring' of defenders (10.122, 11.475), a military term. V. continues to use the technical language of Roman warfare; *interlucet* is a prose word (e.g. Front. *Strat.* 2.3.16 *interualla expeditis uelitibus impleuit, ne interluceret acies*). There is no fourth-foot caesura, possibly a sign of an archaic model.

509 spissa uiris: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.15.9 *spissa ramis laurea*, and the more common *densus* + abl.

effundere: like a shower of rain or hail; compare the meteorological simile at 10.803–8 (Aen. shelters behind his shield from a volley of missiles) *ac uelut effusa si quando grandine nimbi | praecipitant* ... At *Il.* 12.154–59 the besieged Achaeans hurl down rocks, which 'fell to the ground like snowflakes, which the strong wind ... poured down (κατέχευεν) on the nourishing earth', a passage imitated at 11.610–11 *fundunt simul undique tela | crebra niuis ritu*.

510 contis 'poles', perhaps specifically ships' poles like the *trudes* or *conti* used at 5.208. The recently landed Trojans use whatever comes to hand (*telorum ... omne genus*).

511 A pause at the centre of this episode that lends perspective: the Trojans seem doomed to repeat in their new home their experiences in Troy; the Italians are confident that this is the case (9.142–5, 598–9); V.'s reader experiences a sense of *déjà vu* from the events of 2.438–505.

512 See 509 n. for the stone-throwing (βάλλον) Achaeans defending their walls in *Iliad* XII; V.'s Trojans employ great boulders too heavy to lift (*uoluebant*).

infesto ... pondere: an extension of the use of *infestus* of weapons 'raised threateningly' (*OLD* s.v. 3c).

512–13 si qua | possent: 'a characteristically military turn of phrase for expressing the intention of an operation' (Ogilvie on Livy 2.25.1).

513–14 omnis | ... casus is ambiguous: either 'whatever befalls', or 'all that falls [the rocks]'. Cf. 1.623, 2.507.

514 iuuat implies positive pleasure in taking the shock of the impact on their shields; compare perhaps the traveller sheltering cosily

from the hailstorm at 10.805 in a simile used of Aeneas in a situation somewhat like that of the Rutulians here. F and R read *libet*, but the sense 'feel like', 'take a fancy to', is not that required.

515–18 At 2.460–7 the Trojans defending the palace of Priam bring a tower crashing down on the Greek besiegers.

515 sufficiunt: cf. 810–11 *nec sufficit umbo | ictibus.*

imminet: in V. this word normally has the sense of 'hang over threateningly', except here and at 10.26, where Venus summarizes events of book IX in her complaint to Jupiter, *muris iterum imminet hostis.* Here the words *globus imminet ingens* might equally describe the rock poised to fall from the Trojan battlements, as if the poet's eye sees the battle as a patterning of massed or massive objects.

515–16 *ingens, immanis, moles* are all favourite words of V., all contributing to the larger-than-life quality typical of Virgilian battle scenes, which in IX reaches a climax in the hyperbole of the Pandarus and Bitias episode. The effect is reinforced by the homoeocatarcton of *imminet ingens, | immanem.*

516–17 For the precipitation on a besieging force of a heavy mass cf. 2.460–7, where the Trojans work away at a tower, which 2.466–7 *Danaum super agmina late | incidit* (see 530–66 n.). Doubled *-que* in 516 provides a convenient hexameter ending (see Williams on 5.802).

518 nec curant: ' "they do not feel like fighting": the phrase has a curiously colloquial ring' [F.].

caeco ... Marte: the phrase is used in a different sense at 2.335. *caecus* is also used of the dark hiding-place in the belly of the Wooden Horse (2.19, 9.152), another theriomorphic kind of 'siege-engine'. Statius imitates this passage at *Theb.* 10.530 *scrutanturque cauas caeca testudine turres.* De la Cerda notes the care with which V. varies his expressions for the *testudo.*

519 audaces: *audacia* is a quality of the Rutulians (4.615, 7.475) as it is of their leader T. (3 n.). Here there is sarcasm: the Rutulians now choose the safer option of fighting *eminus* with missiles (cf. 10.713–18, 801–2). The episode is framed by echoing phrases for the two tactics, 506 *uellere uallum* as opposed to 519 *pellere uallo.*

520 See 467 n.

521–4 From the massed tactics of contemporary warfare we return to the individual heroics of the legendary age; spotlights on

two of the greatest Italian leaders prepare us for the entrance of a third, T. himself.

521–2 The monstrous Mezentius appears like some demon from an Etruscan Hell. *horrendus* of persons is used of Polyphemus (3.658), *Fama* (4.181), the Sibyl (6.10), Charon (6.298), Juno (hell-bound at 7.323), and the uncanny Camilla (11.507). *pinum* may refer either to a spear (cf. 10.762 *quatiens Mezentius hastam*), or, more likely, to a firebrand, in hendiadys with *ignis* (cf. 72 n., and 6.587 (Salmoneus) *lampada quassans*). Either way there is a hint of the gigantic warrior wielding a whole tree, like Polyphemus (3.659 *trunca manum pinus regit*), to whom Mezentius is related in other ways (see J. Glenn, *A.J.Ph.* 92 (1971) 129–55).

523 = 7.691 (in the Catalogue). On Messapus see 27–8 n.

524 Messapus single-handed undertakes both the tasks of the Volscian troops at 506–7. Enclosing verbs (*rescindit, poscit*) provide a clausula. At *Il.* 12.397–9 Sarpedon tears down the battlements of the Achaean wall. Tiberius Donatus notes that the mention of Messapus' father reminds us that Neptune destroyed the walls of Troy (2.610–12).

525–8 For the invocation to the Muses introducing an *aristeia* cf. e.g. *Il.* 11.218–20, introducing the *aristeia* of Agamemnon. This is the second invocation in this book; the first at 77–9 introduces the prevention of the firing of the ships and corresponds to *Il.* 16.112–13, an appeal to the Muses to tell how fire first fell on the Achaean ships. That Homeric model also finds a structural echo in the present invocation which leads to an account of the successful firing of a tower. This double reworking of a Homeric model is typical of V.'s imitation: see Knauer, index s.vv. *Vergils Homerumformung, dédoublement.* The four lines of the invocation are carefully structured, two imperatives distributed over first and fourth lines enclosing a tricolon of indirect questions (with which cf. the direct questions introducing the *aristeia* of Camilla at 11.664–5).

525 Vos, o Calliope: *uos* refers to all the Muses, although only one is addressed by name; cf. 257–60 *ego uos ... per magnos, Nise, penatis ... obtestor*; 1.140 *uestras, Eure, domos*; 10.188 *crimen, Amor, uestrum.* Calliope is singled out as the most important of the Muses (Hes. *Theog.* 79); she is also particularly associated with epic. There is

no fourth foot caesura, in a context with Ennian associations (see 528 n.).

aspirate canenti 'breathe on me as I sing', like a favouring wind (cf. 2.385 *aspirat primo Fortuna labori*), a qualified kind of inspiration; the dependence of 526–7 *quas ... quae ... quem* on *canenti* (sc. *mihi*) makes of the Muses a helping hand rather than unique source (cf. 528 *mecum*); contrast the language of genuine possession at 6.11–12 (the Sibyl) *magnam cui mentem animumque | Delius inspirat uates.* Ovid strikes a similar balance at *Met.* 1.1–3 *in noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas | corpora: di, coeptis ... | aspirate meis ...*

526–7 Cf. *Geo.* 3.246–7 *nec funera uulgo | tam multa informes ursi stragemque dedere.*

quem quisque uirum demiserit Orco: cf. *Il.* 1.3 'sent many strong souls down to Hades'. Like the Greek Hades *Orcus* is both the realm of the dead and its ruler. Cf. 785 *iuuenum primos tot miserit Orco*; 2.398 *multos Danaum demittimus Orco. uirum* here, like *iuuenum* and *Danaum* in the passages just quoted, is probably a partitive genitive, 'each of the heroes'.

528 'Unroll with me the vast realm of war.' Adapted from Enn. *Ann.* 164 *quis potis ingentis oras euoluere belli*, probably the first line of *Annals* VI on the war with Pyrrhus (see Skutsch *ad loc.*). This use of *oras* is probably by analogy with *fines* 'borders', hence 'territory' lying within those borders. The image in *euoluite* is that of 'unrolling' a book-roll; 525 thus alludes to the epic as inspired voice, 528 to the epic as literary artifact; for the combination of divine inspiration with the idea of the written epic cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.1–3 *fraternas acies alternaque regna profanis | decertata odiis sontisque euoluere Thebas, | Pierius menti calor incidit.*

After 528 R adds *et meministis enim, diuae, et memorare potestis* = 7.645, whence it has been interpolated here.

530–66 The collapse of the Trojan tower and the consequences. The first of several episodes varying the inherently monotonous subject of besiegers assaulting the walls of a city. Here a detachable outwork is successfully 'sacked' by the Rutulians. There are numerous echoes of the description of the sack of Troy in book II; at 2.460–7 a tower in the palace of Priam is brought crashing down by the Trojans themselves (a passage already echoed at 515–18); see also 530, 534, 535, 543, 544–5, 559 nn.; on the wider significance of this 'new

Troy' see Introd. (section 5). Cf. also 712–13 n. Silius imitates this passage at *Pun.* 1.362–4 and 14.300–15. For a detailed description of a lofty siege-tower see Caes. *De bell. civ.* 2.8–10.

530 Turris erat: the sudden introduction of a description to be related subsequently to the narrative is a Homeric technique: see Fordyce on 7.563ff. Cf. 2.453 *limen erat* ...; 9.176 (introducing a new episode with the description of its principal actor) *Nisus erat portae custos* ...

uasto suspectu 'tremendous to the upward gaze' (for the sense of *suspectus*, a word first found in V., cf. 1.438 *fastigia suspicit urbis*). *uastus* in V. normally has overtones of awe or dread, here of the vertiginous height from which the defenders will fall. The fearsome crash of the tower in Priam's palace is similarly prepared for by the hyperbolical description at 2.460–1 *turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra* | *eductam tectis.*

pontibus altis: the counter-siege-tower stands outside the walls of the Trojan camp to which it is connected by 'bridges' (see 170 n.); cf. the similar tower built by T. to defend the city of Latinus 12.674–5 *turrim compactis trabibus quam eduxerat ipse* | *subdideratque rotas pontisque instrauerat altos* (and also destroyed by fire).

531 opportuna loco: a variation on the more prosaic *opportuno loco*; *opportunus* 'strategically situated' is common in military writers.

532 summaque euertere opum ui: another adaptation of Enn., *Ann.* 151 *Romani scalis: summa nituntur opum ui*, possibly from a description of the siege of the Volscian city of Tarracina, an Ennian episode exploited elsewhere by V. in his account of the siege of the Trojan camp: see 505, 508 nn. V. uses the Ennian line again at 12.552 *pro se quisque uiri summa nituntur opum ui. euertere* has its literal sense of 'overturn', but may also have the connotation of 'overthrowing' a city (as at 2.746, 10.45); compare the description of the farmer uprooting trees in language that hints at the larger scale of the sack of a city, *Geo.* 2.208–10 *et nemora euertit multos ignaua per annos,* | *antiquasque domos auium cum stirpibus imis* | *eruit* (see Thomas *ad loc.*).

533 10.130 *hi iaculis, illi certant defendere saxis* (the Trojans still under siege).

534 cauas ... fenestras 'hollowed out loopholes', a slightly odd use of *cauus* (*OLD* s.v. 5b also has Prop. 1.16.27 *traiecta caua mea uocula rima*); the choice of word is perhaps influenced by 2.481–2 *iamque*

excisa trabe firma cauauit | robora et ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram. For such loopholes cf. Caesar's description of a siege-tower, *De bell. civ.* 2.9.9 *fenestrasque quibus in locis uisum est ad tormenta mittenda in struendo reliquerunt.*

densi: this can be regarded either as an epithet transferred from *tela* or as an adverbial use of the adjective, 'thick and fast'; but we are perhaps also to think of the defenders crowding round the loopholes. V. has an eye for the massing or dispersal of large groups of men: cf. 508, 515 n., 788–9; *densi* is pointedly juxtaposed with *cauas.*

intorquere: *(in)torquere* is a favourite Virgilian word for 'hurling' spears; the origin of the usage, rare before V., is seen in Cic. *De or.* 1.242 *cum amentatas hastas acceperit, ipse eas ... torquebit*; see Hollis on Ovid, *Met.* 8.28–9.

535 A golden line (383 n.). Having failed to set fire to the ships, T. now succeeds instead in putting the Trojan defences to the torch: *princeps* hints at the substitution, for Homer asks the Muses to tell (*Il.* 16.113) 'how the fire *first* fell on the ships of the Achaeans'. The prominence of fire in *this* siege (see also 568) is another link with the sack of Troy in book II. Behind the picture of this siege-tower successfully flushed out hovers the recollection of the Wooden Horse in book II, a towering construction (2.15), hollow (2.38, 53, 260), that some suspected of being an engine of war (2.46) to be destroyed by fire (2.37), and at whose side Laocoon hurled a missile that sticks (2.51–2), a spear-throw that is also paralleled in T.'s first hostile gesture against the Trojan camp (see 49 n.), the *principium pugnae* (53).

536 flammam adfixit lateri: a vivid phrase (even *adfectate* 'affected', according to Servius). V. probably has in mind the *malleolus* 'fire-dart': Vitruv. 10.16.9 [*naues*] *ibi malleolis confixae incendio sunt conflagratae.*

plurima uento 'fanned into a blaze by the wind'.

537 postibus haesit adesis 'clung to the beams and ate into them'. Fire's jaws: 2.758–9 *ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia uento | uoluitur*; 5.682–3 *lentusque carinas | est uapor* (one of a number of parallels between the burning of the ships in book V and this substitute for ship-burning: see 540 n.). *adesis* is used proleptically. *postes* are usually 'door-posts', but the more general sense 'posts', 'beams' is otherwise attested (*TLL* 233.82), and Schrader's conjecture *pontibus* (cf. 530) is unnecessary.

538 At the climax the narrative moves into historic infinitives (L–H–S 367; Fordyce on 7.15), followed by historic presents at 539–44.

trepidare intus: cf. 12.589–90 *illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra | discurrunt*, bees in a fumigated hive, from a simile describing the panic in the city of Latinus as Aen., calling for fire (12.573), begins an assault on the walls. The correspondence between Aen.'s action in book XII and that of the besieging T. in book IX is part of a larger movement of inversion whereby the beleaguered Trojans end up in the role of Homer's city-sacking Achaeans.

539 retroque residunt: the line-ending is Lucretian, 2.283 *et proiecta refrenatur retroque residit. residunt* can hardly be used in the sense *recedunt*; it seems to suggest that as the men in the tower shrink from the side set on fire the tower itself 'sinks back' under their weight before collapsing completely.

540 peste: used also of the fire that destroys the Trojan ships, 5.683, 699 (see 537 n.). There is interlaced alliteration of *p*, *c*, and *t* in this line and the next.

541 procubuit: the perfect in a context of historic presents conveys the suddenness and finality of the collapse: cf. 11.150; Austin on 2.465.

caelum tonat omne fragore: 12.757 *caelum tonat omne tumultu*. Cf. also 2.692–3 *subitoque fragore | intonuit laeuum*. Here the sound is of literal breaking. The *caelum* resounds as this sky-scraping tower falls to 542 *terram*.

542 semineces: see 454–6 n. The coincidence of ictus and accent in third, fourth, fifth, and sixth foot with the elision over the third-foot caesura conveys the inexorable ruin.

543 confixique suis telis: cf. 2.428–9 *pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque | confixi a sociis*.

544–66 A general description of the casualties is rounded off by the two specific cases of Helenor and Lycus, each of 10½ lines and each furnished with a simile, but contrasted through the opposition of desperate attack and near-successful flight, a contrast that reverses the sequence of the story of Nisus and Euryalus, who first take to their heels (378–88) only to die after futile resistance against overwhelming odds (396–8, 438–45). Cf. 521–4, 569–89 nn.

544–5 uix unus Helenor | et Lycus 'Helenor and Lycus alone just . . .', with *unus* attached to the first of the pair. With these futile

attempts at escape from the general slaughter cf. 2.526–7 *ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de caede Polites,* | *unus natorum Priami* . . . , to be killed like Lycus before the eyes of his closest and dearest. *Helenor* is otherwise unknown; the name is formed with the Homeric suffix *-enor* as *Antenor*; see also H. Mørland, *S.O.* 36 (1960) 25–6. *Lycus* (Greek 'wolf') was one of the Trojans feared dead at sea at 1.222.

primaeuus 'in his first youth', first found at Cat. 64.401; the Homeric πρωθήβης.

Helenor | . . . Helenor, | . . . : 'The ending of two consecutive lines with the same word seems an oversight' (Page). But in most of the cases (listed by Fordyce on 8.271–2) where this occurs some effect seems intended, and here Virgil may attempt a Homeric feel, as at *Il.* 23.838–9 ἂν δ' Αἴας Τελαμωνιάδης καὶ δῖος Ἐπειός. | ἐξείης δ' ἵσταντο, σόλον δ' ἕλε δῖος Ἐπειός 'up [stood] Aias son of Telamon and godlike Epeius. They stood in a row and Epeius took the weight.'

545–9 Henry is probably correct in taking *primaeuus Helenor* to be left in anacoluthon (rather than supplying *erat*), with a dash after 548 *alba*; *isque* then picks up the subject of the uncompleted sentence as probably also at 5.708 (see Williams ad loc.).

546 Licymnia shares her name with the woman of Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.13 whose charms Horace prefers as subject of song to the martial themes of epic and history, and whose pseudonym conceals the name of Maecenas' wife Terentia according to Porphyrio. N–H *ad loc.*, pointing to the possible Etruscan etymology of *Licymnia*, suggest that V. may imitate Horace in connecting his character with a Lydian king (*Maeonio*: the Etruscans were said to have originated in Lydia); if that is so one may further note the pointed contrast between V.'s *serua Licymnia* and Horace's *dominae* . . . *Licymniae*; 547 *uetitis* . . . *armis* may take on new overtones if V. has his eye on a Horatian *recusatio*. The passage has the air of a private literary game between the two poets the point of which eludes us.

546–7 furtim | sustulerat 'had picked up [to acknowledge: see 203 n.] in secret', as the bastard of a furtive liaison with the king, like Aventinus (7.659–61) *quem Rhea sacerdos* | *furtiuum partu sub luminis edidit oras,* | *mixta deo mulier*, or like Boukolion the son of Laomedon, *Il.* 6.24 'and his mother bore him in secret'.

uetitisque ad Troiam miserat armis: another puzzle for the commentators. Servius suggests that V. here draws on the historical

Roman ban on military service for slaves; Conington points to the Homeric parallel of the two sons of Merops, the expert seer, who 'did not give permission to his sons to go to war the waster of men' (*Il.* 2.832–3).

548 'Lightly armed with sword unsheathed and bearing no mark of renown on his blank shield.' More puzzles: 'unsheathed' is the natural sense of *nudus* applied to a sword, but in the context the word is pulled towards the semantic range of *inglorius* and *albus*, 'plain', 'unadorned'. Fordyce comments: '*ense nudo* seems to be the equivalent of ψιλῶι ξίφει, "sword without other weapons": cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 4.5.58 (of hastily armed soldiers) "he ordered that they be given shields and bare daggers τὰς ψιλὰς μαχαίρας".' Cf. 11.711 *ense pedes nudo puraque interrita parma*, Camilla (who also goes to war against the wishes of Diana) in her first battle. Servius Dan. explains both passages with reference to a custom, otherwise unknown, whereby a blazon was the reward for having been tested in battle. *parma alba* is not the Homeric and tragic λεύκασπις; we are perhaps to think rather of the *album* 'white notice-board' (of the praetors, etc.), a blank surface for future inscription. Forbiger compares Stat. *Theb.* 9.109 *diffugere iubae patuitque ingloria cassis*, a helmet deprived of its distinguishing mark.

549 media inter milia uidit: cf. 10.761 *pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saeuit* (in a passage bearing further similarities with the present: see 569–89 n.).

550 hinc acies atque hinc acies: the redundant repetition of *acies* emphasizes the danger; cf. 11.766–7 *hos aditus iamque hos aditus omnemque pererrat* | *undique circuitum.* Helenor finds himself in a predicament like that of Nisus at 440–1 *quem circum glomerati hostes hinc comminus atque hinc* | *proturbant* (see 544–66 n.).

551–3 The closest Homeric simile is *Il.* 12.41–8, Hector like a boar or lion surrounded by huntsmen 'killed by his own courage'; at *Il.* 20.164–73 Achilles is like a lion who turns on his hunters to kill or be killed. Silius imitates this simile at *Pun.* 10.2–3 (Paulus at Cannae courting a glorious death). Parallels with this simile and the surrounding narrative occur at 12.744–5 *undique enim densa Teucri inclusere corona* | *atque hinc uasta palus, hinc ardua moenia cingunt*, followed by a simile (12.749–55) comparing the panic-stricken T. to a hunted deer: the tables turned. Cf. also the final lion-simile of T. at 792–6.

551 corona is used especially of groups of soldiers (see 508 n.; *TLL* s.v. 986.57): a term more appropriate to the primary narrative is brought within the simile.

552 haud nescia: with this litotes cf. 10.907 (Mezentius) *iuguloque haud inscius accipit ensem.*

554–5 Helenor acts with the desperation of Nisus, 438 *at Nisus ruit in medios*; and also of the doomed Trojans at 2.407–8 (Coroebus) *non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus | et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen*; 2.383 *inruimus densis et circumfundimur armis*; 2.511 (Priam) *densos fertur moriturus in hostis.*

moriturus: V. likes this predicative use of the future participle, in which it is often difficult to tell whether the imminence of death is part of the actor's consciousness or an authorial comment (see Austin on 4.415); here 552 *haud nescia* points to the former, and *moriturus* has almost a final sense.

inruit et ... tendit: the same pattern as in the simile, 553 (emphatic pause after the first dactyl, enclosing verbs).

qua tela uidet densissima: 10.373–4 *qua globus ille uirum densissimus urget, | hac uos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposcit.* It is a sign of the Homeric hero's courage to make for the thickest of the battle (*Il.* 11.148–9, 15.448, 16.377–8).

556–7 pedibus ... melior: cf. 5.430 *ille pedum melior motu.*

inter et hostis | inter et arma: the repetitiousness has something of the quality of 550 *hinc acies atque hinc acies.* The same line-ending is found at 2.632–3 *flammam inter et hostis | expedior.*

tenet 'has reached', like 98 *portusque tenebunt.*

558 tecta: the sense '[defensive] walls' has no exact parallel. Lycus' situation bears similarities to that of Palinurus at 6.358–61 *iam tuta tenebam, | ni gens crudelis madida cum ueste grauatum | prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis | ferro inuasisset*: in the light of *alta tecta* here we should not too readily dismiss Conington's interpretation of *capita montis* as 'cliff-top' rather than the more widely accepted 'roots of the mountain'.

559 pariter cursu teloque secutus 'directed both his feet and a weapon after him', with a syllepsis in the use of *secutus* (cf. 5.508 *pariterque oculos telumque tetendit*); cf. 12.775–6 *teloque sequi quem prendere cursu | non poterat.* T.'s speed of foot is part of his Achillean quality: V. perhaps has in mind *Il.* 20.407–18, where Achilles kills Poly-

dorus, the youngest son of Priam, who (410) 'was quicker on his feet than everyone; at that time he, in his folly (νηπιέηισι: cf. 560 *demens*), was showing off his speed of foot by rushing through the front line, until he lost his life. The swift-footed godlike Achilles hit him with a javelin in the middle of the back . . .' Lycus' race is also reminiscent of the futile race of Polites, another son of Priam, to escape from Achilles' son Pyrrhus at 2.526–32 (see 544–5 n.).

560–1 Cf. 11.702–3 (the Ligurian who tries to escape from Camilla) *isque ubi se nullo iam cursu euadere pugnae | posse . . . cernit.* In T.'s taunt Lycus' attempt to escape is surrounded by *nostras . . . manus.*

561–2 At *Il.* 12.397–9 Sarpedon, attacking the Trojan wall, lays hold of the parapet and physically pulls it away (cf. 524 n.). Line 562 is spondaic with clash of ictus and accent, and alliteration of *p* and *m.*

563–4 The first part of the simile (closing the episode of the tower) has a number of Homeric models: *Il.* 22.308–10 (Hector like an eagle swooping on a lamb or a hare); 17.674–8 (Menelaus like an eagle swooping on a swift-footed hare); 15.690–2 (Hector like an eagle attacking a flock of geese or cranes or swans). In the *Aen.* eagles attack swans in the omens at 1.393–6 and 12.247–56 (where the swan corresponds to T., here the attacker: see S. J. Harrison, *P.L.L.S.* 5 (1986) 102–3); cf. also the simile at 11.721–4 comparing Camilla outrunning the Ligurian to a hawk catching a dove. Lycus is swift-footed like a hare; the particular relevance of the swan is less obvious.

