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VERGIL  
AENEID 10

WITH INTRODUCTION,  
TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY  
BY

S. J. HARRISON

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PARENTIBVS CONIVGIQVE



## PREFACE

THIS book, the first large-scale commentary on *Aeneid* 10 to reach publication, is a considerably revised version of an Oxford D.Phil. thesis accepted in the spring of 1987. Particular thanks are due to my supervisor, Professor R. G. M. Nisbet, for giving unstintingly of his time and scholarship in reading and criticizing considerable amounts of material, always to my benefit, and to Dr N. M. Horsfall, who directed my work on the Etruscan Catalogue and helped me in many other ways. My thanks too to my examiners, Miss Margaret Hubbard and Professor E. J. Kenney, for many valuable suggestions; to Professor D. A. West, who read the whole commentary in draft and made numerous penetrating comments; to Mr L. D. Reynolds, who provided much useful guidance at a late and decisive stage, and to Dr L. A. Holford-Strevens, whose critical acumen as copy-editor improved the book in both form and substance. Thanks for help and encouragement of various kinds is due to many friends and colleagues, not all of whom can be named here; particular mention should be given to Professor C. O. Brink, Mr J. Griffin, Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Dr R. O. A. M. Lyne, Professor M. D. Reeve, and Professor D. A. Russell. More personal debts are acknowledged in the dedication. Finally, I have had the privilege to learn, research, and teach in three Oxford colleges, Balliol, St John's, and Corpus Christi; I am most grateful to all of them for their support of every kind, without which this book could not have been written.

*Corpus Christi College, Oxford*  
*January 1990*

S. J. H.

In this paperback reprint I have corrected a number of slips and misprints, and appended a page of addenda, cued in the text by asterisks. I am most grateful to the book's reviewers (see Addenda) for their comments, and especially to Dr J. W. Birchall, Professor Dr J. Delz, and Dr G. Korzeniewski for their welcome lists of corrections.

*Corpus Christi College, Oxford*  
*September 1996*

S. J. H.



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## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The commentary and introduction attempt to take account of literature on Vergil until the end of 1989, with the occasional addition of later items. One exception here is the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* (*Enc. Virg.* in the list below), of which the fifth and last volume has yet to appear: the first four volumes have been cited only sparingly for new and important points, and further guidance will be found there (not always reliable) on most proper names, many individual words, and numerous other aspects of Vergil's text.

### (i) *Texts of and Commentaries on the Aeneid*

This is a highly selective list: for fuller lists of editions cf. Heyne-Wagner iv. 635–742 (to 1832), Knauer 13–18 (to 1961), and Suerbaum 25–31 (1875–1975). In the commentary those detailed below are cited by editor's name only.

- J. L. de la Cerda, vols. ii–iii (Leiden, 1612–17; repr. Cologne, 1642–7): still important, cf. Knauer 82–6.
- C. G. Heyne, 4th edn., rev. G. P. E. Wagner, vols. ii–iii (Leipzig, 1832–3): a classic, always worth consideration; the views of Heyne and Wagner are usually separable and so cited 'Heyne' or 'Wagner'.
- O. Ribbeck, vols. ii–iii (Leipzig, 1860–2): a great achievement in collation of MSS and the first modern critical edition.
- J. Conington, 4th edn. of vols. ii–iii, rev. by H. Nettleship (London, 1883–4): essential and informative; usually cited as 'Nettleship' since he was largely responsible for the notes on Book 10 (see his pref. in vol. iii).
- J. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 4 vols. (London, 1873–92): splendidly rhetorical, often misguided, often perceptive.
- T. E. Page, *Aeneid*, 2 vols. (London, 1894–1900): Victorian school edition, always workmanlike, often shrewd.
- J. W. Mackail, *Aeneid* (Oxford, 1930): spare notes, sometimes useful.
- R. A. B. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis opera* (Oxford, 1972): corrected edition of OCT and the standard modern text, which forms the main basis for the text of this edition of Book 10.
- R. D. Williams, *Aeneid*, 2 vols. (London and Basingstoke, 1972–3): school commentary, sensible and modern.

M. Geymonat, *P. Vergili Maronis opera* (Corpus Paravianum; Turin, 1973): a more detailed and informative apparatus than Mynors's, and an interesting critical edition.

J. Perret, *Virgile: L'Énéide*, 3 vols. (Budé; Paris 1977–80): interesting text and French translation, explanatory notes varied in quality.

There are separate editions of book 1 by R. S. Conway (Cambridge, 1935), and R. G. Austin (Oxford, 1971); of book 2 by R. G. Austin (Oxford, 1964); of book 3 by R. D. Williams (Oxford, 1963); of book 4 by A. S. Pease (Cambridge, Mass. 1935: a vast compendium) and R. G. Austin (Oxford, 1955); of book 5 by R. D. Williams (Oxford, 1960); of book 6 by E. Norden (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1916: a classic) and R. G. Austin (Oxford, 1977); of books 7–8 by C. J. Fordyce (Oxford, 1977); and of book 8 by P. T. Eden (Leiden, 1976) and K. W. Gransden (Cambridge, 1976). In the Commentary these are all mentioned by editor's name only (note that 'Williams' on books 3 and 5 refers to the larger Oxford editions, on other books to the school commentary). Recent aids to the modern Vergilian scholar are the detailed bibliography of the *Aeneid* for the years 1875–1975 by W. Suerbaum (cited as 'Suerbaum'; see short titles below), the computer-generated concordance to V. by H. H. Warwick (Minneapolis, 1975), and the metrical analyses (1972–85) and reverse index (1974) to the *Aeneid* produced by W. Ott at Tübingen.

(ii) *Short Titles and Abbreviations*

- |                              |                                                                                                      |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| André                        | J. André, <i>Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine</i> (Ét. et Comm. 7; Paris, 1949) |
| André, <i>Noms d'oiseaux</i> | J. André, <i>Les Noms d'oiseaux en latin</i> (Ét. et Comm. 66, Paris, 1967)                          |
| Axelson, <i>UW</i>           | B. Axelson, <i>Unpoetische Wörter</i> (Lund, 1945)                                                   |
| Bailey, <i>Lucretius</i>     | C. Bailey, <i>Lucretius: De Rerum Natura</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford, 1947)                                |
| Bailey, <i>RV</i>            | C. Bailey, <i>Religion in Virgil</i> (Oxford, 1935)                                                  |
| Banti                        | L. Banti, <i>The Etruscan Cities and their Culture</i> (Eng. tr., London, 1973)                      |
| Barchiesi                    | A. Barchiesi, <i>La traccia del modello</i> (Biblioteca di MD, 1; Pisa, 1984)                        |
| Bartelink                    | G. J. M. Bartelink, <i>Etymologisering bij Vergilius</i> (Amsterdam, 1965)                           |
| BCP                          | F. Boitani, M. Cataldi, M. Pasquinucci, <i>Etruscan Cities</i> (Eng. tr. London, 1975)               |
| Beringer, <i>Kultwörter</i>  | L. Beringer, <i>Die Kultwörter bei Vergil</i> (Erlangen, 1932)                                       |

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- Buchheit V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (*Gymnasium*, Beiheft 3; Heidelberg, 1963)
- Bücheler, *KS* F. Bücheler, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1915–30)
- CAH* *Cambridge Ancient History*
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- Delvigo M. L. Delvigo, *Testo virgiliano e tradizione indiretta: Le variante probiane* (Biblioteca di MD, 5; Pisa, 1987)
- Dict. Ant.* *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, ed. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (Paris, 1875–1912)
- EAA* *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica* (Rome, 1958–73)
- Enc. Virg.* *Enciclopedia virgiliana* (Rome, 1984– )
- Ernout–Meillet A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 4th edn., rev. J. André (Paris, 1979)

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*FPL*  
 Fraenkel, *Horace*  
 Fraenkel, *KB*  
 Galinsky, *HT*  
 Gassner  
 Gow-Page, *GP*  
 Gow-Page, *HE*  
 Gransden  
 Grassmann-Fischer  
 Griffin, *Latin Poets*  
 Griffin, *Life and Death*  
 Hardie  
 Hardie, *Res Metrica*  
 Haupt, *Opusc.*  
 Heinze  
 Heinze, *GR*  
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 Highet  
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 Holland  
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- TLL*  
*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
- Torelli  
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- Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*  
H. Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Properz (Hermes, Einz. 15; Wiesbaden, 1960)*
- TrGF*  
*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. B. Snell et al. (Göttingen, 1971- )
- Voc. iur. Rom.*  
*Vocabularium iurisprudentiae Romanae*
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J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen, 1953-79)
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G. P. E. Wagner, *Quaestiones Virgilianae* in Heyne-Wagner edn. of Vergil, iv. 383-598
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Abbreviations for ancient works, where not self-explanatory, follow the conventions of *OLD* and *LSJ*, as do abbreviations for standard collections (*Hist.*, *Poet.*, *Trag.*, etc.); abbreviations for periodicals follow the style of *L'Année philologique*. One caveat: the introduction to Skutsch's edition of Ennius *Annales* is cited by page-number (e.g. Skutsch, *Annales*, p. 26), his commentary in the usual way (e.g. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 26).



# INTRODUCTION

## 1. LITERARY ASPECTS OF *AENEID* 10

### (i) *Reading the 'Iliadic' Aeneid*

The 'Iliadic' second half of the *Aeneid*, the narrative of the arrival and battles of Aeneas in Italy of which book 10 forms a central episode, has been comparatively neglected in Vergilian studies. Both readers and scholars have been consistently more enthusiastic in appreciation of the more engagingly dramatic books of the 'Odyssean' first half of the poem: the sack of Troy in book 2, the episode of Dido in books 1 and 4, and the descent to the Underworld in book 6.<sup>1</sup> Such a reaction might well have disappointed the poet himself, for in the invocation to the second half of the poem he indicates that what is to come is something greater, the climax of his epic (7. 44–5):

maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,  
maius opus moveo.

The *Iliad* with its mighty heroes, grand duels, and countless battle-scenes was traditionally considered in antiquity as the greatest epic poem,<sup>2</sup> and here Vergil is introducing his own version of the *Iliad* in his description of Aeneas' battles in Italy.<sup>3</sup>

Paradoxically, however, it is the very predominance of 'Iliadic' battle-description in the later books of the *Aeneid* which has constituted the principal barrier to modern appreciation. Most of the original Roman readers of the poem might have felt quite differently: as members of a culture which practised imperialistic fighting on a world-wide scale, attended and enjoyed bloody gladiatorial shows, put a considerable premium on military success in their political leaders, and

<sup>1</sup> This begins as early as Ovid, who claimed that the Dido-episode was the part of the *Aeneid* most frequently read in his day (*Tr.* 2. 535–6).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. 'Longinus', *De Subl.* 9. 13, Prop. 2. 34. 66.

<sup>3</sup> The links with the *Iliad* are best traced in the full index of parallels in Knauer 370–527. Also useful are W. S. Anderson, 'Vergil's Second *Iliad*', *TAPA* 88 (1957), 17–30, Gransden and Barchiesi.

regarded highly the description of war in literature, many of them would have appreciated the carnage of the battle-scenes as connoisseurs. Indeed, the second half of the *Aeneid* could be regarded not only as a literary *maius opus* in the Homeric tradition but also as an embodiment of a Roman ideal, an ideal expressed in the *Aeneid* in the well-known words of Anchises (6. 851–3):

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento  
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem  
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

The events of *Aeneid* 7–12 and their consequences can be made to fit this prescription fairly closely. Aeneas overcomes the peoples of Italy who oppose him and will succeed Latinus as ruler (*regere imperio populos*), the dynastic marriage to Lavinia will ensure a peaceful settlement (*pacique imponere morem*), no reprisals will be inflicted on the defeated party, such as often occurred in the ancient world (*parcere subiectis*), and proud opposing warriors such as Mezentius and Turnus are defeated (*debellare superbos*). Thus to many ancient readers the ‘Iliadic’ *Aeneid* will have fittingly glorified Rome through the crucial battles which preceded its foundation, and presented an idealized picture of Roman military *virtus*.

Some modern readers, more mindful of the darker side of great achievements, have taken a different view.<sup>4</sup> They see in the *Aeneid* a sensitive and thoughtful poet questioning the accepted standards of his own culture by displaying their costs and casualties: the heroic founding of the Roman race causes much labour and suffering for Aeneas, who loses home, wife, father, lover, and friend, and his relentless march through history destroys characters of admirable qualities, such as Dido, Camilla, Pallas, Lausus and Turnus. In moderate form, such ideas would seem to have a place in considering the ‘Iliadic’ *Aeneid*: though its story is one of military success, there are disquieting moments, even by the ‘Roman’ criteria pronounced by Anchises in the Underworld. Aeneas may be seen

<sup>4</sup> This view of the *Aeneid* has been taken furthest by the writings of the so-called ‘Harvard School’: e.g. A. Parry, ‘The Two Voices of Virgil’s *Aeneid*’, *Arion*, 2 (1963), 66–80 = *The Language of Achilles and Other Papers* (Oxford, 1989), 78–96 and M. C. J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); cf. also W. R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible: A Study of Virgil’s Aeneid* (Berkeley, 1976).

to *debellare superbos* throughout, but some of his actions, particularly the indiscriminating massacre of 10. 513 ff. and the killing of Turnus at the end of the poem, seem to fall short of the standard of *parcere subiectis*, even though Aeneas is motivated by an admirable *pietas* towards Pallas and a fully understandable fury and frustration. This can be plausibly seen as the framing of a conflict between the two Roman virtues of *pietas* and *clementia*, a tragic clash of two goods which must result in some unfortunate consequences.

Diversity of views is natural in considering a great and complex poet. Vergil is neither a simple panegyrist of Rome nor a subverter of the Roman tradition of military imperialism. The *Aeneid* is full of pathos for the victim, but also celebrates loudly the success of the victor in the grandest of all achievements in Roman eyes—the founding of the Roman race itself; as Heinze put it in his justly influential account of the poem, the poet aims not only to raise a dramatic sympathy with suffering, but also to evoke a sublime wonder at the extraordinary deeds of Aeneas and the glories of his Roman descendants.<sup>5</sup> This balance is echoed in the last line of the poem's proem (1. 33):

tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

The founding of Rome involved great cost, but there can be no suggestion that it was not worthwhile or glorious. The greatness of the future Rome is most conspicuously displayed in three prophetic set pieces—the speech of Jupiter to Venus in book 1, the 'Show of Heroes' in book 6, and the description of the shield of Aeneas in book 8; all laud the predominantly military achievements of Roman heroes to come, and especially the deeds of Augustus, seen as the culmination of Roman history. No account of the *Aeneid*, and especially of its 'Iliadic' books, can avoid a consideration of the role of Augustus, who appears in the poem in his own person in the three prophetic set pieces already mentioned, and is suggested from time to time as a fitting parallel for its hero.<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested that the *Aeneid* presents an ambivalent or negative view of

<sup>5</sup> Heinze 466–93.

<sup>6</sup> On the parallels between Aeneas and Augustus cf. especially Binder, *passim*.

Augustus,<sup>7</sup> but this seems far from credible given the traditions of Roman military epic and the circumstances of the *Aeneid*'s composition.

A strain of martial epic runs through the whole of Roman literature, from Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum* in the third century BC to Corippus' *Johannis* in the sixth AD. Such epics were not only an appropriate form of entertainment for a military-minded people, but also a means of glorifying the Roman state, enlarged and preserved by continuous warfare, and of lauding victorious generals as its outstanding individuals. Ennius in his *Annales* had shown the way to combine these two modes of praise, both chronicling the heroic rise of Rome and concluding with the latter-day campaigns of his patron M. Fulvius Nobilior;<sup>8</sup> but by Vergil's time the typical Roman military epic was the history of an important recent campaign, written for the benefit of a particular general, such as the lost epics which concerned the achievements of Julius Caesar in Gaul or those of the then Octavian in Sicily.<sup>9</sup> The *Aeneid* is of course not a narrative of contemporary campaigns; but it does include a considerable and panegyric account of Octavian's victory at Actium, and is likely to have been written with some degree of patronage from the *princeps*.<sup>10</sup> For such a poem to be in any way 'anti-Augustan' would be extraordinary; apart from the improbability of presenting unfavourably the great man who was both his patron and the sole ruler of Rome, Vergil had publicly anticipated praising that same man in heroic epic in his earlier poem the *Georgics*,<sup>11</sup> and the glorification of Augustus in the *Aeneid* is accordingly full-hearted and unambiguous.

Thus in the *Aeneid* Vergil followed Roman literary tradition in glorifying the military deeds of a particular patron; he also followed Ennius in combining this with an account of early Roman wars and history, and added the Homeric frame of a

<sup>7</sup> Especially in the more extreme writings of the 'Harvard School'; that this view is alive and well is confirmed by A. J. Boyle, *The Chaonian Dove* (*Mnem. Suppl.* 94; Leiden, 1986), 85–176.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Skutsch, *Annales*, pp. 5–6.

<sup>9</sup> By Varro of Atax (the *Bellum Sequanicum*) and Cornelius Severus (the *Bellum Siculum*); the remains of both are to be found in *FPL*.

<sup>10</sup> Even if the evidence of the ancient *Lives* of Vergil is set on one side, Ov. *Tr.* 2. 533 'tua... Aeneidos' suggests that it was in some way 'Augustus' poem'.

<sup>11</sup> *G.* 3. 15–39.

main plot wholly set in the heroic past. But direct and indirect references to Augustus are not the only connections between the legendary battles of the *Aeneid* and the poet's own historical period, and here further evaluative complexities require consideration. Aged about twenty when Caesar crossed the Rubicon, Vergil had lived through the two decades of Roman civil wars which effectively ended at Actium, and his poetry was marked by the troubles of the times: the *Eclogues* make reference to the land-confiscations of 41 BC (*Ecl.* 1 and 9) and the Pact of Brundisium in 40 (*Ecl.* 4), and the disturbances of civil war are prominent at the end of the first *Georgic* (*G.* 1. 464 ff.). The victory over the Italians in the *Aeneid* is Aeneas' great achievement, necessary for Rome to have a glorious future, and is implicitly paralleled with Augustus' ending of the civil wars at Actium,<sup>12</sup> but it also reflects less happy aspects of that future. The race he conquers is in effect his own people, since Italians will soon unite with Trojans to form the Roman race, a point made implicitly by the lovingly detailed descriptions of the contingents in the Latin Catalogue of book 7 and explicitly by the poet's expostulation at 12. 503-4:

tanton placuit concurrere motu,  
Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras?

Aeneas' war in Italy is therefore to some degree a civil war, and it is difficult to avoid some connection with the civil wars of Vergil's own time, which had devastated parts of Italy. True, Aeneas' war is not of his own making; Vergil is careful in book 7 to make the cause of the outbreak of war the operation of the hellish powers of Allecto on the natural instincts of characters other than Aeneas.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, some allusion to Roman civil strife seems to appear in the description of the opposing kings (Aeneas and Latinus as 'gener atque socer' (7. 317), echoing for contemporary readers the popular slogan used some thirty years previously to describe the warring dynasts Pompey and Caesar.<sup>14</sup> This need not be a full

<sup>12</sup> So Actium is symbolically depicted on the shield with which Aeneas enters his own final battle (8. 729-31, 10. 242, 261).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. E. Fraenkel, *JRS* 35 (1945), 1-14 = *KB* ii. 145-71.

<sup>14</sup> The echo is confirmed by Vergil's use elsewhere of *socer* and *gener* without other indication for Caesar and Pompey (6. 850-1), cf. *Camps* 97; for the currency of the slogan in the 50s BC cf. *Cat.* 29. 24.

typological analogy between literary and historical characters (Latinus is hardly a Caesar, Aeneas hardly a Pompey), any more than the death of Priam in *Aeneid* 2, which clearly echoes the circumstances of the death of Pompey in Egypt but draws no other substantial parallel;<sup>15</sup> but it does suggest that the war in Italy, involving as Aeneas' opponents peoples which will eventually help to form Rome's greatness, is not as unambiguously simple as a war of foreign conquest.