563 candenti corpore cycnum: triple alliteration at the end of the line (also 635, 693, 814), possibly a device going back to the Saturnian (Cordier 57; E. Wölfflin, 'Die dreifache Alliteration in der zweiten Vershälfte', *A.L.L.* 14 (1906) 515–23).

564 Cf. 5.255 *sublimem pedibus rapuit Iouis armiger uncis.* The eagle carries the thunderbolt of Jupiter. There is an 'irrational' correspondence (see 30–2 n.) between the eagle *alta petens* and Lycus struggling to 557–8 *alta . . . prendere tecta*; *uncus* is used of Palinurus' hands scrabbling at the cliff (see 558 n.). The dactyls convey the swift flight of the eagle.

565–6 'Or [as when] the wolf of Mars has snatched from the fold a lamb which its mother searches for with many bleatings.' At 59–64 T. was compared to a wolf prowling outside the sheepfold where (61–2) *tuti sub matribus agni | balatum exercent.* The wolf is sacred to Mars:

Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.9 *nec Martialis haediliae lupos* [*metuunt*]; Roscher II 2430. Both the predators to which T. is compared are beasts of great gods, hinting at the seemingly unstoppable onslaught of one who claims to have the gods on his side (128–9) and who will later play the role of Olympian giant-slayer (705–6 n.). It is odd that the name of Turnus' victim means 'wolf'; for a similar play on the name *Lycus* see Stat. *Theb.* 9.106, 116. V. may allude to the passage in which Lucretius describes the ability of animals to recognize their mother or offspring, 2.355–60 *at mater uiridis saltus orbata peragrans | †non quit† humi pedibus uestigia pressa bisulcis | ... completque querelis | frondiferum nemus adsistens et crebra reuisit | ad stabulum desiderio perfixa iuuenci*; 2.367–9 *teneri tremulis cum uocibus haedi | cornigeras norunt matres agnique petulci | balantum pecudes.* Bailey's emendation of Lucr. 2.356 *non quit* to *quaerit* (*C.R.* 16 (1902) 330) may be supported by *Aen.* 9.565 *quaesitum.*

matri multis balatibus: with the sound-effect compare 341 *molle pecus mutumque metu.* The variant *matris* in R is a trivialization.

566 Another dactylic line like 564.

567 fossas aggere complent: *agger* (from *aggero*) may refer generally to earth 'heaped up'; e.g. Caes. *De bell. civ.* 3.63.6 *milites in exteriorem uallum tela iaciebant fossaeque aggere complebantur.* The intention of 506 is realized.

568 2.478 *succedunt tecto et flammas ad culmina iactant*; 8.491 *ignem ad fastigia iactant.*

569–89 The chaos of slaughter on both sides is transmuted into mannered verbal patterns that refine the typical Homeric lists of deaths: 569–76 concentrate (569–70, 1 pair of combatants; 571–2, 2 pairs; 573, 2 pairs; 574, 4 victims of Turnus) and then relax the pace of killing (there is a rather similar passage at 10.747–54); 576–89 conclude the section with two interesting deaths, one Rutulian and one Trojan (see 544–66 n.). With the pattern of 571–2 cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.641–3 *Hippomedon Sybarin, Pylium Periphanta Menoeceus, | Parthenopaeus Ityn: Sybaris iacet ense cruento, | cuspide trux Periphas, Itys insidiante sagitta*; de la Cerda compares the patterning of the epigrams on the three hunters, *Anth. Pal.* 6.11–16.

569 saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis: hendiadys, 'a huge rock broken off a mountain'. Ilioneus presumably rolls down this boulder from the parapet (cf. *Il.* 12.154–5), and the hyperbole is less marked than in passages where rocks of similar dimensions are lifted

and hurled on the level: 10.698–9 *sed Latagum saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis | occupat*; 10.127–8 *fert ingens toto conixus corpore saxum, | haud partem exiguam montis*; 12.531 *praecipitem scopulo atque ingentis turbine saxi.* Cf. *Il.* 12.445–9.

570 Lucetium: according to Servius this is the only name in V. that is found in no other author, presumably as the name of a human actor as Servius goes on to say that *Lucetius* is the Oscan for Jupiter. Paul. *Fest.* 102 Lindsay gives as the etymology *quod eum lucis esse causam credebant*; V. perhaps puns on this in *ignisque ferentem*; see A. Ernout, *Notes de philologie latine* (Geneva and Paris 1971) 84–6.

571 The name *Emathion* has both Italian and Trojan associations, being that of a son of Tithonus and Eos (Hes. *Theog.* 984–5), and of the father of Rhomus (D. H. 1.72.6; Plut. *Romulus* 2). *Liger* reappears as the brother of Lucagus at 10.576; his is also the name of the river Loire (for other characters with river-names see 35 n.). *Corynaeus,* perhaps from κορύνη 'club', gathers the ashes of Misenus at 6.228; another of this name appears at 12.298. *Asilas* is a different character from the Etruscan Asilas at 10.175, but possibly the same man as at 11.620, 12.127, 12.550; a tribe of Asili is known from Picenum (Silius, *Pun.* 8.445). For the shape of the line cf. 12.459 *Arcetium Mnestheus, Epulonem obtruncat Achates*; 10.747 *Caedicus Alcathoum obtruncat, Sacrator Hydaspen.*

572 hic . . . hic: for *hic . . . ille,* a colloquialism (L–H–S 181) introduced into high poetry by V. (*Ecl.* 4.56; *Aen.* 12.789 *hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta*); here there is ambiguity.

iaculo bonus: cf. 5.68 *aut iaculo incedit melior leuibusque sagittis.*

longe fallente sagitta 'an arrow that comes unperceived from afar' (also at 10.754); cf. 12.856–9 *sagitta | . . . celeris incognita transilit umbras. fallente* may also contain the notion of 'sneaky': the bow was often regarded as the weapon of cowards (see 621–71 n.). The classic debate on the relative virtues of the hoplite and bowman is at Eur. *Her.* 159–64, 188–203; 199 'piercing those who see with unseen arrows'; see Mayer on Lucan 8.385–6.

573 The name *Ortygius* is derived from *Ortygia,* a name of Delos and of an island at the entrance to the port at Syracuse. *Caeneus* is otherwise the name of the invulnerable transsexual who appears in the Underworld at 6.448 (see Austin ad loc.). For the killer killed cf. 10.753 *at Thronium Salius Saliumque Nealces.* Williams observes that the

repetition of Caeneus as victor and then victim attracts our attention to the repetition of T., always victor.

574 Four victims with Greek names: *Itys* is another mythological name, the son of Tereus and Procne. The rest are 'speaking names': *Clonius* is a Homeric name, from κλόνος 'battle-rout' (another *Clonius* appears at 10.749). According to Paul. *Fest.* 48 Lindsay *Cloelia familia a Clonio Aeneae comite est appellata.* The epithet διώξιππος 'horse-driving' occurs at Pind. *Pyth.* 9.4, Bacchyl. 8.44, 10.75. *Promolus* is from προμολεῖν 'go forward'. The rhythm of the line is also Greek, with trochaic third-foot caesura, no fourth-foot caesura, and a quadrisyllabic word at line-end. On the 'Todeskette', or chain of names slain by a great warrior, see Dewar on Stat. *Theb.* 9.127–8.

575 The Trojan *Sagaris* appeared at 5.263 as a *famulus* (in company with Phegeus: see 765); his name is a variant of *Sangarius*, a river (see 571 n.) in Phrygia connected with the myth of Cybele and Attis (see Bömer on Ovid, *Fast.* 4.229). *Idas* (also the name of a Thracian at 10.351) suggests another geographical feature associated with Cybele, Mount Ida (see 500 n.); his is also the name of the brother of the mythological Lynceus.

summis stantem pro turribus 'standing on the top of the towers'. For this use of *pro* see *OLD* s.v. 1b; Henry gives many parallels, e.g. Silius, *Pun.* 1.306 *stantem pro muro et minitantem uana Caicum.* At 677 *pro turribus astant* is different.

576 The Italian *Priuernus*, called after the Volscian town Privernum (11.540), is killed by a Trojan who gives his name to another town, Capua (10.145 *et Capys: hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi*). *Capys* is also the name of the father of Anchises (*Il.* 20.239) and of a king of Alba Longa (see Harrison on 10.145).

leuis hasta: cf. 12.354 *ante leui iaculo longum per inane secutus.*

Themillae: a name without obvious associations (suggestions at Duque 75–6).

577 proiecto tegmine 'throwing away his shield'; cf. Lucr. 3.649–50 *nec tenet amissam laeuam cum tegmine saepe | inter equos abstraxe rotas falcesque rapaces*, in a passage modelled on Enn. *Ann.* 483–6. *tegmen* 'shield' may therefore also be Ennian.

demens: 560, 728 n.

578 Cf. 12.319 *ecce uiro stridens alis adlapsa sagitta est.*

alis: for *pennis* 'feathers'. πτερόεις 'feathered' is a Homeric epithet for arrows, and Greek πτέρα means both 'feathers' and 'wings'.

adlapsa sagitta: for the 'cacemphaton' of *-sa sa-* see 472 n.

579 The MSS read *et laeuo infixa* [*adfixa* P, Serv.] *est lateri manus.* Housman's emendation *alte lateri* (*M. Manilii Astronomicon* I (London 1903) p. lxv) is convincing (despite the resulting rare elision of an anapaestic word between fourth and fifth feet, as T. E. Kinsey, *L.C.M.* 13 (1988) 80 points out: this might be another Ennian feature). With the received reading there is a harsh change of subject from *manus* to *sagitta* with *rupit.* It is most natural to suppose that Privernus throws down his shield to put his hand to a wound on the non-shield, i.e. right, side of his body, whereupon the arrow lands in his left side, now left unprotected. Housman suggests that *alte* was corrupted to *late*, then omitted by haplography before *lateri*; that *manus* was then introduced as a stop-gap; and that finally the now inappropriate *infixa* was replaced in some MSS by *adfixa.*

579–80 abditaque intus | spiramenta animae letali uulnere rupit 'with death-dealing wound burst the deep hidden air-passages for his breath'. *anima* is used in its primary sense 'breath', but in juxtaposition with *letali* there is also a hint of the senses 'life', 'soul'. Cf. 11.883 *confixi exspirant animas.* Conington compares 10.601 *tum latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit.*

581–5 Arcens' son's eye-catching appearance (*egregiis, clarus, insignis*) inevitably marks him out as a target; V. also exploits the pathos of the brilliant youth laid low in the dust, as at 12.275–6 *egregium forma iuuenem et fulgentibus armis, | transadigit costas fuluaque effundit harena* (12.275 = 6.861 of Marcellus, another shining hope prematurely blasted). This man is unnamed, like the *filius Auni* at 11.700; Servius was unnecessarily worried by this and punctuated after *miserat* in 583 so that *Arcens* is the name of the son as well. On the additive manner of building up a description of a new character see 176–8 n. Servius Dan. says that 'it is uncertain from what recondite story Virgil has introduced Arcens'.

582 pictus 'embroidered' (see 26 n.).

chlamydem: a Greek word, always used by V. in contexts of luxurious brilliance or foreignness: 3.484, 4.137 *Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo*; 5.250, 8.588 *chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis*; 11.775.

ferrugine clarus Hibera: *ferrugo*, literally 'iron-rust', seems to indicate a deep purple colour (see Austin on 6.303, Fordyce on Cat. 64.227). *clarus* may be translated 'remarkable' (Henry), but the choice of word, which commonly means 'bright', is *para prosdokian* after a word for a dark colour, and the effect is heightened by an awareness of the literary model, Cat. 64.227 *carbasus obscurata dicet ferrugine Hibera*; cf. *Geo.* 1.467 *caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit.*

583–5 The whole passage is very close to 7.762–4 *Virbius, insignem quem mater Aricia misit,* | *eductum Egeriae lucis umentia circum* | *litora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae.*

insignis facie: 336.

eductum 'born'.

matris luco: Arcens' mother is probably a nymph, like the mother of Pandarus and Bitias (673), and probably of Nisus (177 n.). *matris*, though ill attested, seems preferable to *Martis* (with which cf. 673 *quos Iouis eduxit luco*), the problem being that there is no other evidence for a Sicilian cult of Mars, and the place already has presiding gods in the Palici (see Heyne's note).

Symaethia ... | flumina: the river Symaethus, near Catana in Sicily.

pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici: modelled on *Il.* 2.549–51 'in her [Athene's] rich (πίονι) temple; there the Athenian youths appease (ἱλάονται) her with bulls and rams'. The altar is rich with the fat of the sacrifices that placate the god. The *Palici* are divinities of the volcanic lake Palice, twin sons of Jupiter and the nymph Thalia, seduced by the god near the river Symaethus: see Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 5.406. The singular *Palici* is unexpected, but is guaranteed by Ovid, *Pont.* 2.10.25 *Hennaeosque lacus et olentis* [*olentia* codd.] *stagna Palici.*

586–9 The sling, mentioned in Homer only at *Il.* 13.599–600, 716, is wielded only here in the *Aen.* in battle (it is used in sport by the infant Camilla at 11.579–80); it was part of the armoury of the Roman legion, particularly for use in sieges (Heinze 161; Wickert 445–6). The launching and effect of Mezentius' sling-stone is described in terms similar to the arrow-shot of Ascanius, 632–4 *effugit horrendum stridens adducta sagitta* | *perque caput Remuli uenit et caua tempora ferro* | *traicit* (*ferro* and *traicit* in the same *sedes* as 588 *plumbo* and 589 *diffidit* respectively).

587 ipse seems to emphasize the unexpected fact that the great warrior Mezentius resorts to this humble weapon.

ter: for dramatic effect, despite the fact that Vegetius 2.23 recommends that the slinger should whirl the sling only once in order to save time.

adducta ... habena: Mezentius bends his arm in order to whirl the sling, so bringing his hand to a point closer to his head. Cf. 402.

588–9 media ... tempora ... diffidit 'splits his head apart between the temples', at the same point as 750 *mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem*, and as 10.890–1 *inter | bellatoris equi caua tempora conicit hastam.* With the emphatic pause after *diffidit* cf. 553; 751 *diuidit.*

liquefacto ... plumbo: the ancients believed that the friction of the air on a leaden bullet melted it (Arist. *De cael.* 2.7, Lucr. 6.177–9 *ut omnia motu | percalefacta uides ardescere, plumbea uero | glans etiam longo cursu uoluenda liquescit*).

589 diffidit ac multa porrectum extendit harena: cf. 5.374 *perculit et fulua moribundum extendit harena. porrectum extendit* (= *porrigit et extendit*) is pleonastic. Homer uses ἐκτανύω of 'stretching out' warriors in death; cf. also *Il.* 18.26–7 αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κονίῃσι μέγας μεγαλωστὶ τανυσθείς | κεῖτο 'his great frame lay stretched out at great length in the dust'. *harena* 'sand' may be topographical realism, as the camp is at the mouth of the Tiber, but even in the later books when the fighting is well inland V. uses *harena* of the dust of the battlefield, perhaps hinting at a gladiatorial image (see Hardie 152 n. 80).

590–663 Numanus Remulus and Ascanius

At a critical moment in the siege of the Trojan camp, as at the low point of Aen.'s fortunes during the sack of Troy (2.681–704), the spotlight falls on Ascanius, the representative of the next generation and bearer of Trojan hopes for the future. A violent-mouthed Italian describes the innate warlikeness of the Italians and tries to define the Trojans as effeminates; through an act of violence Ascanius gives an unanswerable reply to the words of Numanus. At the same time as he vindicates the military effectiveness of the Trojans, Ascanius also proves himself as a *uir*, once again a practical demonstration of a process that Numanus attempts to capture in words; in a book of failed

adolescents Ascanius alone shows the possibility of successful transition to adulthood (see Introd. (section 6)).

590–1 primum bello: an emphatic juxtaposition. Hitherto we have seen Ascanius the hunter-boy (4.156–9; 7.477–99 Ascanius' arrow wounds Silvia's stag); this is his first act of violence in war. Hunting is a training for war (Cic. *De nat. deor.* 2.161 *exerceamur in uenando ad similitudinem bellicae disciplinae*; Horsfall 1111 n. 3; Dickie 191), but the successful hunter does not always make a good warrior. V. explores the problem of the hunter who goes to war again in the figure of Camilla, described as *bellatrix* as she emerges into the male world of war (7.805) but fatally labelled as *uenatrix* on the point of death (11.780): see Gransden, *XI* 21–3.

celerem intendisse sagittam 'aimed his swift arrow'. Elsewhere in V. *intendo* is used of bending the bow (e.g. 665); V. likewise uses *tendere* and *contendere* with both arrow and bow as object. According to Servius Dan. on 1.267 there was a tradition that the name Iulus was from the Greek ἰοβόλος 'arrow shooter' and was given to Ascanius after he killed Mezentius (for the problems with the tradition see Austin on 2.563); it may be significant that in the present episode the name Iulus is first used at 640 when Apollo (the archer-god) descends to congratulate Ascanius on his successful bow-shot.

dicitur: on this kind of reference to hearsay or authority, particularly common in Alexandrian and neoteric poets, see 82 n. This example is odd, introducing an episode that does not of itself strain credulity and that is not set in a time or place distant from the main narrative; the closest parallel is 4.204, introducing Iarbas' complaint to Jupiter (for other parallels with that episode see 595, 614–20 nn.).

592 Ascanius' name is postponed, receiving further emphasis at the beginning of a line that closes with the name of his victim.

fortemque: in contrast to the 'fleeing' game of the previous line.

manu 'violently', not necessarily implying hand-to-hand encounter: cf. 702.

592–3 Numanum: *Numanus* perhaps takes his name from, or is the eponymous hero of, the Italian town Numana (cf. 576 *Priuernum* and n.). *Remulus* is the name of two other Italians at 9.360, 11.636, and also of a king of Alba Longa. V. uses the word *cognomen* especially to mark an etymologically significant name, but the point of *Remulus* is unclear. Both names remind us of other names famous in

early Roman history, Numa and Remus; Numanus Remulus at least has in common with Remus the fact that he is abruptly killed after belittling some newly built walls. The distinction of having two names is one that he shares with his killer: cf. 1.267–8 *at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo | additur* (with the same assimilated dative).

593–4 Turnus' elder sister is Juturna (12.138).

thalamo sociatus habebat: *habere* is regularly used of relationships (*OLD* s.v. 5b), and there is no need to take this, with Conington, as a variant on the periphrastic perfect *germanam sociatam habebat. socio* is commonly used of the bond of marriage, but could also be understood as 'allied by marriage' with T.: this is a dynastic arrangement.

595 primam ante aciem: cf. 10.643 for taunts from this position. *prima acies* is also used technically of the first line of the *triplex acies* of the Roman legion (e.g. Caes. *De bell. Gall.*1.25.7).

digna atque indigna relatu: *digna indigna* (12.811) is a proverbial phrase meaning 'all kinds of things', but here the words are used more precisely as an editorial comment on the mixture of truth and fiction in Numanus' speech, like 4.190 [*Fama*] *pariter facta atque infecta canebat.* The considerable overlap between what Rumour (with the credulous Iarbas) and Numanus say about the Trojans should prevent us from too readily giving credence to the latter's words; Valerius Flaccus combines imitation of both passages when he describes *Fama* as (2.117) *digna atque indigna canentem. relatu* may be taken either of Numanus' utterance or of the poet's report thereof. Cf. Livy 2.45.4 (the Veiians taunt the Romans) *ad haec in nouitatem generis originisque qua falsa, qua uera iacere.*

596 uociferans: 12.95, introducing T.'s prayer to his spear to strike down the 'effeminate Phrygian'.

tumidusque nouo praecordia regno 'his breast swollen with pride in his new kingdom'. Cf. 10.21–2 *tumidusque secundo | Marte.* The daughter of Latinus brings a throne with her (7.256); it is less clear why the sister of a king should (Fordyce suggests that *nouo regno* means more generally '"his new royalty": i.e. his alliance with a royal house', but *regnum* does not appear to be used like English 'royalty' in this way). His racism is exacerbated by an awareness that the foreign Aeneas is marked out for an Italian royal marriage like his own (600). Family connections are also psychologically important for another abusive Italian, Drances (11.340–1).

597 ingentem sese clamore ferebat may be read as both 'the giant strutted about shouting' and (with Servius) 'in his shouts he made himself out to be great', a puffed-up boaster to be deflated by Ascanius' arrow (the opposite of Aen. as characterized by Drances, 11.124 *o fama ingens, ingentior armis*).

598–620 The Speech of Numanus is a powerful piece of epideictic rhetoric, using the techniques of praise and invective in order to elaborate contrasting racial stereotypes of the Italians and the Trojans; the issues are central to the poem as a whole, which, in addition to providing a historical *aition* of the Roman race and the *gens Iulia*, also seeks to define the ideal characters of Roman and Italian. The invidious comparison between one's own military ability and that of the opponent goes back to Diomedes' taunt to Paris at *Il.* 11.385–95; the contrast between Italian and Trojan may also owe something to the syncrisis between country and town life in the rhetorical *laus uitae rusticae* (Dickie 202–5). Critics have been sharply divided on how far to take Numanus at his word, and on how laudable his picture of the Italian way of life really is. If his caricature of the Trojans paints an excess of effeminate luxury, his Italians err to the opposite extreme of savagery (on the Greek view of civilization as a mean between two barbarian extremes see E. Hall, *Inventing the barbarian* (Oxford 1989) 126–7). The model of Evander's account of Italian history at 8.314–32 suggests the need for the replacement of the primitive rawness of Italy with a new 'Saturnian Age' (Schweizer 17–18). It is a paradox that this spokesman for the incessantly active life of the Italians turns out himself to be a man of words and no action. The speech is carefully constructed: it opens with four lines of scornful rhetorical questions (598–601), and closes with another four lines of scornful imperatives (617–20); in between extended praise of the Italians (602–13) is followed by brief invective against the Trojans (614–16).

Bibliography: B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, *Philol.* Suppl. XXIV 2 (1932); Schweizer; M. E. Taylor, 'Primitivism in Virgil', *A.J.Ph.* 76 (1955) 261–78; Highet 89–90, 257–8; Horsfall; id., *EV* s.v. 'Numano Remulo'; R. P. Winnington-Ingram, '*Digna atque indigna relatu*. Observations on *Aeneid* IX', *P.V.S.* 11 (1971/72) 61–74; R. F. Thomas, *Lands and peoples in Roman poetry. The ethnographical tradition* (Camb. Philol. Soc. Suppl. 7, Cambridge 1982)

ch. 4; Dickie; Schenk 316–21. Later imitations are to be found at Stat. *Theb.* 12.761–6; Silius, *Pun.* 1.443–7; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 6.323–39.

598 non pudet ... ?: also the opening words of the disguised Juturna's rebuke to the Rutulians at 12.229. At *Il.* 18.287 Hector taunts Polydamas, who recommends retreat within Troy, 'Have you not yet had your fill of being cooped up inside the walls?'; at *Il.* 22.105–7 Hector rejects the appeals of his parents to come within the walls, saying that he would be ashamed (αἰδέομαι) of what people would say. In order to survive now the Trojans must be deaf to that sort of shame. See also 786–7 n.

iterum: the Trojans are viewed as a race doomed to repeat their mistakes and consequent retribution. Repetition of the Trojan war also structures V.'s narrative strategy in the last half of the poem (cf. the use of *iterum* at 6.93–4; 7.322; 10.26, 28, 61); Aen. must find a different ending to the old story. The Romans of the late first century BC also felt themselves locked into a cycle of destruction: *Geo.* 1.490 *Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi*, and cf. *Aen.* 12.581–2 *testaturque deos iterum se ad proelia cogi, | bis iam Italos hostis, haec altera foedera rumpi.*

599 bis capti: *bis* is rhetorically more effective if it picks up *iterum* (as in 12.581–2 quoted above), and Servius Dan. points out that the exaggerated boast that the Trojan camp has already been captured is in keeping with Numanus' over-confidence. But the ancient commentators point to a second possibility, that the two occasions are the sack of Troy by Hercules and then by the Achaean army (as at 11.402 *gentis bis uictae*, and in Silius' imitation, *Pun.* 1.43 *bis numina capta*; cf. *Aen.* 2.642–3). Numanus' words would reverse the underlying rhetoric of V.'s plot, a tale of the conquered conquering, already formulated at Enn. *Ann.* 344–5 [*Pergama*] *quae neque Dardaniis campis potuere perire | nec quom capta capi nec quom combusta cremari* (alluded to by Juno at 7.295 *num capti potuere capi?*).