Thus the battles and fighting of the 'Iliadic' *Aeneid* reflect in a pointed way many of the overall ideas and problems central to the interpretation of the *Aeneid*. Few would deny that the *Aeneid* is a complex and unstraightforward poem; its most acute difficulties are in fact posed in the scenes of battle, not only in the ambiguous status of the war itself but also in particular in Aeneas' avenging of Pallas, first in book 10 by the slaughter of suppliants, and then at the end of the poem by the killing of Turnus.

(ii) *Structure and Narrative in Aeneid 10*

Like many books of the *Aeneid*, book 10 seems to fall into three sections of differing character:<sup>16</sup> the divine council (1–117), the siege of the Trojans and Aeneas' return with his Etruscan allies (118–307), and the pitched battle between the forces of Aeneas and Turnus (308–908). The first section is a single set piece, while the last two sections are varied internally by contrasting short episodes. Thus within the second section, 118–45 describe with linguistic hints of the formal catalogue to come the Trojans' defence of the camp under Ascanius, 146–62 bring the reader up to date with the events leading to Aeneas' return, 163–214 give the colourful but static Catalogue of Etruscans, slowing down the narrative pace, 215–59 the surprise meeting with the sea-nymphs, and 260–307 the landing of Aeneas' forces, concluding with the dramatic wreck of Tarchon's ship. Variations in pace, atmosphere and colour are evident: the poet moves the reader from the high and excited

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Austin on 2. 557, Camps 97–8.

<sup>16</sup> Quinn 98–276 suggests a tripartite structure for each book of the poem, more convincing in some cases than others; his division of book 10 (212–13) disagrees slightly with mine. For other general accounts of the narrative and structure of book 10 cf. H. W. Benario, *TAPA* 98 (1967), 23–36, M. Squillante, *B. Stud. Lat.* 4 (1974), 3–15, and Barchiesi 55–73.\*

rhetoric of the divine council through the stately Catalogue of Etruscans and the supernatural but humorous meeting with the Nymphs to the vivid drama of the landing.

Within the third section, the pitched battle which takes up two-thirds of the book, interest is maintained by following the fortunes of particular individuals. This is done through the Homeric device of the *ἀριστεία* or sequence of successes by one warrior; the poet also uses this technique to depict events subjectively through the eyes of the character involved, and the action is carefully balanced and articulated. Aeneas' initial *ἀριστεία* at 308–44, important in establishing his credibility as a heroic warrior on his first appearance in the battle, develops into a stalemate when the major Latin hero Clausus intervenes with his own short *ἀριστεία* (345 ff.), followed by Halaesus and Messapus, the impasse being emphasized by a simile which itself stems the narrative flow (356–61). Succeeding this is the courageous *ἀριστεία* of the young Pallas on the Trojan side, concluding in the death of Halaesus, himself briefly distinguished in the fighting (362–425), followed by a shorter but balancing *ἀριστεία* of the equally young and valorous Lausus on the Latin side, ending in another stalemate between the two youths. Pallas and Lausus, says the poet, are matched in courage and physique but prevented by fate (and dramatic convenience) from a meeting in battle, both being doomed to death (in this same book) at the hands of greater heroes (426–38); this moment of anticipation again slows the pace. The symmetrical balance of all this shows the evenness of the battle so far, and the poet's foreshadowing of future events shows his interest in the tragic unfolding of fate rather than in strictly suspenseful narrative.

At 439–509 follows the first major duel of the book, that between Pallas and Turnus. Pallas is depicted with sympathy as the young underdog, while Turnus shows a contemptuous confidence; half-way through it, at 464 ff. a note of further pathos is struck in a brief switch to heaven where Jupiter consoles Hercules for the forthcoming death of his protégé Pallas. There is now no suspense as to the outcome; the duel proceeds, and Pallas is duly killed with an unpleasant relish by Turnus, but Turnus' own death is anticipated by the poet (471–2, 495–505). Immediately we return to Aeneas, who reacts to Pallas' death with a second and more ferocious

*ἀριστεία* (510–605), issuing (604–5) in the relief of the Trojan camp, a major success balancing and eclipsing the death of Pallas.

At this point we switch once more to heaven, to a substantial scene of divine reaction and intervention, breaking the war-narrative neatly into two at its half-way point. Juno first (606–32) elicits Jupiter's permission to intervene in person to save Turnus from Aeneas' avenging fury and then (633–88) carries this into effect, drawing her protégé (and also the reader) away from the battle-field and war-narrative in a scene of divine deception; Turnus' consequent lament shows some high tragic rhetoric. At once (689) Jupiter, having authorized Turnus' departure, conveniently stirs up Mezentius to oppose Aeneas in the absence of the Latin commander, and it is about the figure of Mezentius that the remainder of the book is structured. His impressive *ἀριστεία* (689–768) produces like the first *ἀριστεία* of Aeneas and the earlier deeds of Pallas and Lausus a situation of stalemate (755–61), broken only by the re-entry into the battle of Aeneas (conveniently forgotten since 661) at 769 ff.; in 769–95 he swiftly wounds Mezentius, but death is here prevented by the young Lausus, who in saving his father is himself killed by Aeneas (796–820). Here the action is broken by two more reflective and balancing scenes: Aeneas honours and mourns Lausus (821–32), contrasting with and balancing Turnus' earlier arrogant treatment of Pallas, while Mezentius also mourns Lausus before returning to the battle (833–70). Mezentius' second encounter with Aeneas (870–908) is almost as brief as his first, but is swiftly fatal. The two episodes of which Mezentius is the focus, his opening *ἀριστεία* and his lament and last battle, are thus appropriately placed in counterpoise about the death-scene of Lausus, the event which explains Mezentius' transformation within the same book from formidable hero to pathetic old man (cf. 689–768 n.).

(iii) *Aeneid 10, the Aeneid and Homer*<sup>17</sup>

Book 10 provides a structural pivot in the second half of the *Aeneid*, beginning the last quarter of the poem with two crucial

<sup>17</sup> There is useful recent work on the use of Homer in book 10 by Gransden 126–54 and by Barchiesi 11–73.

events, the only formal council of the gods in the poem, and the return of Aeneas with Etruscan allies and divine arms to take his part in the war in Latium. From this point an inevitable momentum gathers towards Aeneas' final victory: once the great man, hitherto absent from the fighting, is present to lead and inspire the Trojans, the issue of the battle is beyond doubt, and the military successes of Turnus, which have culminated at the end of book 9 in his daring entry into and escape from the Trojan camp, are now destined to end. The success of Aeneas and his killing of Mezentius in book 10 clearly prefigure his final victory and dispatch of Turnus in book 12, from which it is separated only by book 11, which combines contrasting scenes of burial and debate with the narrative of the death of another major character on the Latin side, Camilla, whose end, though not at the hands of Aeneas, again foreshadows that of Turnus at the end of the poem, using the same Homerizing death-formula (11. 831 = 12. 952).

This internal dramatic momentum is reinforced by a clear and powerful functional parallelism with the plot of the *Iliad*. Apart from the general use of *Iliad*-like scenes of heroic fighting, *Aeneid* 10 matches the movement of *Iliad* 18–20, where the return of the chief hero Achilles to the Greek army, also with divine arms, stops the successes of Hector and effectively seals the result of the Trojan War. Vergil's description of the return of Aeneas alludes pointedly to this Iliadic model;<sup>18</sup> other details derived from this area of the *Iliad* are the taking of captives for sacrifice and the slaughter of suppliants (517–20, 521–36), both elements of Achilles' furious grief for Patroclus in *Iliad* 20 with which Vergil chooses to describe Aeneas' similar grief for Pallas. Above all, the central event of book 10, the killing of Pallas, is functionally analogous to and thematically reminiscent of the death of Patroclus in *Iliad* 16: it confirms the strong parallels between Aeneas and the Iliadic Achilles and Turnus and the Iliadic Hector (Turnus, like Hector, is doomed once he has killed the great hero's friend), though it can also be seen to echo the death of Sarpedon in *Iliad* 15, a death which is itself functionally matched by that of

<sup>18</sup> For Aeneas in the role of Achilles cf. Anderson (art. cit. n. 3) 26–8 and T. Van Nortwick, *TAPA* 110 (1980), 305–8.

Halaesus in Vergil,<sup>19</sup> such multiple models and ‘telescoping’ are common in Vergil’s reshaping of Homer. *Iliad* 16 is laid under contribution again in the appearance of the Etruscan allies, whose Catalogue resembles the brief list of Myrmidons in *Iliad* 16, likewise reinforcements entering the battle at a crucial stage,<sup>20</sup> though the Etruscan ship-list naturally also owes something to the catalogue of Achaean ships in *Iliad* 2.

Thus the first two thirds of book 10 (1–605) can be seen as a reworking of *Iliad* 16–20, describing the return of Aeneas in the manner of that of Achilles, just as book 9 with its successes of Turnus may be regarded as following those of Hector in *Iliad* 12–16. However, such simple structural parallels are difficult to find for the last third of the book (606–908). The abstraction of Turnus from the battle through the deception of a phantom Aeneas created by Juno, the death of Lausus at the hand of Aeneas and the final heroic end of Lausus’ father Mezentius, which also marks the end of the book, have no substantial links with *Iliad* 16–20; these events are, however, highly significant in the plan of book 10 and of the *Aeneid* as a whole. The removal of Turnus (606–88) is crucial, for he thereby avoids the furious Aeneas and lives to fight another day, thus prolonging the poem; though it is based on similar Iliadic removals of heroes from battle by protecting deities (cf. 606–88 n.), there is no analogous device in the *Iliad* to postpone the meeting of Achilles and Hector. Turnus is humiliated by the trick which sends him to safety while his men face Aeneas, and in the pathos of this scene the seeds are sown of the sympathy which the reader will be made to feel for Turnus in the final duel of book 12. On Turnus’ disappearance, Mezentius takes over the chief role on the Latin side, a neat narrative transition, and the long final episode of the book (689–908) centres on him and Lausus, showing a Roman and Vergilian interest in the relationship of father and son, a theme crucial elsewhere in the *Aeneid*.

The killing of Lausus by Aeneas provides a moving paradox, for Aeneas, the great exponent of *pietas*, is forced to kill Lausus, who acts in the same spirit of *pietas* to defend his wounded

<sup>19</sup> Knauer 298–301 does not mention this, but the resemblance of Pallas and Patroclus makes Halaesus fulfil the function of Sarpedon as the important victim whose death marks the climax of success for the doomed hero (Turnus/Hector).

<sup>20</sup> Knauer 297.

father, something recognized by Aeneas himself in his sincere lament after the deed and in his chivalrous act of lifting Lausus' body from the ground, which in fact parallels the lifting of the dead Hector by Achilles in the last book of the *Iliad*.<sup>21</sup> The poet makes a strong and obvious contrast<sup>22</sup> between Aeneas' reluctant killing of Lausus and honouring of his corpse and the evident pleasure earlier taken by Turnus in butchering and despoiling the similarly young and promising Pallas: the difference between Aeneas and Turnus could not be better drawn, and the theme of Aeneas' generosity to the dead will appear again in the next book, where Aeneas allows an extensive burial-truce to the Latins (11. 106–21). The death of Mezentius himself, returning to battle wounded and broken after the death of his son, has no close Iliadic parallel, though certain elements recall the broken Polyphemus of the *Odyssey*.<sup>23</sup> In his last moments Mezentius has the full sympathy of the reader as a bereaved father, a remarkable reversal of his earlier unattractive characterization (cf. 698–768 n.). The final instant of the book is that of the death-stroke administered to him by Aeneas; this technique will of course be repeated at the very end of the poem, similarly engendering in the reader both a sense of dramatic shock and some ambivalence towards the dispatching Aeneas. This mode of conclusion also enables the poet to cross neatly to book 11, which begins with the linked but contrastingly quieter scene of setting up a trophy over Mezentius' corpse.

#### (iv) *Constructing Battle-Narrative*

The fundamental problem in writing the 'Iliadic' *Aeneid* was that of maintaining vitality and interest in a long epic war-narrative. Six books of battle-description, however skilfully varied and enriched with Homeric reminiscence, were likely to prove tedious even to an appreciative Roman readership unless leavened in some way. The poet's first step was to restrict the volume of fighting actually described:<sup>24</sup> though the war

<sup>21</sup> *Aen.* 10. 831 ~ *Il.* 24. 589; the point is not made by Knauer.

<sup>22</sup> Again a point not stressed by Knauer: for full discussion see 491–500 n.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. Glenn, *AJP* 92 (1971), 129–55, P. F. Burke, *CJ* 69 (1974), 202–9.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Heinze 171 ff. On Vergil's organization of his battle-narrative in general cf. H. Raabe, *Plurima mortis imago* (Munich, 1974), M. M. Willcock, *PCPhS*, ns 29 (1983), 87 ff., N. M. Horsfall, *G&R*, ns 34 (1987), 48–55.

breaks out in *Aeneid* 7, the fighting proper begins only in book 9, and only three of the six books of the second half of the *Aeneid* are taken up with battle-narrative for more than half their length (9, 10, and 12); in *Aeneid* 10 itself real description of combat begins only after a third of the book (308). Such manageable proportions allow the kind of careful narrative orchestration described in (ii) above. As already noted, Vergil's basic tactic in his battle-scenes, taking up the Homeric technique of the ἀριστεία, was to follow the fortunes of a particular major warrior, not necessarily Aeneas; so in *Aeneid* 10 we follow first Aeneas\*, then Pallas, then Turnus, and finally Mezentius. This, supplemented by the poet's emotive technique of commenting on or anticipating the plot, lends the reader a number of views of the same action and leads by careful management to the manipulation of the reader's emotional responses to it: the success of this technique is surely demonstrated in the transformation of the character of Mezentius in the last third of our book, a masterpiece of controlled pathos.

Allied to this presentation of major heroes is the continuous sense of the poet's interest in the minor figures who usually constitute their victims. This is a response to the same danger of monotony, and a similar attempt to manage the reader's emotional reaction: Vergil is concerned to avoid the long killing-catalogues of the *Iliad* where the slain are mere names, and therefore aims at characterizing them, usually pathetically. This is again a Homeric technique,<sup>25</sup> but Vergil employs it more consistently and more effectively. The limit here is naturally one of space; minor characters cannot delay the action for too long, and Vergil employs three basic means of brief characterization—the pathetic detail, the appropriate death, and the significant name. The pathetic detail may be merely a sympathetic epithet for a casualty (e.g. *infelix*, 10. 325), a piece of circumstantial pathos (e.g. the death of brothers, a favourite Vergilian theme, 10. 338–41, 575–601), or a moving anecdotal vignette or obituary (10. 315 ff., 320 ff., 351, 392, 417, 779–80). The appropriate death is a form of poetic justice: so the boaster Pharus is killed by a throat-wound

<sup>25</sup> Cf. esp. Griffin, *Life and Death*, 103–43.

(10. 322–3). The significant name, usually through a learned Greek etymology, gives additional information about the bearer in the shortest of space, punning sometimes on characteristics, sometimes on the manner or fact of death (10. 315, 318, 338, 737, 747); though Homer certainly exploits ‘speaking’ names,<sup>26</sup> the bilingual etymologies of Vergil seem to be an innovation in epic aimed at maintaining the interest of his equally bilingual readers.<sup>27</sup> Such addition of detail to minor figures lends them interest and sympathy; their deaths are not merely mechanical like so many deaths in the *Iliad*, but contribute considerably to arousing pathos, a prime aim of the *Aeneid* (see i above).

(v) *Chronology and Topography in Aeneid 10*

The events of books 8 and 9 are clearly to be considered as occurring simultaneously over two days, containing the two parallel narratives of Aeneas’ day-and-night voyage up the Tiber (8. 94) and day spent at Pallanteum, and of Turnus’ two attacks on the Trojan camp on successive days, punctuated by the night-expedition of Nisus and Euryalus (9. 176–458). Less obvious is the starting-point of book 10: does the divine council mark the beginning of a new day, or does it merely continue that which began at 9. 459–60? Commentators since Servius have suggested that 10. 1 ‘panditur . . . domus . . . Olympi’, given 1. 374 ‘clauso . . . Olympo’ (of day’s end), must symbolize the new day, but there is no further hint of this in the context, and a day seems to end fairly soon after the council (145–6) as the two strands of the narrative separated since book 8 are brought together by Aeneas’ return. Aeneas is depicted as returning at midnight, which turns into dawn as he approaches Latium (147, 257–8); this night must be that of the second day of books 8–9 (see above). One difficulty with this account of the chronology of book 10 is *hodie* at 107; if it is taken strictly and the above is true, then Jupiter’s words at 104–13 apply only to the remainder of the day which ends at 146–7 and not

<sup>26</sup> On Homeric name-etymologies cf. L. P. Rank, *Etymologiseering en verwante verschijnselen bij Homerus*, (Diss. Utrecht = Bibliotheca Classica Vangorcumiana, 4; Assen, 1951).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. especially Holland and Saunders.

the day of battle beginning at 256, which they are clearly intended to cover. The best tactic seems to be to take *hodie* as emphatic rather than strictly temporal (cf. 107 n.). Thereafter, the Etruscan Catalogue effectively consumes no time in the narrative, for midnight is stressed at its beginning and end (147, 216), and the action of 10. 260–908 clearly takes place within the following day of fighting (cf. 256–9); it is to be assumed that that day finishes soon after the death of Mezentius, for book 11 begins with a new dawn.<sup>28</sup>

As for topography, the Trojan camp, the landing of Aeneas and his allies and the battle of book 10 are clearly sited at and near the mouth of the Tiber, in the area of Ostia, the port of Rome (cf. 355–6). This siting of the Trojan camp is probably not a direct allusion to the so-called *castrum* at Ostia, and derives from earlier authors.<sup>29</sup> Apart from the occasional allusion to the Tiber (421, 833), Vergil is little concerned with real topography or *τοπογραφία*; his aim is *τοποθεσία*, the convincing literary representation of a locale.<sup>30</sup>

## 2. THE TEXT AND ITS HISTORY

### (i) *The Textual Tradition of Vergil*

Any editor of Vergil must start from the ‘capital’ manuscripts of late antiquity (MPRV for this book), which provide the text of Vergil with a firm and venerable base;<sup>31</sup> other sources begin to play a part when the evidence of the capital manuscripts is conflicting or deficient. The main lines of the Vergilian text are drawn early on in its history: the major problems for an editor

<sup>28</sup> On the chronology of *Aeneid* 9–11 see Heinze 342, 345, 386–8, G. E. Duckworth, *AJP* 59 (1938) 135–44, T. E. Kinsey, *Glotta*, 57 (1979) 264 n. 18, and Perret’s edition of the *Aeneid*, iii. 166–8, 189–90.

<sup>29</sup> On the location of the events of book 10 about the site of Ostia cf. Servius on 7. 31, 9. 236, J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d’Ostie*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1968), 355 ff., B. Tilly, *Vergil’s Latium* (Oxford, 1947), 8–12, F. della Corte, *La mappa dell’Eneide* (Florence, 1972), 136 ff.; on the non-connection of the camp of Aeneas with the *castrum* at Ostia cf. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1973), 483–7, 566.

<sup>30</sup> On this useful distinction cf. Servius on *Aen.* 1. 259 and N. M. Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973), 306–7; on merely plausible literary topography cf. N. M. Horsfall, *G&R*, NS 32 (1985), 197–208.

<sup>31</sup> See the concise survey of the textual tradition of Vergil by L. D. Reynolds, in id. (ed.), *Texts and Transmission* (Oxford, 1983), 433–6.

are already present in the period of the capital manuscripts—choice between variants which often seem equipollent (e.g. 10. 100, 390, 432, 521, 640), apparent transpositions of lines (e.g. 10. 661–4, 714–18), and passages of difficult grammar and syntax accepted by generations of Vergilian editors but which seem in need of conjectural solution (e.g. 10. 270 and 546).<sup>32</sup> After the capital manuscripts, two types of auxiliary sources give much help and information: the considerable indirect tradition of Vergilian commentators, the best of whom date from the fourth century and whose evidence, though usually mediated through later copies, has real importance for the constitution of the text (see (ii) below), and the ‘Carolingian’ manuscripts of the ninth century, which reflect the labours of scholars in an age of revived learning. Some Carolingian manuscripts are so close to particular capital traditions that they can be used as evidence for them when they are lacking<sup>33</sup> (so  $\gamma$  provides evidence for the missing P at 10. 461–93 and 495–508, and a follows R); they can also provide correct or plausible readings which are not in the capital manuscripts (e.g. at 10. 805 and 838).