Phryges: here (though not always) a contemptuous name for the Trojans: see Fordyce on 7.294; E. Hall, *Inventing the barbarian* (Oxford 1989) 38–9.

morti praetendere muros: a far more effective phrase than the poorly attested variant *Marti*; Henry claims that elsewhere *praetendere* with the dative is always used of screening an object, not keeping it out, but the sense is immediately clear. Cf. 143 *leti discrimina parui.* With the sneer cf. Livy 3.42.4 *persecutis hostibus nusquam se aequo certa-*

mine committentes natura loci ac uallo, non uirtute aut armis tutabantur (part of the Romans' *dedecus*). Contrast 676.

600 The Italian propaganda version of events. *nostra* is pointedly juxtaposed with *sibi*, *bello* with *conubia*; Juno has a different version of the confusion of war and marriage at 7.317–22, 554–6. The recent bridegroom feels particularly proprietorial on Turnus' behalf (for T.'s perspective see 138), and exaggerates in the plural *conubia*.

601 quis deus . . . , quae . . . dementia: two ways of looking at it, as at 2.54 *et, si fata deum, si mens non laeua fuisset*; 10.72–3 *quis deus in fraudem, quae dura potentia nostra | egit?*; Nettleship compares Cat. 40.1–4 *quaenam te mala mens, miselle Rauide, | agit praecipitem in meos iambos? | quis deus tibi non bene aduocatus | uecordem parat excitare rixam?*

602 Numanus speaks like a Roman of V.'s day, contemptuous of the over-articulate and physically inferior Greek.

fandi fictor Vlixes: already in the *Odyssey* Odysseus is a consummate liar, the basis for the later stereotype of the deceitful Ulysses. W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses theme* (Oxford 1954) 134, notes that none of the (mostly pejorative) references to Ulysses in the *Aen.* are in the words of the epic narrator himself. In book 11 the role of Ulyssean liar is played by Sinon: cf. 2.107 *ficto pectore fatur*. Here, ironically, the *fandi fictor* is Numanus. By another irony at 2.7 Aen. talks of *duri miles Vlixi* (cf. the Homeric epithet of Odysseus πολύτλας 'much-enduring'); *durum* is the word with which Numanus begins his description of the non-Ulyssean Italians.

603–13 Numanus structures his praise of the Italian way of life around four stages of life (new-born and the three ages: for the ancient schemes see Powell on Cic. *Sen.* 4, 33; F. Boll, *Die Lebensalter* (Leipzig and Berlin 1913)), allotting two lines each to the first three (603–4 *nati*, 605–6 *pueri*, 607–8 *iuuentus*) and weaving *senectus* into a more general summary of the Italian character (609–13). The complex sources include antiquarian reconstructions of life in early Italy by authors like Cato and Varro and ethnographical descriptions of barbarian peoples. The picture is one of 'hard primitivism', contrasting with the softer picture of the life of the Italian farmer in *Geo.* 2.458–74, 513–40; many details would no doubt have struck the Roman reader as entirely praiseworthy, but on some points he would have felt disquiet. The picture painted by Numanus agrees with the history of the Italian Amazon Camilla as told by Diana

(11.539–80), with the picture of the Italian boys and youths exercising outside the city of Latinus (7.162–5), and with much of the Catalogue of Italians at the end of book VII.

603 The Italians are also described as *duri* at 5.730, 7.504, 11.48; but, regrettably for Numanus' rhetoric, so are the Trojans at 3.94–5 *Dardanidae duri, quae uos a stirpe parentum | prima tulit tellus ...*; 9.468. Hardiness was also a quality of the earliest generations of men: Lucr. 5.925–6 *at genus humanum multo fuit illud in aruis | durius, ut decuit, tellus quod dura creasset*; *Geo.* 1.63, 2.341.

durum a stirpe genus 'a race hardy by descent': in accordance with the prescriptions for panegyric Numanus begins with the ancestors of his subject (cf. 6.792 *Augustus Caesar, diui genus* with the discussion of Norden 467; Menander Rhetor 370.10). The phrase is best taken in apposition with the subject of *deferimus* rather than the object *natos*. *stirps* is literally 'stem of a plant'; V. may allude punningly to the old idea that the first men were born of trees, found at 8.315 *gensque uirum truncis et duro robore nata* (cf. Statius' imitation at *Theb.* 9.792 *Arcadiae stirpem* with Dewar's n.).

603–4 natos ... undis: a practice ascribed to several races of northern barbarians (Horsfall 1110; Dickie 178). Swimming in cold rivers is also a mark of toughness: see N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.8.8. Lucretius' first race of men are also tolerant of cold, 5.929.

saeuoque gelu ... et undis 'in the fiercely chill waters' (hendiadys). The fierceness and hardness of the ice pass over into the infants (the ancients saw a close connection between natural environment and national character). P's *duroque* has been influenced by *durum, duramus*; Valerius Flaccus seems to have read *saeuo*, *Argon.* 6.336–7 *tam saeuo durauimus amne | progeniem.*

605 'The boys tire out the woods with long watches at the hunt', taking *inuigilant* literally of 'staying awake late' (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.25–6 *manet sub Ioue frigido | uenator*). *fatigant*, a favourite word of V.'s (see Fordyce on 7.582), hints both at the exhaustion of the animals of the forest (as at 5.253 *uelocis iaculo ceruos cursuque fatigat*), and at the inability of the trees, normally a type of hardiness, to match the boys' sleeplessness (cf. even more paradoxically 8.94 *noctemque diemque fatigant*). Again Numanus misjudges the Trojans: we have just been reminded of the boy Ascanius' prowess in the hunt; Nisus and Euryalus had also been energetic in the hunt (245 *uenatu adsiduo*).

On the anthropological significance of night hunting see P. Vidal-Naquet, 'The black hunter and the origin of the Athenian *ephebeia*', in R. L. Gordon (ed.), *Myth, religion and society* (Cambridge 1981) 147–62, and see Introd. (section 6).

606 'Their sport is to . . .' Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 886 'delighting in horses and bending the bow with his hands', of Hippomedon in a description (881–7) of his *uita actiua*, contrasted with the soft life of pleasure and culture. At 7.163–5 the Trojan envoys find boys and youths exercising outside the city of Latinus like Roman youths on the Campus Martius: *exercentur equis domitantque in puluere currus,* | *aut acris tendunt arcus aut lenta lacertis* | *spicula contorquent.* But also comparable is the equestrian *lusus Troiae* performed by Ascanius and the Trojan boys (5.545–603). Riding was encouraged in Augustan Rome (Dickie 193–4): cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.25–6 *quamuis non alius flectere equum sciens* | *aeque conspicitur gramine Martio.*

tendere: see 590–1 n.

607–8 The Roman fantasy of the Italian farmer-soldier of early days (Horsfall 1112; Dickie 186, 189–90), hard-working and uncorrupted by the wealth of the city, Horace's *rusticorum mascula militum* | *proles* (*Carm.* 3.6.37–8). In this respect at least Numanus' Italians are more civilized than the early Italians described by Evander at 8.315–18. Line 607 is a close adaptation of *Geo.* 2.472 *et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuuentus*, from the praise of the farmer's life, but Numanus' Italians are a rougher breed, exemplified in the Aequiculi of the Catalogue, 7.746–9 *horrida . . . gens adsuetaque multo* | *uenatu nemorum, duris Aequicula glaebis.* | *armati terram exercent semperque recentis* | *conuectare iuuat praedas et uiuere rapto.*

paruoque adsueta: a frugality imposed by necessity, but hinting at the well-worn moralizing *topos* of *uiuere paruo* 'live [contentedly] on little': see N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.13. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.139 *agricolae prisci, fortes paruoque beati.*

aut rastris terram domat aut quatit oppida bello: in an image central to the *Georgics* agriculture is viewed as a war to 'subdue' the land (e.g. *Geo.* 1.155 *adsiduis herbam insectabere rastris*). Chiasmus and the exact division of the line into two halves with a pause after the third foot (Winbolt 37–8) draw our attention to the interconvertibility of farming and fighting. But at 7.523–7, 635–6 the (literal) militarization of the farmer is seen as a perversion.

quatit: cf. 2.610–11 *Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti | fundamenta quatit.* The verb is often used of battering rams.

609 omne aeuum ferro teritur 'every age is taken up with iron' (*tero*, like τρίβω, of passing time), but also with a suggestion of 'worn down by' or 'chafed'. Numanus works with an ages-of-life scheme, but his words develop a life of their own: the juxtaposition of *aeuum* and *ferro* reminds *us* of the myth of the four ages of metals (Schweizer 16): these Italians live in the Age of Iron. Agriculture and war, the activities of the previous line, are absent in the Golden Age (*Ecl.* 4.40 *non rastros patietur humus*). There is a similar equivocation with *ferrum* at *Geo.* 1.143 (see Thomas *ad loc.*). At 8.319–25 Evander describes a primitive Golden Age in Latium; in the remote future the Italian Iron Age will be replaced by a new Golden Age under Augustus (6.792–4).

ferro teritur: a similar jingle at 4.271 *teris otia terris.* See 506 n.

609–10 uersaque ... hasta: in the Roman fantasy the farmer-soldier returns to his plough once war is over. Here there is not even a distinction between instruments of peace and war; there is a similar confusion at 7.817 (Camilla's spear) *et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.* The successive line-endings *iuuencum* 'young bulls' and *senectus* perhaps make the point that Italian energy tires their young animals, but the men are unwearied even by old age (see 605 n.). The final syllable of *fatigamus* is lengthened in arsis: see 9 n.

tarda senectus: a common *iunctura* in the sense 'sluggish old age' (as at 8.508); the alternative 'old age that comes late' would make an additional point. Servius reports a variant *sera* with that sense.

610–11 Cf. Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.43–4 (Polyphemus) 'at that time his limbs were already growing heavy with age, but his warrior spirit still remained as before'.

611 uiris ... uigorem: Numanus selects from the cluster of words beginning *ui-*, to which *uir* and *uirtus* also belong. Cf. Lucr. 1.70–5 *animi uirtutem ... uiuida uis animi peruicit ... unde refert nobis uictor ...* For the point in *uiris animi* cf. Cic. *De sen.* 38 *corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit.*

612 premimus 'confine', with a suggestion of 'suppress', 'conceal'. The preservation of fighting strength into old age prompts admiration (Horsfall 1113), but in a settled society the old may expect to retire from military service (normally in Rome at 50: see Powell on Cic.

De sen. 34). At *Od.* 24.498–9 'Laertes and Dolios put on armour, although they were grey, warriors by necessity' – in a time of civil war. At Ovid, *Fasti* 5.57–70 the Muse Uranie describes the ideal position of old men in early Rome, 59–62 *Martis opus iuuenes animosaque bella gerebant | et pro dis aderant in statione suis: | uiribus illa minor nec habendis utilis armis | consilio patriae saepe ferebat opem.* Cf. also McKeown's parallels for Ovid, *Am.* 1.9.4 *turpe senex miles*; Plut. *An seni* 789D 'in war even if the helmet hides an old man's grey hair, "yet secretly his limbs are heavy" [*Il.* 19.165]'.

612–13 Cf. 7.748–9 (quoted at 607–8 n.).

semperque recentis | ... praedas 'ever new spoils'; *semper* is used like Greek ἀεί 'on each occasion'. *recentis* is in tension with *canitiem*: this society refuses to acknowledge decay. *recentis praedas* is a disturbing phrase, suggestive of prey freshly killed, 'sanguinem adhuc fumantes' (Burman). Living off spoil is associated with primitive barbarians (Dickie 179); Caesar's Germans practise brigandry to counter *desidia* at *De bell. Gall.* 6.23.6 *latrocinia nullam habent infamiam quae extra finis cuiusque ciuitatis fiunt, atque ea iuuentutis exercendae ac desidiae minuendae causa fieri praedicant.*

comportare 'bring to a central point', frequently used of the procedures of a more peaceful market economy.

uiuere rapto: a dubious boast with which to end. Cf. 7.749; Sall. *Hist.* 3.74 *namque omnium ferocissimi ... Achaei atque Tauri sunt, quod ... locorum egestate rapto uiuere coacti*; Ovid, *Met.* 1.144 *uiuitur ex rapto* (Iron Age); *OLD* s.v. *raptum*. When it suits, such behaviour can be imputed to the Trojans: 4.217 (Iarbas' complaint) *rapto potitur*; Aeneas is abusively labelled *praedo* at 7.362, 10.774, 11.484.

614–20 Numanus' picture of the Trojans draws on conventional images of the decadent eastern barbarian, of which the Trojans had long become a type; cf. the abuse put in the mouths of Iarbas (4.215–17) and Turnus (12.99–100). Much of the abuse also coincides with the topics of invective of the Roman orator (see Dickie 172; R. G. M. Nisbet, *M. Tulli Ciceronis in L. Calpurnium Pisonem oratio* (Oxford 1961) Appendix VI); further, the synchronic contrast which Numanus draws between Italian and Trojan is comparable to the diachronic contrast of Roman moralists between the tough virtue of early Rome and the later decline into *luxuria*. An important Homeric model is Alcinous' description of the Phaeacians, often

regarded in antiquity as a culpably luxurious race (Dickie 211 n. 14), *Od.* 8.248–9 'our constant pleasures are the feast, the lyre and dances, fresh changes of clothes, baths and beds'. In contrast with the orderly presentation of Italian 'virtues' Numanus hurls out the incriminations as they occur to him (as a result Heyne wanted to transpose lines 615 and 616). In strongest contrast with Numanus' characterization is Latinus' assessment of the Trojans at 11.305–7 *bellum importunum, ciues, cum gente deorum | inuictisque uiris gerimus, quos nulla fatigant | proelia nec uicti possunt absistere ferro.*

614 The colour saffron is associated with women and the effeminate, and with the devotees of Cybele and Bacchus. Numanus begins with what is at least a half-truth: the last warrior on the Trojan side to be killed, the son of Arcens, wore rich clothes (582); at 11.768–77 Chloreus, a former priest of Cybele, appears on the battlefield in purple, saffron, and gold. Saffron also was the ill-omened robe of Helen given to Dido (1.649, 711); while in Carthage Aeneas had worn purple (4.262 *Tyrioque ardebat murice laena*). Luxurious dress is a standard item of Roman invective: e.g. Cic. *Catil.* 2.5 *qui fulgent purpura.*

615 desidiae: *otium* in its negative aspect, and the opposite of the incessant activity of the Italians. According to Sall. *Catil.* 53.5 *luxu atque desidia ciuitas corrupta est.* The bad king-bee at *Geo.* 4.93–4, in whom some see an allegory of Antony, is *horridus ... desidia.* For the plural cf. Lucr. 5.48 *quid luxus desidiaeque?*

indulgere choreis: for dancing as a topic of invective cf. Cic. *Mur.* 13 *nemo fere saltat sobrius nisi forte insanit*; *In Pison.* 22; Dickie 172–3.

616 tunicae manicas: the Roman male tunic is short-sleeved; long sleeves are for foreigners and women (see Aul. Gell. 6.12.2). Cf. Cic. *Catil.* 2.22 (followers of Catiline) *quos pexo capillo ... uidetis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, uelis amictos, non togis.*

habent redimicula mitrae: not only do they wear the oriental pointed cap (4.216, with Pease ad loc.; it was also worn by Attis), but it comes with the ribbons of feminine head-dress. Cf. Cic. *De har. resp.* 44 *P. Clodius a crocota, a mitra, a muliebribus soleis purpureisque fasceolis, a strophio ... est factus repente popularis*; *RAC* s.v. 'effeminatus' 631.

617–20 Numanus, who has been silent respecting the piety and religion of the Italians, concludes by slandering the Trojan religion; but Ascanius' revenge is sanctioned by Jupiter, whose close relation-

ship with his mother the Magna Mater has been revealed earlier in the book. On the place of Cybele in Roman legend and history see 82 n.

617 Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges: the link between the oriental and the effeminate, always close in the ancient mind, is focused in an adaptation of the Homeric insult ὦ ... Ἀχαιΐδες, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί 'O Achaean women, no longer Achaean men' (used by Thersites, *Il.* 2.235, and Menelaus, 7.96). The charge of being a 'woman' is an age-old rebuke to male pride (e.g. *Il.* 8.163). The oriental devotees of Cybele, the Galli, became women in a more radical sense through castration, on the mythical model of Attis, whose flight to Phrygia and self-emasculation is the subject of Catullus 63 (a poem which makes much play with masculine and feminine forms to mark Attis' change of status; see 620 n.). *semiuir* is used abusively of Aen. and his men at 4.215, 12.99. Similar prejudices emerge in Tarchon's rebuke to his troops at 11.732–40 contrasting their cowardice in the face of the woman Camilla with their enthusiasm for the soft service of Venus and Bacchus.

neque enim: this combination in V. usually introduces a parenthesis. In origin *neque* probably had its full connective force, with *enim* in its archaic asseverative sense; later *enim* took on its normal explanatory function and the connective force of *neque* vanished. See Fordyce on 7.581; L–H–S 451.

617–18 ite per alta | Dindyma: Numanus contemptuously dismisses the Trojans by parodying the cry of the devotee: Cat. 63.12–13 *agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul,* | *simul ite, Dindymenae dominae uaga pecora*; cf. the similar exhortations of the Bacchant, Eur. *Bacch.* 83 ἴτε βάκχαι 'go, Bacchantes'; 977 ἴτε θοαὶ Λύσσας κύνες ἴτ' εἰς ὄρος 'go swift hounds of Fury, go to the mountain' (and see G. O. Hutchinson, *Hellenistic poetry* (Oxford 1988) 22 with n. 49). Numanus unknowingly echoes the command of Cybele to the ships at 116–17 (n.) *uos ite solutae,* | *ite deae pelagi* (and until we read on to the next line the words *ite per alta* could be taken as a command to the Trojans to go away over the sea): the ships are saved through their metamorphosis into nymphs, while Numanus tries to get rid of the problem of the Trojans by 'transforming' them through his words from men into women, and from city-dwellers into wild mountaineers.

Dindyma: a mountain in the Troad sacred to Cybele.

618–20 The wild music of the cults of Cybele and Bacchus, with drums, pipes, and cymbals, is a favourite subject of the Roman poets: e.g. Lucr. 2.618–20; Cat. 63.21–2, 64.261–4; Varro, *Men.* 131–4 Astbury; cf. N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.13.

adsuetis: there the Trojans will feel at home. Contrast 607 *paruoque adsueta iuuentus.*

biforem dat tibia cantum: the Phrygian *tibia* had two pipes, one ending in a horn (D–S s.v. *tibia* 312–13, Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 3.533). *biforem* seems to refer to the two pipes rather than to the number of holes (*foramina*; cf. Varro ap. Servius ad loc., Brink on Hor. *Ars poet.* 203) in the instrument; the word may hint at an etymology of διθύραμβος, in antiquity often derived from δί-θυρος = *biforis* 'having two doors *or* openings' (D–S s.v. 'dithyrambus' 286 n. 3). The dithyramb is associated with the worship of Dionysus, but syncretism of the cults of Dionysus and the Magna Mater is early and frequent, and the dithyramb was performed to the flute in the Phrygian mode; for a similar interest of V.'s in the etymology of 'tragedy' see Thomas on *Geo.* 2.380–3.

tympana: another sign of effeminacy (Dickie 175).

buxusque 'flute of box-wood'.

uocat: cf. 4.302–3 *audito stimulant trieterica Baccho | orgia nocturnusque uocat clamore Cithaeron*; 11.740 (Tarchon's rebuke) *lucos uocet hostia pinguis in altos.*

Berecyntia: see 82 n.

620 sinite arma uiris et cedite ferro 'leave weapons to the men and renounce iron', summing up by contrast key points of the description of the Italians. V.'s reader will take *sinite arma uiris* in the further sense of a command to leave the world of martial epic (on echoes of *arma uirumque* see 57 n.); on the emphatic last word *ferro* see 609 n. Hector reminds Andromache of the proper division of male and female roles, *Il.* 6.492 'war will be the business of men' (echoed in T.'s dismissal of the old priestess Calybe at 7.444 *bella uiri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda*). Servius comments on the curious variant *caedite ferro*: *id est cum uiri non sitis, abscidite partem uirorum* (on which Heyne comments *dignum grammaticorum acumen, cur ipsi castrentur*). The variant perhaps arose from an awareness of the influence of Catullus 63 hereabouts (see 617–20 nn.), and not just of that poem: *cedite ferro*

may be an echo of Cat. 66.47 *quid facient crines, cum ferro talia cedant?* (a line also echoed at *Ecl.* 3.16), where *ferro ... cedant* 'yield to iron' does indeed refer to the severing of objects.

621–71 Ascanius shoots Numanus; Apollo applauds and advises. The siege continues

Ascanius replies to Numanus' torrent of words with a single action. The Italian had ended by identifying the Trojans with the emasculated and frenzied devotees of the Great Mother; the Trojan youth makes a vow to the Great Mother's most illustrious son (cf. 80–106), the Roman father-god Jupiter who is also the god of the Iron Age that Numanus depicts as peculiarly Italian, and he is applauded by the Greek god of reason and moderation. Apollo's double address to Ascanius highlights the significance of his shot: it marks the point at which the boy first enters the man's world of war (641), thus answering Numanus' verbal description of the progression through the ages of life among the Italians. But Ascanius' shot is also the first deliberate intervention in the historical process that leads to Rome by the ancestor of the *gens Iulia* (642); this shot is a distant prefiguration of the final shot in the history of the *gens*, Apollo's archery at Actium as represented on the shield at the end of the previous book (8.704–5), to be followed by Augustus' triumphal procession to the Capitoline temple of Jupiter. At Actium eastern decadence is unmistakably the mark of the enemies of Aen.'s Italian descendants. Ascanius is also a role model for the line of heroic young Romans who distinguished themselves under fire: Servius Dan. on 9.590 comments *hoc loco puerum ideo poeta fecit armari, quia legit in historia pueros de bellis gloriam reportasse,* and gives a catalogue of *exempla.*

The episode is connected with other scenes of the divine validation of Roman history: (i) Apollo's reference to the disappearance of wars under the race of Assaracus picks up the theme of the age of peace at the conclusion of Jupiter's speech at 1.291–6. (ii) This scene of inauguration at a critical moment in the 'birth' of Rome is a pendant to the omen of the flame around the head of Ascanius at 2.679–704, the point at which the family of Aen. succeeds with the aid of the gods, and in particular Jupiter, in releasing itself from the death throes of the old city of Troy. There Anchises prays to Jupiter for an *omen impetratiuum* (2.687–94); here his grandson prays to Jupiter for suc-

cess; the prayer in book II is answered with a thunderclap followed by shooting star, the prayer in book IX by a thunderclap followed by arrow-shot (cf. the arrow that turns into a shooting star at 5.525–8). The recollection that at 2.696 the shooting star buried itself in the woods of Ida, marking the point of departure for the new Troy (cf. 3.6), shows how misguided Numanus is in telling the Trojans to return to the Phrygian mountains. (iii) The first speech of Apollo picks up themes of the only other direct speech by the god in the poem at 3.94–8, the first instance of divine guidance after the Trojans leave Troy: see E. L. Harrison, *P.L.L.S.* 3 (1981) 214–17.

Apollo's second address to Ascanius is curious, setting limits to the boundlessness of the last words of his first address *nec te Troia capit.* Several conditioning factors may be pointed out: (i) the model of Telemachus and the bow of Odysseus at *Od.* 21.118–39, where the father restrains the son from stringing and shooting the bow himself. It is as if Ascanius must not appear too successful in the absence of his father. See Hatch 80. (ii) Ascanius runs the same danger of excessive action that leads to the destruction of Nisus and Euryalus, of Pandarus and Bitias, and, eventually, of T. No god had intervened to warn Nisus and Euryalus of the dangers of their martial enthusiasm (see 355–6 n.). The Delphic precept of moderation prevents the adolescent Ascanius from going too far (as he had done in shooting Silvia's stag at 7.475–510). (iii) This scene bears curious similarities to the *recusatio*, and in particular to passages on poetics in the *Georgics* (see 620, 625, 654–5 nn.). The potential envy of the archer-god Apollo is like the envy feared by the poet, who also runs the risk of undertaking ventures too great for his present capacity.