(ii) *The Ancient Commentators on Vergil*

Vergil became a school author early on, possibly in his own lifetime,<sup>34</sup> and largely as a result of this his text is equipped with a rich tradition of ancient commentary rivalled only by that on Homer. This exegetical tradition contains material varying from scholarly lexical and antiquarian notes and learned citation of sources to simple grammatical explication of the text for a school audience, quite often within the same commentary; it has much to contribute to the text and interpretation of the *Aeneid*, as modern scholars have emphasized.<sup>35</sup> The most extensive and important of the ancient commentaries on Vergil (i.e. Servius,

<sup>32</sup> Some of the real difficulties which remain in the text of Vergil are pointed out by E. Courtney, *BICS* 28 (1981), 13–29.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Mynors, OCT, pref., pp. x–xi, Reynolds (loc. cit. n. 31), 435–6.

<sup>34</sup> Suetonius states that Q. Caecilius Epirota, freedman of Atticus, lectured at Rome on Vergil and other contemporary poets in the 20s BC (*De Gramm.* 16).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. esp. Zetzel (with the reviews by Jocelyn, *Gnomon*, 55 (1983), 307–11, and M. D. Reeve, *CPh* 80 (1985), 85–92); Timpanaro, *Storia*, Delvigo, and the articles by Jocelyn cited below (n. 41).

Tiberius Donatus, the *Scholia Veronensia*, and Macrobius) all date from the late fourth or early fifth century AD, an age of literary and grammatical learning in Latin, but they preserve a good deal of earlier material. What follows is an account of the major ancient commentaries on Vergil, and of the kind of help that these often uneven works can offer to the modern editor and reader of the poet.

(a) *Servius and D. Servius*

This commentary on the complete works of Vergil, the most extensive and useful on any Latin poet,<sup>36</sup> consists of two separable parts: the fourth-century commentary of the *grammaticus* Servius, and extensive additions to the Servian commentary grafted on by an unknown compiler in the seventh or eighth century, perhaps in Ireland, additions now generally agreed<sup>37</sup> to be derived from the now lost fourth-century commentary of the great scholar and grammarian Aelius Donatus, which had also been used by Servius himself. This augmented version of Servius was first published by Pierre Daniel in 1600, and the additional material is consequently known as D(anielis) Servius or Servius *auctus*. The value of the Servian commentary for the textual tradition of Vergil is considerable: it not only presents a witness to the text of ultimately fourth-century date and independent of the capital manuscripts, with none of which the text it uses consistently agrees—though most of its manuscripts belong to the ninth century or later—<sup>38</sup>but also records variants otherwise unknown and the readings and interpretations of other scholars.

The Servius/D. Servius commentary on *Aeneid* 10 provides some good examples of its methods of work. Though there are differences between the Servius and D. Servius material (the

<sup>36</sup> The only complete edition of Servius to date is that by G. Thilo and H. Hagen, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1878–1902); two volumes of the Harvard Servius have so far appeared, i (*Aeneid* 1–2), 1946; iii (*Aeneid* 3–5), 1965, and the project continues (cf. C. E. Murgia, *Prolegomena to Servius, 5: The Manuscripts* (University of California Publications: Classical Studies, 11; Berkeley, 1975), esp. pp. 12–13).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. esp. E. K. Rand, *CQ* 10 (1916), 158–64, G. P. Goold, *HSCPh* 74 (1970), 102–22, Murgia, loc. cit. (n. 36), and P. K. Marshall in *Texts and Transmission* (n. 31 above), 385–8. On other aspects of Servius the study of E. Thomas, *Essai sur Servius* (Paris, 1880) and the collection of Servian notes in H. Georgii, *Die antike Aeneiskritik* (Stuttgart, 1891)—433–69 on *Aeneid* 10—are still useful.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Marshall, loc. cit. (n. 37).

latter is more learned and will attribute views to named scholars rather than *quidam*—cf. Servius and D. Servius on 10. 245), the two share the same basic exegetical tradition. The greatest strength of the Servian commentary, understandably, lies in the literal interpretation of the text, whether for grammar, usage, technical terminology, or simply explaining the point of a phrase: some examples are noted in the present commentary (see nn. on 148, 219–20, 222, 246–7, 402–3, 419–20, 442–3, 622–3, 682, 839–40, 862, 889, 894). It also purveys a variety of historical, geographical, and antiquarian information (see nn. on 76, 116–17, 219–20, 316–17, 563–4), sometimes citing learned sources such as Varro or Coelius Antipater (see nn. on 145, 172–4), and occasionally providing material not found elsewhere (see nn. on 14 and 228–9), but also including obvious guesses presented as established fact (see nn. on 91–2 and 198). As might be expected from a culture where all education was heavily rhetorical, Servius often has acute points to make about the rhetorical point or intention of Vergilian speakers (see nn. on 8, 42, 68, 295–6, 461, 622–3). Models in earlier poetry are occasionally suggested (see nn. on 5 and 395–6), and problems of consistency or logistics noted (see nn. on 8, 42, 238–9, and 655).

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the Servian commentary is its value for the history of the textual criticism of Vergil: it notes not only textual difficulties (see nn. on 661–5, and 709–10), but also the views and disagreements of the greater scholars who have previously worked on the text of Vergil. This involves citing textual variants unknown outside Servius (e.g. at 10. 359, 377, 481), but rarely providing a plausible new reading (only at 673 in book 10); these are sometimes introduced with *legitur*, ‘a reading exists’, or *quidam legunt*, ‘some read’ (on 291, 317, 333, 359, 377, 417, 481, 756, and 791), but individual scholars are often named, especially in D. Servius, ranging from probably fraudulent references to Varius and Tucca (none in *Aeneid* 10)<sup>39</sup> to genuine citations of the readings and interpretations of Aemilius Asper (on 38, 673, and 737),<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Goold, art. cit. (n. 37), 122–30.

<sup>40</sup> On Aemilius Asper cf. P. Wessner, *Aemilius Asper* (Halle, 1905), A. Tomsin, *Étude sur le commentaire virgilien d'Aemilius Asper* (Paris, 1952), Zetzel 67–71, Timpanaro, *Storia*, 134–41, M. Geymonat in *Enc. Virg.* s.v. *Aspro*.

M. Valerius Probus (on 303, 444, and 539),<sup>41</sup> Urbanus (on 661),<sup>42</sup> and Velius Longus (on 245).<sup>43</sup> Like their modern counterparts, ancient commentators clearly consulted their predecessors, and the value of these reports is considerable, since it takes many textual problems back to a date before any of the capital manuscripts were written.

Any account of the commentary of Servius and D. Servius should include a cautionary note. Its value is undoubted, but useful material has constantly to be disentangled from a morass of less helpful comment—improbable interpretations, plain misunderstandings, and the retailing of irrelevant parallels and learned information (e.g. on 2, 10, 18, 33). Nevertheless, Servius remains a unique aid to understanding Vergil, as a Latin-speaker, as a possessor of more Latin texts than ourselves, but above all as a commentator, however unimaginative, determined to explain most aspects of the text of Vergil to an ancient audience engaged in a close reading of it.

(b) *Tiberius Claudius Donatus*

The *Interpretationes Vergilianae* of Tiberius Claudius Donatus (not to be confused with the earlier Aelius Donatus, a source of Servius and D. Servius) is a full-scale and usually undistinguished rhetorical paraphrase of the *Aeneid*, written in the fourth century for pedagogic purposes (it is dedicated to the author's young son).<sup>44</sup> Its concern is simply with explaining the meaning at the basic level of linguistic sense; it does not discuss or explicate allusions or textual difficulties, and the few variants it preserves which are not in other sources are all easy slips (see Ti. Donatus on 10. 84, 380, 436, and 487). Its value is purely exegetical; it provides an ancient account by a Latin-speaker of the meaning of most of the *Aeneid*, an aid to the

<sup>41</sup> On M. Valerius Probus and his work on Vergil cf. Zetzel 41–54, H. D. Jocelyn, *CQ*, ns 34 (1984), 464–76, ns 35 (1985), 149–61, 466–74, L. Lehnus in *Enc. Virg.* s.v. *Probo*, Timpanaro, *Storia*, 77–127, and Delvigo, *passim*.

<sup>42</sup> On Urbanus cf. Strzelecki in *RE* ixA. 982. 54 ff.; Timpanaro, *Storia*, 133–4.

<sup>43</sup> On Velius Longus' date and work on Vergil cf. R. Nietzsche, *De Velio Longo grammatico* (Diss. Göttingen, 1927), A. Dihle in *RE* viiiA. 632. 15 ff., Timpanaro, *Storia*, 129–33.

<sup>44</sup> The standard text of Donatus is the Teubner of H. Georgii (Leipzig, 1905–6). On the date and nature of Donatus' work cf. M. Squillante Saccone, *Le Interpretationes Vergilianae di Tiberio Claudio Donato* (Naples, 1985) and G. Brugnoli in *Enc. Virg.* s.v. *Donato*, *Tiberio Claudio*.

modern reader and commentator which is not always to be despised.

(c) *The Scholia Veronensia*

This fragmentary commentary, so named from its preservation in V (the *codex Veronensis*) for the extent of which it survives, is most likely to derive from the fourth century<sup>45</sup> and contains scholarly notes of considerable interest and quality on linguistic (e.g. on 10. 8) and antiquarian matters (e.g. on 10. 203, quoting the Etruscologist Aulus Caecina). Like the commentary of Servius, it names and discusses the views of previous commentators, including the third-century Haterianus on 10. 242, which provides a convenient *terminus post quem* for its date.<sup>46</sup> Apparently independent of and probably pre-dating Servius and D. Servius, the *Scholia Veronensia* seem from what remains to have been more learned and informative than any extant commentary on Vergil.

(d) *Macrobius*

Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, an 'academic symposium in seven books'<sup>47</sup> probably composed in the early fifth century,<sup>48</sup> though not strictly a commentary on Vergil, is of considerable importance in the tradition of Vergilian criticism. Like Tiberius Donatus' *Interpretationes Vergilianae* (above), it is ostensibly devised for the education of the author's son (*Sat.* 1. *pr.* 1–2); the commentator Servius (above) appears in it as a character (*Sat.* 1. 2. 15). Books 3–6 constitute an encomium of Vergil, defending the poet against contemporary detractors by pointing out his learning, approving his use and modification of Homer and other poetic sources, and commending his use of rhetoric. The main value of Macrobius is his citing of earlier poetic models in both Latin and Greek for Vergilian lines;

<sup>45</sup> On the *Scholia Veronensia*, the text of which can be found in the *Appendix Serviana* (vol. iii/2 of the Thilo–Hagen Servius, cf. n. 36), see Ribbeck, *Prolog.* 198–200; Conington–Nettleship i, pp. xci f., D. Daintree and M. Geymonat in *Enc. Virg.* s.v. *Scholia*, A3.

<sup>46</sup> On Haterianus cf. Ribbeck, *Prolog.* 177–8; P. Wessner in *RE* viii. 2512 ff.; Timpanaro, *Storia*, 143–5, Geymonat in *Enc. Virg.* s.v. *Ateriano*.

<sup>47</sup> The apt words of R. G. Austin in *OCD* (2nd edn.), 635. The standard text of Macrobius is the Teubner of J. Willis (2 vols., 1963).

<sup>48</sup> On the date of Macrobius cf. A. Cameron, *JRS* 56 (1966), 25–38.

many of these are parallels with extant texts such as Homer and Lucretius (e.g. for 10. 642, *Sat.* 6. 1. 48), but particularly valuable are parallels cited from otherwise lost or fragmentary works, such as Egnatius' *De Rerum Natura* as the model for 10. 215–16 (*Sat.* 6. 5. 2) or Ennius' *Scipio* for 10. 101 ff. (*Sat.* 6. 2. 26).<sup>49</sup> On the whole Macrobius is not interested in close exegesis of the text of Vergil or textual criticism, though he does point out inconsistencies and problems (e.g. at 10. 655, cf. *Sat.* 5. 15. 7); as with Ti. Donatus, the variants his text shows are usually easy slips.

<sup>49</sup> On Macrobius' citations of Vergilian sources, and on Macrobius' own sources, cf. H. D. Jocelyn, *CQ*, ns 14 (1964), 280–95, 15 (1965), 126–44.

## NOTE ON TEXT AND TRANSLATION

The text used in this edition is based on the Oxford Classical Text of Sir Roger Mynors (corrected reprint, 1972), with an expanded *apparatus criticus*; no new collations have been made. The text of M. Geymonat (Turin, 1973) has often been consulted with profit. Different readings from those of the OCT are printed on twenty-seven occasions (24, 144, 180, 181, 186, 270, 280, 291, 293, 350, 363, 381, 444, 486, 546, 628, 640, 670, 673, 681, 754, 769, 815, 817, 838, 850, 862) and the punctuation of the OCT is frequently altered. In discussion of variant readings in the commentary, reference has usually been made simply to 'the variant(s)'; this is both a convenient shorthand and the embodiment of a belief that correct readings may come from any part of the Vergilian textual tradition.

The facing translation is intended to be auxiliary to the text, and to indicate as closely as possible how a particular passage is to be taken, especially when the commentary is silent. It consequently aims at being literal rather than literary; this leads from time to time to unusual expressions, but a glance across at the Latin should show that these are intended to reproduce equally unusual expressions in the original.

LATERCVLVS NOTARVM  
sub quibus testes in apparatu adlegantur

- Aug.* Aurelius Augustinus (fl. 400).  
*Cassiod.* Cassiodorus Senator (saec. vi), *Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxonii, 1937).  
*Char.* Fl. Sosipater Charisius (saec. iv), *Ars grammatica* (*GLK* i), ed. K. Barwick (Lips. 1925).  
*Diom.* Diomedes (saec. iv), *Ars* (*GLK* i).  
*DServ.* Servius qui dicitur Danielis.  
*Gell.* Aulus Gellius (saec. ii), *Noctes Atticae*.  
*GLK* *Grammatici Latini*, ex recensione H. Keilii (Lips. 1857–80).  
*Macrob.* Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (saec. v. in.), *Saturnalia*, ed. J. Willis (Lips. 1963).  
*Prisc.* Priscianus Caesariensis (saec. v/vi), *Institutio grammatica*, ed. M. J. Hertz (= *GLK* ii–iii).  
*Rufin.* Iulius Rufinianus (saec. iv), *De figuris sententiarum* (*Rhetores Latini minores*, ed. K. Halm, Lips. 1863).  
*schol. Veron.* Scholia in Verg. Veronensia, in *App. Serv.*  
*Serv.* Servius (saec. v in.), in Verg. *Commentarii* (in *A.* i–v ed. Harvardiana 1946–65, in ceteris ed. G. Thilo, Lips. 1881–7; Appendix, ed. H. Hagen, 1902).  
*Tib.* Ti. Claudius Donatus (saec. iv?), *Interpretationes Aeneidos*, ed. H. Georgii (Lips. 1905–6).

De viris doctis qui apud *Serv.*, *DServ.* et *schol. Veron.* nominantur vide quae in praefatione scripsi, pp. xxxvi–xxxix.

## SIGLA CODICVM

<i>M</i>	Florentinus Laur. xxxix. 1	saec. v
<i>P</i>	Vaticanus Palatinus lat. 1631	saec. iv/v
<i>R</i>	Vaticanus lat. 3867	saec. v
<i>V</i>	fragmenta Veronensia	saec. v
<i>M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>R<sup>2</sup></i>	corrector aliquis antiquus	

Codices *MPRV* hos versus in libro decimo *Aeneidos* habent: *M* omnes, *P* omnes praeter 436–439 et 458–508, *R* omnes, *V* 1–26, 53–78, 183–208, 235–261, 549–574 et 732–758.

### *Codices saeculi noni*

<i>a</i>	Bernensis 172 cum Parisino lat. 7929
<i>b</i>	Bernensis 165
<i>c</i>	Bernensis 184
<i>d</i>	Bernensis 255 + 239
<i>e</i>	Bernensis 167
<i>f</i>	Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. F. 2. 8
<i>h</i>	Valentianensis 407
<i>r</i>	Parisinus lat. 7926
<i>s</i>	Parisinus lat. 7928
<i>t</i>	Parisinus lat. 13043
<i>u</i>	Parisinus lat. 13044
<i>v</i>	Vaticanus lat. 1570
<i>ω</i>	consensus horum vel omnium vel quotquot non separatim nominantur
<i>γ</i>	Guelferbytanus Gudianus lat. 2°. 70
<i>def.</i>	deficit (vel mutilus est vel legi non potest)
<i>recc.</i>	codices saec. nono recentiores

P. VERGILI MARONIS  
AENEIDOS

LIBER X

PANDITVR interea domus omnipotentis Olympi  
 conciliumque vocat divum pater atque hominum rex  
 sideream in sedem, terras unde arduus omnis  
 castraque Dardanidum aspectat populosque Latinos.  
 considunt tectis bipatentibus, incipit ipse: 5  
 ‘caelicolae magni, quianam sententia vobis  
 versa retro tantumque animis certatis iniquis?  
 abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris.  
 quae contra vetitum discordia? quis metus aut hos  
 aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suavit? 10  
 adveniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus,  
 cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim  
 exitium magnum atque Alpīs immittet apertas:  
 tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.  
 nunc sinite et placitum laeti componite foedus.’ 15  
 Iuppiter haec paucis; at non Venus aurea contra  
 pauca refert:  
 ‘o pater, o hominum rerumque aeterna potestas  
 (namque aliud quid sit quod iam implorare queamus?),  
 cernis ut insultent Rutuli, Turnusque feratur 20  
 per medios insignis equis tumidusque secundo  
 Marte ruat? non clausa tegunt iam moenia Teucros;  
 quin intra portas atque ipsis proelia miscent  
 aggeribus moerorum et inundant sanguine fossae.  
 Aeneas ignarus abest. numquamne levāri 25  
 obsidione sines? muris iterum imminet hostis  
 nascentis Troiae nec non exercitus alter,  
 atque iterum in Teucros Aetolis surgit ab Arpis

4 spectat P<sup>2</sup> 6 quāenam ω(*praeter b?cv*), Tib. 15 placidum laeti *dfht*:  
 laeti placidum M 18 rerumque (A. 12. 829) MPRVbr: divumque ω, utrumque  
*agnoscit Tib.* 20-1 feratur . . . tumidusque om. M<sup>1</sup> 22 claustra M<sup>1</sup>  
 24 moerorum PV<sup>2</sup>, Serv.: murorum MP<sup>2</sup>Rω, Tib.: mororum, V fossae (A.  
 11. 382) *Medfht*: fossas PRVberu, Serv., Tib. 28 surgit Rω: surget MPbr

VERGIL  
AENEID

BOOK 10

THEN the house of all-powerful Olympus was opened, and the father of the gods and king of men called a council into his starry seat, whence he looked from on high on all lands, on the camp of the Trojans and the peoples of Latium. They sat down in his double-opening hall, and he began: 'Great dwellers in heaven, why has your resolve been reversed, and why do you vie so with hearts of hate? I had forbidden Italy to clash with the Trojans in war. What is this discord contrary to my ban? What fear has urged one side or the other to follow the course of arms and provoke the sword? The appointed time for battle will arrive (do not bring it on) when fierce Carthage will in days to come unleash a mighty destruction and the opening of the Alps against the citadels of Rome. Then you can vie in your hates, then you can take your plunder. Now let it be, and be content to settle the pact already decided.'

Thus Jupiter in few words; but golden Venus in reply answered not a few: 'Father, power eternal amongst gods and men (for what else is there that we can now appeal to?), you see how the Rutulians exult, and how Turnus, conspicuous for his horses, is borne through the press and rushes along, swollen by the favouring tide of war? Not even the sealing of their walls protects the Trojans—indeed, even inside the gates and on the very ramparts of the walls battle is mingled, and the ditches overflow with blood. Aeneas is away and unaware. Will you never allow them to be relieved from siege? Once more an enemy with another army threatens the walls of growing Troy, and once again there rises against the Trojans the man from Aetolian Arpi,

Tydides. equidem credo, mea vulnera restant  
 et tua progenies mortalia demoror arma. 30  
 si sine pace tua atque invito numine Troes  
 Italiam petiere, luant peccata neque illos  
 iuveris auxilio; sin tot responsa secuti  
 quae superi manesque dabant, cur nunc tua quisquam  
 vertere iussa potest aut cur nova condere fata? 35  
 quid repetam exustas Erycino in litore classis,  
 quid tempestatum regem ventosque furentis  
 Aeolia excitos aut actam nubibus Irim?  
 nunc etiam manis (haec intemptata manebat  
 sors rerum) movet et superis immissa repente 40  
 Allecto medias Italum bacchata per urbes.  
 nil super imperio moveor. speravimus ista,  
 dum fortuna fuit. vincant, quos vincere mavis.  
 si nulla est regio Teucris quam det tua coniunx  
 dura, per eversae, genitor, fumantia Troiae 45  
 excidia obtestor: liceat dimittere ab armis  
 incolumem Ascanium, liceat superesse nepotem.  
 Aeneas sane ignotis iactetur in undis  
 et quacumque viam dederit Fortuna sequatur:  
 hunc tegere et dirae valeam subducere pugnae. 50  
 est Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphus atque Cythera  
 Idaliaeque domus: positus inglorius armis  
 exigat hic aevum. magna dicione iubeto  
 Karthago premat Ausoniam; nihil urbibus inde  
 obstabit Tyriis. quid pestem evadere belli 55  
 iuvit et Argolicos medium fugisse per ignis  
 totque maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae,  
 dum Latium Teucris recidivae Pergama quaerunt?  
 non satius cineres patriae insedissem supremos  
 atque solum quo Troia fuit? Xanthum et Simoenta 60  
 redde, oro, miseris iterumque revolvere casus  
 da, pater, Iliacos Teucris.' tum regia Iuno  
 acta furore gravi: 'quid me alta silentia cogis  
 rumpere et obductum verbis vulgare dolorem?'

35 vertere] flectere *dht* iura *Reu* 48 sane] procul *Rer?uw* undis] oris *P<sup>2</sup>*  
 49 quacumque (*A.* 2. 387, 12. 626) *P*: quamcumque *MRω* 50 durae *R*  
 51 Paphos *Rdehtv* atque alta (*A.* 1. 680, 10. 86) *P<sup>2</sup>Rdht* 53 exigat *MPRbr*:  
 exiget *Vω, Tib.* 58 redivivae *R* 59 patriae cineres *P*

Diomedes. Yes, I am sure of it, a wounding for me lies ahead, and I, your offspring, am a mere delay to mortal arms. If it is without your consent and against your divine power that the Trojans have made for Italy, let them pay for their sins, and do not support them with aid; but if they came in obedience to all those prophecies given from those above and below, why can anyone now overturn your bidding or found a new order of fate? Why should I tell again of fleets incinerated on Eryx' shore, or of the ruler of storms and the raging winds roused from Aeolia, or of Iris sped from the clouds? Now she even stirs up the dead (that portion of the universe remained untried), and Allecto, suddenly unleashed on the world above, has rushed furiously right through the cities of Italy. No more am I moved by thoughts of empire; that I hoped for once, while our fortune was firm. Let those conquer whom you prefer to conquer; if there is no region that your cruel consort will grant to the Trojans, I beg you, father, by the smoking sack of upturned Troy, let me send away Ascanius unscathed from war, let my grandson survive. By all means let Aeneas be tossed in strange waters and follow wherever Fortune gives him a way; let me have the power to protect Ascanius and steal him from the horrors of battle. Amathus is mine, mine is lofty Paphus, Cythera, and the temple of Idalia; let him lay down his arms without glory, and live out his life there. Bid Carthage oppress Italy with mighty sway: no obstacle will be offered to the Tyrian cities from him. What profit was there in escape from the scourge of war, in flight clean through the fires of the Greeks, and in draining the cup of so many dangers over the sea and desolate land, while the Trojans sought Latium and Pergama new-grown? Would it not have been better to have settled on the last ashes of their fatherland, on the ground where Troy once was? Give back to the wretches, I entreat you, their Xanthus and their Simois, and, father, allow the Trojans to turn again through the fortunes of Troy.'

Then royal Juno, driven by heavy rage: 'Why do you force me to break my deep silence, and lay open in words my hidden grief?

Aenean hominum quisquam divumque subegit 65  
 bella sequi aut hostem regi se inferre Latino?  
 Italiam petiit fatis auctoribus (esto)  
 Cassandrae impulsus furiis: num linquere castra  
 hortati sumus aut vitam committere ventis?  
 num puero summam belli, num credere muros, 70  
 Tyrrhenamque fidem aut gentis agitare quietas?  
 quis deus in fraudem, quae dura potentia nostra  
 egit? ubi hic Iuno demissave nubibus Iris?  
 indignum est Italos Troiam circumdare flammis  
 nascentem et patria Turnum consistere terra, 75  
 cui Pilumnus avus, cui diva Venilia mater:  
 quid face Troianos atra vim ferre Latinis,  
 arva aliena iugo premere atque avertere praedas?  
 quid soceros legere et gremiis abducere pactas, 80  
 pacem orare manu, praefigere puppibus arma?  
 tu potes Aenean manibus subducere Graium  
 proque viro nebulam et ventos obtendere inanis,  
 et potes in totidem classem convertere nymphas:  
 nos aliquid Rutulos contra iuvisse nefandum est?  
 "Aeneas ignarus abest": ignarus et absit. 85  
 est Paphus Idaliumque tibi, sunt alta Cythera:  
 quid gravidam bellis urbem et corda aspera temptas?  
 nosne tibi fluxas Phrygiae res vertere fundo  
 conamur? nos? an miseros qui Troas Achivis  
 obiecit? quae causa fuit consurgere in arma 90  
 Europamque Asiamque et foedera solvere furto?  
 me duce Dardanius Spartam expugnavit adulter,  
 aut ego tela dedi fovive Cupidine bella?  
 tum decuit metuisse tuis: nunc sera querelis  
 haud iustis adsurgis et inrita iurgia iactas. 95  
 Talibus orabat Iuno, cunctique fremebant  
 caelicolae adsensu vario, ceu flamina prima  
 cum deprensa fremunt silvis et caeca volutant

67 petit *M<sup>1</sup>PRVr* 71 Tyrrhenamque *MPb*: -amve *RVω*, *Tib.* aut] et *R*  
 72 nostra *cell*, *Rufin.* 61. 21, *Serv.*: nostri (*A.* 8. 514) *M<sup>1</sup>* 73 hinc *M<sup>1</sup>*  
 79 ante v. 78 *dht* 80 manu *MPbdhrt*: manu et *Rcefuv* 83 et] tu *Markland ad*  
*Stat. silv.* 3. 2. 81 classem *PRbdhrt*: classes *Mceuw*, *Serv. ad A.* 4. 228 86 Paphos  
*dfht* 90 concurrere *euw* 94 tum *Mbdhrt*: tunc *PRceuw*, *Rufin.* 55. 15,  
*Tib.* 96 Iuno] dictis (*A.* 6. 124) *P*

Did any man or god compel Aeneas to take the path of war, or to attack King Latinus as an enemy? Grant that he made for Italy on the authority of destiny—driven by the ravings of Cassandra: did we urge him to abandon his camp, or trust his life to the winds? Or to entrust to a boy the direction of the war and his walls, or to disturb the allegiance of the Etruscans and peaceful peoples? Which god drove him to deception, what harsh power of mine? Where in all this is Juno, or Iris despatched from the clouds? It is shameful, you say, for the Italians to ring Troy with fire as it grows, and for Turnus to make a stand on his native soil—Turnus, whose grandfather is Pilumnus, whose mother is the goddess Venilia: what do you say of the Trojans' attack on the Latins with dark fire-torches, what of their pressing others' land with the plough, of their taking of booty? What of their choosing their own fathers-in-law, of their kidnapping betrothed girls from their mothers' bosom, of their pleading for peace with a gesture, but fixing arms on their ship-sterns? *You* can steal Aeneas from the very hands of the Greeks, and hold out mist and empty breezes in place of a man, and you can turn a fleet of ships into as many nymphs; is it wicked for *me* to have given the Rutulians some help in my turn? "Aeneas is away and unaware": let him stay away and unaware. Paphus and Idalium is yours, yours is lofty Cythera—why do you attack a city teeming with war, and hearts that are rough? Is it I who am trying to overturn from the bottom the unstable fortunes of Troy as you claim—I, or the one who pitted the wretched Trojans against the Greeks? What was the cause for the rising to arms of Europe and Asia, and for the breaking of a treaty by theft? Was it under my command that the Trojan adulterer stormed Sparta, and was it I who provided weapons or fomented war through Cupid? That was the right time to be afraid for your own; now too late do you rise to your feet with unjust complaints, and hurl your ineffective insults.'

Such was Juno's speech, and all the heaven-dwellers roared in differing agreement, just as when the first breezes roar when trapped in the woods, and send unseen rumblings

murmura venturos nautis prodentia ventos.  
 tum pater omnipotens, rerum cui prima potestas, 100  
 inquit (eo dicente deum domus alta silescit  
 et tremefacta solo tellus, silet arduus aether,  
 tum Zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus):  
 'accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta.  
 quandoquidem Ausonios coniungi foedere Teucris 105  
 haud licitum, nec vestra capit discordia finem,  
 quae cuique est fortuna hodie, quam quisque secat spem,  
 Tros Rutulusne fuat, nullo discrimine habebō:  
 seu fatis Italum castra obsidione tenentur  
 sive errore malo Troiae monitisque sinistris 110  
 (nec Rutulos solvo), sua cuique exorsa laborem  
 fortunamque ferent. rex Iuppiter omnibus idem.  
 fata viam invenient.' Stygii per flumina fratris,  
 per pice torrentis atraque voragine ripas  
 adnuit et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum. 115  
 hic finis fandi. solio tum Iuppiter aureo  
 surgit, caelicolae medium quem ad limina ducunt.  
 Interea Rutuli portis circum omnibus instant  
 sternere caede viros et moenia cingere flammis.  
 at legio Aeneadum vallis obsessa tenetur 120  
 nec spes ulla fugae. miseri stant turribus altis  
 nequiquam et rara muros cinxere corona  
 Asius Imbrasides Hicetaoniusque Thymoetes  
 Assaracique duo et senior cum Castore Thymbris,  
 prima acies; hos germani Sarpedonis ambo 125  
 et Clarus et Thaemon Lycia comitantur ab alta.  
 fert ingens toto conixus corpore saxum,  
 haud partem exiguam montis, Lyrnesius Acmon,  
 nec Clytio genitore minor nec fratre Menestheo.  
 hi iaculis, illi certant defendere saxis 130  
 molirique ignem nervoque aptare sagittas.  
 ipse inter medios, Veneris iustissima cura,

100 prima *M*<sup>1</sup>*Rew*: summa *M*<sup>2</sup>*P*ω, *Macrob.* 6. 2. 26, *Aug. cons. evang.* 1. 12. 18, *ench.*  
 3. 11      105 Ausoniis *P*<sup>2</sup>      Teucros *P*      106 licitum *MPbdfhrt*: licitum est  
*Rcew, Serv.*      107 *v. om.* *P*<sup>1</sup>      108 Rutulusve *cde* (-osve *f*)      luat *efuv*  
 110 monitisve *Pb*      111 Rutulos] populos *Non.* 390. 40      quisque *M*<sup>1</sup>  
 113 invenient *cdht*      121 miseris *RBr*      123 Iasius *M*<sup>1</sup>ω(*praeter br*),  
*Tib.*      124 Thybris *MP*<sup>2</sup>ω(*praeter b*), *Serv., Tib.*      126 Thaemon *Pb, Tib.*:  
 Haemon *MR*ω      alta] *Ida P* (*cf. A.* 12. 412)      128 Agmon *Pcefū, Tib.*

rolling out, betraying to sailors the winds to come. Then the all-powerful father, who holds prime power over the universe, spoke (at his word the lofty home of the gods was silent and the earth, shaken from its foundation, and the high heaven fell quiet; then the Zephyrs came to rest, and the sea smoothed its waters to calm): 'Receive then these words of mine in your hearts, and fix them there. Since it has not been possible for Italians to be joined in treaty with Trojans, and since your discord admits no end, whatever fortune awaits each man now, whatever hope each pursues, whether he be Trojan or Latin, I shall treat him impartially, whether it is by favourable destiny of the Italians that the camp is held under siege or by the sinful error of Troy and evil prophecies. Nor do I exempt the Latins from blame. Each man's exertions will bring him tribulation or success; King Jupiter is alike to all. The fates will find a way.' By the streams of his Stygian brother, by their banks running with pitch and dark-chasmed he nodded assent, and shook the whole of Olympus with his nod. This was the end of the discussion. Then Jupiter arose from his golden throne, and the gods escorted him in their midst to the threshold.

Meanwhile, the Rutulians pressed hard around all the gates to lay men low in slaughter and to ring the walls with flame. But the army of Aeneas' men was held under siege within palisades, without hope of escape. Wretched they stood on the high towers, all in vain, and ringed the walls with their thin circle—Asius, son of Imbrasmus, and Thymoetes, son of Hicetaon, the two Assaraci, and old Thymbris with Castor, the first line; these were accompanied by the two brothers of Sarpedon, Clarus and Thaemon, from lofty Lycia. Lyrnesian Acmon carried a mighty rock, a sizeable part of a mountain, straining with all his force, no less a man than his father Clytius or brother Menestheus. They vied to defend, some with spears, some with rocks, and to wield fire and to fit arrows to the bowstring. He himself in their midst, Venus' most rightful concern,

Dardanius caput, ecce, puer detectus honestum,  
 qualis gemma micat fulvum quae dividit aurum,  
 aut collo decus aut capiti, vel quale per artem 135  
 inclusum buxo aut Oricia terebintho  
 lucet ebur; fusos cervix cui lactea crinis  
 accipit et molli subnectens circulus auro.  
 te quoque magnanimae viderunt, Ismare, gentes  
 vulnera derigere et calamos armare veneno, 140  
 Maeonia generose domo, ubi pingua culta  
 exercentque viri Pactolusque inrigat auro.  
 adfuit et Mnestheus, quem pulsi pristina Turni  
 aggere moerorum sublimem gloria tollit,  
 et Capys: hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi. 145  
 Illi inter sese duri certamina belli  
 contulerant: media Aeneas freta nocte secabat.  
 namque ut ab Euandro castris ingressus Etruscis  
 regem adit et regi memorat nomenque genusque  
 quidve petat quidve ipse ferat, Mezentius arma 150  
 quae sibi conciliet, violentaque pectora Turni  
 edocet, humanis quae sit fiducia rebus  
 admonet immiscetque preces, haud fit mora: Tarchon  
 iungit opes foedusque ferit. tum libera fati  
 classem conscendit iussis gens Lydia divum 155  
 externo commissa duci. Aeneia puppis  
 prima tenet rostro Phrygios subiuncta leones,  
 imminet Ida super, profugis gratissima Teucris.  
 hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat  
 eventus belli varios, Pallasque sinistro 160  
 adfixus lateri iam quaerit sidera, opacae  
 noctis iter, iam quae passus terraque marique.  
 Pandite nunc Helicon, deae, cantusque movete,  
 quae manus interea Tuscis comitetur ab oris  
 Aenean armetque rates pelagoque vehatur. 165  
 Massicus acrata princeps secat aequora Tigri,  
 sub quo mille manus iuvenum, qui moenia Clusi  
 quique urbem liquere Cosas, quis tela sagittae  
 gorytique leves umeris et letifer arcus.

137 cervix fusos *Pc*138 subnectit *M*140 dirigere *Mω*144 murorum *P<sup>2</sup>R*, meorum *P* (*cf.* 24)154 fatis *Serv. ut vid.*163 monete *P*168 Cosam *P<sup>1</sup>*

the Trojan boy, his comely head uncovered, glowed like a jewel set in tawny gold, an ornament for neck or head, or as ivory shines set skilfully in box-wood or Orician terebinth; his milky neck and the circlet enclasping it with pliant gold receive his flowing hair. You too, Ismarus, great-hearted peoples saw, aiming wounds and arming your arrows with venom, you, nobly born from a Maeonian home, where the rich fields are worked by men and watered by the Pactolus with gold. There too was Mnestheus, raised to fame by the earlier glory of driving Turnus from the rampart of the walls, and Capys: from him the name of the city of Capua is drawn.

They had finished joining with each other in the contests of cruel war; but Aeneas was cleaving the straits in the middle of the night. For when, after leaving Evander and proceeding to the Etruscan camp, he approached the king and told him his name and lineage, what he sought and what he offered, and told in full of the forces gathered to himself by Mezentius and of the violent heart of Turnus, warning what little confidence there is in human affairs and mixing in pleas, there was no delay: Tarchon joined his forces and struck a treaty. Then, free from fate, the Lydian race embarked on its fleet, under divine orders, entrusted to a foreign commander. Aeneas' ship held first place, yoked at the beak with Phrygian lions, with Ida towering over them, most dear to the exiled Trojans. Here mighty Aeneas sat and pondered to himself the different possible outcomes of the war, and Pallas, keeping close to his left side, asked now about the stars, their means of journey through the dark night, now about what Aeneas had suffered by both land and sea.

Open up Helicon now, goddesses, and stir forth song, telling what band then from Etruscan shores accompanied Aeneas, and fitted out ships and rode upon the sea.

Massicus first of all cut through the waves in the bronze-sheathed Tiger; under him was a band of a thousand young men, who had left the walls of Clusium and the city of Cosa, whose weapons were arrows and light quivers on their shoulders and the death-dealing bow.

una torvus Abas: huic totum insignibus armis 170  
 agmen et aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis.  
 sescentos illi dederat Populonia mater  
 expertos belli iuvenes, ast Ilva trecentos  
 insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis.  
 tertius ille hominum divumque interpres Asilas, 175  
 cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent  
 et linguae volucrum et praesagi fulminis ignes,  
 mille rapit densos acie atque horrentibus hastis.  
 hos parere iubent Alpheae ab origine Pisae,  
 urbs Etrusca solo. sequitur pulcherrimus Astur, 180  
 Astur equo fidens et versicoloribus armis.  
 ter centum adiciunt (mens omnibus una sequendi)  
 qui Caerete domo, qui sunt Minionis in arvis,  
 et Pyrgi veteres intempestaeque Graviscae.  
 Non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissime bello, 185  
 transierim, Cunere, et paucis comitate Cupavo,  
 cuius olorinae surgunt de vertice pennae,  
 crimen, Amor, vestrum, formaeque insigne paternae.  
 namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaethontis amati,  
 populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum 190  
 dum canit et maestum Musa solatur amorem,  
 canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam  
 linquentem terras et sidera voce sequentem.  
 filius aequalis comitatus classe catervas  
 ingentem remis Centaurum promovet: ille 195  
 instat aquae saxumque undis immane minatur  
 arduus, et longa sulcat maria alta carina.  
 Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris,  
 fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis,  
 qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen, 200  
 Mantua dives avis, sed non genus omnibus unum:  
 gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni,  
 ipsa caput populis, Tusco de sanguine vires.  
 hinc quoque quingentos in se Mezentius armat,

178 hastis *MRbdfhrt*: armis *Pceuv* 179 Alph(a)cae *PRcdw*, *Serv.*: Alpheae  
*Mbefhrt*, *Prisc.* 2. 45 180, 181 Astyr *M* 186 Cunere *Timpanaro*: Cunare  
*DServ.*: Cinyr(a)e, Cynir(a)e, Cinire (*quae idem valent*) *MVw*: Cinerac *P<sup>2</sup>* (cinere *ceuv*):  
 Cunerac *P<sup>1</sup>*: Cumarre *R* 194 aequali *M<sup>1</sup>* 199 Mantos *ceuv*  
 202 illis *V* populi triplex *R<sup>1</sup>euw*

With him was grim Abas; all his unit shone with conspicuous arms, and his ship-stern with a gilded Apollo. His mother-city Populonia had given him six hundred young men skilled in war, and Ilva three hundred, that island fertile with the inexhaustible mines of the Chalybes. Third was that intermediary between gods and men, Asilas, whom the entrails of sheep and the stars of the sky obeyed, and the language of birds and the fires of prophetic lightning; he swept along a thousand, dense-ranked and with bristling spears. These were bidden to obey by Pisa, Alphean in origin, but an Etruscan city in site. There followed Astur the fair, Astur confident in his horse and iridescent arms. Those who were from a Caeretan home and from the region of the Minio added three hundred, their mind all one to follow, together with ancient Pyrgi and unhealthy Graviscae.