Lyne (202) doubts that the bow-shot really *is* such a great feat of arms. On the hoplite vs. the bowman debate see 572 n.; the closest Homeric model for this shot is the decidedly unheroic shot of Pandarus in *Iliad* IV, and we also remember that other great Trojan bowman, Paris, the character whose lifestyle was the pretext for much of Numanus' anti-Trojan abuse. Against this may be weighed the statement at 662–3 that a position on the battlements was one of mortal danger, as well as the Apollonian associations of the bow (hardly the coward's weapon at Actium). On the use of the bow in the *Aen.* and by the Roman army see Wickert 446–9.

Further bibliography: G. Maurach, 'Der Pfeilschuss des Ascanius', *Gymnasium* 75 (1968) 355–70; N. Moseley, *Characters and epithets. A study*

of Vergil's Aeneid (New Haven 1926) 47–67 (on Ascanius); Warde Fowler 89–91; Lyne 193–206.

621 iactantem 'bragging'; cf. 134 (Trojan words which Turnus proposes to answer with steel); 10.322–3 *ecce Pharo, uoces dum iactat inertis, | intorquens iaculum clamanti sistit in ore*; 10.583–5 *uesano talia late | dicta uolant Ligeri. sed non et Troius heros | dicta parat contra, iaculum nam torquet in hostis.*

dira canentem 'chanting words of ill omen'. *dirus* in V. usually retains a religious overtone; see also 638 n. For this use of *cano* cf. 11.399–400 *capiti cane talia, demens, | Dardanio.* V. perhaps also has in mind the barbarian habit of singing and dancing to disconcert the enemy (Tac. *Ann.* 4.47.2; *Hist.* 5.15.1–2).

622 non tulit: 2.407, 8.256, 12.371.

622–32 The circumstantial description of the bow-shot and the accompanying prayer are modelled on *Il.* 4.116–26, where Pandarus vows a hecatomb of lambs to Apollo before shooting at Menelaus.

622–3 neruoque obuersus equino | contendit telum 'turning to face him he draws his arrow with the horse-gut bowstring'. V. alludes to Accius, *Philocteta* 554–5 Warmington *reciproca tendens neruo equino concita | tela*, on which Wigodsky 89 comments 'only the bow of Philoctetes could conquer Troy, and Ascanius ... wields a similar bow', i.e. a bow whose wielder controls the fate of Troy, but now as preserver not destroyer. On the use of *contendit* see 590–1 n.; P's *intendit* may be right, corrupted to *contendit* through the influence of *constitit* at the beginning of the next line.

diuersaque bracchia ducens 'drawing his arms apart' (*diuersa* is proleptic).

624 constitit 'took his stand', carried over and followed by a pause (cf. 1.226, 2.68, 4.253).

ante is a little awkward, but must mean 'before shooting his arrow'. The language here is close to 4.204–6 (from the Iarbas episode, with which the Numanus and Ascanius scene has a number of similarities: see 590–1, 595, 614–20 nn.) *dicitur ante aras media inter numina diuum | multa Iouem manibus supplex orasse supinis: | 'Iuppiter omnipotens ...'*

625–9 *Il.* 4.119–21 '[Pandarus] vowed to Lycian-born Apollo, famed for his bow, to sacrifice a splendid hecatomb of first-born lambs when he returned home to the town of holy Zeleia.' Cf. also Nisus' prayer before casting his spear at 404–9 (n.), and Cloanthus'

vow of a white bull to the gods of the sea in his prayer for victory in the ship-race at 5.233–8 (cf. esp. 236–7 *uobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum | constituam ante aras uoti reus*). Ascanius prays to the supreme god Jupiter as Anchises had done for confirmation of the omen of the flame around Ascanius' head at 2.687–91; the present vow also prefigures the sacrifices to Jupiter of the Roman *triumphator* on the Capitol.

625 Iuppiter omnipotens: 4.206, 2.689, 5.687 (the last two in prayers answered by weather-signs).

audacibus adnue coeptis = *Geo.* 1.40, in V.'s prayer to Octavian to favour his poetic undertaking (for the possible metapoetic resonance here see J. Masters, *Poetry and civil war in Lucan's Bellum Civile* (Cambridge 1992) 8 n. 22); *audacibus* is echoed at the end of the *Georgics*, 4.565 *audaxque iuuenta* (of V. as the poet of the *Eclogues*). In the *Aen.* the word *audax* is particularly associated with Turnus and his followers (3, 519 nn.). Ascanius is careful to ask for divine approval of his own youthful boldness. The doomed Pallas is *audax* at his first appearance (8.110, with Fordyce's note).

626 sollemnia is used of 'regular, appointed' ritual (Bailey 78–9). Ascanius' words echo the language used by V. of his poetic triumph at *Geo.* 3.21–3 *ipse ... | dona feram. iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas | ad delubra iuuat caesosque uidere iuuencos.*

626–9 Before setting out on the night expedition Diomedes prays for Athene's aid and vows a victim, *Il.* 10.292–4 (= *Od.* 3.382–4 Nestor prays to Athene) 'to you I (292 σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγώ at line-beginning: cf. 626 *ipse tibi*) will sacrifice a year-old bull ... After covering its horns with gold I will sacrifice it.' A *iuuencus* with gilded horns (on which see Bömer on Ovid. *Met.* 7.161) is one of the prizes in the boxing match at 5.366, and is sacrificed by the winner Entellus as a substitute for the life of his human opponent, 5.473–84. It is appropriate that at this turning-point in his own life Ascanius should offer a young bull on the threshold of maturity. In the light of the wider parallelism between this episode and the Actian scenes on the Shield of Aeneas (621–71 n.), cf. also 8.719 *ante aras terram caesi strauere iuuenci.*

627 statuam: regularly of positioning a victim, which had to accept its fate willingly without attempting to run away.

aurata fronte: corresponding to the Greek compound adjective χρυσόκερως.

628 candentem: cf. *Geo.* 1.217–18 *candidus auratis aperit cum corni-*

bus annum | *Taurus* (with the same gold and ivory contrast, a favourite of V.'s: 303–5 n.): Conington suggests that the constellation is represented as the sacrificial bull in a triumphal procession; for white bulls in the triumphal procession cf. *Geo.* 2.146–8 *hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus* | *uictima . . .* | *Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos.*

pariterque caput cum matre ferentem: cf. Theocr. 8.14 ἰσομάτορα ἀμνόν 'a lamb as big as its mother'.

629 = *Ecl.* 3.87 (a bull reared as a prize for Pollio's *noua carmina*). Horace promises the fountain of Bandusia a kid, *Carm.* 3.13.4–5 *cui frons turgida cornibus* | *primis et uenerem et proelia destinat.* Cf. 12.103–6 *mugitus ueluti cum prima in proelia taurus* | *terrificos ciet aut irasci in cornua temptat* | . . . *aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena*, closely adapted from *Geo.* 3.232–4.

petat 'butts'; cf. *petulcus* 'inclined to butt'.

630–1 audiit et . . . genitor . . . | intonuit: for the postponement of the subject until the second verb cf. 11.794–5 *audiit et uoti Phoebus succedere partem* | *mente dedit.*

genitor: Jupiter, as often. But the absolute use also allows us to understand the 'father of gods and men' as more specifically the 'father', 'ancestor' of Ascanius (642 *dis genite*): cf. 3, 117 nn. for other examples of the shifting use of kinship terms.

caeli . . . de parte serena | intonuit laeuum: the first action of Jupiter since the thunder at 7.141–3 (with 142 *intonuit* at line-beginning): see E. L. Harrison, *P.L.L.S.* 5 (1985) 161–2. V. combines the wording of Enn. *Ann.* 541 *tum tonuit laeuom bene tempestate serena* with Lucr. 6.99 *nec fit enim sonitus caeli de parte serena* (as often, V. 'corrects' Lucretius' rejection of traditional religious belief: see Wigodsky 138 n. 704). On the omen of thunder and/or lightning from a clear sky see Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 541, N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.34; at 8.524–5 thunder and lightning in a clear sky is sent by Venus as a sign to Aen. of divine support in the coming war. The left is the favourable side in Roman augury: see Skutsch, *loc. cit.*, and Austin on 2.693 *intonuit laeuum*, thunder in answer to Anchises' prayer to Jupiter. Here V. reworks a version of the Trojan legend preserved in Dion. Hal. 2.5.5, according to which Ascanius, besieged by the Etruscans under Mezentius, prayed to Zeus for favourable signs before launching a last desperate sally, and was answered by lightning on the left in a clear sky. There are also Homeric models: at *Il.* 15.370–8 at a point

of crisis Nestor prays to Zeus, reminding him of the sacrifices for homecoming he accepted in the past, and pleading that the Trojan onslaught be checked: Zeus hears and thunders; and cf. *Od.* 20.97–104, 112–14.

sonat una fatifer arcus: Ascanius' bow sounds forth with the thunder that accompanies the weapon of the supreme god; see 705–6 n. for examples of the figurative equation of human missiles with the thunderbolt.

fatifer: better attested than the variant *letifer*. The word is first found in V., here and 8.621 *fatiferumque ensem*, the sword that will kill T. at the end of the poem. Both weapons 'bring death', but both are also 'bearers of fate', instruments of the larger Trojan destiny.

632 The dactylic *effugit* in the first foot suggests the sudden discharge of the arrow, the spondees that follow reinforce the power and deadliness of its flight. Like 621 *dira*, *horrendum* hints at the supernaturally awful; cf. 732. At *Il.* 1.49 'dreadful was the twang of the silver bow' of Apollo, as he shot his plague-arrows at the Achaeans: the allusion prepares us for the sequel, in particular Apollo's words at 655 *paribus non inuidet armis.*

effugit: the variant *et fugit* destroys the balance of the two tricola in 630–4. Cf. *Il.* 11.376 ἔκφυγε of an arrow.

adducta sagitta: the arrow had been drawn in to his body before being released; cf. *Il.* 4.123 '[Pandarus] brought the string close to his nipple.'

633 caua tempora: the phrase (also at 808) is found in Lucr. 6.1194 of the wasting effects of plague, but in later epic is used almost formulaically of the temples regarded as a hollow and therefore fragile container (Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 2.625). Here there may be a suggestion that Numanus is hollow, a boaster of no substance; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.18.15 *tollens uacuum plus nimio Gloria uerticem.*

ferro: this had been Numanus' last word, in the same metrical position

634 traicit: dactylic first word followed by a strong pause. The MSS exhibit a great variety of readings: *traicio* is elsewhere used with a personal subject (10.400, 11.685), but the extension to the weapon is easy, and cf. 1.355 *traiectaque pectora ferro. transigit* is close in sense to *traicit*, and also more naturally takes a personal subject, but it is not found elsewhere in V. The second hand of P may have

emended *transigit* to *transiit* because of unease at the non-personal subject. *transadigit* and *traiecit* may be explained as alterations to restore metre after the loss of the following *i*.

i: of scornful dismissal (4.381), more usually *i nunc* (7.425). An answer to Numanus' *ite* (617).

uerbis uirtutem inlude superbis: the taunt is given greater punch by the internal rhyme (a 'leonine' hexameter) *uerbis ... superbis* and by the jingling juxtaposition of *uerbis uirtutem*, empty words as opposed to active manhood, the contrast which T. draws at greater length between himself and Drances at 11.380–91 (380 *uerbis*, 386 *uirtus*); cf. 10.547–8 *uimque adfore uerbo | crediderat*; Sall. *Catil.* 58.1 *uerba uirtutem non addere*; Phaedrus 1.11.1 *uirtutis expers, uerbis iactans gloriam.* For the contrast between words and deeds in epic see *Il.* 16.630–1; Ovid, *Met.* 8.438–9, 13.9–12. At Livy 28.27.2 the young Scipio remarks *non quo uerba umquam potius quam res exercuerim.*

635 The lapidary manner of an official communication is combined with the mocking repetition of Numanus' words *bis capti Phryges* (599) and the snarling triple final alliteration (see 563 n.) of the *littera canina*, *r*. Peerlkamp refers to the practice of conveying written messages by arrow.

636 hoc tantum Ascanius: the Roman general uses no more words than are necessary; cf. 10.16–17 *Iuppiter haec paucis; at non Venus aurea contra | pauca refert* (in a scene where Jupiter plays the part of a senior Roman statesman).

clamore sequuntur 'shout in support' (*OLD sequor* 13), Homer's ἐπευφήμησαν (466 is different). Similar was the reaction of the Rutulians to Turnus' first spear-throw at 54–5 *clamore excipiunt socii fremi tuque sequuntur | horrisono*; that gesture 'against the breezes' (52) seems even more futile after Ascanius' triumph.

637 laetitiaque fremunt: on V.'s use of *fremo* see Fordyce on 7.389. Cf. esp. 8.717 (Augustus' triumph) *laetitia ludisque uiae plausuque fremebant.*

animosque ad sidera tollunt: better taken of 'raising' their own spirits than of 'extolling' Ascanius' courage. Cf. 6.781–2 *Roma | ... animos aequabit Olympo*; 10.548 *caeloque animum ... ferebat*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.36 *sublimi feriam sidera uertice.* The figurative *ad sidera* transports the reader to the region where we find Apollo in the next line; there is a

similar trick at 75–6 (n.), and at *Geo.* 2.473–7, where Justice's flight to heaven is followed by the poet's prayer to the Muses to show him 'the paths of the sky', i.e. to grant him the power to sing of astronomical themes.

638 aetheria ... plaga: the phrase has an archaic tone (see Austin on 1.394).

tum forte: V. often uses *forte* to introduce a new episode or stage in the action (as at 3). Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 3.863 *aspicit hos, ut forte pependerat aethere, mater.*

crinitus Apollo: the ever-youthful god with uncut hair, ἀκερσεκόμης: see N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.21.2. The phrase is from Ennius' *Alcmeo* (*Trag.* 28–9) *intendit crinitus Apollo | arcum auratum luna innixus* spoken by Alcmeo who thinks that he sees Apollo shooting the Furies who torment him. This may add point to 621 *dira*: Ascanius kills the Fury-like Numanus with the weapon of Apollo. Some commentators ask why Apollo should intervene when Ascanius had prayed to Jupiter, but his appearance is very appropriate: he is the god of archery, he has especial care for Aen. in the *Iliad* and for Ascanius' descendant Augustus, and, as a god of eternal youth, he is an appropriate adviser for a hero on the threshold of manhood.

638–9 Apollo | desuper = 8.704–5 (the battle of Actium).

639 At 1.223–5 Jupiter appears looking down on the earth from the *aether.*

urbemque: see 8 n.

640 nube sedens: 12.792 (Juno) *fulua pugnas de nube tuentem.*

adfatur Iulum = 652. The name *Iulus*, instead of *Ascanius*, is used as Apollo directs our attention to the boy's role as ancestor of the *gens Iulia*; see 590–1 n. The disguised Apollo addresses his second speech directly to Ascanius; the first speech presumably Ascanius cannot hear (any more than Nisus and Euryalus hear the narrator's apostrophe at 446–9). The first speech tells of unbounded power and glory in the future, the second urges an observation of limits in the present.

641 macte: the vocative of **mactus*, a verbal adjective from **mago* 'make great'; *macte* was originally used in invocations to gods ('honoured with ...'), and later in formal addresses to humans, especially in the formulaic phrase *macte uirtute esto*, 'an antiquarian idiom con-

cocted to convey something of the spirit of "Bravo"' (Ogilvie on Livy 2.12.14; see also Fordyce on 7.93). The unusual qualification of *uirtute* in this phrase with an epithet throws emphasis on *noua*.

uirtute, puer: the juxtaposition (also at 12.435: see 656 n.) brings out the pun in *uirtus*, both 'courage', 'valour' and 'manhood'. Apollo's interpretation of Ascanius' act is an infallible comment on a Trojan boy coming to manhood, to set beside Numanus' account of the ages of life in Italy.

sic itur ad astra: the journey to heaven is a basic theme of the *Aen.* (Hardie 195), whether understood of the heaven-reaching fame of immortal deeds (e.g. 4.322–3 *qua sola sidera adibam, | fama*; 7.98–9 *nostrum | nomen in astra ferant*), or of the apotheosis of the hero (Aen., Romulus, Augustus: e.g. 1.259–60 *sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli | magnanimum Aenean*; cf. *Geo.* 4.560–2 *Caesar ... uiamque adfectat Olympo*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.9–16 *hac arte Pollux et uagus Hercules | enisus arces attigit igneas ...*); at *Ecl.* 5.51–2 *Daphnin ... tollemus ad astra; | Daphnin ad astra feremus* the nature of the journey is deliberately ambiguous. *itur ad astra* is also a panegyrical redefinition of the upward journey enjoined on the Trojans by the vituperative Numanus, 617–18 *ite per alta | Dindyma*. Apollo's praise of Ascanius has points of contact with Anchises' panegyric of Romulus and the *gens Iulia* at 6.777–90.

642 dis genite: cf. 6.129–31 *pauci, quos aequus amauit | Iuppiter aut ardens euexit ad aethera uirtus, | dis geniti potuere*. Aen. is addressed as offspring of gods at 6.322, 8.36. Again there is an implicit contrast with the speech of Numanus, 603 *durum a stirpe genus*; and possibly an echo of the Romans' impassioned address to Romulus at Enn. *Ann.* 107–8 *qualem te patriae custodem di genuerunt! | o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum*.

geniture deos: Julius Caesar and Augustus.

642–3 iure: Ascanius' *uirtus* justifies what is in any case fated. Apollo alludes briefly to the contents of Jupiter's prophecy at 1.283–96, including victorious wars against Greece by the *domus Assaraci* (284), the birth of *Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo* (288), and the final closing of the gates of war. The dawning of a new age of peace after the series of wars catalogued on Vulcan's prophetic shield (8.629) contrasts with Numanus' ideal of a perpetually martial Italy.

Assaraci: 259 n.

resident: *ut tempestatem residere dicimus* (Servius Dan.).

644 nec te Troia capit: alluding to Philip's words to the adolescent Alexander after he had broken in Bucephalus, Plut. *Alex.* 6.5 Μακεδονία ... σε οὐ χωρεῖ 'Macedonia cannot contain you', imitated also by Juvenal 10.148 (of Hannibal) *hic est quem non capit Africa.* V. diverts Alexander panegyric to his own ends on other occasions, most notably in Anchises' praise of Augustus at 6.791–807 (see Norden). Statius imitates this passage in Chiron's comment on the precocious boy Achilles at *Achill.* 1.151–2 *nunc illum non Ossa capit, non Pelion ingens | Thessaliaeue niues.* The words *Troia capit* seem also to play with the *Troia capta* motif exploited by Remulus at 599 (n.).

644–60 The episode is modelled on *Il.* 17.319–34: when the Achaeans are on the verge of driving the Trojans within their walls and gaining a greater victory than Zeus wills, Apollo appears to Aen. 'like in body to Periphas the herald, son of Epytus (Ἠπυτίδης), who was growing old as a herald in the service of his old father' and rebukes Aen. for not standing and fighting although Zeus wills the Trojans victory. Aen. recognizes Apollo and, after addressing Hector, leaps out to face the enemy. Apollo's *restraint* of Aen.'s son Ascanius here is imitation by inversion. Curiously, Epytides is the name of a trusty *custos* and *comes* of Ascanius at 5.547.

644–6 Cf. 5.838–40 *cum leuis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris | aëra dimouit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras, | te, Palinure, petens* (another god in disguise coming to prevent a mortal from carrying out his occupation).

se mittit 'leaps'; cf. 10.633–4 [Juno] *haec ubi dicta dedit, caelo se protinus alto | misit*; 4.253–4.

646 formam: the accusative is supported by 12.224 *formam adsimulata Camerti*, but the well attested *forma* is equally possible.

647–8 There are verbal echoes of Enn. *Trag.* 237–8 (an address to Medea's nurse from the *Medea*) *antiqua erilis fida custos corporis, | quid sic te extra aedis exanimatam eliminat. antiquus* (of persons) and *fidus* are both solemn and honorific words.

Buten: in the *Aen.* also the name of a Bebrycian (5.372) and of a Trojan giant killed by Camilla (11.690).

Dardanio Anchisae: 1.617. A line-ending in the Greek manner, with hiatus and spondaic fifth foot (see Fordyce on 7.631).

armiger: so far we have seen an active Trojan *puer* in the process of becoming an active Trojan *iuuenis*; now we are shown the figure of

an active Trojan *senex*, to set beside Numanus' boast of Italian old men still under arms. Cf. the aged companion of Pallas, Acoetes, described at 11.31–3 with verbal and metrical parallels to the lines here: *qui Parrhasio Euandro | armiger ante fuit, sed non felicibus aeque | tum comes auspiciis caro datus ibat alumno.* Apollo's intervention perhaps saves Ascanius from a fate like that of Pallas; Butes himself is a living symbol of the generational continuity of the family of Aen.

ad limina custos: the doorkeeper is not a Homeric functionary.

650–1 Close to 4.558–9 (Aeneas' warning dream-vision) *omnia Mercurio similis, uocemque coloremque | et crinis flauos et membra decora iuuenta* (whence the variant *flauos*).

longaeuo: a poetic compound first found in V.

coloremque: this renders the line hypermetric, as often with the correlated use of double *-que*.

crinis albos: cf. 7.417–18 (Allecto disguises herself as the priestess Calybe) *induit albos | cum uitta crinis*; here the opposite of the youthful locks of the real Apollo.

saeua sonoribus arma: the Virgilian complex of adjective and descriptive ablative; the effect is to suggest that both the *arma* and the sound they produce are *saeua*; Servius Dan. asks *utrum saeua arma quae habent sonorem ... an etiam sonoribus saeua?* In this one respect the disguised and undisguised Apollo are similar: cf. 660, and *saeua sonoribus* is close in sense to the δεινὴ κλαγγή 'dreadful twang' of Apollo's bow at *Il.* 1.49 (see 632 n.).

652 See 198 n. Ascanius' youthful ardour is also that, now extinct, of Nisus (184, 198).

653 sit satis: an eminently appropriate injunction from the god of moderation. μηδὲν ἄγαν 'nothing in excess' is the most famous of the Delphic precepts. At *Il.* 16.698–709 Apollo checks Patroclus' assault on the walls of Troy and tells him to draw back, as it is not fated that the city should fall to his spear. On the wider theme of excess and limits in book IX see 356 n. and Introd. (section 9(*b*)2); W. S. Anderson, *S.Ph.N.C.* 55 (1958) 525. Cf. also the (unheeded) advice to Aen. of the ghost of Hector, 2.291 *sat patriae Priamoque datum.* Statius combines this episode with Athene's restraint of Achilles at *Il.* 1.193–222, at *Theb.* 2.686–90 (Minerva restrains Tydeus) '*sate gente superbi | Oeneos, absentes cui dudum uincere Thebas | adnuimus, iam pone modum*

nimiumque secundis | parce deis: huic una fides optanda labori. | fortuna satis usus abi.'

Aenide: this form of the patronymic, as if from **Aeneus* (cf. 7.484 *Tyrrhidae*), is found only here; *Aeneada* is perhaps avoided as that form is used indiscriminately to refer to all the Trojans. R. E. Coleman, *C.J.* 38 (1942) 146 notes 'Usually only the heroes in the *Aeneid* are called by a patronymic. The boy is growing to heroic proportions.'

654 oppetiisse: an absolute use of the Ennian *mortem oppetere.*

654–5 Henry compares Theocr. 7.100–1 'whom Phoebus himself would not begrudge to sing to the lyre by the tripods'.

primam: cf. 590 *tum primum.*

laudem: the shooting of Silvia's stag was the action of an Ascanius *eximiae laudis succensus amore* (7.496); cf. 197.

paribus non inuidet armis: Apollo does not begrudge Ascanius 'a bow and arrow as sure as his own' (Henry); but Servius may also be right in seeing an allusion to Apollo's own boyish exploit in shooting the Python (Ovid imitates the first lines of the Ascanius episode, 590–1, in his account of that victory, *Met.* 1.441–4 *hunc deus arquitenens et numquam talibus armis | ante nisi in dammis capreisque fugacibus usus | ... perdidit*). The Niobids and Marsyas learned the dangers of courting Apollo's envy. Praise and its opposite, envy, form an inseparable complex in Pindar as the hope and fear of both the athletic victor and of the poet; mention of them in a speech by Apollo urging against involvement in war comes curiously close to the terms of the *recusatio* and its Callimachean models (see 546 n.), esp. Callim. *Hy.* 2.105–12; cf. also Theocr. 7.100–1, and the juxtaposition of Apollo and *Inuidia* at *Geo.* 3.36–7, a very Callimachean passage (see Thomas *ad loc.*), and *Ecl.* 7.25–8 *pastores, hedera crescentem ornate poetam, | Arcades, inuidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro; | aut, si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem | cingite, ne uati noceat mala lingua futuro.* The danger that Ascanius courts seems also to be associated in some way with Anchises' warning to Caesar and Pompey at 6.826–35 *paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis ... | ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella ... | tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo, | proice tela manu, sanguis meus!*

656 parce, puer, bello: Apollo concludes his second address, as he began his first, with the vocative *puer*, but, whereas in the first the collocation *uirtute puer* hinted at transition to manhood, here the jux-

taposition with *bello* (pointing back to 590) seems to put Ascanius in his place; he is *just* a boy (*arma uirum* lies in the future for him). Apollo's final command differs little from Numanus' last words 620 *cedite ferro*. We do see Ascanius, but as *puer*, in the midst of the action again at 10.132–8; at his last appearance in the poem his education is still incomplete, 12.435–6 (Aen. speaks) *disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem, | fortunam ex aliis.*

sic orsus: as at 12.806 concluding a speech. *ordior* is properly 'begin' to speak. It might be argued that in these two passages the sense is 'began' a conversation, whose continuation is in the present case frustrated by the god's disappearance (*medio ... sermone* 'in mid-conversation', rather than 'in mid-speech').

656–8 4.276–8 *tali Cyllenius ore locutus | mortalis uisus medio sermone reliquit | et procul in tenuem ex oculis euanuit auram.* With *medio ... sermone* cf. also 4.388 *his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit,* where Dido has had her say, but leaves Aen. *multa parantem | dicere* (390–1). Austin on 4.278 notes the graphic effect achieved by using the singular *auram* with the consequent elision in *tenuem ex.* Evanescence into thin air, originally a property of ghosts or phantoms (*Od.* 4.838–9; *Geo.* 4.499–500; *Aen.* 2.791, 5.740), is here and at 4.278 attributed to the bodily manifestation of a god.

659 Gods in disguise may allow themselves to be recognized by the manner of their departure: *Il.* 13.62–6; *Aen.* 1.402–6; Heyne Excursus XIII on *Aeneid* 1; 16–17 n.

agnouere: see 734–5 n. It is a sign of Ascanius' immaturity that it is not he himself who recognizes the god; contrast Aen.'s confident recognition of the omen at 8.530–40.

660 Double alliteration of *f* and *s*. Cf. *Il.* 1.46 'the arrows rattled on the shoulders of the angry god' (Apollo descending to deal out plague), imitated at *Aen.* 4.149 *tela sonant umeris*; 11.652 *aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae*; 9.731–2 *arma | horrendum sonuere* (another 'epiphany').

661–71 Three tricola direct our focus back to the general scene of battle, and the paragraph is rounded off with a simile. There is a high concentration of framing verbs at beginning and end of lines.

661–3 auidum pugnae: 12.430 *ille auidus pugnae* (Aen.); cf. 356 n. At *Od.* 21.129 Telemachus is prevented from stringing the bow of

Odysseus: 'but Odysseus nodded "No" and restrained him, eager though he was'.

dictis ac numine Phoebi: a hendiadys, 'Apollo's statement of his will'. Different is 2.336 *talibus Othryadae dictis et numine diuum.*

succedunt 'move up' into battle.

animasque ... mittunt: cf. the words of Achilles at *Il.* 9.322 'ever to be risking my life (ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος) in war'.

664 it clamor: beginning a line or sentence at 4.665, 5.451, 8.595.

665 The verbs *intendunt* and *torquent* frame triple alliteration of *a*, with paronomasia of *acris arcus* (506 n.). Cf. 7.164–5 *aut acris tendunt arcus aut lenta lacertis | spicula contorquent* (of the Italian youths exercising outside the city of Latinus; in the light of Numanus' claims the echo perhaps has point here); Page suggests that the unusual use of *acer* refers to 'the sharp quick spring of the bow'.

amenta: throwing-straps used to lend a spiralling motion (*torquent*) to spears; see 534 n.

666–7 tum ... galeae: the sound is of missiles striking shields and helmets as at *Il.* 12.160–1 (and cf. 808–9), not of shield striking shield, helmet helmet (as Henry suggests, pointing to Silius' adaptation, *Pun.* 9.322–3 *galea horrida flictu | aduersae ardescit galeae*); the two sides are separated by the walls of the Trojan camp. Cf. also Enn. *Ann.* 355 *tum clipei resonunt et ferri stridit acumen.*

flictu: this, rather than *adflictu*, seems to have been read by Silius as well as by Servius. The word is rare and occurs in Pacuvius, *Trag.* 364 Warmington *flictus nauium*, from the storm in the *Teucer*, a scene echoed also in the description of the storm in book 1 (Wigodsky 85–6); the allusion prepares us for the storm simile that follows.

pugna aspera surgit = 11.635. *surgere* is used frequently of wind and wave; the battle 'rises' like a storm; see 642–3 n.

668–71 Storm is the most frequent image of battle in the *Aen.*; there are storm similes also at 2.416–19; 7.528–30; 10.356–9, 603–4, 693–6, 803–8; 12.365–7, 451–5. Homer compares showers of stones to falling snowflakes at *Il.* 12.156–8, 278–86. V. also draws further on the storm scene in Pacuvius' *Teucer*: 355 Warmington *iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare*, 358 *grando mixta imbri largifico subita praecipitans cadit.* The simile is imitated at Stat. *Theb.* 8.407–11.

668 ab occasu: this most naturally means 'from the west'; the constellation of the Kids marks stormy weather at both its rising in spring and its setting in late September (see Gow on Theocr. 7.53–4; Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 14.711). But there may be more to the phrase: (i) with some violence to the word order *ab occasu ... pluuialibus* could be taken together, 'bringing rain because of its setting'; is it coincidence that at Ovid, *Met.* 14.711 we find *saeuior illa freto surgente cadentibus Haedis* (with *surgente* cf. *surgit* in the previous line)? In the Pacuvian model *occidente* is used literally of a 'setting' heavenly body. (ii) (the difficulty of glossing) *ab occasu* might itself be some kind of a gloss on Theocr. 7.53 ἑσπερίοις Ἑρίφοις, where Gow points to the problem of whether ἑσπερίοις means 'in the west' or 'rising in the evening'.

pluuialibus: cf. *Geo.* 3.429 *pluuialibus Austris.*

669 uerberat: of hail also at Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.27–9 (with further parallels with the present passage) *nec saeuus Arcturi cadentis | impetus aut orientis Haedi, | non uerberatae grandine uineae. uerberat* corresponds to 667 *flictu*, as *humum* to 666 *solum*; for *imber* used metaphorically of a 'shower' of missiles see Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 266; *Aen.* 12.283–4 *it toto turbida caelo | tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber.*

669–70 quam multa grandine nimbi | in uada praecipitant: cf. 5.458–9 *quam multa grandine nimbi | culminibus crepitant* (of blows in the boxing match); 10.803–4 *ac uelut effusa si quando grandine nimbi | praecipitant.* V. varies and exaggerates the expected expression by having the clouds rather than the hail as the subject of *praecipitant.*

670 Iuppiter horridus Austris: cf. *Geo.* 1.418 *Iuppiter umidus Austris*, where the mythological reality is much attenuated; here we have a figure closer to the terrifying sky-god of the storm at *Geo.* 1.328–34.

671 torquet 'hurls' or 'wields'. *torquere* is used of Jupiter's hurling thunderbolts at 4.208, of his power as supreme cosmic god at 4.269, 9.93; cf. also 8.429 *tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosae* (ingredients of Jupiter's thunderbolt). *torquet* corresponds to 665 *torquent.*

caua nubila rumpit: in the context of the whole simile we first understand the clouds as hollow containers of rain and hail (cf. 11.548–9 *tantus se nubibus imber | ruperat*); but the reader of Lucretius might also think of his materialist explanation of Jupiter's thunder and lightning as the product of winds bursting open hollow clouds

(Lucr. 6.121–31, 175–82, 271–84; cf. also 6.432 *rumpere ... nubem*; V. adapts the Lucretian terminology at 8.391–2). *caua* corresponds to 666 *cauae*.

672–755 Pandarus and Bitias

By opening the gate Pandarus and Bitias trigger the climactic stage in the fighting at the Trojan camp before the return of Aen., the penetration of the walls by T.; at last the wolf is in the fold (cf. 59–64) and the Rutulians come to close quarters with their foe (720; cf. 67–8). The rest of the book can be seen as a series of episodes which delay, or lead up to, this critical moment; compare the way in which in book XII a series of incidents postpones the final encounter between Aen. and T. The story of Pandarus and Bitias also stands as a self-contained episode, the pathetic story of two young giants, partners in their proud self-confidence and finally united in death (for V.'s liking for pairs of warrior brothers see Harrison on 10.125–6). Their story is a pendant to the episode of Nisus and Euryalus, who also die because of their heroic devotion to the Trojan cause.

The episode is based primarily on two Homeric passages: Pandarus and Bitias are modelled on the Lapiths Polypoetes and Leonteus who at *Il.* 12.127–94 successfully defend a gate in the Achaean wall left open to receive their Greek companions fleeing before the Trojan attack. This is conflated with the passage later in *Iliad* XII in which Hector at last succeeds in breaking down one of the gates and breaching the Achaean wall (437–71). T. does not actually breach the wall; V. is thus able to contain the effects of the break-in (in his rage T. does not pause to open the gate for the rest of his men, 757–61), while deriving maximum suspense from the presence within the wall of the apparently unstoppable Italian leader. There are also similarities between T.'s onslaught and the onward rush of Hector to fire the Achaean ships in *Iliad* XV.

The passage is probably also closely modelled on one in Ennius' *Annals* in which two Istrians sallied forth from the gate of the besieged city of Ambracia to wreak havoc on the besieging Roman forces (cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.2.32; Skutsch, *Ennius* 556–9), with which is to be connected the description (*Ann.* 391–8) of the beleaguered tribune on which is modelled *Aen.* 9.806–14.

Further layers of allusion add significance. Hector's goal in the *Iliad* is to fire the Achaean ships, but the Trojan camp in the *Aen.* is more than just a wall to protect the ships, which have in any case now vanished; it is an *urbs*, in the image both of the Troy now destroyed and of the Rome yet to be (8 n.). Although the primary Homeric model is Hector's assault on the ships, T. views himself as another Achilles; the reader recalls that other reincarnation of Achilles, his son Pyrrhus, who at 2.469–553 breaks into the palace of Priam and kills the king (an episode which in a sense stands in for the Greek breach of the Trojan walls that does not take place because the Trojans violate their own defences by bringing the Wooden Horse within the city). Looking forward in time, T.'s success is an image of the ultimate nightmare of the invasion of Rome itself, to which the reader has been alerted by the allusion at 51–3 (52–3 n.) to the bogy of 'Hannibal at the gates'. The climax of T.'s *aristeia* is also amplified by a number of allusions to the myth of Gigantomachy: T. assumes the role of Jupiter blasting with his thunderbolt the rebellious sons of Earth. There is irony here; at the end of the poem it is Aen. who with a figurative thunderbolt prostrates the enemy of the gods, T. (Hardie 143–54; for further parallels with the final duel of Aen. and T. see 691–5, 694–5, 705–6, 708–9, 731–2, 735 nn.).

672–4 An important new episode is introduced with the names and circumstantial personal details of the chief agents: see 176–81 n.

672 Pandarus: the best-known bearer of this name is the Lycian bowman who in *Iliad* IV breaks the truce during the single combat of Menelaus and Paris by shooting Menelaus (cf. *Aen.* 5.495–7; 9.622–32 n.). The choice of name here is perhaps conditioned by the fact that the Homeric Pandarus leads the men of Zeleia 'under the foothills of Ida' (*Il.* 2.824).

Bitias: otherwise the name of a rough-hewn Carthaginian, 1.738.

Idaeo 'from Mount Ida', rather than more generally 'Trojan'. Ida is an important feature of the symbolic geography of this book (80, 112, 620).

Alcanore 'man of strength' in Greek; also the name of an Italian at 10.338.

673 Iouis . . . luco: see 91–2 n.

eduxit 'gave birth to'.

Iaera is the name of a Nereid at *Il.* 18.42; the epithet *siluestris* highlights her transformation into a nymph of the woods (in literary-historical terms she has undergone a passage opposite to that of the ship-nymphs). Nisus is also the son of a nymph of Mount Ida (177).

674 The two youths are not merely 'like' but 'equal to' the firs and mountains of their native Ida; cf. the inhumanly colossal wife of the Laestrygonian king, *Od.* 10.113 'as large as a mountain-peak'. Homeric warriors may be compared to mountains (e.g. Hector at *Il.* 13.754; Leonteus and Polypoetes: see 679–82 n.); this story of two mighty brothers brought low also owes something to the Homeric twins Krethon and Orsilochos (*Il.* 5.541–60), who both fall at the hands of Aeneas 'like lofty firs' (560); Polyphemus is 'like the woody peak of high mountains' (*Od.* 9.190–2; see 679–82 n.). V. is fond of the image of mountain trees, either standing firm or crashing down (*Ecl.* 7.66; *Aen.* 2.625–31, 4.441–6, 5.448–9, 12.701–2).

675 ducis imperio commissa 'entrusted to them on the orders of the commander [Aen.]'. This, the easiest interpretation, is not in conflict with the statement at 173 that Mnestheus and Serestus had been put in charge of things. Servius, worried by this, takes *commissa* = *clausa*, but there are no good parallels for *committo* in this sense. Nisus was also a *portae custos* (176).

676 freti armis: cf. *Il.* 12.135 'trusting in their hands and their strength' (Polypoetes and Leonteus). They display the over-confidence that Aen. had warned against at 40–2. Bentley's conjecture *animis* is unnecessary; the contrast is between the security of the walls (cf. 599) and their reliance on their individual arms (unlike the contrast between natural strength and steel at 11.641–4).

ultroque: *ultro* is often used of unprovoked military action (*OLD* s.v. 6a). See 729 n.

inuitant moenibus hostem 'invite the enemy within the walls' (with a bold use of the dative). At this stage the enemy, still outside, have yet to take up the 'invitation'. With this grim hospitality cf. 10.650 *hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas*; 9.347–8 n.; 780 *hostemque receptum*; Soph. *El.* 95–6 ὃν ... Ἄρης ... οὐκ ἐξένισεν 'to whom Ares did not give hospitality'. There is a similar episode at Caes. *De bell. Gall.* 5.43.6 where centurions defending a camp *nutu uocibusque hostis, si introire uellent, uocare coeperunt*; in the sequel (5.44) the two centurions T. Pullo and L. Varenus try to settle their dispute as to who

is the braver by coming outside the fortifications to challenge the enemy (I owe this reference to Andrew Leigh).

677 pro turribus 'in place of towers', 'performing the function of towers', with the further implication that they are 'like towers', as Ajax was 'a tower' for the Achaeans, *Od.* 11.556. This is preferable to the alternative translations: (i) 'In front of the towers', as Polypoetes and Leonteus 'took their stand in front of the high gates', *Il.* 12.131–2. But the spatial sense is contradicted by the detail that Pandarus and Bitias stand ready 'inside'. (ii) 'In defence of the towers', which would also be more natural of fighters forming a line of defence in advance of the walls. The first interpretation furthermore provides an image that is picked up in the simile comparing the dying Bitias to a pile of masonry, 710–16; cf. *Il.* 4.462 '[Echepolus] fell like a tower in the fierce battle.' At 5.437–49 the gigantic boxer Entellus is compared first to a city or fort under attack, and secondly to a tree uprooted on a mountain.

678 cristis capita alta corusci: Conington compares the Homeric epithet κορυθαίολος 'with glancing helm'. *coruscus* is often used of quivering leaves (e.g. 12.701), thus preparing us for the following simile. M's *coruscant* may have arisen through the scribe's eye straying to *astant* in the line above.

679–82 The point of departure for the simile is *Il.* 12.132–4 '[Polypoetes and Leonteus] stood like high-headed oaks in the mountains, which resist the wind and rain for ever, fixed by their great unbroken roots.' The oaks have been transplanted from the mountains to the river-banks of north Italy where they soar into the air away from the gliding waters of the plain; the Italian geography of this simile and that at 710–16 reminds us of the distance travelled by Pandarus and Bitias from their original Trojan landscape (see Cairns, ch. 5 'Geography and nationalism', discussing the simile at 12.701–3 comparing Aen. to the tree-clad Appenninus). Cf. the description of the Cyclopes, 3.677–81 *cernimus astantis nequiquam lumine toruo | Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentis, | concilium horrendum: quales cum uertice celso | aëriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi | constiterunt, silua alta Iouis lucusue Dianae*; these rustic young giants are distant literary relatives of Polyphemus (see also 521–2 n.).

liquentia: Servius reads *Liquetia*, the name of a river of Cisalpine Gaul, objecting that *liquentia* gives the sequence from general to par-

ticular rivers; but Heyne points out that this is a typically Virgilian sequence (e.g.11.68–9).

680 Two parallel geographical specifications with a maximum of variation between the two members.

Athesim: the Adige, the river that flows through Verona.

681–2 A tricolon with verbs at the beginning of the first and beginning and end of the second lines (Norden 393). The trees are almost personified: they are described as if they were in the act of raising themselves up (cf. the description of Appenninus at 12.701–3); V. chooses words that can be used equally of trees or people: *capita* (cf. 678), *uertice, nutant. geminae* perhaps hints that Pandarus and Bitias are twins. *intonsa* is an extension of the common use of *coma* 'hair' to refer to foliage; it is improbable that tall trees by a river would be anything but 'unstripped', and the word may be chosen for its relevance to the tenor of the simile, since *intonsus* of humans implies youthfulness: see 181 n., and cf. 751 *impubis.*

sublimi vertice: *Il.* 12.132 δρύες ... ὑψικάρηνοι 'high-headed oaks'.

683 aditus: the Italians see the opportunity they had sought since the beginning of the book (58 *aditum*, 67 *aditus*). *aditus* goes with *patentis*, but until one comes to the end of the line it can be construed as an internal accusative with *inrumpunt*, as 2.494 *fit uia ui; rumpunt aditus* (on the parallelism between T.'s attack on the Trojan camp and the sack of Troy see 672–755 n.). The author of the *Ilias Latina* takes over the *iunctura* in his summary of the Trojan attack on the Achaean camp in *Iliad* XII on which the present episode is based, 762–3 *inrumpunt aditus Phryges atque in limine primo | restantes sternunt Graios.* Cf. also 11.879 *qui cursu portas primi inrupere patentis* (fighting in the gates of the city of Latinus, a passage which shows wider similarities with the present).

Rutuli ut: 'The rare elision between *i* and *u* occurs only seven times in Virgil: see Norden on 6.770' [F.].

684–5 Two Italic sounding names, *Quercens* and *Aquiculus*, and two Greek, *Tmarus* and *Haemon.* The first pair seems to pun on the oak-trees and waters of the preceding simile. *Tmarus* is otherwise the name of a mountain by Dodona in Epirus (*Ecl.* 8.44; on V.'s use of geographical names see 35 n.); *Haemon* is the name of various mythical characters, including the eponymous ancestor of the Thessalian

Haemones, in one tradition the son of Ares (schol. Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.504); Stat. *Theb.* 7.644, 10.653, uses *Mauortius Haemon* of the son of the Theban king Creon, with reference to his descent from the Sown Men who sprang up from the teeth of the dragon of Ares; the name, from αἷμα 'blood', is apt for a descendant of Mars.

praeceps animi: for the genitive see 246 n. *praeceps* is apt for a man named after a mountain.

686 agminibus totis 'with all their troops'. The *ablatiuus militaris* used of the forces with which an operation is carried out (L–H–S 114). Pandarus and Bitias hyperbolically rout whole columns: cf. 7.707 *agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar.*

687 Cf. 11.881–3 *limine in ipso,* | *moenibus in patriis atque inter tuta domorum* | *confixi exspirant animas* (and see 683 n.).

688 It is unclear whether this line refers to both sides, or just to the Trojans: in favour of the first reading cf. 10.355–61 *certatur limine in ipso* | *Ausoniae. magno discordes aethere uenti* | *proelia ceu tollunt animis et uiribus aequuis:* | ... *haud aliter Troianae acies aciesque Latinae* | *concurrunt*; in favour of the second cf. 2.413–14 *tum Danai gemitu atque ereptae uirginis ira* | *undique collecti inuadunt. discors* and *discordia* in V. normally carry overtones of civil war, but the point here is not obvious.

689 glomerantur: 33–4 n.

690 conferre manum ... audent: cf. 42 *neu struere auderent aciem neu credere campo*; 44 *conferre manum.* This is precisely what Aen. had told the Trojans not to do.

691–5 The climactic encounter is engineered by a message to the general engaged elsewhere in the field: cf. 12.650–703 where first T. and then Aen. are induced by a piece of information to abandon their present business in the battle and proceed to the final duel.

691 furenti: *furor, furere* are by no means words used only of T., but in this episode battle-frenzy is the source both of T.'s success and of his failure (760–1).

693 feruere: V. uses the archaic third conjugation form of the infinitive. The word means here both 'be roused', 'be fired' and 'be busy' (as Lucr. 2.40–1 *tuas legiones per loca campi* | *feruere cum uideas belli simulacra cientis*).

portas praebere patentis: on the triple alliteration at line-end see 563 n.

694–5 deserit inceptum: cf. 12.697–8 *at pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni* | *deserit et muros et summas deserit arces*: Aen. goes to meet T.

who, on hearing of Aen.'s assault on the city, 12.682–3 *perque hostis, per tela ruit maestamque sororem | deserit*, and then 690 *urbis ruit ad muros* (cf. 9.695 *Dardaniam ruit ad portam*).

immani: a recurrent word in this episode (708, 730, 734, 751), reinforcing the monstrous and hyperbolical quality of the fighting.

superbos: perhaps with a hint of 'lofty', 'towering' (*super-*), as well as 'proud'.

695 Dardaniam ... portam: perhaps the proper name of the gate, after the πυλαί Δαρδάνιαι 'Dardanian gate' of Troy (*Il.* 5.789; 22.194, 413): see J. Perret, in *Mélanges offerts à R. Dion* (Paris 1974) 172.

696 Antiphaten: several legendary characters bear this name; the choice of the name here seems to be by association with *Il.* 12.191–2 '[Leonteus] first struck Antiphates in close combat', although T. does not otherwise correspond to Leonteus in V.'s reworking of the episode (see 672–755 n.). Leonteus' next victims form a group of three names in one line, *Il.* 12.193; similarly T.'s next three victims are contained in 702.

se ... agebat: *se agere* for *ire* is at home in the language of comedy; it is used also at 6.337 (on which Norden suggests a possible Ennian precedent) and 8.465.

697 T. gains lustre from the ancestry of his first victim, the bastard son of 'noble' (*alti*) Sarpedon, the son of Jupiter; Antiphates' mother will come from the Thebe in Mysia, home of Chryseis and Andromache, not the Boeotian Thebes. If this tradition about Sarpedon's progeny is not a Virgilian invention, it is otherwise unknown (Roscher IV 410–11; see Harrison on 10.125–6).

nothum is a Greek word, and the participation in battle of bastards of great men is Homeric.

698 cornus is a metonym for 'spear', the cornel being a good source of spear shafts: see *Geo.* 2.447–8 *bona bello | cornus*; *Aen.* 3.22–3. On expressions of the type *Itala cornus* see Dewar on Stat. *Theb.* 9.281.

699 aëra per tenerum: cf. Lucr. 2.145–6 *uolucres ... peruolitantes | aëra per tenerum*; Enn. *Ann.* 18 *transnauit cita per teneras caliginis auras. tenuis* is a more usual epithet of air.

699–700 The spear 'embedded itself in his stomach and travelled deep up into his chest'.

700–1 A hyperbolical and shocking picture of the wound, with

which cf. 333–4, 349–50, 412 n. The gush of blood is like a stream pouring out of a grotto; *specus* also has a technical meaning of 'water-channel', 'conduit' (*OLD* s.v. 2b; cf. the famous simile at Ovid, *Met.* 4.122–4 comparing the blood spurting from Pyramus to water shooting out of a burst water-pipe). It is difficult to decide whether *atri uulneris* goes with *specus* or with *undam* (as in Statius' imitation, *Theb.* 8.748 *terga cruentantem concussi uulneris unda*). The physical immediacy is increased by the specific sense of *reddo* 'throw up', 'pass (a bodily fluid)' (*OLD* s.v. 4b). '*atri* combines the notions of the darkness of the cavity and the blackness of the blood' (Conington).

tepescit: cf. 418–19 *hasta ... traiectoque haesit tepefacta cerebro.*

702 Three more Greek names: *Merops* is borne by various legendary characters; *Erymas* is the name of two Trojans killed at *Il.* 16.345 and 415; *Aphidnus* is the name of the eponyomous hero of the Attic town Aphidna.

manu: see 592 n.