You I could not pass by, chief most mighty in war of the Ligurians, Cunerus, and Cupavo, accompanied by but a few, from whose helm swan-feathers rose, a charge against you and your mother, Cupid, and the badge of his father's shape. For they say that Cycnus, in grief for his beloved Phaethon, as he sang amid the poplar branches, the sisters' shade, and solaced his sad love with the Muse, took on the whiteness of old age in soft feathers as he left the earth and sought the stars with his voice. His son, accompanying the droves of his peers in the fleet, moved on with oars his mighty Centaur; it leant over the water and brandished a monstrous rock at the waves from on high, and furrowed the sea's deeps with its long keel.

Ocnus, too, roused a host from his native shores, the son of prophetic Manto and the Etruscan river, he who gave walls and his mother's name to you, Mantua, Mantua rich in ancestors, but not all of the same descent. Mantua's race is threefold, with four peoples within each race, herself the peoples' head, drawing strength from her Etruscan blood. From here, too, Mezentius arms five hundred against himself,

quos patre Benaco velatus harundine glauca 205  
 Mincius infesta ducebat in aequora pinu.  
 it gravis Aulestes centenaque arbore fluctum  
 verberat adsurgens, spumant vada marmore verso.  
 hunc vehit immanis Triton et caerula concha  
 exterrens freta, cui laterum tenuis hispida nanti 210  
 frons hominem praefert, in pristim desinit alvus,  
 spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda.  
 Tot lecti proceres ter denis navibus ibant  
 subsidio Troiae et campos salis aere secabant.  
 Iamque dies caelo concesserat almaque curru 215  
 noctivago Phoebe medium pulsabat Olympum:  
 Aeneas (neque enim membris dat cura quietem)  
 ipse sedens clavumque regit velisque ministrat.  
 atque illi medio in spatio chorus, ecce, suarum  
 occurrit comitum: nymphae, quas alma Cybebe 220  
 numen habere maris nymphasque e navibus esse  
 iusserat, innabant pariter fluctusque secabant,  
 quot prius aeratae steterant ad litora prorae.  
 agnoscunt longe regem lustrantque choreis;  
 quarum quae fandi doctissima Cymodocea 225  
 pone sequens dextra puppim tenet ipsaque dorso  
 eminent ac laeva tacitis subremigat undis.  
 tum sic ignarum adloquitur: 'vigilasne, deum gens  
 Aenea? vigila et velis immitte rudentis.  
 nos sumus, Idaeae sacro de vertice pinus, 230  
 nunc pelagi nymphae, classis tua. perfidus ut nos  
 praecipitis ferro Rutulus flammaque premebat,  
 rupimus invitae tua vincula teque per aequor  
 quaerimus. hanc genetrix faciem miserata refecit  
 et dedit esse deas aevumque agitare sub undis. 235  
 at puer Ascanius muro fossisque tenetur  
 tela inter media atque horrentis Marte Latinos.  
 iam loca iussa tenent forti permixtus Etrusco  
 Arcas eques; medias illis opponere turmas,

207 fluctum *MPVcdfht*: fluctus *Rbeurv* 220 Cybele  $\omega$ (*praeter rt*)  
 221 nomen *P* e *om. aeu* 223 quot *P\omega*: quod *M<sup>2</sup>*(quo *M<sup>1</sup>*)*Ref*, Tib.: quae  
*P<sup>2</sup>* prorae] puppis (*A. 8. 497 al.*) *M<sup>1</sup>* 233 rumpimus *Non. 382. 23,*  
*DServ.* 237 horrentis *MR\omega*: ardentis *P (v. om. V)* 238 tenent *MV*: tenet  
*PR\omega*

who were led down to the sea in hostile pine-ship by Mincius, son of Benacus, veiled in grey-green reed. On went mighty Aulestes, and beat the sea with a hundred trees as he rose; the waters foamed as the sea was churned up. He was borne by the monstrous Triton, frightening the blue waves with his conch-horn, whose hairy front showed the man down to the waist as he swam, while his belly ended in a sea-monster, and the foaming waves roared under his half-bestial breast.

So many were the picked leaders who went in thirty ships to the aid of Troy, and cut through the salty sea-flats with bronze.

And already day had departed from the sky, and kindly Phoebe was beating the mid-heaven with her night-roving chariot: Aeneas (for his worry allowed his limbs no rest) sat himself directing the helm and attending to the sails. And, all of a sudden, he was met in mid-course by a band of his comrades: the nymphs, whom kindly Cybele had commanded to have marine divinity and change from ships to nymphs: they swam in a row and cut through the waves, just as many as had stood before at the shore as bronze-clad prows. They recognized their king afar off, and circled him with dancing rings; Cymodocea, the most skilled in speaking among them, following from behind, caught Aeneas' ship-stern with her right hand, raised her back out of the water, and paddled beneath the silent sea with her left. Then she addressed the unsuspecting Aeneas as follows: 'Are you awake, son of the gods, Aeneas? Wake up, and slacken the brails on the sails. It is we, pines of Ida from its sacred summit, now nymphs of the ocean—your fleet. When the treacherous Rutulian was pressing us headlong with sword and flame, we broke your moorings, all unwilling, and have sought you over the sea. This appearance that you see the Mother refashioned in her pity, and granted that we should be goddesses and live our life beneath the waves. But the boy Ascanius is held within a wall and ditches, right in the midst of weapons and the Latins bristling with war. Already the Arcadian cavalry, mixed with strong Etruscans, holds its assigned station: to set his squadrons in their way

ne castris iungant, certa est sententia Turno. 240  
 surge age et Aurora socios veniente vocari  
 primus in arma iube, et clipeum cape quem dedit ipse  
 invictum ignipotens atque oras ambiit auro.  
 crastina lux, mea si non inrita dicta putaris,  
 ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos.' 245  
 dixerat et dextra discedens impulit altam  
 haud ignara modi puppim: fugit illa per undas  
 ocior et iaculo et ventos aequante sagitta.  
 inde aliae celerant cursus. stupet inscius ipse  
 Tros Anchisiades, animos tamen omine tollit. 250  
 tum breviter supera aspectans convexa precatur:  
 'alma parens Idaea deum, cui Dindyma cordi  
 turrigeraeque urbes biiugique ad frena leones,  
 tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps, tu rite propinques  
 augurium Phrygibusque adsis pede, diva, secundo.' 255  
 tantum effatus, et interea revoluta ruebat  
 matura iam luce dies noctemque fugarat;  
 principio sociis edicit signa sequantur  
 atque animos aptent armis pugnaeque parent se.  
 Iamque in conspectu Teucros habet et sua castra 260  
 stans celsa in puppi, clipeum cum deinde sinistra  
 extulit ardentem. clamorem ad sidera tollunt  
 Dardanidae e muris, spes addita suscitatur iras,  
 tela manu iaciunt, quales sub nubibus atris  
 Strymoniae dant signa grues atque aethera tranant 265  
 cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.  
 at Rutulo regi ducibusque ea mira videri  
 Ausoniis, donec versas ad litora puppis  
 respiciunt totumque adlabi classibus aequor.  
 ardet apex capiti tristisque a vertice flamma 270  
 funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis:  
 non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae  
 sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor  
 ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris

242 ipse *M**P**R**V*<sup>2</sup>*h**f**r*? : igni *V*<sup>1</sup>, *Haterianus ap. schol. Veron.*: ingens *ω* 245 spec-  
 tabit *Rw*: spectabis *MPVf?hr*, *Velius Longus ap. DServ.*, 'male quidam' *ap. Serv.* 251  
 supera *M*<sup>2</sup>*Rw*: super *M*<sup>1</sup>*PVdht* 256 rubebat *P*<sup>2</sup> 263 e *om. Rbc*  
 264 qualis *dhrt* 270 capitis *R, Macrob.* 5. 10. 2 tristis *Faernus*: cristis *codd.*  
 a *Mdu*: ac *PRω, Macrob.* 271 aereus *M*

to prevent their joining the camp is Turnus' firm plan. Come now, arise, and as dawn comes be the first to bid your allies be called to arms, and take the shield which the fire-god himself gave you as unconquerable, surrounding its rims with gold. Tomorrow's light, if you suppose my words are not in vain, will behold huge heaps of slaughtered Latins.' She finished speaking, and as she departed pushed the lofty ship with her right hand, knowing well how to do it: it sped through the waves, swifter than a javelin or an arrow that matches the winds. Then the others quickened their course. The Trojan son of Anchises stood amazed and unknowing, yet raised his spirits at the omen. Then briefly he prayed, gazing at the vaults above: 'Kindly mother of the gods, lady of Ida, to whom Dindyma is dear and tower-wearing cities and lions yoked in pair at the rein, be now my leader in the fight, bring nearer in due course the fulfilment of your sign, and aid your Phrygians, goddess, with favouring foot.' So much he said, and meanwhile the returning day swept in with light that was already full, and had routed the night; first of all he instructed his allies to follow the standards, and to fit their minds for arms and ready themselves for battle.

Now already he had the Trojans and his own camp in view, standing on the lofty ship-stern, when thereupon he held up with his left arm his glowing shield. The Trojans raised a shout to the stars from their walls; the addition of hope stirred up their wrath, and they cast spears with mighty hand, just as under dark clouds Strymonian cranes send out their signals and noisily traverse the sky, fleeing the storm-winds with glad sound. But all this seemed strange to the Rutulian king and to the Italians, until they looked round to see ship-sterns turned towards the shore, and the whole ocean aglide with fleets. A spike of fire shone forth on Aeneas' head, a grim flame poured from its top, and his golden shield-boss spewed forth terrible fire: just as when comets glow blood-red and baleful in the clear night, or when the heat of Sirius, which brings thirst and sickness to weary mortals,

nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum. 275  
 Haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit  
 litora praecipere et venientis pellere terra.  
 [ultra animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro:]  
 'quod votis optastis adest, perfringere dextra.  
 in manibus Mars ipse, viri; nunc coniugis esto 280  
 quisque suae tectique memor, nunc magna referto  
 facta, patrum laudes. ultro occurramus ad undam  
 dum trepidi egressisque labant vestigia prima.  
 audentis Fortuna iuvat.'  
 haec ait, et secum versat quos ducere contra 285  
 vel quibus obsessos possit concredere muros.  
 Interea Aeneas socios de puppibus altis  
 pontibus exponit. multi servare recursus  
 languentis pelagi et brevibus se credere saltu,  
 per remos alii. speculatus litora Tarchon, 290  
 qua vada non spirant nec fracta remurmurat unda,  
 sed mare inoffensum crescenti adlabitur aestu,  
 advertit subito proram sociosque precatur:  
 'nunc, o lecta manus, validis incumbite remis;  
 tollite, ferte rates, inimicam findite rostris 295  
 hanc terram, sulcumque sibi premat ipsa carina.  
 frangere nec tali puppim statione recuso  
 arrepta tellure semel.' quae talia postquam  
 effatus Tarchon, socii consurgere tonsis  
 spumantisque rates arvis inferre Latinis, 300  
 donec rostra tenent siccum et sedere carinae  
 omnes innocuae. sed non puppis tua, Tarchon:  
 namque inflicta vadis, dorso dum pendet iniquo  
 anceps sustentata diu fluctusque fatigat,  
 solvitur atque viros mediis exponit in undis, 305  
 fragmina remorum quos et fluitantia transtra  
 impediunt retrahitque pedes simul unda relabens.  
 Nec Turnum segnis retinet mora, sed rapit acer  
 totam aciem in Teucros et contra in litore sistit.

278 (= 9. 127) *om.* *MPdfhrt: add. Rbcew* 280 viri *Rev: viris MP $\omega$*   
 281 referto *MR $\omega$ , Serv.: referte P* 283 egressisque *M<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>: egressisque M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>R $\omega$ ,*  
*Tib., agnoscit D*Serv.** 284 piger ipse sibi obstat *supplet Sen. ep. 94. 28*  
 291 spirant *Mbt (def. d), Serv. ad G. 1. 327: sperat PR $\omega$ , 'melius' iudice Serv., Tib.*  
 293 proram *M<sup>2</sup>: prora R: prorae M<sup>1</sup>P $\omega$  (def. d)* 297 puppim *M $\omega$ : puppes*  
*PRev(-pis c)* 303 vadi *P<sup>3</sup>, Probus ap. D*Serv.** 307 pedem *M<sup>2</sup>*

risers and saddens the sky with inauspicious light.

Yet bold Turnus' confident hope of occupying the shore first and of driving the invaders from the land did not depart. [He raised their spirits of his own accord with his words, and rebuked them of his own accord:] 'The chance you have longed for in your prayers is here: to smash through with the strength of your right arms. Mars himself is in your hands, my men; now let each be mindful of his wife and home, let each recall the great deeds which brought glory to his fathers. Let us move first and meet them at the water's edge, while they are unsteady and their first steps stagger after landing. Fortune aids those who dare.' So he spoke, and debated with himself whom he should lead in counter-attack and to whom he should entrust the siege of the walls.

Meanwhile Aeneas landed his allies from the high ship-sterns with gangplanks. Many waited for the ebb of the tired sea and gave themselves to the shallows with a leap, others got down by the oars. Tarchon, having scrutinized the shore-line at a point where the shallows did not heave and where broken billows did not resound, but where the sea glided unchecked with the rising surge, suddenly turned his prow, and entreated his comrades: 'Now, my chosen band, lay to on your mighty oars; raise and carry your ships, split with your beaks this land which is your enemy, and let the keel itself press its own furrow. I do not decline shipwreck in such an anchorage as this, when land has once been grasped.' When Tarchon had spoken these words, his comrades rose to the oars and carried their foaming ships on to the Latin shores, until the beaks gripped dry land and all the keels settled undamaged. But not your ship, Tarchon; for, dashed against the shoals and poised on an uneven sandbank, after being held in balance for some time, wearying the waves, it fell apart and disembarked its men in mid-water. They were hampered by splinters of oars and floating cross-beams, and at the same time the ebbing wave dragged their feet away.

Nor did slow delay hold back Turnus; fiercely he swept his whole army against the Trojans, and stationed it facing them on the shore.

signa canunt. primus turmas invasit agrestis 310  
 Aeneas, omen pugnae, stravitque Latinos  
 occiso Therone, virum qui maximus ultro  
 Aenean petit. huic gladio perque aerea suta,  
 per tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum.  
 inde Lichan ferit exsectum iam matre perempta 315  
 et tibi, Phoebe, sacrum: casus evadere ferri  
 quo licuit parvo? nec longe Cissea durum  
 immanemque Gyan sternentis agmina clava  
 deiecit leto; nihil illos Hercules arma  
 nec validae iuvere manus genitorque Melampus, 320  
 Alcidae comes usque gravis dum terra labores  
 praebuit. ecce Pharo, voces dum iactat inertis,  
 intorquens iaculum clamanti sistit in ore.  
 tu quoque, flaventem prima lanugine malas  
 dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia, Cydon, 325  
 Dardania stratus dextra, securus amorum  
 qui iuvenum tibi semper erant, miserande iaceres,  
 ni fratrum stipata cohors foret obvia, Phorci  
 progenies, septem numero, septenaque tela  
 coniciunt; partim galea clipeoque resultant 330  
 inrita, deflexit partim stringentia corpus  
 alma Venus. fidum Aeneas adfatur Achaten:  
 'suggere tela mihi, non ullum dextera frustra  
 torserit in Rutulos, steterunt quae in corpore Graium  
 Iliacis campis.' tum magnam corripit hastam 335  
 et iacit: illa volans clipei transverberat aera  
 Maeonis et thoraca simul cum pectore rumpit.  
 huic frater subit Alcanor fratremque ruentem  
 sustentat dextra: traiecto missa lacerto  
 protinus hasta fugit servatque cruenta tenorem, 340  
 dexteraque ex umero nervis moribunda pependit.  
 tum Numitor iaculo fratris de corpore raptio  
 Aenean petiit: sed non et figere contra  
 est licitum, magnique femur perstrinxit Achatae.

317 quo (*A.* 11. 735, 12. 879) *P*<sup>2</sup>: quod *MP*<sup>1</sup>*ω*: cui *R* 321 dum] cum *M*<sup>1</sup>  
 322 Pharon *M*<sup>2</sup>*p* inanes *Serv.* ad *A.* 1. 102 323 clamanti *Rω*: clamantis  
*MPedht* 334 steterunt *M*<sup>2</sup>*PRbrtu*: -rint *M*<sup>1</sup>: -rant *ω* quae *M*<sup>1</sup>*Pcfh*: -que *M*<sup>2</sup>*Rω*,  
*Cassiod. inst.* 2. 15, *agnoscit DServ.* 337 rupit *R* 343 petit *MPRfrv*  
 et figere] effigere *R*<sup>1</sup>*cfv*

The trumpets sounded; the first to attack the rustic troops was Aeneas, an omen for the battle, and he laid low Latins, slaying Theron, largest amongst men, who sought Aeneas of his own accord: his side, exposed in attack, Aeneas gashed with his sword, piercing through stitched bronze and a tunic stiff with gold. Then he struck down Lichas, who had been cut from his mother when she was already dead and who was sacred to you, Phoebus; to what end was he permitted to escape the hazard of steel when so small? Soon after he cast down to death tough Cisseus and monstrous Gyas, who laid low whole columns with their clubs: the weapon of Hercules profited them nothing, nor the strength of their hands, nor their father Melampus, continual comrade of Hercules all the while that this earth provided him with heavy labours. Next, all of a sudden, casting his spear at Pharus as he uttered empty boasts, Aeneas planted it in his shouting mouth. You too, Cydon, while lucklessly you followed Clytius, your new joy, whose cheeks were tawny with the first down, you would have fallen piteously, cut down by the Trojan's hand, free of the loves for young men which were always yours, had not a close-packed formation of brothers, the issue of Phorcus, been in the way; seven in number they were, and seven the weapons they threw in concert—some rebounded ineffectually from Aeneas' helmet and shield, some gentle Venus turned aside as they grazed his body. Aeneas addressed trusty Achates: 'Pass me some spears: not one of these shall my right hand throw in vain against the Rutulians, these which stood fast in Greek flesh on the plains of Troy.' Then he seized a great spear and cast it: it flew and shuddered through the bronze of Maeon's shield, and broke through his corslet and his chest together. His brother Alcanor came up to help him, and held up his falling brother with his right arm: the spear, sent on its way, sped on, piercing his arm, and kept its direction, all bloody, and Alcanor's right arm hung lifeless from his shoulder by the sinews. Then Numitor, snatching the spear from his brother's corpse, aimed at Aeneas; but he was not permitted to pierce the hero in return, and merely grazed the thigh of great Achates.