703 For the shape of the line (two participial phrases in chiasmus, internal rhyme before an elision) cf. 4.260 *Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta nouantem.*

animisque frementem 'roaring in his rage'. Cf. 12.371–2 *non tulit instantem Phegeus animisque frementem | obiecit sese*; 12.535–6 *ille ruenti Hyllo animisque immane frementi | occurrit.*

704 The action is elevated still further above the ordinary human level as Bitias assumes a semi-invulnerability. Heyne complained that this is puerile ('nec placet τὸ παιδαριῶδες'); but mimetic realism is only one of several narrative modes. Contrast the very different taste of de la Cerda over a century and a half earlier (anticipating modern analyses of image structures), commenting (in his *explicatio* of 702–21) on the use of the *phalarica* against a tower-like giant: *Inde postea (nota mirum nexum) comparatur cum pila aedificiorum. Adhuc considera vigilantem hunc Argum, & vere centoculum, Virgilium inquam. Homo ardens oculis percutitur ardenti fulmine, & fremens animis phalarica stridente. Itaque fulmen contra ignem, stridor contra fremitum. Sed & quia phalarica fulmen, ideo contorta verbo Iovis. O minutuli alii poëtae!*

neque enim: 617 n. Similar in shape is *Geo.* 2.103–4 *sed neque quam multae species nec nomina quae sint | est numerus, neque enim numero comprendere refert.*

uitam ... dedisset: the simple verb for the more usual compound *reddidisset* (L–H–S 298–9).

705–6 The only instance of the use of a specifically Roman rather than Homeric weapon in Virgilian battle descriptions (Heinze 161). The *phalarica* was a heavy missile with a long iron head and wooden shaft which was particularly suited to being hurled down from a height on to siege engines; it could also be projected from a machine (e.g. Luc. 6.198). Silius, *Pun.* 1.351, describes it as *librari multa consueta phalarica dextra*: that T. should wield it single-handedly sustains the hyperbole of the passage. It often carried burning pitch, like a blazing thunderbolt: V. imitates Enn. *Ann.* 557 *quae ualide ueniunt . . . falarica missa*, probably part of a comparison of the *phalarica* to the *fulmen* during the narration of Hannibal's attack on Saguntum (see Skutsch *ad loc.*); the use of the *phalarica* during the siege is described by Livy 21.8.10 (for the siege of Saguntum see also 35 n.). Thunderbolts strike tall objects, trees and towers; there is also a mythological allusion in the *fulmen* comparison: as figurative wielder of Jupiter's thunderbolt T. strikes down the 'Giant' Bitias; see 708–9, 710–16 nn. This role-playing is reversed at the end of the poem when it is Aen., the agent of Jupiter, who brings down T. with a figurative *fulmen* (12.922). Silius' description of the *phalarica* at Saguntum at *Pun.* 1.350–64 exploits the *fulmen* image in a way that links up with his wider characterization of Hannibal as a Gigantic enemy of the Roman Jupiter.

706 taurea terga 'bulls' hides', the layers of the shield, Homer's ῥινοὶ βοῶν (*Il.* 13.406, etc.).

707 duplici squama lorica fidelis et auro 'his breastplate with its dependable two layers of gold scales'; a hendiadys, as 8.435–6 *aegidaque horriferam ... squamis serpentum auroque polibant.* Scale-armour: 11.487–8, 770–1. This is the only occurrence in V. of *fidelis*: Pliny the Elder uses the word repeatedly of 'reliable' materials, which suggests that it may have a semi-technical use. Wagner compares 7.640 *fidoque accingitur ense.*

708–9 Based on formulaic Homeric descriptions of falling warriors such as δούπησεν δὲ πέσων, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷι 'he fell with a crash, and his arms clattered on top of him' (closely imitated at Enn. *Ann.* 411, *Aen.* 10.488). *immania* (694–5 n.) again stresses the colossal size of Bitias. The next line hints at even mightier events (see Hardie 144–6): *dat tellus gemitum* is paralleled at 12.713 *dat gemitum tellus*, at the final encounter of Aen. and T. in a very hyperbolical passage; the Homeric and Hesiodic models describe the effects either of a whole army on the move (*Il.* 2.781; see 715–16 n.) or of

the gods at war (*Il.* 21.387, fighting each other; *Theog.* 679, 839–40, fighting Titans and Typhoeus). All these passages associate the resounding earth with thunder and/or the resounding sky, e.g. *Theog.* 679–80 'the earth crashed out loud and the broad sky groaned in answer as it shook': the metaphor in *intonat* is a live one. Furthermore *gemitus* is properly a human sound, hinting at the personified Earth, mother of the Giants, lamenting for one of her sons felled by the thunderbolt of Jupiter (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.73 *iniecta monstris Terra dolet suis*). These allusions may help in deciding whether *clipeum* is nominative neuter ('his huge shield thundered on top of him') or accusative masculine ('he fell on to his huge shield with a crash like thunder'). Despite Lucr. 4.1049 *omnes plerumque cadunt in uulnus*, there is no reason why a warrior should not fall backward (as a Homeric warrior struck by a boulder does at *Il.* 7.271), and indeed every likelihood that this would be the effect of the irresistible *phalarica*; the neuter form *clipeum* is common, and we then have the striking picture of the earth groaning beneath the body and the shield sounding on top as if it were the vault of the sky (cf. the metaphor at Enn. *Trag.* 188–9 *in altisono | caeli clipeo*). At 713 *prona* in the following simile is no strong argument the other way. The death of Bitias and the simile are reworked by Silius, *Pun.* 4.281–99, in the death of the Gaul Crixus, explicitly compared to the Giant Mimas, son of Earth (275–6).

710–16 The first part of the story of Pandarus and Bitias is rounded off with an elaborate simile, one of the longest in the poem, in which V. again combines allusion to remote mythological events with specifically Roman reference, here of a contemporary nature: the ability of Roman engineers to build out harbour piers or the foundations of villas into the sea (above all in the Bay of Naples) caught the imagination of poets, particularly as an image of man's audacious control of nature: see N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.21. V. here seems to have in mind the method of constructing prefabricated concrete blocks when rough seas made the use of cofferdams impracticable, whereby (Vitruvius 5.12.3–4) a platform with overhanging edges resting on bases of sand was built out: *deinde insuper eam exaequationem pila quam magna constituta fuerit, ibi struatur; eaque, cum erit exstructa, relinquatur ne minus duos mensis, ut siccescat. tunc autem succidatur margo quae sustinet harenam; ita harena fluctibus subruta efficiet in*

mare pilae praecipitationem. hac ratione, quotienscumque opus fuerit, in aquam poterit esse progressus. See M. Coffey, *B.I.C.S.* 8 (1961) 69–70.

710 talis: this is the only simile in the poem introduced by *talis* as opposed to *qualis*; it is picked up by 712 *sic*.

in Euboico Baiarum litore: the adjective is transferred (by enallage) from *Baiarum* to *litore*, as at 6.2 *Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris* (see Norden and Austin ad loc.); in both places *Euboicarum* could not have been accommodated within the line. The seaside resort of Baiae is a few miles from Cumae, a Greek colony founded from Chalcis in Euboea.

quondam 'sometimes', an archaic use especially common in similes.

711 saxea pila: see 677 n.

ante: the point seems to be that the pier is built some time in advance to allow the mortar to set, as Vitruvius specifies.

712 ponto iaciunt 'throw out into the sea'. *iacio* is used of throwing up or piling up structures (*OLD* 6a), e.g. Caes. *De bell. civ.* 1.25.5 *moles atque aggerem ab utraque parte litoris iaciebat.* Here the primary sense is also present.

712–13 'it falls headlong in a trailing crash and, dashed far down into the shallows, it lies at rest'. The pier is forced down into the sand on the bottom: cf. 1.112 *inliditque uadis atque aggere cingit harenae.* V. likes images of crashing objects: 2.465–6 *ea lapsa repente ruinam | cum sonitu trahit*, 2.631, 8.192, 9.540–1; at 8.233–40 it is open to us to understand that the towering rock over Cacus' cave uprooted by Hercules falls into the river Tiber (see Gransden *ad loc.*). *prona* and *recumbit* are both words primarily applied to human beings; cf. the personified bridge at Cat. 17.4 *ne supinus eat cauaque in palude recumbat.*

714 The confusion of water and sand is another favourite Virgilian image (1.107, 3.557, 6.297, 7.31; *Geo.* 2.105–6, 3.350); cf. esp. *Geo.* 3.240–1 *ima exaestuat unda | uerticibus nigramque alte subiectat harenam* (with Mynors *ad loc.*). Black volcanic sand is visible in the Bay of Naples; cf. also Soph. *Antig.* 590–1 'it rolls black sand from the depths'.

715–16 The crash of a man-made structure shakes the neighbouring geography: for similarly hyperbolical accounts of nature's response cf. 7.513–18 (Allecto's bugle), 8.239–40 (Hercules breaks open Cacus' cave). *Prochyta* (Procida) is a small island between Cape

Misenum and *Inarime* (Ischia, more commonly known in antiquity as Aenaria or Pithecusa); the whole area was notorious for earthquakes, and would literally have 'trembled' often enough. Prochyta is the 'island poured forth', προχύτη νῆσος: it was believed that it was once a mountain on Inarime shaken down into the sea by an earthquake (cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 2.203, 3.6.82), not unlike the *pila* of the simile. An alternative etymology, found in the first book of Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum* according to Servius Dan., names Prochyta after a kinswoman of Aeneas buried on the island; see Buchheit 30–1. The name Inarime seems to derive from a misdivision of words in *Il.* 2.781–3 γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὣς τερπικεραύνωι | χωομένωι, ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωέϊ γαῖαν ἰμάσσηι | εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφωέος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς 'the earth groaned underfoot as if at the anger of Zeus who delights in the thunderbolt, when he lashes the earth around Typhoeus in Arima, where they say that the bed of Typhoeus is'. *Inarime* is first extant in V.; whether he was the first to take εἰν Ἀρίμοις as one word is unknown (see Ravaglioli, *EV* s.v. 'Inarime'). Arima was located in various parts of the east, and by some in Pithecusa according to Strabo 13.4.6; this may be connected with the placing of the monstrous Typhoeus (or Typhon), defeated by Zeus, under Pithecusa by Pherecydes fr. 54 Jacoby. The location of the several battles between the gods and Titans or Giants and of the mountains or volcanoes thrown on top of the defeated monsters was very variable; the Phlegrean fields near Baiae and Cumae were one of the locations of the battle between the gods and the Giants. Typhoeus was more commonly located under Etna (see Williams on 3.578–9). One reason for the version adopted here is V.'s desire to exploit to the full *Il.* 2.781–3: see 708–9 n. Further speculation in G. Patroni, *Historia* 3 (1929) 238–60.

alta: in actuality Procida is low-lying. Perhaps V. takes poetic licence to make the picture more awe-inspiring. Alternatively 'to its depths' (proleptically).

tremit: cf. 7.515 *contremuit nemus*; 8.240 *refluitque exterritus amnis*. There is a hint of a personification: Prochyta trembles with fear; cf. 708–9 n.

durumque cubile: cf. *Il.* 2.783 'the couch (εὐνάς) of Typhoeus'; Pind. *Pyth.* 1.28 (Typhon under Etna) στρωμνὰ δὲ χαράσσοισ' ἅπαν νῶτον ποτικεκλιμένον κεντεῖ 'his bed scratches and pricks the length

of his back as he reclines on it'. *durumque cubile* is best taken in loose apposition with the whole of 716, rather than with *Inarime.*

Iouis imperiis imposta: the story of Bitias ends with a strong image of Olympian might imposed on forces of rebellion: cf. 1.61–2 (Jupiter's imprisonment of the chaotic winds) *hoc metuens molemque et montis insuper altos | imposuit*; 3.578–80 *fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus | urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam | impositam.* There is an 'irrational correspondence' (30–2 n.) between this detail of the simile, and the earlier assimilation of Bitias to a Giant struck down by a Jovian T. The simile provides a picture of chaos securely locked up, balancing the reckless opening of the gates (675 *ducis imperio commissa*) at the beginning of the episode; but in the main narrative the disruption caused by Pandarus and Bitias' rash action is not contained until 812 *fulmineus Mnestheus* finally sees off T.

Typhoeo is trisyllabic by synizesis of *-eo.*

717–21 The grand manner of Bitias' death is maintained in the description of the divine inspiration of courage and panic, introducing the climax of T.'s *aristeia.* In Homer such interventions are made by gods fighting for one side or the other; here Mars is simply a personification of the spirit of war (contrast the intervention of Juno at 745–6); cf. 8.700 *saeuit medio in certamine Mauors*; 10.755–7. The opposite effects on Latins and Trojans are linked by an image of driving horses. The lines correspond structurally to *Il.* 12.437–8, where Zeus grants κῦδος 'glory' to Hector at the crucial moment in the fight at the Achaean wall.

717 armipotens: cf. Lucr. 1.32–3 *Mauors | armipotens.* The epithet may be Ennian.

718 stimulos ... sub pectore uertit: the image is of driving horses: cf. 6.100–1 (the inspiration of the Sibyl) *ea frena furenti | concutit et stimulos sub pectore uertit Apollo. sub* is found as a prefix in phrases like *subdere calcaria, stimulos,* but *sub pectore* means 'inside their breasts', with *stimulos* referring to a figurative, internal, 'prick', as at Lucr. 3.873–4 *subesse | caecum aliquem cordi stimulum.*

719 immisitque: of 'driving on' horses, rather than 'letting slip' dogs (as Henry suggests). With the whole passage cf. 12.331–6 (a simile describing T.'s battle-frenzy) *qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri | sanguineus Mauors clipeo increpat atque furentis | bella mouens immittit equos, illi aequore aperto | ante Notos Zephyrumque uolant, gemit ultima*

pulsu | Thraca pedum circumque atrae Formidinis ora | Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus, aguntur.

Fugam ... atrumque Timorem: corresponding to the Homeric personifications Δεῖμος and Φόβος, 'Terror' and 'Fear' (*Il.* 4.440, 11.37; at *Il.* 15.119 they are the names of Ares' horses); with *Fuga* cf. also φύζα 'rout', personified as the companion of φόβος at *Il.* 9.2. With *atrumque Timorem* cf. 12.335 *atrae Formidinis ora*, a phrase taken from Lucr. 4.173 (a description of storm-clouds).

720–1 A natural and supernatural cause are conjoined (see 601 n.).

720 undique conueniunt applies only to the Latins; it is they who now have the opportunity for battle that they have been looking for since the beginning of the book. The phrase is also found at Enn. *Ann.* 391, in a passage echoed later in this episode (see 806–14 n.).

721 bellatorque is used adjectivally (L–H–S 157), 'the warrior-god'.

incidit: *incido*, like ἐμπίπτω, is often used of passions; for an example of a divinely inspired passion cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.3 *Pierius menti calor incidit.* M reads *animos*: the dative is expected after *incido*, and is also supported by the Homeric phrase ἔμπεσε θυμῶι used of passions 'falling on' the spirit. On half-lines see 167, 467 nn.

722–30 This long period carries us forward to the critical enclosure of T. within the walls; after the hypotaxis of lines 722–3, the action taken by Pandarus is described in a tricolon in lines 724–7 (*torquet ... linquit ... includit recipitque*), to which are appended three lines built up in a cumulative manner typical of Homeric narrative (see 176–8 n.); the admission of the enemy hero is an accidental by-product, an irony also expressed in the contrast between Pandarus' perception (722 *cernit*) of the Trojan plight after the death of his brother, and his failure to perceive (728–9 *non ... uiderit*) the invading T. On the theme of perception in book IX see Introd. (section 8).

722 fuso germanum corpore: the periphrasis, with descriptive ablative, for *fusum germanum* emphasizes the physical presence of the fallen body (see 272–3 n.). Cf. *Il.* 20.419–20 'when Hector noticed his brother ... sinking on the ground'.

723 The business-like quality of this line, with its monosyllabic ending (see 320–3 n.), conveys Pandarus' attempt at a prudent tacti-

cal analysis. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.12.25 *ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res*; Livy 2.47.5 *missis ad consules nuntiis quo loco res essent.*

qui casus agat res 'what [evil] chance directs events'.

724 Repeated *m*s, *c*s, and *u*s and the spondaic rhythm contribute to the effect of Pandarus' great effort in single-handedly closing the gate.

torquet: a favourite Virgilian word, here expressing the difficulty of pushing a heavy and unyielding object; cf. 4.481–2 *maximus Atlas* | *axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.*

726 Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.513–14 *par operis iactura lucro: quippe hoste retento* | *exclusere suos* (in a passage modelled on the present episode). For a historical parallel cf. Livy 5.13.13 *et Veientium refugientes in urbem multi ante portas caesi, dum prae metu ne simul Romanus inrumperet, obiectis foribus extremos suorum exclusere.*

727 ast: an archaic form for *at*: see Austin on 2.467.

alios: sc. *suorum*. T. is the only Latin to gain entry. Elisions in this and the next two lines suggest T.'s penetration of the Trojan defences.

728 demens: in Homer νήπιος 'witless', 'silly' is similarly found at the beginning of a line, followed by a pause, for example used twice of Asius and his men who attack the gate held by Polypoetes and Leonteus, the immediate models for Pandarus and Bitias, at *Il.* 12.113, 127. *demens* is here not 'crazed', 'insane' but 'witless', 'lacking in presence of mind': cf. 4.561–2 (Mercury admonishes the sleeping Aen.) *nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis,* | *demens. demens* is also found at the beginning of a line at 6.590 (followed by a causal relative clause), in the description of the infernal punishment of Salmoneus, struck down like Pandarus for his presumption; and at 6.172, of Misenus challenging Triton. Servius Dan. notes the editorial intrusion: *pathos per personam poetae proferendum.*

in medio non agmine: the separation of *non* from its verb and its enclosure within *medio* ... *agmine* is an almost pictorial representation of Pandarus' obliviousness to the deadly presence in the Trojans' midst. Cf. 28 *medio dux agmine Turnus* where we see the general at the centre of his army. Pandarus repeats the original mistake of the Trojans in failing to recognize the entry of the enemy (in the Wooden Horse).

729 ultroque: see 127 n. He even goes so far as to shut him up in

the 'city' with the Trojans, an unwitting welcome to the enemy in contrast to the initial 'invitation' by Pandarus and Bitias, 676 *ultroque inuitant moenibus hostem.*

urbi: see 8 n. T.'s entry evokes the ultimate danger of an enemy penetration of the walls of Troy – or Rome (see 672–755 n.).

730 The long period closes with a one-line simile, a pause to give the reader a clear image of the danger before the actors perceive the threat. The wild beast is now within the fold: at 59–64 T. outside the walls was compared to a wolf prowling outside a sheepfold. At 792–6 he will be a lion at bay. On Virgilian tigers see J. Aymard, *R.Ph.* sér. 3, 18 (1944) 78–83. e

pecora inter inertia = 4.158.

731–5 T.'s undetected entry is dramatically followed by the revelation to the terrified Trojans of his full military glory, in lines with a supernatural quality. In Homer the gods kindle flame from the body and armour of their favourites before deeds of prowess, e.g. *Il.* 5.4–7 (Athene and Diomedes). Achilles, in whose role T. now casts himself, is a particularly fiery hero: at *Il.* 18.203–6 Athene mantles him in the aegis and kindles a flame from his head; his armour, made by the divine smith Hephaestus, flashes like the sun, moon, or fire (*Il.* 19.373–80, 22.134–5). Within the *Aen.* compare the fires spewed forth from the head of Augustus at Actium (8.680–1) and from the shield of Aen. returning to the war (10.271). T.'s fieriness is elsewhere an expression of his savage frenzy (7.785–8, 12.101–2: see 66 n., and V. Pöschl, *The art of Vergil* (transl. G. Seligson, Ann Arbor 1962) 102–3; S. G. P. Small, *T.A.Ph.A.* 90 (1959) 247). The language also suggests divine epiphany: cf. 1.402 *refulsit* of Venus, followed as here by a recognition, 1.406 *agnouit.* Henry compares the sign of the arms in the sky revealed by Venus at 8.523–9, with full *son-et-lumière* effects, again followed by recognition (531). That omen finds a pendant in the miraculous apparition that preceded the metamorphosis of the ships at 9.110–13; there too, as in the 'revelation' of T., a *noua lux* is followed by meteorological phenomena and a terrifying sound. Finally the *fulmina* of 733 suggest the identification of T. with Jupiter striking down his enemies (see 708–9 n.). In *Iliad* XV Hector attacks the Achaean ships under the aegis of Zeus: 636–7 'so then by the will of the gods the Achaeans were put to flight by Hector and Father Zeus'; and with the description of T. here compare those of

Hector at *Il.* 15.607–10 and 12.462–66 (flame kindles in Hector's eyes as he first leaps within the Greek wall). This is the high point of T.'s confidence and success; we should remember that Aen. is not present.

731 effulsit 'shone out from' is preferable to R's *offulsit*, which would mean that a new light 'shone before' the eyes of the Trojans (as in the parallel passage at 110, whence *offulsit* may have come).

731–2 arma | horrendum sonuere: another Homeric motif, e.g. *Il.* 21.254–5 ἐπὶ στήθεσσι δὲ χαλκὸς | σμερδαλέον κονάβιζεν 'the bronze armour on his chest rang out, terrible to hear' (Virgil reproduces the pause after the trochaic caesura (also in 733), common in Homer but rarer in Latin: Winbolt 34–5). Cf. 12.700 *horrendumque intonat armis*, of Aeneas moving to the final duel, 'thundering' as Turnus here 'shoots forth thunderbolts'.

732–3 tremunt in uertice cristae | sanguineae: like Achilles' crest as he puts on his new armour at *Il.* 19.382–3 'the golden crest shook around'. T.'s red (50, 270) crest is now the colour of the blood he is about to shed; cf. the description of the Chimaera on his helmet at 7.787–8 *tam magis illa fremens et tristibus effera flammis | quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae. sanguineus* is also used of the breastplate of Aen. at 8.622, and, in a different sense, of Mars at 12.332 (see 719 n.); cf. also the *iubae sanguineae* (2.206–7) of the monstrous serpents with their fiery eyes that attacked Laocoon and his sons.

733 clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit 'he shoots quivering thunderbolts from his shield'; this reading is preferable to other variants: *mittunt*, with *fulmina* as subject, in a reflexive sense for *mittunt se* is harsh; *clipeus* has been suggested, but *mitto* is *uox propria* of the person who wields the thunderbolt. Cf. the light that shoots from the shield of Achilles at *Il.* 19.374, and the flames that pour from Aen.'s shield at 10.271. Homer uses στεροπή 'lightning flash' figuratively of flashing armour, etc., but *fulmen* and related words are not normally used figuratively in this way before V., and the phrase hints at an identification of T. with Jupiter. The tables are turned at the end of the epic, when (12.654) *fulminat Aeneas armis* as he sets out to destroy T. The passage is imitated twice by Silius, once in a description of Mars' shield at *Pun.* 4.431–2 *fulminis atri | spargentem flammas*, and once in a rhetorical exaggeration of the fearsomeness of Hannibal at 11.337–40 *tune illum, quem non acies, non moenia et urbes | ferre ualent,*

cum frons propior lumenque corusco | igne micat, tune illa uiri, quae uertice fundit, | fulmina pertuleris? See 52–3 n.

734–5 agnoscunt ... | turbati 'they recognize and are confounded'. Tragic recognition is a recurrent feature of the *Aen.*; it may come too late for solace, as at 1.406 where Aen. recognizes his mother only as she leaves, or it may be the recognition of inevitable doom, as here. Book XII is the story of T.'s gradual recognition that he is destined to succumb to Aen., based on Hector's final recognition that he is doomed by the gods, *Il.* 22.296 (ἔγνω). *agnosco* is used of the recognition of a deity or divine sign at 1.406; 8.531; 9.16, 659; 12.869; at 12.449 Juturna *agnouit* the dread sound of the supernaturally healed Aen. returning to battle.

734 faciem inuisam: at 2.601 of Helen.

immania 'huge'; at 730 it means 'wild', 'savage'; see 694–5 n. Cf. the famous line describing the monster Polyphemus at 3.658 *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*

735 Aeneadae: the use of this word for 'Trojans' at this point reminds us that Aen. himself is not present.

ingens: the huge Pandarus is a fitting opponent for the 'vast limbs' of T. A similar amplification of the physical size of *both* combatants is found in the final duel between Aen. and T. in book XII.

736 emicat: effectively carried over to the beginning of the line to express the speed of Pandarus (despite his great bulk, *ingens*, the word with which *emicat* is juxtaposed). *emicat* is also carried over at 5.319; 11.496; 12.327. *mico, emico* are frequently used of the flash of light or fire: at 5.319 Nisus 'darts out' (*emicat*) swifter than the wings of the thunderbolt, in front of the pack of runners, who are compared to a cloud (*nimbus*).

mortis fraternae feruidus ira: 'ablaze with rage at the death of his brother'. With the causal genitive cf. 2.413 *ereptae uirginis ira.* Pandarus matches T. both in size and fieriness. At *Il.* 20.423 Hector, seeing his brother Polydorus fallen, goes to meet his slayer Achilles 'like fire'; Silius imitates V. at *Pun.* 5.344–5 *aduolat interea, fraterni uulneris ira | turbatus, Libyae ductor.* There are parallels between this passage and 12.324–7 *Turnus ut Aenean cedentem ex agmine uidit | turbatosque duces, subita spe feruidus ardet; | poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus | emicat in currum et manibus molitur habenas.*

737–42 The verbal exchange before single combat is Homeric, e.g. the encounter of Hector and Achilles at *Il.* 20.423–37. On taunts in the *Aen.* see Highet 116–17.

737 dotalis regia Amatae 'the palace which you seek as dowry from Amata'. Pandarus, like Drances at 11.369 (*si adeo dotalis regia cordi est*), implies that T. is motivated by selfish personal ambition. In book VII Amata urges the suit of T. for Lavinia against Latinus' compliance with the oracles stipulating a foreign son-in-law.

738 media Ardea 'the heart of Ardea'; cf. 7.372 *mediaeque Mycenae.*

Ardea Turnum: the contemptuous use of the third person allows the forceful juxtaposition of the proper names. *Amatae* and *Turnus* come at the end respectively of the first and second lines of Pandarus' address; the last line of T.'s counter-taunt ends with *Achillem*, emphasizing a claim that is at once made good in action.

739 castra inimica: a military camp now, not a city; Pandarus tries to intimidate T. *inimica* here means 'of the enemy', but the more usual sense 'hostile', 'unfriendly' is also present. See 315–16 n.

740 olli subridens: at 1.254 and 12.829 used of Jupiter. *olli* is an archaic and Ennian form for *illi*; it adds to the awesomeness of T.'s appearance. Servius comments *magnam confidentiam uirtutis ostendit.*

sedato pectore: cf. 12.18 *olli sedato respondit corde Latinus*, to the *turbidus* T. Here T., confident of his invincibility against the panic-stricken Trojans, adopts the magisterial manner of a human or divine king.

741 incipe ... et consere dextram: *either* 'throw the first spear and (then) engage at close quarters', as Conington suggests, *or*, by a hendiadys, 'begin to do battle with me', as at 10.876 (Aen. to Mezentius) *incipias conferre manum*, which is also followed by spear-throwing rather than by sword-play. Cf. Achilles' words to Hector at *Il.* 22.268–9 'bethink yourself of all your virtue: now if ever you need to show yourself a warrior and brave fighter'.

animo is preferable to R's *animi*; cf. 1.529 *non ea uis animo.*

742 T. sees himself not as the selfish suitor, but as the righteous scourge of the perfidious Trojans, confirming the Sibyl's words at 6.89 *alius Latio iam partus Achilles.* Cf. 2.547–9 where Pyrrhus tells Priam to go as a messenger to Achilles in the next world, and sneers

549 *degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento.* This is one of a number of echoes in this scene of Pyrrhus' invasion of the palace of Priam: see 672–755 n.

743–51 The pattern of unsuccessful spear-cast by A followed by successful throw or blow of B is Homeric. At *Il.* 20.438–41 Hector's spear is blown aside from Achilles by Athene; at *Il.* 8.309–11 Teucer's arrow is thrown off course by Apollo; Hector then strikes him down with a a stone.

743 dixerat: like 749 *sic ait* corresponds to Homeric ὣς φάτο, ὣς ἔφατ' . . . 'thus he spoke' at the beginning of a line.

rudem nodis et cortice crudo 'roughly made, all knots and raw bark'. A spear for the giant from the mountain forests.

744 intorquet: see 534 n.

745–6 Punctuate after *aurae*; with the comma after *uulnus*, *ueniens* would naturally agree with *Iuno*, giving a feeble sense. With *uulnus . . . ueniens* cf. 5.444–5 *ille ictum uenientem a uertice uelox | praeuidit.*

745 excepere aurae 'the breezes received [the spear]', as the medium of the shot; cf. 409 *rege tela per auras.* But there is also a hint at the cliché of casting something fruitlessly to the winds (e.g. 9.312–13 *aurae . . . nubibus inrita donant* (n.); 5.446 *Entellus uiris in uentum effudit*), and perhaps also at the idea that the winds (instead of T.) received the wound: *excipere uulnus* (or *telum*) is common in this sense.

uulnus: of 'a prospective wound residing in a missile' (*OLD* s.v. 1c).

Saturnia Iuno: 2 n. There is perhaps a hint of the allegorical identification of Hera/Juno with the lower air (see Buffière 106–7; Feeney 132, 147, 150): the storm in book 1 is the result of Juno's command to the king of the winds. Here the breezes receive the spear, and the Queen of the Air has power over what enters her domain.

746 In Homer spears that miss their target may hit another person or fix themselves in the earth; this variant recalls the spears of the suitors made harmless by Athene, some of which hit the doors of Odysseus' palace, *Od.* 22.256–9.

747 The change of speaker is not marked, but the reader aware of the Homeric pattern of throw and counter-throw will not be misled.

uersat: according to Servius *mucronem uersare* is an Ennian phrase (*Inc.* 2 Warmington).

748 neque enim: see 617 n.

is 'such' a wielder of the weapon (i.e. of such a sort that you will be able to escape). There is a slight zeugma in *teli nec uulneris auctor*: T. is the 'author' of the wound, but not literally of the sword. Cf. 420–1 *teli . . . auctorem.*

749 sublatum alte consurgit in ensem 'raising high his sword he reared himself for the blow'. The third-foot elision, the possibility of taking *alte* both with *sublatum* and with *consurgit*, the use of a verb, *consurgere*, normally used of a group of people, and the compressed expression *consurgere in ensem*, combine to give a powerful picture of T. as in one continuous movement he prepares to strike down Pandarus. The same language is used at 12.729 *alte sublatum consurgit Turnus in ensem*, but there T.'s sword shatters on the helmet of Aen. On parallels between the present episode and the final duel with Aen. see 672–755 n.

750–1 The horrifying wound is Homeric, e.g. *Il.* 20.386–7 'as he rushed straight for him, godlike Achilles struck him with his spear through the centre of his head; his head was completely split in two'; 20.475. V. goes further in accumulating words expressing the separation of the two sides of Pandarus' head: *mediam*, *gemina*, *inter*, *diuidit*; the effect is heightened by the enclosing word-order of *mediam . . . frontem* and *impubis . . . malas.*

mediam . . . diuidit 'split in twain'. Cf. 588–9 *et media aduersi liquefacto tempora plumbo | diffidit*, where *diffidit*, as *diuidit* here, is effectively carried over; Hor. *Serm.* 1.1.99–100 *at hunc liberta securi | diuisit medium* (another symbolic blow, Ummidius attaining 'a knowledge of the middle way' (N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 22–3)).

751 impubisque . . . malas: *malas* shows that the sword-blow reaches from top to bottom of the head; *impubis* points up the pathos of youthful death. Cf. the fate of two other gigantic brothers, the Aloidae, struck down by Zeus at *Od.* 11.318–20 'before the down beneath their temples could blossom and cover their jaws with a bloom of hair'. Horace stresses the youth of the Giants who fought the gods: *Carm.* 2.12.7 *Telluris iuuenes*, 3.4.50.

753 An artfully arranged line, with alliteration of *c* and assonance of *a*, and etymological play in *artus atque arma*, but without obvious expressive effect. There are trochaic caesurae in fourth and fifth feet (see 62–3 n.).

754 sternit: *sternere* (*leto*, etc.) is the action proper to the slayer: this is an example of the Latin use of 'do' for 'suffer to have happen to one'.

754–5 Here, as in 750–1, there is an accumulation of expressions for the division of Pandarus' head, *partibus aequis*, *huc ... atque illuc*, *utroque*. The model is Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.103–4 (Castor despatches one of the Bebrycians) ἤλασ' ἐπεσσύμενον κεφαλῆς ὕπερ· ἡ δ' ἑκάτερθεν | ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ' ὤμοισιν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι κεάσθη 'he struck him on top of the head as he rushed at him; his head was split apart and fell on this side and that on both his shoulders'. There is a gruesome aptness in this conclusion to the episode of Pandarus and Bitias, the two brothers who, standing to right and left of the gate (677), presumed to present a united front to the enemy; first Pandarus is divided from his brother by death; in shutting the gate he divides Trojan from Trojan; and in his own death the proud head once raised to the heavens (see 681–2) falls to the ground split in two.

756–818 Turnus' slaughter. The Trojans rally

756 trepida formidine: cf. 169–70 *trepidi formidine portas* | *explorant.*

757–61 Hypothetical outcomes in the form 'and now he/they would have ..., if a god had not ...,' are Homeric: *Il.* 8.217–19 Hector would have fired the Achaean ships, if Hera had not inspired Agamemnon to rouse his men; 16.698–701 the Achaeans would have taken Troy through the might of Patroclus, if Apollo had not intervened (cf. 18.454–6; 21.544–6). Here, to use the distinction made by Nisus at 184–5, it is not a *deus* but his own *dira cupido* that prevents T.'s success. Cf. also 2.54–6.

757 cura: forethought and precaution, not *furor*, mark the successful general; cf. 11.519 *ducis et tu concipe curam*; Cat. 62.16 *amat victoria curam.* This is not T.'s only missed opportunity: at 11.901–5 he abandons his ambush in the mountain pass, *furens*, just as Aen. is about to enter the trap; at 12.728–41 his sword shatters because in his haste to do battle he had picked up the wrong one.

subisset 'occurred to'.

758 manu 'by force': see Austin on 6.395. *rumpere claustra manu* is more apt of one breaking in from outside, as Hector does at *Il.* 12.445–62, than of one opening the gates from within (although this is what Epicurus does at Lucr. 1.70–1 *effringere ... portarum claustra*).

The new Troy nearly suffers the fate of the old: 2.266–7 *portisque patentibus omnis | accipiunt socios*; and cf. Pyrrhus' break-in to the palace of Priam at 2.491–5; 495 *immissi Danai* (see also 683 n.).

759 Memories of the fall of Troy continue: 2.248–9 *nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset | ille dies, festa uelamus fronde per urbem* (the Trojans, unaware that the enemy is even now within, in the Wooden Horse); Austin *ad loc.* cites the close parallel of Livy 5.21.5 (the Romans have effected an entry into Veii by tunnelling) *Veientes ignari se iam a suis uatibus ... proditos ... seque ultimum illum diem agere*; Ennius' account of the Sack of Alba Longa may lie behind all of these passages; behind the present passage hovers also *Il.* 18.454–6 'and now on that very same day (αὐτῆμαρ) they would have sacked the city [of Troy], if Apollo had not killed the son of Menoetius ...' (see 757–61 n.). Cf. also 2.324–5 *uenit summa dies ... fuimus Troes* (the end of the *gens*); 2.668 *uocat lux ultima uictos.*

760 A line containing four words denoting strong passion. This is a man infuriated by Allecto, who boasts at 7.550 *accendamque animos insani Martis amore*; T. falls prey to the temptation recognized by Nisus at 354 *sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri* (n.).

761 On half-lines see 167 n.

aduersos 'the enemy', although *auersos* (Bentley's suggestion) might have been expected; V.'s choice of word is perhaps influenced by the memory of *Ecl.* 10.44–5 *nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis | tela inter media atque aduersos detinet hostis.*

762–77 The victims of Turnus' wild rampage are carefully catalogued by the narrator, with pointer-words typical of Lucretian expositions: 762 *principio*, 763 *hinc*, 766 *deinde*, 771 *inde*; see Norden on 6.723ff.

762 Phalerim: Phalerus (with a long *e*) is the name of the eponymous hero of Phaleron in Attica (see 702 *Aphidnum* with n.); Saunders 553 suggests a connection with *phalera* 'military ornament'. One might also think of the Sicilian tyrant Phalaris (*Phalarin* is the reading of P), as *Gygen* is the name of a Lydian king (or tyrant).

Gygen: the Lydian name normally has a long *y*; with a short *y* Gyges is the name of one of the Hundred-handers (Hes. *Theog.* 149), which also exists in a variant Gyas, as at Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.69 (also the name of both a Trojan (1.222 etc.) and a Latin (10.318: see Harrison *ad loc.*) in the *Aen.*). On T. as a giant-slayer see 708–9 n.

762–3 succiso poplite Gygen | excipit 'he intercepts Gyges

and hamstrings him', a predicative use of the participial phrase; cf. 536–7 *flammam ... quae ... postibus haesit adesis. excipio* is used of catching an opponent unawares or in ambush; there is a strong pause after *excipit* filling the first dactyl. Those in flight suffer hamstringing: Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.14–16 *mors ...* | *nec parcit imbellis iuuentae* | *poplitibus timidoue tergo*; hamstringing was a speciality of the Roman legionary (Wickert 452).

raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas = 12.330 (T. at the height of his final *aristeia*). *hinc* is probably just 'next', rather than to be taken closely with *raptas* 'snatched from their bodies'.

764 tergus is the *difficilior lectio* (and therefore the more likely to have been corrupted to *tergum* than vice versa); of the human back it is usually poetic.

Iuno uiris animumque ministrat: the gift of valour by a god in the heat of battle is Homeric, e.g. *Il.* 5.1–2 'then Pallas Athene gave strength and courage (μένος καὶ θάρσος) to Diomedes son of Tydeus'; see 717–21 n. There is a slight oxymoron in the concept of a great goddess as a *ministra* to a human; cf. 5.639–40 *en quattuor arae* | *Neptuno; deus ipse faces animumque ministrat.*

765 addit Halyn comitem 'he adds Halys as a companion in death for them'; cf. 12.362 *huic comitem Asbyten coniecta cuspide mittit*; 4.677–8 (Anna to Dido) *comitemne sororem* | *spreuisti moriens?* See also 444 n. Statius imitates this passage at *Theb.* 2.607–9 *rotat ipse furentem* | *Deilochum, comitemque illi iubet ire sub umbras* | *Phegea*, perhaps punctuating our line after *Halyn. Halys* is another Trojan named after a river of Asia Minor (35 n.).

Phegea: a Trojan *famulus* of this name appears at 5.263; Turnus kills another Phegeus at 12.371–82. A Phegeus is the first victim of Diomedes during his *aristeia* at *Il.* 5.11–19; the name 'oak-man' (φηγός) is a Greek equivalent of the Italic *Quercens* who shares v. 684 with *Aquiculus*, another 'watery' character.

766 ignaros: in the same position at 345, referring to four unwitting victims of Euryalus all named in one line, as the four names of T.'s victims occupy line 767. For another parallel with the rampage of Nisus and Euryalus through the Rutulian camp see 760 n.

Martemque cientis 'stirring up the battle'; but the personification is not entirely dead: they are also 'rousing', or even 'invoking', the god of war.

767 An exact reproduction of *Il.* 5.678 Ἄλκανδρόν θ' Ἅλιόν τε

Νοήμονά τε Πρύτανίν τε, the only such instance in V. In Homer these are Lycian victims of Odysseus, who has been diverted by Athene from killing their leader Sarpedon, as T. has been diverted by his *furor* from the more important task of opening the gate. The line is repeated by Ovid, *Met.* 13.258 in the course of Ulysses' catalogue of the men he has killed in battle, a 'correction' of V. As in the Greek original, the third *-que* is 'lengthened' before an initial double consonant: see Fordyce on 7.186.

768 Lyncea: the name of an Argonaut famed for his keen sight, and perhaps appropriate for a more sharp-sighted Trojan who has spotted that T. is in the camp. He is the first of a group of victims of T. whose names are found in the legend of Jason and the Argonauts; the others are Amycus, Clytius, and Cretheus.

tendentem contra 'making towards him': 377, 795.

769 ab aggere dexter: this seems to mean that Turnus has reached the rampart (766 *in muris*), and now he faces Lynceus coming at him and on his right. Cf. 8.237 *dexter in aduersum nitens.* The variant *dextra* (M^1) makes a weak filler.

770 occupat 'strikes first', 'forestalls'; for the pause after the first dactyl see 762–3 n.

770–1 The force and speed of T.'s blow are emphasized by *uno . . . ictu* and by the use of the perfect *iacuit* after the run of historic presents. Cf. *Il.* 20.481–2 'striking his neck with his sword he hurled afar his head together with the helmet' (Achilles at the height of his battle fury). On the epic *topos* of 'full' or 'empty' helmets see J. G. W. Henderson, *P.C.Ph.S.* 37 (1991) 63 n. 15.

772 uastatorem 'ravager'; first found here, a predominantly poetic word later used more commonly of wild beasts that lay waste a territory. The effects of Amycus as hunter are similar to those of the beasts that he hunts; the name is borne by other Trojans (1.221, 10.704, 12.509), but its most famous bearer was the inhuman king of the Bebrycians who challenged strangers to a boxing-match (5.373); see also H. Mørland, *S.O.* 40 (1965) 72–3.

quo non felicior alter: see 179–80 n. Particularly close in structure is 6.164–5 *Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter | aere ciere uiros Martemque accendere cantu* (*Aeoliden* occurs here two lines later).

felicior 'more successful', taking an epexegetic infinitive (see Page on 11.736); cf. Silius, *Pun.* 11.441–2 *chelys lapidem testudine felix | ducere.* For a similar vignette of a hunter killed in battle see *Il.* 5.49–58, Sca-

mandrius 'the good hunter', slain by Menelaus; cf. 11.677–89, the death of *uenator* Ornytus.

773 ferrumque armare ueneno is a typically Virgilian variation on *tinguere tela manu*. Servius points to the slightly paradoxical idea of 'arming' the metal which normally does the arming (as at 678). Cf. 10.140 *calamos armare ueneno*; 12.856–8 *sagitta, | armatam saeui Parthus quam felle ueneni, | ... torsit*. Poisoned arrows were traditionally a barbaric weapon (see Harrison on 10.140).

tinguere: cf. Lucan 3.266–7 *tinxere sagittas | errantes Scythiae populi*; Ovid, *Tr.* 3.10.64 *tinctile uirus*.

774 Clytium Aeoliden: *Clytius* is a common name of heroes, appropriately enough as a derivative of κλυτός 'renowned', including one of the Argonauts (not however a descendant of Aeolus); it is found also at *Aen.* 10.129, 325; 11.666. *Aeolides* (6.164 of Misenus, 6.529 of Ulysses) is, curiously, the patronym of Cretheus father of Aeson (*Od.* 11.237), but anastrophe of *et* seems unlikely.

774–8 After the wild hunter the list of T.'s victims reaches its climax with the death of a poet (other epic examples at Ovid, *Met.* 5.111–18; Val. Flacc. *Argon.* 3.158–60; Stat. *Theb.* 8.548–53; Silius, *Pun.* 5.461–3). Servius makes out that Cretheus is a lyric poet, and Heyne notes that a 'vir doctus' took the lines as a compliment to Horace, perhaps because of the parallel with *Carm.* 1.26.1 in *amicum ... Musis*. But *carmina* ('songs', < **can-mina*; cf. 777 *canebat*) need not be specifically lyric (cf. 446 *si quid mea carmina possunt*) and the *cithara* may as well be the *phorminx* of the epic poet as the *lura* of the lyric (it is the instrument of Iopas, a recognizably Homeric *aoidos* at 1.740); the subject-matter of Cretheus' *carmina* at 777 is centrally epic. Homer introduces a number of singers who may be regarded as partial self-portraits; on V.'s practice see Hardie 52–60; M. Desport, *L'Incantation virgilienne: Virgile et Orphée* (Bordeaux 1952). H. Mørland, *S.O.* 42 (1968) 108–12 and 43 (1968), 57–60 traces subtle links between 774–7 and the *Odes* of Horace, and argues that Clytius and Cretheus allude respectively to Horace and V. (For a more certain allusion to the poet Horace see Harrison on 10.193.)

774 Crethea: a Greek Cretheus is killed at 12.538. On the Argonautic connection see 768 n.; as the name of a poet it may also allude to Cretheis of Cume, mother of Homer according to one ancient biographical tradition (*RE* VIII 2191–2).

amicum ... Musis: cf. *Od.* 8.63 (Demodocus) τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε 'whom the Muse loved exceedingly'; Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.1 *Musis amicus*. N–H ad loc. cite among other parallels Theocr. 1.141 τὸν Μοίσαις φίλον ἄνδρα 'the man dear to the Muses', Daphnis, another dying poet.

775 Crethea Musarum comitem: the poet's death is marked by self-conscious verbal patterning, sustained in the anaphora of *semper* in 775–7. *C. M. c.* is a variation on *amicum Crethea Musis* with epanalepsis of *Crethea* and *Musarum*. Epanalepsis is found in Homer, but is especially cultivated by the Hellenistic poets and their followers in Rome; here it heightens the pathos of the death of Cretheus: cf. the examples at 6.162–5 (the dead Misenus), 6.495–6 (the mangled Deiphobus), 10.821–2 (the dying Lausus), 12.546–7 (death of Aeolus). In general see Norden on 6.164, Fordyce on 7.586ff. *Musarum comes* represents Greek Μουσάων θεράπων (Hes. *Theog.* 100 etc.); cf. also Lucr. 3.1037 *adde Heliconiadum comites; quorum unus Homerus* ... There is a notable run of initial *c*s in this line and the next.

776 citharae: there seems no good reason for the plural; perhaps by analogy with *fides*.

numerosque intendere neruis: a difficult phrase. *intendere* would naturally be used of 'tuning' the strings of a lyre; Nettleship suggests that it may here correspond to ἐντείνω in the sense 'to set to music', in which case *numeros* refers to the 'measures' or 'lines of verse' accompanied on the lyre; the whole expression being then a variation of *carmina et citharae*.

777 For the epic collocation of horses and men cf. *Il.* 2.554; Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.9–10 *heu heu, quantus equis, quantus adest uiris | sudor!*

arma uirum: it is difficult not to take this echo of the first two words of the poem (see 57 n.) as in some sense aligning Cretheus with the epic poet V.

778–80 The intelligence that leads to the counter-movement is reported in three lines, as was the message to T. at 691–3. The repulse of T. by reinforcements on the other side bears a general structural resemblance to the eventual interception of Nisus and Euryalus at 367–445.

778 Tandem: in emphatic position occupying the first spondee; see Norden 436.

779 conueniunt: 720.

Mnestheus acerque Serestus = 171; Aen.'s deputies return to the stage to take control.

780 palantisque 'scattering', of defeated troops as 5.265, 10.674, 11.734.

receptum: cf. 676 *inuitant* (n.).

781–7 Mnestheus' speech consists entirely of indignant questions, excited but symmetrical: two lines challenging the fleeing Trojans, three concerned with T., and two appealing to the Trojan sense of pity and shame. Cf. the rallying speeches of Pallas at 10.369–78 *quo fugitis, socii?* ..., and of Tarchon at 11.732–40. The main Homeric model is the speech of Ajax (who in other respects corresponds to T. here: see 806–14 n.) urging the Achaeans to fend off Hector from firing the ships, *Il.* 15.733–41, esp. 735–8 'do we think that we have allies in our rear, or some stronger wall that might keep destruction from the troops? There is no walled city nearby with which we might protect ourselves.' V.'s alterations are important: Ajax tells his men that their only hope lies in their own hands, since they are fighting far from home in the plain of Troy; Mnestheus stresses the need to defend *this* set of walls, which have now become home for the Trojans, an *urbs* which must be defended by its *ciues* (on the equation of the Trojan camp with a city and the theme of walls see Introd. (section 5)). Similar is the rhetoric of Ascanius directed at the Trojan women who have set fire to the ships, 5.670–2 *'quis furor iste nouus? quo nunc, quo tenditis' inquit | 'heu miserae ciues? non hostem inimicaque castra | Argiuum, uestras spes uritis.'* Cf. also the speech of Poseidon to the Achaeans at *Il.* 13.95–124 after Hector has breached the wall, beginning αἰδώς, Ἀργεῖοι 'shame on you, Argives'; *pudetque* is Mnestheus' last word. Williams compares Scipio's rallying speech before Ticinus at Livy 21.41.15 *nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui, nisi nos uincimus, hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant, comparari noua possint praesidia. hic est obstandum, milites, uelut si ante Romana moenia pugnemus.*

781 quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis?: this may be construed *either* as two separate questions, the first elliptical (understand *facitis*; for a similar ellipse cf. *Ecl.* 9.1 *quo te, Moeri, pedes?*), *or* as one question with indignant repetition of *quo*. *deinde* seems to mean *posthac* (the next line shows that after this there is nowhere else to go), rather than having the otherwise unattested force of an indignant 'then', *tandem*: see Williams on 5.741. The variant *fuga* in M may have arisen through

the slight unfamiliarity of the phrase *tendere fugam* (on the analogy of *tendere cursum* etc.).