Hic Curibus fidens primaevo corpore Clausus 345  
 advenit et rigida Dryopem ferit eminus hasta  
 sub mentum graviter pressa, pariterque loquentis  
 vocem animamque rapit traiecto gutture; at ille  
 fronte ferit terram et crassum vomit ore cruorem.  
 tres quoque Threicios Boreae de gente suprema 350  
 et tris quos Idas pater et patria Ismara mittit,  
 per varios sternit casus. occurrit Halaesus  
 Auruncaeque manus, subit et Neptunia proles,  
 insignis Messapus equis. expellere tendunt  
 nunc hi, nunc illi: certatur limine in ipso 355  
 Ausoniae. magno discordes aethere venti  
 proelia ceu tollunt animis et viribus aequis;  
 non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit;  
 anceps pugna diu, stant obnixa omnia contra:  
 haud aliter Troianae acies aciesque Latinae 360  
 concurrunt, haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.

At parte ex alia, qua saxa rotantia late  
 impulerat torrens arbustaque diruta ripis,  
 Arcadas insuetos acies inferre pedestris  
 ut vidit Pallas Latio dare terga sequaci, 365  
 aspera aquis natura loci dimittere quando  
 suasit equos, unum quod rebus restat egenis,  
 nunc prece, nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris;  
 'quo fugitis, socii? per vos et fortia facta,  
 per ducis Euandri nomen devictaque bella 370  
 spemque meam, patriae quae nunc subit aemula laudi,  
 fidite ne pedibus; ferro rumpenda per hostis  
 est via. qua globus ille virum densissimus urget,  
 hac vos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposcit.  
 numina nulla premunt, mortali urgemur ab hoste 375  
 mortales; totidem nobis animaeque manusque.  
 ecce maris magna claudit nos obice pontus,  
 deest iam terra fugae: pelagus Troiamne petamus?  
 haec ait, et medius densos prorumpit in hostis.

345 Clausus  $M^2$ (laurus  $M^1$ ) $b$ , Serv.: Lausus  $PR\omega$  349 ferit  $MRbcdhrt$ : premit  
*Pefuw* 350 tres (*sic P*), 351 tris *Gell.* 13. 21. 10: tris . . . tris *cell.* 352 occurrit  
 $\omega$ (*praeter c*; cf. *A.* 5. 36, 451) 358 cedunt  $M^1$  359 'legitur et obnixa'  
*Serv.* 363 impulerat *M*: intulerat  $PR\omega$ , *DServ.* 366 aquis *Madvig*: quos *P*:  
 quis *cell.* 377 magno 'quidam', magni 'nonnulli' *ap. Serv.* 378 petamus  
 $M^2PRew$ , *Tib.*: petemus  $M^1\omega$

At this point Clausus from Cures, confident in his physique of prime youth, moved up and struck Dryops from long distance with his tough spear, driving it home forcefully under the chin, and took away both voice and life as the victim spoke, transfixing his throat; Dryops hit the ground with his forehead, and spewed thick blood from his mouth. Clausus also laid low in various fates three Thracians from the highest stock of Boreas, and three sent by their father Idas and their fatherland of Ismara. Halaesus and his Auruncan bands ran up, and there came up too the son of Neptune, Messapus, conspicuous for his horses. They strained to drive each other from the field, now one side, now the other: the fight was fought on the very threshold of Italy. As when warring winds in the great heaven raise battle with even spirit and strength, and do not yield to each other, neither does cloud or sea, and the battle is long poised in the balance, and all stands locked in counterpoise: just so did the Trojan ranks and the ranks of Latins clash, foot pressing against foot and close-packed man against man.

But in another part of the field, where a stream had thrust far and wide rolling rocks and trees torn from its banks, Pallas, when he saw the Arcadians, unused to making attacks on foot, show their backs to the pursuing Latins, since the nature of the ground, roughened by the stream, had persuaded them to send away their horses, kindled their manhood now with entreaty, now with bitter words, the only recourse when straits are dire: 'Where are you off to, comrades? By your own selves and your deeds of courage, by the renown of your general Evander and his victorious wars, and by my own hope, which rises now as rival to my father's fame, put not your trust in flight; it is by the sword that we must break a way through the enemy. Where that mass of men presses most closely, there your high homeland demands you and your general Pallas must be. No divine powers oppress us: mortals ourselves, we are beset but by a mortal enemy, and we have the same number of souls and arms as they. Look, the sea closes us off with its great barrier, and there is no land left for flight: are we to make for the sea, or for the Trojan camp?' So he spoke, and broke forward into the thick of the close-packed enemy.

Obvius huic primum fatis adductus iniquis 380  
 fit Lagus. hunc, magno vellit dum pondere saxum,  
 intorto figit telo, discrimina costis  
 per medium qua spina dabat, hastamque recepat  
 ossibus haerentem. quem non superoccupat Hisbo,  
 ille quidem hoc sperans; nam Pallas ante ruentem, 385  
 dum furit, incautum crudeli morte sodalis  
 excipit atque ensem tumido in pulmone recondit.  
 hinc Sthenium petit et Rhoeti de gente vetusta  
 Anchemolum thalamos ausum incestare novercae.  
 vos etiam, gemini, Rutulis cecidistis in arvis, 390  
 Daucia, Laride Thymberque, simillima proles,  
 indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error;  
 at nunc dura dedit vobis discrimina Pallas.  
 nam tibi, Thymbre, caput Euandrius abstulit ensis;  
 te decisa suum, Laride, dextera quaerit 395  
 semianimesque micant digiti ferrumque retractant.  
 Arcadas accensos monitu et praeclara tuentis  
 facta viri mixtus dolor et pudor armat in hostis.  
 Tum Pallas biugis fugientem Rhoetea praeter  
 traicit. hoc spatium tantumque morae fuit Ilo; 400  
 Ilo namque procul validam derexerat hastam,  
 quam medius Rhoeteus intercipit, optime Teuthra,  
 te fugiens fratremque Tyren, curruque volutus  
 caedit semianimis Rutulorum calcibus arva.  
 ac velut optato ventis aestate coortis 405  
 dispersa immittit silvis incendia pastor,  
 correptis subito mediis extenditur una  
 horrida per latos acies Volcania campos,  
 ille sedens victor flammas despectat ovantis:  
 non aliter socium virtus coit omnis in unum 410  
 teque iuvat, Palla. sed bellis acer Halaesus  
 tendit in adversos seque in sua colligit arma.  
 hic mactat Ladona Pheretaque Demodocumque,  
 Strymonio dextram fulgenti deripit ense  
 elatam in iugulum, saxo ferit ora Thoantis 415

381 vellit magno (manu *P*) *P<sup>2</sup>Rω*: magno vellit *Mr, Tib.* 383 dedit *Rω, Tib.*  
 384 Hisbon *PRγ* 388 Sthenium *MP* (Sthenlum *R*): St(h)elenum *ω* (cf. *A.* 2. 261,  
 12. 341) 390 arvis *MRω*: agris (*A.* 11. 431) *Pr* 398 pudor] furor *R*  
 401 derexerat *M<sup>1</sup>R*: dir- *M<sup>2</sup>Pω* 410 virtus socium *aeu*

First to meet him, led on by cruel destiny, was Lagus. Him Pallas pierced with a spear-cast as he was plucking up a rock of great weight, striking where the spine separated the ribs in the middle, and snatched back his spear as it lodged in the bone. Here he was not caught unawares from above by Hisbo, though the latter hoped it: Pallas moved first and cut him off as he charged in his rage, made incautious by the cruel death of his friend, and plunged his sword into his swelling lung. Then he went for Sthenius and for Anchemolus, from the ancient family of Rhoetus, who had dared to pollute the marriage-chamber of his stepmother. You too, twin brothers, fell in the fields of Italy, Larides and ThyMBER, offspring of Daucas, most alike, indistinguishable to your own and a sweet confusion to your parents; but now Pallas gave you harsh marks of difference. For your head, ThyMBER, was taken off by Evander's sword, and you, Larides, your severed right hand sought for as its master, its dying fingers flashing and clutching again at the sword it held. Thus the Arcadians, kindled by Pallas' rebuke and seeing the hero's deeds, were armed against the enemy by a mixture of pain and shame.

Then Pallas pierced Rhoetus as he sped by in his chariot: Ilus had this much reprieve and respite, for it was at Ilus that Pallas had aimed his mighty spear from afar, which Rhoetus, coming between them, intercepted, as he fled you, noble Teuthras, and your brother Tyres; he was sent rolling from his chariot, and beat the fields of Italy with dying heels. And as a herdsman, when in summer the winds rise as he wishes, lets loose scattered fires on the woods, and all in between suddenly catches, and a single bristling line of fire stretches out over the wide plains, while the herdsman sits victorious, looking down at the triumphant flames, just so did the courage of your companions gather into one and give you joy, Pallas. But Halaesus, fierce in war, made for the enemy and gathered himself behind his armour: he slaughtered Ladon, and Pheres, and Demodocus, whipped off Strymonius' right arm with his shining sword as it was raised to his throat, and struck Thoas' face with a rock,

ossaque dispersit cerebro permixta cruento.  
 fata canens silvis genitor celarat Halaesum;  
 ut senior leto canentia lumina solvit,  
 iniecere manum Parcae telisque sacrarunt  
 Euandri. quem sic Pallas petit ante precatus: 420  
 ‘da nunc, Thybri pater, ferro, quod missile libro,  
 fortunam atque viam duri per pectus Halaesi.  
 haec arma exuviasque viri tua quercus habebit.’  
 audiit illa deus; dum textit Imaona Halaesus,  
 Arcadio infelix telo dat pectus inermum. 425

At non caede viri tanta perterrita Lausus,  
 pars ingens belli, sinit agmina: primus Abantem  
 oppositum interimit, pugnae nodumque moramque.  
 sternitur Arcadiae proles, sternuntur Etrusci  
 et vos, o Grai imperdita corpora, Teucri. 430  
 agmina concurrunt ducibusque et viribus aequis;  
 extremi addensent acies nec turba moveri  
 tela manusque sinit. hinc Pallas instat et urget,  
 hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas,  
 egregii forma, sed quis Fortuna negarat 435  
 in patriam reditus. ipsos concurrere passus  
 haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi;  
 mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste.

Interea soror alma monet succedere Lauso  
 Turnum, qui volucris curru medium secat agmen. 440  
 ut vidit socios: ‘tempus desistere pugnae;  
 solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas  
 debetur; cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset.’  
 haec ait, et socii cesserunt aequore iussi.  
 at Rutulum abscessu iuvenis tum iussa superba 445  
 miratus stupet in Turno corpusque per ingens  
 lumina volvit obitque truci procul omnia visu,  
 talibus et dictis it contra dicta tyranni:  
 ‘aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis  
 aut leto insigni: sorti pater aequus utrique est. 450  
 tolle minas.’ fatus medium procedit in aequor;

417 cavens *Tib.*, ‘alii’ *ap. Serv.* 424 Imaona *P<sup>ω</sup>*: Hymeona *M*: Himaconia *R*  
 432 addensent *P<sup>1</sup>*, *Prisc.* 9. 43, *Serv.*: -sant *MP<sup>2</sup>R<sup>ω</sup>*: *Tib.* 439 succurrere *dt*  
 441 pugna *R* 444 iussi *ed. Aldina*: iusso *codd.* 445 iussa] dicta *aew*  
 446 miratus *Mhu*: miratur *PR<sup>ω</sup>*, *Tib.*

scattering bone mixed with bloody brains. Halaesus had been hidden by his prophetic father in the woods; but when the old man loosed his greying eyes in death, the Fates laid hands upon his son and consecrated him as victim for the arms of Evander. Pallas aimed for him, making this prayer first: 'Grant now, father Tiber, to this steel which I poise to throw a successful hit and a route through the breast of tough Halaesus. These arms and the hero's spoils an oak of yours will receive.' The god heard the prayer: Halaesus, as he protected Imaon, presented his breast undefended, the unfortunate one, to the Arcadian spear.

But Lausus, a mighty part of the war, did not abandon his ranks, panic-stricken as they were by the great slaughter of the hero; first of all he killed Abas who stood against him, the knot and stay of the battle. Laid low was Arcadia's offspring, laid low were the Etruscans, and you, Trojans, bodies undestroyed by the Greeks before. The armies clashed with well-matched commanders and strength; those on the outside pressed the ranks close, and the crush allowed no weapon or hand to move. On one side Pallas urges and pushes, on the other Lausus in opposition, and their ages were not much different; they were both outstanding in beauty, but Fortune had denied them return to their homeland. The two themselves the ruler of great Olympus did not allow to clash: soon enough their fates awaited them, each at the hand of a greater enemy.

Meanwhile his kindly sister warned Turnus to advance to help Lausus, and he cut through the middle of the press in his flying chariot. When he saw his allies, he said: 'Time to cease from battle; I alone go against Pallas, to me alone Pallas is due. I wish his own father were here to see the sight.' So he spoke, and his allies retreated from the space as ordered. But as the Rutulians drew back, the young Pallas, wondering at these arrogant orders, was astonished at Turnus, and cast his eyes over his mighty body, surveying everything at a distance with fierce gaze; he advanced with these words against the words of the tyrant: 'I shall gain praise either for taking the supreme spoils, or for a noble death: my father is equal to either outcome. Cease your threats.' So speaking he advanced to the middle of the plain:

frigidus Arcadibus coit in praecordia sanguis.  
 desiluit Turnus biugis, pedes apparat ire  
 comminus; utque leo, specula cum vidit ab alta  
 stare procul campis meditantem in proelia taurum, 455  
 advolat, haud alia est Turni venientis imago.  
 hunc ubi contiguum missae fore credidit hastae,  
 ire prior Pallas, si qua fors adiuvet ausum  
 viribus imparibus, magnumque ita ad aethera fatur:  
 'per patris hospitium et mensas, quas advena adisti, 460  
 te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis.  
 cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta  
 victoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni.'  
 audiit Alcides iuvenem magnumque sub imo  
 corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis. 465  
 tum genitor natum dictis adfatur amicis:  
 'stat sua cuique dies, breve et inreparabile tempus  
 omnibus est vitae; sed famam extendere factis,  
 hoc virtutis opus. Troiae sub moenibus altis  
 tot gnati cecidere deum, quin occidit una 470  
 Sarpedon, mea progenies; etiam sua Turnum  
 fata vocant metasque dati pervenit ad aevi.'  
 sic ait, atque oculos Rutulorum reicit arvis.

At Pallas magnis emittit viribus hastam  
 vaginaque cava fulgentem deripit ense. 475  
 illa volans umeri surgunt qua tegmina summa  
 incidit, atque viam clipei molita per oras  
 tandem etiam magno strinxit de corpore Turni.  
 hic Turnus ferro praefixum robur acuto  
 in Pallanta diu librans iacit atque ita fatur: 480  
 'aspice num mage sit nostrum penetrabile telum.'  
 dixerat; at clipeum, tot ferri terga, tot aeris,  
 quem pellis totiens obeat circumdata tauri,  
 vibranti cuspis medium transverberat ictu  
 loricaeque moras et pectus perforat ingens. 485  
 ille rapit calidum frustra de corpore telum:

453 dissiluit *cdht*                      455 in *MReruv: om. Pw*                      465 effudit *yc*  
 475 deripit *γReu: dir-Mω, Tib.*                      476 summa] prima *Rb*                      477 clipei  
 est *M*                      481 magi *R, Char. 278. 23, Diom. 441. 33: nunc magis est agnoscit Serv.*  
 483 quem *M<sup>1</sup>γ: cum M<sup>2</sup>Rω, DSevu., Tib.*                      484 cuspis medium *Mω: medium*  
 cuspis *γRb*                      486 corpore *γ: vulnere Mω, Tib.: pectore Rb*

the blood froze cold in the Arcadians' hearts. Turnus leapt down from his chariot, and prepared to advance on foot at close quarters; and as a lion, when he sees from a high vantage-point a bull standing far off on the plains, practising for battle, flies towards it, just such was Turnus' appearance as he charged. When Pallas thought that his enemy would be within range of a spear-cast, he made the first move, in the hope that chance would aid one who dared, though inferior in strength, and spoke thus to the great heaven: 'By my father's hospitality and his table, which you came to as a stranger, I beseech you, Hercules, aid my mighty enterprise. Let him see me taking bloody spoils from his body as he perishes, and let Turnus' dying eyes endure my victory.' Hercules heard the youth, and held back a great groan in the depths of his heart, pouring forth ineffectual tears. Then father Jupiter addressed his son with kindly words: 'For each is fixed his appointed day, brief and not to be recovered is the space of life for all: but to increase fame by deeds is the task of courage. Under the lofty walls of Troy there fell so many sons of the gods; even Sarpedon died with them, my own offspring. Turnus too is being called by his destiny, and has reached the limits of his allotted span.' So he spoke, and turned his eyes away from the fields of Italy.

But Pallas threw his spear with great force, and snatched his shining sword from its hollow sheath. The spear, flying on, came down on the spot where the topmost protection of the shoulder protrudes upwards, and, forcing its way through the rim of the shield, finally went on to graze the body of Turnus. Then Turnus, after aiming for some while at Pallas his spear-shaft pointed with sharp iron, threw it with these words: 'See if my spear pierces better than yours.' He finished speaking; Pallas' shield, so many layers of iron, so many of bronze, covered by a bull's hide surrounding it so many times, was smashed through the middle by the shuddering impact of the spear-point, which drilled through the cuirass's hindrance and the hero's mighty breast. Pallas tore the warm spear from his flesh, to no avail;

una eademque via sanguis animusque sequuntur.  
 corrui in vulnus (sonitum super arma dedere)  
 et terram hostilem moriens petit ore cruento.  
 quem Turnus super adsistens: 490  
 ‘Arcades, haec’ inquit ‘memores mea dicta referte  
 Euandro: qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto.  
 quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi est,  
 largior. haud illi stabunt Aeneia parvo  
 hospitia.’ et laevo pressit pede talia fatus 495  
 exanimem rapiens immania pondera baltei  
 impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali  
 caesa manus iuvenum foede thalamicque cruenti,  
 quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelaverat auro;  
 quo nunc Turnus ovat spolio gaudetque potitus. 500  
 nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae  
 et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!  
 Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum  
 intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque  
 oderit. at socii multo gemitu lacrimisque 505  
 impositum scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.  
 o dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti,  
 haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert,  
 cum tamen ingentis Rutulorum linquis acervos!  
 Nec iam fama mali tanti, sed certior auctor 510  
 advolat Aeneae tenui discrimine leti  
 esse suos, tempus versis succurrere Teucris.  
 proxima quaeque metit gladio latumque per agmen  
 ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum  
 caede nova quaerens. Pallas, Euander, in ipsis 515  
 omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas  
 tunc adiit, dextraeque datae. Sulmone creatos  
 quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens,  
 viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris  
 captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammis. 520  
 inde Mago procul infensam contenderat hastam:  
 ille astu subit, at tremibunda supervolat hasta,

490 sic ore profatur *supplet R*      510 tam *R*      512 versis tempus *P, Tib.*  
 515 Evandrus *Bentley*      516 primum *R: primus bdfht*      520 perfundant *M*  
 521 infensam *Mω: infestam PR.*      contorserat *R*      522 at *PRω: en correctum ex*  
 in *M<sup>1</sup>* (at, *mox ac M<sup>2</sup>*)

by the same route his blood and spirit followed. He fell on to the wound, his arms rang upon him, and he bit the enemy earth as he died with bloody mouth. Standing close, Turnus spoke over him: 'Arcadians', he said, 'be sure to tell these words of mine to Evander; I send him back Pallas as he has deserved him. Whatever honour there is in a tomb, whatever comfort there is in burial, I freely give. His entertainment of Aeneas will not come cheap.' And so saying he pressed the corpse with his left foot, stripping off the monstrous weight of Pallas' baldric and the abomination stamped upon it: the foul slaughter of a band of young men under the cover of one wedding-night, and bloodstained marriage-chambers, which Clonus the son of Eurytus had embossed with much gold. In this booty Turnus now triumphed, and rejoiced at its acquisition. How ignorant of destiny and of their future lot are the minds of men, and how unable to observe due measure when uplifted by good fortune! There will be a time for Turnus when he will wish he had bought Pallas' safety at a great price, and when he will hate these spoils and the day he got them. But now Pallas' companions with many a groan and with weeping carried him back, laid on a shield, all thronging together. O you who will return as a great grief and glory to your father, this was the first day that consigned you to war, this the same that took you away, though you leave behind you mighty heaps of Italians!