782 A clear case where there is no distinction between *muros* and *moenia*.

quae iam: there is little to choose between this reading and the variant *quaeue*; weight of manuscripts slightly favours the former.

783 unus homo: a curious echo of the famous line of Enn. *Ann.* 363, *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* (adapted by V. at 6.846); furthermore Ennius' *nobis* has an analogue in Virgil's *uestris*. Wigodsky 118 takes this as an example of an echo without further contextual significance; beyond the general observation that, like Fabius, T. single-handed is the equivalent of a multitude, there is perhaps a point in the fact that the Trojans have come to this pass through their inability to practise a Fabian patience; and T. will lose all he has gained through *his* inability to pause (757–61).

783–5 T. uses these exploits to his own rhetorical ends at 11.397–8 *et quos mille die uictor sub Tartara misi,* | *inclusus muris hostilique aggere saeptus*; the language also echoes the poet's own summary of Turnus' *aristeia* at 526–7.

per urbem: see 781–7 n.

785 With the future perfects *ediderit, miserit* cf. 2.581 *occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?*, i.e. 'shall these things have happened and Helen go free'; here the stress is on 784 *impune*; Page compares Juv. 1.3 *impune ergo mihi recitauerit ille togatas?*

786 miserit Orco: see 526–7 n.

786–7 Mnestheus appeals to the same values of country and religion that inspired the night council to which Nisus and Euryalus made their proposal (see 247–50 n.), reaching a climax with the leader whose absence is felt throughout the book (see 261–2 n.).

ueterumque deorum: 8.185–8 *non haec sollemnia nobis ...* | *uana superstitio ueterumque ignara deorum* | *imposuit* (with Gransden *ad loc.*).

magni Aeneae: 10.159, 830.

segnes is used also at 11.736 by Tarchon rebuking his reluctant troops.

miseretque pudetque: *pudet* is the standard Homeric appeal to αἰδώς 'shame'; it is also Livian (6.24.7). Cf. 12.229–30 *non pudet, o Rutuli, pro cunctis talibus unam* | *obiectare animam?* Cf. also 598 n. The appeal to pity for the plight of one's own side is less common on the

battlefield: 12.653 *Turne, in te suprema salus, miserere tuorum*; for the utility of pity cf. Livy 5.45.6 *inde primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit.* The two appeals are combined in a supplication at *Il.* 21.74 σὺ δέ μ' αἴδεο καί μ' ἐλέησον 'feel shame and pity towards me'; Stat. *Theb.* 9.389–90 *nec tantae pudet heu miseretque ruinae,* | *dure parens?*; *Achill.* 2.63–4. On double *-que* see Austin on 4.83.

788 talibus accensi: cf. 5.455 *tum pudor incendit uiris et conscia uirtus*; 10.368 *nunc prece, nunc dictis uirtutem accendit amaris.*

788–9 firmantur ... agmine denso | consistunt: mental tal
firmness leads to closed ranks, and the prefix in *consisto* 'take up position' is given its full force of 'together' (συνίστασθαι can mean both 'take up a stand' and 'be compact').

789–90 At the climactic point the narrative switches to historic ric
infinitives (see 538 n.). T.'s slow retreat is modelled on that of Ajax at *Il.* 11.544–74 (see 792–6, 793 nn.).

789 pugnae: a Graecizing genitive (cf. 10.441 *tempus desistere pugnae*).

790 Preparing us for the final outcome of T.'s retreat. Cf. 469 *nam dextera cingitur amni.*

791 Cf. *Geo.* 4.248–9 *quo magis exhaustae fuerint, hoc acrius omnes* | *incumbent generis lapsi sarcire ruinas.*

792 glomerare manum: cf. 440 *quem circum glomerati hostes*, Nisus overpowered by the troops of Volcens (see 778–80 n.); 2.315 *glomerare manum*, Aeneas seeking to gather a force to defend Troy (see 758 n.).

792–6 At the beginning of his assault on the Trojan camp T. had been compared to a wolf (59–64); here in the last simile of the book he leaves like a hard-pressed lion. The lion simile of Euryalus at 339–41 is one of the several points of contact between the episode of Nisus and Euryalus and the *aristeia* of T. (see 760, 778–80 nn.). There are three other lion similes in the poem, one applied to Mezentius (10.723–8) and two to T. (10.454–6, 12.4–8), for whom the lion is an especially apt symbol because of its tradionally violent anger (Lucr. 3.294–8, a description of *uis uiolenta leonum* mined by V. in the boiling cauldron simile of T.'s *ira* at 7.462–6: Hardie 230). This simile is modelled on that at *Il.* 11.548–55 describing the reluctant retreat of Ajax (see 789–90 n.) 'like a tawny lion chased from the cattle-yard by dogs and farmers, who keep watch all night and do not let him

snatch the fat cattle; but he craves the flesh and presses on, without success; for spears fly thick in his face thrown by bold hands, together with burning brands which scare him for all his eagerness. At dawn he goes away with heavy heart.' (This is repeated almost exactly at *Il.* 17.657–64 of Menelaus driven back from the body of Patroclus; cf. also the lion simile at *Il.* 17.109–12, also of Menelaus driven back from the body of Patroclus.) See further Schenk 206–8.

793 at . . . ille: ὁ δέ. *at* here does not have a strongly adversative force.

territus: there is no indication in the main narrative that T. is frightened, and Peerlkamp even emended to *haud territus*. The fear comes from *Il.* 11.554 τάς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ 'which scare him [sc. the lion] for all his eagerness', a suitable point of comparison for Ajax who is trying to resist the panic (φόβος) with which Zeus has inspired him. But *territus* may perhaps, by a 'unilateral correspondence' between simile and narrative, be predicated of T. also; the mixture of *terror*, *ira*, and *cupido* (796 *cupiens*) is typical of the mental confusion to which Turnus is prey (797 *dubius*; for another brew of diverse emotions cf. 12.665–8).

794 asper, acerba tuens: Lucr. 5.33 *asper, acerba tuens, immani corpore serpens* (the serpent guarding the apples of the Hesperides), a line already adapted by V. at *Geo.* 3.149 (the gadfly) *asper, acerba sonans. acerba* is adverbial, as 12.398 *acerba fremens* (L–H–S 40). The wolf to which T. is compared at the beginning of the book is also *asper* (62; see 792–6 n.).

retro redit: for the pleonasm cf. 539 *retroque residunt*, 391–3 n.

795 uirtus: the etymology of this word is sufficiently alive to make its attribution to an animal quite striking; there is a parallel at Lucr. 5.862–3 *principio genus acre leonum saeuaque saecla | tutatast uirtus.*

tendere contra: 377, 768.

796 ille quidem hoc cupiens 'although this is his desire'; for this use of *ille quidem* to introduce a concessive phrase cf. 10.384–5 *quem non super occupat Hisbo, | ille quidem hoc sperans*; Cic. *De off.* 3.39 *philosophi quidam, minime mali illi quidem, sed non satis acuti*; K–S 1 623–4; E. S. Thompson, *C.R.* 13 (1899) 395.

potis has an archaic ring (also at 3.671, 11.148).

per tela uirosque: a variant of the *arma uirum* tag (57 n.).

797–8 retro ... refert picks up 794 *retro redit.*

improperata: a *hapax*, giving an impressive picture of T.'s control over his body in contrast to the rage boiling up in his mind.

799 medios inuaserat hostis: 438 *Nisus ruit in medios.* 'The pluperfect seems to show the rapidity of the attack' (Conington).

799–801 bis ... bis ... sed: a variant of the Homeric pattern 'thrice ... thrice ...' as e.g. *Il.* 16.702–5 (Patroclus' near capture of Troy: see 757–61 n.) 'thrice ... thrice ... but at the fourth attempt ...'

800 agmina: on the hyperbolic plural see 686 n.

801 coit omnis in unum: *unum* might be either neuter, 'to one point' (cf. 689 *glomerantur eodem*; 10.410 *socium uirtus coit omnis in unum*) or masculine, 'against one man', the *unus homo* of 783 (cf. *Il.* 17.95 μή πώς με περιστήσωσ' ἕνα πολλοί 'lest it happen that, one man, I am surrounded by many'). At last the Trojans are acting in concert.

802–3 uiris ... | sufficere: 764 *uiris ... ministrat*; 2.617–18 *ipse pater Danais animos uirisque secundas | sufficit.* The pattern of divine help tendered and finally withdrawn is repeated in book XII, where Juturna is sent down by Juno to protect T. (134–60); she later takes over the reins from T.'s charioteer (468–72); and is eventually frightened off by the *Dira* sent down by Jupiter (843–86), as Iris is here sent down by Jupiter. Just before the end T.'s own strength fails him, 12.911–12 *non corpore notae | sufficiunt uires.* ipse

Saturnia Iuno: cf. 2 (also a spondaic line), where it is Juno who sends down Iris. The parallelism points up the ring composition; contrast also *nec ... audet* with 3 *audacem ad Turnum.*

803–5 At *Il.* 8.397–408 Zeus sends down Iris bearing dire threats to warn off Hera and Athene from helping the Achaeans; at 15.157–67 Zeus sends her down to warn off Poseidon from the battle. With typical compression V. omits the speeches. By V.'s time Iris has become Juno's special envoy (see 2 n.), and it is a surprise when Jupiter gives her a mission. It is still more of a shock when at the end of the poem Jupiter uses a Fury as his emissary from heaven to earth (12.843–68). The dispatch here of Iris is the first of a series of parallels with the opening of the book that establish a sense of closure through ring-composition (see 1–24 n.). ats

803 aëriam: hinting at the physical manifestation of Iris as rain-

bow, as in Enn. *Ann.* 399–400 *arcus ubi aspicitur, mortalibus quae perhibetur* | ⟨*Iris*⟩, a line which Skutsch (following Vahlen) suggests may refer to a divine intervention ending the fight of the tribune against the Istrians, an episode imitated extensively in the sequel (see 806–14 n.). The *aër* is also the medium that joins the gods in the upper heaven, or *aether*, and men on earth (see 18–19 n.); it is also the proper region of Hera/Juno allegorized as the principle of *aër*, an allegorization perhaps hinted at 12.792 where Juno is watching the battle from a cloud, and in her manipulation of the forces of the storm in book 1 (see 745 n.).

804 haud mollia iussa: the kind of threat involved may be inferred from *Il.* 8.416–19 (Iris' message from Zeus to Hera and Athene) 'he will lame the swift horses harnessed to your chariot, and throw you out of the chariot and break it up; not in ten years would you heal the wounds inflicted by the thunderbolt'. Servius approves of V.'s decision not to follow Homer in detailing the threats; in general on V.'s toning-down of the less acceptable aspects of Homer's treatment of the gods see Schlunk 12–17, 113–14. The phrase *haud mollia iussa* occurs at *Geo.* 3.41 *tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa.*

805 The elliptical use of the *ni*-clause serves to veil the threats from the reader; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.9–11 *te boues olim nisi reddidisses ... minaci* | *uoce dum terret*; Cic. *Verr.* II 2.162 *nisi restituissent statuas, uehementer minatur.*

moenibus altis: the three other occurrences of this phrase at line-end all refer to the walls of the old Troy (1.95, 3.322, 10.469).

806–14 The warrior under heavy fire is a set-piece in which V. challenges comparison both with the Homeric model and with Ennius' prior adaptation of that model. At *Il.* 16.102–11, at the height of the battle at the ships and immediately before Hector first fires the ships, Ajax is forced back:

> Αἴας δ' οὐκέτ' ἔμιμνε· βιάζετο γὰρ βελέεσσι·
> δάμνα μιν Ζηνός τε νόος καὶ Τρῶες ἀγαυοὶ
> βάλλοντες· δεινὴν δὲ περὶ κροτάφοισι φαεινὴ
> πήληξ βαλλομένη καναχὴν ἔχε, βάλλετο δ' αἰεὶ
> κὰπ φάλαρ' εὐποίηθ'· ὁ δ' ἀριστέρον ὦμον ἔκαμνεν,
> ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἔχων σάκος αἰόλον· οὐδ' ἐδύναντο

ἀμφ' αὐτῶι πελεμίξαι ἐρειδόντες βελέεσσιν.
αἰεὶ δ' ἀργαλέωι ἔχετ' ἄσθματι, κὰδ δὲ οἱ ἱδρὼς
πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων πολὺς ἔρρεεν, οὐδέ πηι εἶχεν
ἀμπνεῦσαι· πάντηι δὲ κακὸν κακῶι ἐστήρικτο.

'Ajax no longer held his ground, for he was overwhelmed by missiles, beaten by the will of Zeus and the spear-hands of the noble Trojans. The bright helmet rang fearfully about his temples as the blows kept landing on the cheek-pieces; his left shoulder was tired from continually wielding his glancing shield, but even so they were unable to shake it with the pressure of missiles. He was wracked with panting and streams of sweat poured down from his whole body, and he had no chance to draw breath. On every side evil was added to evil.'

This was adapted by Ennius in *Annals* 15, the account of M. Fulvius Nobilior's Aetolian War, for the description of a Roman tribune forced back by Istrian defenders from an attempt to recapture a Roman camp, the sequel to a sally by two Istrians which is one of the models for the Pandarus and Bitias episode (see 672–755 n.):

undique conueniunt uelut imber tela tribuno:
configunt parmam, tinnit hastilibus umbo,
aerato sonitu galeae, sed nec pote quisquam
undique nitendo corpus discerpere ferro.
semper abundantes hastas frangitque quatitque.
totum sudor habet corpus, multumque laborat,
nec respirandi fit copia: praepete ferro
Histri tela manu iacientes sollicitabant.
(*Ann.* 391–8)

But in the Virgilian passage T., for all his grim resistance, is about to be failed by his armour at the point when he jumps into the river, a foreshadowing of the ultimate collapse of his strength at 12.903–12; there he will finally be brought down by Aen.'s thunderbolt-like spear (12.922–3); here he escapes from *fulmineus Mnestheus*. There are later imitations in Lucan 6.192–5 (Scaeva), Stat. *Theb.* 2.668–74 (Tydeus ambushed), 8.704–12 (Tydeus), Silius, *Pun.* 1.522–32 (Hannibal at Saguntum: see 35 n.).

806 tantum: sc. *quantum opus est*; cf. 5.21–2 *nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum | sufficimus.* 2C

807–8 iniectis sic undique telis | obruitur: 10.808 *sic obrutus undique telis* (Aen. under a storm of missiles). *telis* reproduces Ennius' *tela*, but the case of Homer's βιάζετο . . . βελέεσσι.

808–9 caua tempora: see 633n.

809 tinnitu: Enn. *Ann.* 392 *tinnit hastilibus umbo.*

fatiscunt 'crack open'. Here, as at *Geo.* 1.180 *neu puluere uicta fatiscat*, the other sense of the verb 'become tired' (= *fatigari*) may also be present (cf. Lucr. 5.308 *simulacraque fessa fatisci*): like T., 814 *fessos*, his armour is weakened by the stress of battle.

810 iubae 'plumed crest', a sense that appears first in V. After the simile at 792–6 one might observe that lions also have *iubae.*

sufficit: cf. 515 *nec iam sufficiunt.*

umbo is most simply taken = 'shield' (10.884), with a comma after *capiti.* Editors who punctuate before *capiti*, taking *umbo* = 'top of helmet', may be influenced by their interpretation of Enn. *Ann.* 392–3 *tinnit hastilibus umbo, | aerato sonitu galeae*; but see Skutsch *ad loc.*

811 ingeminant hastis 'they make repeated thrusts with their spears'. *ingemino* occurs first in V.; for this construction cf. 1.747 *ingeminant plausu.*

811–12 et Troes et ipse | . . . Mnestheus: for this use of *et* to connect someone who is included in the first noun, marking a climax ('copulative inclusion') cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 749–50 θεῶν . . . καὶ Ποσειδῶνος 'the gods and above all Poseidon'; Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 6. Mnestheus, the instigator at 781 of the counter-attack, reappears fittingly at the climax of the repulse of T.

fulmineus: a striking metaphor. *fulmineus* is used figuratively by V. also at 4.580 and 9.442 (see 441–2 n.). In Ennius the missiles fall on the tribune *uelut imber*, and meteorological imagery is common in such descriptions in Latin poetry (e.g. 10.802–10); in this scene the metaphorical thunderbolt is reserved for the climax. Mnestheus hurls spears with the force or speed of the *fulmen*; but after the Gigantomachic imagery of T.'s *aristeia*, and especially the simile at 706, *fulmineus* may also mark the recovery by the Trojans of their fated role as victors in Italy under the aegis of Jupiter; in the Homeric model Ajax is overwhelmed by the 'mind of Zeus' in combination with the Trojan missiles (*Il.* 16.103–4). At Silius, *Pun.* 1.535–40, immediately after the imitation of 806–14 (n.), Jupiter's thunderbolt is synchronized with the the spear that strikes Hannibal. As at 442 the word

occurs here in a context of allusion to the Lucretian discussion of the nature of the *fulmen*: see 441–2, 813–14 n.

812–13 tum toto corpore sudor | liquitur: *Il.* 16.109–10 'much sweat poured down from all over his limbs'; Enn. *Ann.* 396 *totum sudor habet corpus*; *Ann.* 417 *tunc timido manat ex omni corpore sudor*, imitated at *Aen.* 3.175 *tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor*; 5.199–200 *tum creber anhelitus artus | aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique riuis*; 7.458–9 *artus | perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor. toto corpore sudor* ends a line at Lucr. 6.944.

813–14 piceum . . . | flumen agit: the indelicate hyperbole (far less decorous than Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.21–2 *duces | non indecoro puluere sordidos*, quoted by Page) has its point of departure in *Il.* 16.110 πολὺς ἔρρεεν 'flowed in abundance' (ῥέω = *fluo*), and is also a reworking of Lucretius' discussion of thunder-clouds, 6.256–8 *praeterea persaepe niger quoque per mare nimbus, | ut picis e caelo demissum flumen, in undas | sic cadit* . . . (as T. plunges into the waves of the river). A jingling echo links the close of the book's action with the beginning: T. goes out in a *piceum flumen*, while at his entry he tried to fire the ships with (75) a *piceum lumen*. An infernal river of pitch is mentioned at 105. With *agit* cf. 8.257–8 *undam | fumus agit*; Varro, *Men.* 234 Astbury *Pactolus aureas undas agens*, and cf. the use of *agmen* 'course [of a river]', as at 2.782.

nec respirare potestas: V. uses the prolative infinitive that he favours (see Fordyce on 7.591), where Enn. *Ann.* 397 has the gerund, *nec respirandi fit copia*; the infinitive also reverts to the Homeric original ἀμπνεῦσαι. The absence of fourth-foot caesura or bucolic diaeresis gives an Ennian feel (Norden 425–7), although this is not a feature of the Ennian line on which this is immediately modelled.

fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus: 5.199–200 (quoted at 812–13 n.), 5.432 *uastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus* (the boxing-match, which shows a number of other parallels with the present scene). *quatit* also occurs in the Ennian model, but in a different context (*Ann.* 395). *aeger anhelitus* is Homer's ἀργαλέῳι . . . ἄσθματι 'painful panting' (*Il.* 16.109); Servius reports that 'some read *acer*', a variation on the phrase at 5.432 that would be in V.'s manner, but for which there is no other MS evidence. The triple alliteration of *a* at the end of the line suggests T.'s gasps (see 563 n.).

815–18 The second dive for safety into water in the book; the first

time is when the ships escape from the Rutulian torches at 117–20. It is impossible here not to think of the famous leap of the great Roman patriot Horatius Cocles into the Tiber, alluded to at 8.650: T., throughout this book cast in the role of a would-be sacker of Rome, at the end surprisingly takes on the role of one of the most famous saviours of the city. There is more ring-composition here: at the beginning of the book T. washes in the river after his interview with Iris (see 1–24 n.). Rivers also frame book VIII: Aeneas' vision of Tiberinus at 26–78, and the pacified rivers of Augustus' triumph at 726–8 (with 9.817 *mollibus ... undis* cf. 8.726 *Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis*). Servius says that many ask why the Tiber, whose god is on Aeneas' side, should now save T.; his solution, that the river reserves his defeat for the glory of Aen. will satisfy few. Others see a sign that T. is a favourite of the gods of the Italian countryside (cf. Faunus' favour at 12.766–82). T. exits from the rapidly escalating force of the opposition with a sudden leap into the Tiber, which at once washes away the marks of fighting; the beginning of book X removes us to a very different scene, the gods in council on Olympus. The abruptness of the book's ending matches that of its opening (see 1–24 n., F. J. Worstbrock, *Elemente einer Poetik der Aeneis* (Münster 1963) 60–3).

815–16 praeceps saltu sese ... | in fluuium dedit: 8.256–7 *seque ipse per ignem | praecipiti iecit saltu* (Hercules diving into 'waves' of smoke).

omnibus armis: πανοπλίαι. 'The construction seems to be an imitation of the Greek αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις "arms and all"' (Page).

816 ille suo cum gurgite flauo: the use of *cum* with an adjectival phrase containing a possessive with another adjective is archaic, as in Aen.'s prayer to the Tiber at 8.72 *tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto*, adapted from Enn. *Ann.* 26 *teque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*. Livy may echo either this last, or even Ennius' account of Horatius Cocles, at 2.10.11 *tum Cocles 'Tiberine pater' inquit 'te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias.' ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit* (with which cf. V.'s *saltu, omnibus armis, accepit*). *flauus* is a conventional epithet of the Tiber (N–H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.13), as at 7.30–1 *Tiberinus ... multa flauus harena.*

817 accepit: *Geo.* 4.362 (the river Peneus opens to receive Aristaeus) *accepitque sinu uasto misitque sub amnem*; *Aen.* 8.73 (Aen.'s prayer to the Italian nymphs and the Tiber) *accipite Aenean et tandem arcete*

periclis. Cf. also the reception of a defeated enemy of Rome by the river Nile inviting Cleopatra into its embrace at 8.711–13; at 12.886 T.'s sister Juturna, despairing of her brother's life, *se fluuio dea condidit alto*.

mollibus . . . undis: water is naturally 'soft', but here there is the added notion that the Tiber calms its flow to receive T. as it does for the Trojans at 8.86–9.

817–18 accepit . . . remisit: the last two lines of the book are marked by enclosing verbs (Norden 392–3).

abluta caede: for *caedes* 'blood', 'gore' see 454–6 n. There is a suggestion of ritual washing (on which see Pease on 4.635 *fluuiali spargere lympha*), as at 2.718–20 *me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti | attrectare nefas, donec me flumine uiuo | abluero*; T. goes to the river to wash before prayer at 22–3 (see 1–24 n.). *Iliad* X, a book much imitated in *Aen.* IX, closes with Odysseus and Diomedes washing off the sweat of their nocturnal slaughter in the sea, before taking a proper bath and feasting (*Il.* 10.572–9): cf. 457–8 n.

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All references to Ennius' tragedies are given in Jocelyn's numbering, those to his *Annals* in Skutsch's.

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CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin 1863–).

D–S C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (eds.), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris 1875–1912).

EV *Enciclopedia virgiliana* (Rome 1984–91).

K–S R. Kühner and C. Stegman, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, Zweiter Teil (Hanover 1971).

L–H–S M. Leumann, J. B. Hofmann, A. Szantyr (eds.), *Lateinische Grammatik*, Zweiter Band (Munich 1965).

L–S C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin dictionary* (Oxford 1879).

N–H R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A commentary on Horace: Odes Book 1*, *Book 2* (Oxford 1975, 1978).

OLD P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin dictionary* (Oxford 1982).

RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart 1950–).

RE *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. A. F. von Pauly, rev. G. Wissowa *et al.* (Stuttgart 1894–1980).

TLL *Thesaurus linguae latinae* (Leipzig 1900–).

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