And now no mere rumour of such a great disaster, but a more reliable messenger flew to Aeneas, saying that his men were but a short distance from destruction, that it was time to aid the routed Trojans. Everything near him he scythes with his sword, and, blazing, he cuts a wide swathe through the host with steel, seeking you, Turnus, proud with your fresh slaying. Pallas, Evander, all is before his very eyes, the first hospitable table which he had then encountered as a stranger, and the hands given in pledge. At this point he took alive four young men, sons of Sulmo, and a similar number reared by Ufens, to sacrifice them as funeral offerings to the shades and to soak the flames of Pallas' pyre with the blood of prisoners. Then he threw his hostile spear at Magus, some way off; Magus cunningly ducked, the quivering spear flew over him,



and he embraced Aeneas' knees, speaking these words as a suppliant: 'By your father's shade and the hopes of growing Iulus, I entreat you, save this life of mine for my son and my father. I have a lofty house, and far within it lie buried talents of chased silver; I have great weight of gold, wrought and unwrought. The victory of the Trojans does not turn on this, nor will one life make so much difference.' He finished speaking. Aeneas returned this to him in reply: 'As for the many talents of silver and gold you talk of, save them for your sons; that kind of commerce in war was abolished by Turnus before you, at the time when he slew Pallas. This is the verdict of the ghost of Anchises, this of Iulus.' So saying he held Magus' helmet in his left hand, and, bending back his neck as he pleaded, drove his sword in to the hilt. Not far away was Haemonides, priest of Apollo and Diana, whose temples a band bound with its sacred fillet, all shining with white robe and insignia; him Aeneas closed with and drove over the plain, and standing over him when he fell he made a sacrifice of him and covered him with his mighty shadow. His arms Serestus gathered up and carried back on his shoulders, a trophy for you, King Mars.

The battle-lines were renewed by Caeculus, born of the stock of Vulcan, and Umbro, coming from the mountains of the Marsi. Dardanus' descendant raged on the other side: with his sword he had struck to the ground Anxur's left arm and all the circle of his shield (he had made some boast, and had thought that his might would back up his word; he was perhaps exalting his spirit to heaven, and had promised himself grey age and long years). Tarquitus, exulting on the other side in his shining arms, whom the nymph Dryope had borne to forest-haunting Faunus, put himself in the path of the blazing Aeneas; he, drawing back his spear, pinned down the other's cuirass and the mighty burden of his shield, then sent his head flying to the ground as he supplicated in vain and tried to make many a plea, and rolling the warm trunk forward he spoke these words above it, with hate in his heart: 'Lie there no where you are, fearsome warrior: your lady mother will not

condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro:  
 alitibus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum  
 unda feret piscesque impasti vulnera lambent.' 560  
 protinus Antaeum et Lucam, prima agmina Turni,  
 persequitur, fortemque Numam fulvumque Camertem,  
 magnanimo Volcente satum, ditissimus agri  
 qui fuit Ausonidum et tacitis regnavit Amyclis.  
 Aegaeon qualis, centum cui bracchia dicunt 565  
 centenasque manus, quinquaginta oribus ignem  
 pectoribusque arsisse, Iovis cum fulmina contra  
 tot paribus streperet clipeis, tot stringeret ensis:  
 sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore victor  
 ut semel intepuit mucro. quin ecce Niphaei 570  
 quadriiugis in equos adversaque pectora tendit.  
 atque illi longe gradientem et dira frementem  
 ut videre, metu versi retroque ruentes  
 effunduntque ducem rapiuntque ad litora currus.  
 Interea biuigus infert se Lucagus albis 575  
 in medios fraterque Liger; sed frater habenis  
 flectit equos, strictum rotat acer Lucagus ensem.  
 haud tulit Aeneas tanto fervore furentis;  
 inruit adversaque ingens apparuit hasta.  
 cui Liger: 580  
 'non Diomedis equos nec currum cernis Achillis  
 aut Phrygiae campos: nunc belli finis et aevi  
 his dabitur terris.' vesano talia late  
 dicta volant Ligeri. sed non et Troius heros  
 dicta parat contra, iaculum nam torquet in hostis. 585  
 Lucagus ut pronus pendens in verbera telo  
 admonuit biuigos, proiecto dum pede laevo  
 aptat se pugnae, subit oras hasta per imas  
 fulgentis clipei, tum laevum perforat inguen;  
 excussus curru moribundus volvitur arvis. 590  
 quem pius Aeneas dictis adfatur amaris:  
 'Lucage, nulla tuos currus fuga segnis equorum  
 prodidit aut vanae vertere ex hostibus umbrae:

558 humo *M*<sup>2</sup>(*def. V*) patrioque *Mf* (patrique *P*<sup>1</sup>): patriove *P*<sup>2</sup>*Ro*(*def. V*)  
 569 aequore] agmine *aeuw* 572 et] ac *M*<sup>1</sup> 574 in litore *dht* currus  
*MPVbdfht*: currum *Raceruw* 575 bigis *Pr* 585 hostem *Mb*  
 587 traiecto *M* 588 aptet *P*

lay you in the earth, nor load your limbs with an ancestral tomb. You will be left for the wild birds, or the waters will bear you away submerged in the stream for the ravening fish to lick your wounds.' Next he pursued Antaeus and Luca, Turnus' vanguard, and mighty Numa and tawny Camers, son of great-hearted Volcens, who was richest in land of the Italians and reigned at silent Amyclae. Like Aegaeon, who, they say, had a hundred arms and a hundred hands to match, and from whose fifty throats and breasts fire blazed forth when, opposing the thunderbolts of Jupiter, he made a clashing with so many identical shields, and drew so many swords, so Aeneas raged away victorious over the whole field, once his sword grew warm. See now, he made for Niphaeus' four-horse team and their breasts which faced him; but the horses, when they saw him taking vast steps and roaring so fearsomely, turned in fear and, speeding backwards, threw out their master and dragged the chariot swiftly to the shore.

Next Lucagus charged into the midst with his white pair, and his brother Liger; his brother directed the horses with the reins, while fierce Lucagus whirled his drawn sword. Aeneas could not bear their raging with such heat: he rushed in and appeared before them, a mighty frame, with hostile spear. To him said Liger: 'It is not the horses of Diomedes or the chariot of Achilles that you see, or the plains of Phrygia; now an end will be brought to your war and your life in these lands.' Such were the words which flew out far and wide from the mad Liger; but it was not words that the Trojan hero for his part made ready in reply, for he hurled his javelin at his enemies. As Lucagus urged on his pair, leaning forward and hanging out to whip them on with the flat of his weapon, while, with left foot thrust forward, he prepared himself for battle, Aeneas' spear passed through the lowest rim of his shining shield, then bored through the left side of his groin; thrown from the chariot, he rolled dying on the ground. Him Aeneas the true addressed with bitter words: 'Lucagus, it was no cowardly flight of your horses which betrayed your chariot, nor did empty shadows cast by the enemy turn it from its course:

ipse rotis saliens iuga deseris.' haec ita fatus  
 arripuit biugos; frater tendebat inertis 595  
 infelix palmas curru delapsus eodem:  
 'per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes,  
 vir Troiane, sine hanc animam et miserere precantis.'  
 pluribus oranti Aeneas: 'haud talia dudum  
 dicta dabas. morere et fratrem ne desere frater.' 600  
 tum latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit.  
 talia per campos edebat funera ductor  
 Dardanium torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri  
 more furens. tandem erumpunt et castra relinquunt  
 Ascanius puer et nequiquam obsessa iuventus. 605  
 Iunonem interea compellat Iuppiter ultro:  
 'o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx,  
 ut rebare, Venus (nec te sententia fallit)  
 Troianas sustentat opes, non vivida bello  
 dextra viris animusque ferox patiensque pericli.' 610  
 cui Iuno summissa: 'quid, o pulcherrime coniunx,  
 sollicitas aegram et tua tristia dicta timentem?  
 si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quamque esse decebat,  
 vis in amore foret, non hoc mihi namque negares,  
 omnipotens, quin et pugnae subducere Turnum 615  
 et Dauno possem incolumem servare parenti.  
 nunc pereat Teucrisque pio det sanguine poenas.  
 ille tamen nostra deducit origine nomen  
 Pilumnusque illi quartus pater, et tua larga  
 saepe manu multisque oneravit limina donis.' 620  
 cui rex aetherii breviter sic fatur Olympi:  
 'si mora praesentis leti tempusque caduco  
 oratur iuveni meque hoc ita ponere sentis,  
 tolle fuga Turnum atque instantibus eripe fati:  
 hactenus indulsisse vacat. sin altior istis 625  
 sub precibus venia ulla latet totumque moveri  
 mutarive putas bellum, spes pascis inanis.'  
 at Iuno adlacrimans: 'quid si, quae voce gravaris,  
 mente dares atque haec Turno rata vita maneret?'

595 abripuit *dt* inermis *P<sup>1</sup>?* 602 victor *cdht* 604 fremens *R*  
 612 dicta] iussa *M* 615 Turnum subd. pugnae *aeuw* 621 fatur *M<sup>1</sup>Pace:*  
 fatus *M<sup>2</sup>Rω* 628 at *Harrison:* et *codd.* inlacrimans *aceuw* quae] qui *b:* quod  
*cdht*

you yourself have jumped from the car and deserted your team.' So speaking, he seized hold of the pair; the other brother, the wretch, held out his helpless hands when he had fallen from the same chariot, saying: 'By yourself, by the parents who begot you to be such as you are, Trojan hero, spare this life of mine and have mercy on a suppliant.' To him as he begged at greater length Aeneas spoke: 'Very different were the words you uttered just now: die, and do not abandon your brother, as a brother should.' Then he opened up with his sword Liger's breast, the hiding-place of his soul. Such were the deaths the Trojan leader dealt out over the plains, raging like a stream in torrent or a dark whirlwind. The boy Ascanius and the young men, having been blockaded in vain, at last broke out and left the camp.

Then Jupiter addressed Juno of his own accord: 'O true sister of mine and most pleasing consort, as you thought (nor does your opinion deceive you), it is Venus who holds up the Trojan power, not the heroes' right arms mighty in war, or their spirit fierce and enduring of danger.' To whom Juno, submissive: 'Why, O finest of consorts, do you torment one who is sick at heart and fearful of your grim words? If my love had the power over you that once it had, and still should have, then you would not deny me this, all-powerful one, the power to steal Turnus from the battle and preserve him safe for his father Daunus. Now, as it is, let him perish and pay the penalty to the Trojans in his god-fearing blood; yet he draws his lineage from our own divine stem, Pilumnus is his grandsire's grandsire, and often with generous hand and many gifts has he laden your portals.' To her the king of heavenly Olympus spoke briefly thus: 'If a respite from imminent death and a breathing-space is requested for the doomed young man, and you understand that I am laying this down on such terms, then take Turnus away in flight and snatch him from the fate which presses hard upon him: thus far is it open to me to indulge you. But if any notion of reprieve lies deeper beneath these prayers of yours, and you suppose that the whole course of the war can be shifted or changed, then the hopes you nourish are empty.' But Juno, weeping: 'What if you were to grant in your mind what you refuse with your voice, and this life of his were to remain firm for Turnus?'

nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, aut ego veri 630  
 vana feror. quod ut o potius formidine falsa  
 ludar, et in melius tua, qui potes, orsa reflectas!'  
 Haec ubi dicta dedit, caelo se protinus alto  
 misit agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras,  
 Iliacamque aciem et Laurentia castra petivit. 635  
 tum dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram  
 in faciem Aeneae (visu mirabile monstrum)  
 Dardaniis ornat telis, clipeumque iubasque  
 divini adsimulat capitis, dat inania verba,  
 dat sine mente sonum gressumque effingit euntis, 640  
 morte obita qualis fama est volitare figuras  
 aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.  
 at primas laeta ante acies exsultat imago  
 iritatque virum telis et voce lacessit.  
 instat cui Turnus stridentemque eminus hastam 645  
 conicit; illa dato vertit vestigia tergo.  
 tum vero Aenean aversum ut cedere Turnus  
 credidit atque animo spem turbidus hausit inanem:  
 'quo fugis, Aenea? thalamos ne desere pactos;  
 hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas.' 650  
 talia vociferans sequitur strictumque coruscat  
 mucronem, nec ferre videt sua gaudia ventos.  
 Forte ratis celsi coniuncta crepidine saxi  
 expositis stabat scalis et ponte parato,  
 qua rex Clusinis advectus Osinius oris. 655  
 huc sese trepida Aeneae fugientis imago  
 conicit in latebras, nec Turnus signior instat  
 exsuperatque moras et pontis transilit altos.  
 vix proram attigerat, rumpit Saturnia funem  
 avulsamque rapit revoluta per aequora navem. 660  
 tum levis haud ultra latebras iam quaerit imago, 663  
 sed sublime volans nubi se immiscuit atrae. 664  
 illum autem Aeneas absentem in proelia poscit; 661  
 obvia multa virum demittit corpora morti, 662

639 verba] membra *P*<sup>1</sup>640 gressumque *M*, *Tib.*: gressusque *PR*ω642 ludunt insomnia *dt*644 et] aut *dt*650 tellus dextra *aew*659 rupit *Rdt*661-2 *post v.* 664 *coll. recc.*, *Brunck*

661 illum autem

*Aeneas M*ω: ille autem *Aenean PR*, *Urbanus ap. Serv.*662 dimittit ω(*praeter**bh*)

But now a dreadful end awaits him, an innocent, or I am swept away devoid of truth: would indeed that I were rather deluded by a false fear, and that you, who have the power, would turn back your plans to the better!'

When she had delivered these words, she launched herself forthwith from the heights of heaven, driving a storm before her through the air and girded with cloud, and sought the Trojan battle-line and the Latin camp. Then the goddess made an insubstantial, strengthless phantom of hollow cloud in the shape of Aeneas, a wonder marvellous to behold, and decked it out with Trojan weapons; she counterfeited the shield and crests of the godlike hero, gave it empty words and mindless utterance, and fashioned for it the step of a walking man, just like the shades which are said to flit about after death, or the dreams that delude the slumbering senses. And the phantom pranced exultantly before the front ranks, and provoked the hero Turnus with its weapons, and challenged him with its shouting. Turnus went for it, and at long range threw his whirring spear; the phantom turned tail and wheeled its steps about. Then it was that Turnus, since he believed that Aeneas had turned away in retreat and wildly drank in an empty hope in his mind, cried: 'Where are you off to, Aeneas? Don't abandon your promised marriage! The land you have sought over the seas will be granted you by this right hand of mine!' Shouting this he went in pursuit, flashing his drawn sword, and he did not see that the winds were carrying away his hopes of joy.

It happened that a ship, moored to a pier of lofty rock, stood with ladders set out and a gangway at the ready, the ship in which King Osinius had been brought from the region of Clusium. Hither the agitated phantom of the fleeing Aeneas hurled itself for hiding, and Turnus, no slower, pressed it hard, overcoming all obstacles and leaping across the high gang-planks. Hardly had he reached the prow, when Juno snapped the mooring-rope, and sped the ship, torn free, through the back-churning waters. Then the insubstantial phantom sought hiding no more, but, flying up on high, mingled with a dark cloud. Aeneas challenged the absent Turnus to battle; he sent down to death the bodies of many men who stood in his way,

cum Turnum medio interea fert aequore turbo. 665  
 respicit ignarus rerum ingratusque salutis  
 et duplicis cum voce manus ad sidera tendit:  
 'omnipotens genitor, tanton me crimine dignum  
 duxisti et talis voluisti expendere poenas?  
 quo feror? unde abii? quae me fuga quemve reducet? 670  
 Laurentisne iterum muros aut castra videbo?  
 quid manus illa virum, qui me meaque arma secuti?  
 quosne (nefas) omnis infanda in morte reliqui  
 et nunc palantis video, gemitumque cadentum  
 accipio? quid ago? aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat 675  
 terra mihi? vos o potius miserescite, venti;  
 in rupes, in saxa (volens vos Turnus adoro)  
 ferte ratem saevisque vadis immittite syrtis,  
 quo nec me Rutuli nec conscia fama sequatur.'  
 haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc, 680  
 an sese mucroni ob tantum dedecus amens  
 induat et crudum per costas exigat ensem,  
 fluctibus an iaciat mediis et litora nando  
 curva petat Teucrumque iterum se reddat in arma.  
 ter conatus utramque viam, ter maxima Iuno 685  
 continuit iuvenemque animi miserata repressit.  
 labitur alta secans fluctuque aestuque secundo  
 et patris antiquam Dauni defertur ad urbem.  
 At Iovis interea monitis Mezentius ardens  
 succedit pugnae Teucrosque invadit ovantis. 690  
 concurrunt Tyrrhenae acies atque omnibus uni,  
 uni odiisque viro telisque frequentibus instant.  
 ille (velut rupes vastum quae prodit in aequor,  
 obvia ventorum furiis expositaque ponto,  
 vim cunctam atque minas perfert caelique marisque 695  
 ipsa immota manens) prolem Dolichaonis Hebrum  
 sternit humi, cum quo Latagum Palmumque fugacem,  
 sed Latagum saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis

665 interea medio *Rabeuw* 667 tendit] tollit (*A. I. 103, 8. 141*)  $\omega$ (*praeter bfr*),  
*agnoscit Tib.* 668 tanto *Pa* 670 abeo  $P^2$  quemve] quo  $M^1$ , quove  
 $M^2$  reducet *ceruw, Tib.*: reducit *cell.* 673 quosne *Asper ap. D.Serv.*: quosque  
 $M^1R$ : quosve  $M^2P\omega$  in *om. dht* 674 pallentis  $M^1$  675 aut] et  
 $M^1R$ : dehiscet *Rr, Tib.* 681 mucroni  $P^1R$ : mucrone  $MP^2\omega$ , *Prisc.* 18. 268 *et*  
*284, Serv.* 682 crudum] durum *R* 683 iactet *R*: iaceat *dt* 686 an-  
 imo *dt* 696 manent  $M^1$ : manet  $M^2a$

while meanwhile Turnus was carried over mid-ocean by a whirlwind. He looked back, unaware of the facts and ungrateful for his safety, and put out his two hands with his voice to the stars: 'All-powerful father, did you think me worthy of such a reproach as this, and wish me to pay such a penalty? Where am I being carried? Where have I departed from? What kind of escape will bring me back, and in what condition? Shall I see again the Laurentian walls, or my camp? What of the band of men who followed me and my arms, whom I have deserted (O foul deed), all of them, in the midst of unspeakable death, and whom I now see scattered, whose groans I hear as they fall? What am I to do? Or what earth can now gape deep enough for me? You winds, have mercy on me rather and carry this ship on to cliffs, on to rocks—I, Turnus, beseech you with all my heart—or steer it on to the savage shoals of a sandbank, where neither the Rutulians nor knowing rumour can follow me.' Saying this he wavered hither and thither in his mind, whether to impale himself wildly on his sword for such a disgrace, and drive the cruel blade through his ribs, or to throw himself right into the waves, make for the curving shore by swimming, and return once more to face the weapons of the Trojans. Three times he tried each way, three times great Juno restrained him, and held the young man back with pity in her mind; he glided along cleaving the deep with favourable wave and tide, and was carried away to the ancient city of his father Daunus.

But meanwhile, by the instruction of Jupiter, Mezentius, blazing, moved up to the battle, and attacked the triumphant Trojans. The lines of Etruscans charged together, and pressed him, one single man, with all their hatred and with a volley of missiles; he, just as a cliff that projects into the vast ocean, set in the path of the winds' rage and exposed to the main, bears to the end the whole force and threat of sky and sea, remaining unmoved itself, laid low on the ground Hebrus, offspring of Dolichaon, and with him Latagus and Palmus prone to flee. Latagus he caught on the mouth and full in the face with a rock, a mighty fragment of a mountain,

occupat os faciemque adversam, poplite Palmum  
 succiso volvi segnem sinit, armaque Lauso 700  
 donat habere umeris et vertice figere cristas.  
 nec non Euanthen Phrygium Paridisque Mimanta  
 aequalem comitemque, una quem nocte Theano  
 in lucem genitore Amyco dedit et face praegnas  
 Cisseis regina Parim; Paris urbe paterna 705  
 occubat, ignarum Laurens habet ora Mimanta.  
 ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis  
 actus aper, multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos  
 defendit multosque palus Laurentia silva  
 pascit harundinea, postquam inter retia ventum est, 710  
 substitit infremuitque ferox et inhorruit armos,  
 nec cuiquam irasci propiusve accedere virtus,  
 sed iaculis tutisque procul clamoribus instant;  
 ille autem impavidus partis cunctatur in omnis 717  
 dentibus infrendens et tergo decutit hastas: 718  
 haud aliter, iustae quibus est Mezentius irae, 714  
 non ulli est animus stricto concurrere ferro, 715  
 missilibus longe et vasto clamore lacessunt. 716  
 Venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acron, 719  
 Graius homo, infectos linquens profugus hymenaeos. 720  
 hunc ubi miscentem longe media agmina vidit,  
 purpureum pennis et pactae coniugis ostro,  
 impastus stabula alta leo ceu saepe peragrans  
 (suadet enim vesana fames), si forte fugacem  
 conspexit capream aut surgentem in cornua cervum, 725  
 gaudet hians immane comasque arrexit et haeret  
 visceribus super incumbens: lavit improba taeter  
 ora cruor—  
 sic ruit in densos alacer Mezentius hostis.  
 sternitur infelix Acron et calcibus atram 730  
 tundit humum exspirans infractaque tela cruentat.  
 atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Oroden  
 sternere nec iacta caecum dare cuspidem vulnus;

704 genitore *Bentley ad Hor. epod. 5. 28: genitori codd.* 705 Paris *Bentley: creat*  
*M<sup>2</sup>PRω(crepat M<sup>1</sup>), Serv.* 709 multosve *P* 710 pascit (*vel pavit Bentley:*  
*pastus codd., 'pro pastum' Serv. est om. M<sup>1</sup>* 712 propiusve *MRω: propiusque*  
*Pab* 713 *post hunc v. collocat 717-18 Scaliger in Prol. in Manilium (ed. 2),*  
 716-18 *ω(praeter ar)* 723 stabula] *specula detuw* 727 incumbens (*A. 5.*  
 858) *Maberw, Prisc. 8. 36: accumbens PRcdphi* lavat *R* improbus ater *M<sup>2</sup>*

while Palmus, slitting his hamstring, he allowed to writhe as a coward on the ground, and gave his arms to Lausus to wear on his shoulders and his crests to fix on his head. Likewise he killed Euanthes the Phrygian and Mimas, the coeval and companion of Paris, whom Theano brought to the light sired by Amycus, in the same night as the royal daughter of Cisseus, pregnant with a torch, brought forth Paris; Paris lies in the city of his fathers, while the Laurentian shore holds Mimas, a stranger to it. And just as when a boar, driven from high mountains by the snapping of dogs, a boar which for many years pine-bearing Vesulus keeps safe or the Laurentian marsh feeds on its reedy growth, has come among the nets, has halted, roared fiercely, and bristled at the forequarters, no one has the courage to be enraged and approach closer, but they press hard with spears and shouts safe from a distance, while the boar, unafraid, feints in every direction, grinding his tusks, and shakes out the spears from his hide; just so did not one of those with just anger against Mezentius have the spirit to charge with drawn sword, but they provoked him from a distance with missiles and terrible shouting.

There had come from the ancient territory of Corythus one Acron, a man of Greece, leaving in exile an uncompleted marriage. When from a distance Mezentius saw him throwing the midst of the ranks into confusion, all crimson with feathers and with the purple given him by his promised bride, just as when often a ravening lion, prowling the deep lairs, urged on by maddening hunger, happens to spy a roe-deer swift to flee or a stag rising to its antlers, he joys with jaws mightily agape, bristles his mane, and fastens himself on the victim's vitals, coming down hard from above, and the foul blood washes his relentless mouth—so it was that Mezentius charged eagerly into the close-packed enemy. The unfortunate Acron was laid low, and beat the dark earth with his heels as he died, breaking and bloodying his enemy's spears. And Mezentius, again, did not deign to lay low Orodes as he fled, or to inflict an unseen wound with a spear-cast:

obvius adversoque occurrit seque viro vir  
 contulit, haud furto melior sed fortibus armis. 735  
 tum super abiectum posito pede nixus et hasta:  
 'pars belli haud temnenda, viri, iacet altus Orodes.'  
 conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti;  
 ille autem exspirans: 'non me, quicumque es, inulto,  
 victor, nec longum laetabere; te quoque fata 740  
 prospectant paria atque eadem mox arva tenebis.'  
 ad quem subridens mixta Mezentius ira:  
 'nunc morere. ast de me divum pater atque hominum rex  
 viderit.' hoc dicens eduxit corpore telum.  
 olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget 745  
 somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem.

Caedicus Alcathoum obruncat, Sacrator Hydaspen  
 Partheniumque Rapo et praedurum viribus Orsen,  
 Messapus Cloniumque Lycaoniumque Erichaeten, 750  
 illum infrenis equi lapsu tellure iacentem,  
 hunc peditem: pedes et Lycius processerat Agis,  
 quem tamen haud expers Valerus virtutis avitae  
 deicit; at Thronium Salius Saliumque Nealces  
 insignis iaculo et longe fallente sagitta.

Iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors 755  
 funera; caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant  
 victores victique, neque his fuga nota neque illis.  
 di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem  
 amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores;  
 hinc Venus, hinc contra spectat Saturnia Iuno, 760  
 pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saevit.

At vero ingentem quatiens Mezentius hastam  
 turbidus ingreditur campo. quam magnus Orion,  
 cum pedes incedit medii per maxima Nerei  
 stagna viam scindens, umero supereminet undas, 765  
 aut summis referens annosam montibus ornum  
 ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit,  
 talis se vastis infert Mezentius armis.

737 viris *cdt*, *Asper ap. Serv.* (cf. v. 280) actus *M* 742 ad quem *Rb<sup>2</sup>efv*,  
 at quem *M<sup>2</sup>c*: at quae *P<sup>1</sup>*, atque *M<sup>1</sup>P<sup>2</sup>auhrt*, ad quae *Vd* 749 v. om. *V*  
 750 lapsu *M<sup>2</sup>Pω*, labu *V*: lapsum *M<sup>1</sup>RV*, *Tib.* 754 insignis *M<sup>1</sup>ω*: insidiis  
*M<sup>2</sup>PRVabf?h?r* 756 cedebant *PRV*, *agnoscit Serv.* 760 aspectat  
*aeuv* 763 campum *M*

he ran to bar his path and face him, and clashed with him man to man, overcoming not by deception but by might of arms. Then, resting his foot on the prostrate enemy and leaning on his spear: 'Lofty Orodes, a part of the war not to be scorned, lies low, my men'; his comrades shouted a joyful paean as they followed. But Orodes, as he died: 'Whoever you are, victor, you will not rejoice at my death without penalty or for long; a like fate looks on you too, and you will soon occupy this same earth.' To whom Mezentius, laughing but with anger intermingled: 'Now die; but as for me, let the father of gods and men see to that.' So saying he drew out his spear from his body; on Orodes' eyes pressed a cruel repose and a sleep of iron, and his bright eyes were closed in perpetual night.

Caedicus cut down Alcahous, Sacrator Hydaspes, Rapo Parthenius and Orses, mighty in strength, Messapus Clonius and Lycaon's son Erichaetes, the former as he lay on the ground after a fall from his unbridled horse, the latter on foot. On foot, too, Lycian Agis had made his advance, who yet was cast down by Valerus, full sharer in the courage of his ancestors; but Thronius was slain by Salius, Salius by Nealces, famed for the javelin and for the arrow which flies from afar.

And now fearsome Mars was evening out the grief and deaths on each side; they slew and fell in equal measure, victors and victims in turn, and flight was unknown to either one side or the other. The gods in the palace of Jupiter felt pity at the futile anger of both parties, and that mortals should have such tribulations: on this side watched Venus, on the other in opposition Saturnian Juno, while pale Tisiphone raged in the midst of the thousands.

But now Mezentius, brandishing his mighty spear, strode stormily across the plain. As huge as Orion, when he walks on foot through the greatest depths of mid-sea, cleaving his way, and towers over the waves with his shoulder, or, carrying back an ash-tree full of years from the mountain heights, strides over the ground and hides his head amid the clouds, such was Mezentius as he attacked with his vast weapons.

hunc contra Aeneas speculatus in agmine longe  
 obuius ire parat. manet imperterritus ille 770  
 hostem magnanimum opperiens, et mole sua stat;  
 atque oculis spatium emensus quantum satis hastae:  
 'dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro,  
 nunc adsint! voveo praedonis corpore raptis  
 indutum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum 775  
 Aeneae.' dixit, stridentemque eminus hastam  
 iecit. at illa volans clipeo est excussa proculque  
 egregium Antoren latus inter et ilia figit,  
 Herculis Antoren comitem, qui missus ab Argis  
 haeserat Euandro atque Itala conederat urbe. 780  
 sternitur infelix alieno vulnere, caelumque  
 aspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos.  
 tum pius Aeneas hastam iacit; illa per orbem  
 aere cavum triplici, per linea terga tribusque  
 transiit intextum tauris opus, imaque sedit 785  
 inguine, sed viris haud pertulit. ocius ensem  
 Aeneas viso Tyrrheni sanguine laetus  
 eripit a femine et trepidanti fervidus instat.  
 Ingemuit cari graviter genitoris amore,  
 ut vidit, Lausus, lacrimaeque per ora volutae. 790  
 hic mortis durae casum tuaque optima facta,  
 si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas,  
 non equidem nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo.  
 ille pedem referens et inutilis inque ligatus  
 cedebat clipeoque inimicum hastile trahebat: 795  
 proripuit iuvenis seseque immiscuit armis,  
 iamque adsurgentis dextra plagamque ferentis  
 Aeneae subiit mucronem ipsumque morando  
 sustinuit. socii magno clamore sequuntur,  
 dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret, 800  
 telaque coniciunt perturbantque eminus hostem  
 missilibus. furit Aeneas tectusque tenet se.  
 ac velut effusa si quando grandine nimbi

769 hunc *MP<sup>2</sup>h*: huic *Rω*: huc *P<sup>1</sup>*: cui *Tib.* longe *R<sup>1</sup>*, *agnoscit Tib.*: longo *MPR<sup>2</sup>ω*  
 770 ille] ipse *Non.* 349. 20 777 inicit *a<sup>2</sup>* at *om.* *M<sup>1</sup>* 778 et inter  
*aw*: 788 femore *Prisc.* 6. 52, *Auson.* *Cento* 109 791 optima *Pω*: optime  
*M<sup>2</sup>*(-mae *M<sup>1</sup>*)*Rbr.*, 'alii' *ap. Serv.* 796 proripuit (*E.* 3. 19, *A.* 5. 741) *Mω*: prorupit  
 (7. 32, 10. 379) *PRa* 797 dextra *MP<sup>1</sup>b*: dextrae *P<sup>2</sup>ω*, *Serv.*, *Tib.*: dextram *R*  
 798 subigit *M<sup>1</sup>* insumque] ictumque *Harrison*

Aeneas, on the other side, spotted him in the throng at a distance and prepared to confront him; Mezentius remained where he was, unterrified, waiting for his great-hearted enemy, standing firm in his massive bulk, and, measuring out by eye the length of a spear-throw, said: 'Now let this right hand of mine, my god, and this weapon which I poise for its throw, be present to aid me: I vow you yourself, Lausus, clothed with spoils taken from the corpse of the brigand, as a trophy over Aeneas.' He spoke, and threw his whirring spear at a distance; but the weapon, flying on, was repelled by Aeneas' shield, and some way away transfixing the excellent Antores between flank and groin, Antores the comrade of Hercules, who, sent out from Argos, had attached himself to Evander and settled in an Italian city. He was unhappily laid low by a wound meant for another, and gazed upon the sky, remembering his own sweet Argos as he died. Then Aeneas the true threw his spear: it passed through the hollow circle of triple bronze, through the layers of linen and a work woven from three bull-hides, and came to rest right down in the groin, but did not carry through its force. Swiftly Aeneas, glad at the sight of the Etruscan's blood, drew his sword from his thigh, and hotly pressed his shaken enemy. Lausus groaned deeply with love for his dear father when he saw this, and tears rolled down his face. Here, if any antiquity can bring credence to such an act as yours, I will not keep silence concerning the ill fortune of your cruel death, your glorious deeds, and yourself, memorable youth. Mezentius, moving back, useless and hampered, was giving ground, dragging his enemy's spear in his shield: the youth launched himself forward and joined in the fray. He slipped under Aeneas' sword as the hero rose with his right arm and brought a blow to bear, and checked him by obstruction. His companions followed him with a loud shout, until the father, defended by the son's light shield, could leave the field; they threw their weapons in concert and disturbed the enemy from a distance with missiles. Aeneas raged and stood his ground behind cover. And as when the storm-clouds plunge down in a shower of hail,

praecipitant, omnis campis diffugit arator  
 omnis et agricola, et tuta latet arce viator 805  
 aut amnis ripis aut alti fornice saxi,  
 dum pluit in terris, ut possint sole reducto  
 exercere diem: sic obrutus undique telis  
 Aeneas nubem belli, dum detonet omnis,  
 sustinet et Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur: 810  
 'quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?  
 fallit te incautum pietas tua.' nec minus ille  
 exsultat demens, saevae iamque altius irae  
 Dardanio surgunt ductori, extremaque Lauso  
 Parcae lina legunt. validum namque exigit ensem 815  
 per medium Aeneas iuvenem totumque recondit;  
 transiit et parmam mucro, levia arma minaci,  
 et tunicam molli mater quam neverat auro,  
 implevitque sinum sanguis; tum vita per auras  
 concessit maesta ad Manis corpusque reliquit. 820  
 At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,  
 ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,  
 ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,  
 et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago.  
 'quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis, 825  
 quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?  
 arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum  
 manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.  
 hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:  
 Aeneae magni dextra cadis.' increpat ultro 830  
 cunctantis socios et terra sublevat ipsum  
 sanguine turpantem comptos de more capillos.  
 Interea genitor Tiberini ad fluminis undam  
 vulnera siccabat lymphis corpusque levabat  
 arboris acclinis trunco. procul aerea ramis 835  
 dependet galea et prato gravia arma quiescunt.  
 stant lecti circum iuvenes; ipse aeger anhelans

805 arce *e*: arte *cett.* (ar *r*), *DServ.*, *Tib.* 807 possit *M<sup>1</sup>R<sup>1</sup>dt*, *agnoscit Tib.*  
 809 detonet *P<sup>1</sup>Rabcr*: detinet *MP<sup>2</sup>defhuw* 812 fallit te *P*, fallite *R*  
 815 lina *Pb<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>2</sup>*: fila *cett.* 817 transiit *MPabh*: transit *Rr*: transit *ω* minaci *R*:  
 minacis *cett.* 819 sinus *M<sup>1</sup>drt*, *agnoscit Tib.* 823 graviter miserans  
*Maew* 824 subiit] strinxit (*A.* 9. 294) *Mr* 834 levabat *ω*, *Serv.*: lavabat  
*MPRae*, *utrumque Tib.* 835 ramo *R*, *Serv.* ad *E.* 6. 16

every ploughman has fled from the fields and every farmer, and the traveller lies sheltered in a safe refuge, under the banks of a river or in the vault of a lofty rock, while it rains over the earth, so that they can occupy the day when the sun returns, just so Aeneas, inundated with missiles from all sides, weathered the storm-cloud of war until it should cease to thunder, and it was Lausus he taunted, Lausus he threatened: 'Why rush to your death, why dare deeds beyond your strength? Your loyalty betrays you to rashness.' No less does the other madly exult, and now the Trojan chief's savage anger rose higher, and the Fates gathered the last threads for Lausus. For Aeneas drove his mighty sword through the middle of the young man's body and buried it whole; the blade passed through his buckler too, light arms for a threatener, and the tunic which his mother had woven with soft gold, the blood filling its folds, and his soul departed sadly through the air for the realm of the dead, leaving his body behind.

But when the son of Anchises saw the features and face of the dying youth, a face wondrously pale, he groaned heavily in pity and held out his right hand, and the picture of his own loyalty to his father came to mind. 'What, poor boy, can Aeneas the true give you in return for these fine deeds of yours, what can he give you worthy of so great a nature? These arms in which you had joy: keep them for your own; I send you back to your fathers' shades and ashes, if that service is worth anything to you. Yet with this, unhappy one, can you solace your pitiful death, that you fall at the hand of great Aeneas.' Of his own accord he rebuked Lausus' hesitating companions, and lifted from the ground the body of the youth, which befouled with gore its hair so neatly and duly arranged.

Meanwhile Lausus' father, by the waters of the river Tiber, was stanching his wounds with water and resting his body, leaning against a tree-trunk. A little way off his bronze helmet hung down from the branches, and in a meadow his heavy arms lay at rest. His chosen warriors stood about him, as he, breathing weakly,

colla fovet fusus propexam in pectora barbam;  
 multa super Lauso rogitat, multumque remittit  
 qui revocent maestique ferant mandata parentis. 840  
 at Lausum socii exanimem super arma ferebant  
 flentes, ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum.  
 agnovit longe gemitum praesaga mali mens:  
 canitiem multo deformat pulvere et ambas  
 ad caelum tendit palmas et corpore inhaeret. 845  
 'tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas,  
 ut pro me hostili paterer succedere dextrae,  
 quem genui? tuane haec genitor per vulnera servor  
 morte tua vivens? heu, nunc misero mihi demum  
 exilium infelix, nunc alte vulnus adactum! 850  
 idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen,  
 pulsus ob invidiam solio sceptrisque paternis.  
 debueram patriae poenas odiisque meorum:  
 omnis per mortis animam sontem ipse dedissem!  
 nunc vivo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo. 855  
 sed linquam.' simul hoc dicens attollit in aegrum  
 se femur et, quamquam vis alto vulnere tardat,  
 haud deiectus equum duci iubet. hoc decus illi,  
 hoc solamen erat, bellis hoc victor abibat  
 omnibus. adloquitur maerentem et talibus inquit: 860  
 'Rhaebe, diu, res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est,  
 viximus. aut hodie victor spolia illa cruenta  
 et caput Aeneae referes Lausique dolorum  
 ultor eris mecum, aut, aperit si nulla viam vis,  
 occumbes pariter; neque enim, fortissime, credo, 865  
 iussa aliena pati et dominos dignabere Teucros.'  
 dixit, et exceptus tergo consueta locavit  
 membra manusque ambas iaculis oneravit acutis,  
 aere caput fulgens cristaque hirsutus equina.  
 sic cursum in medios rapidus dedit. aestuat ingens 870  
 uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu. 871

838 pectora (*cf. Sil. Ital. 13. 310*) *dt:* pectore *MRw, Serv., Tib.:* corpora *P<sup>1</sup>:* corpore  
*P<sup>2</sup><sub>u</sub>* 839 rogitans (*A. 1. 750*) *Paehv* multosque *bu* 841 exanimem socii  
*aeruv* 844 multo] immundo (*A. 12. 611*) *M<sup>2</sup>* 850 exilium *P<sup>1</sup><sub>a</sub>, Serv.:*  
 exitium *cell.* 857 quamquam vis] quamvis *P<sup>2</sup><sub>hr</sub>* tardat *M<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>R<sup>2</sup>art:* tardet  
*M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>w, Tib.:* tarda est *R<sup>1</sup>* 860 et talibus inquit] ac talia fatur (*A. 3. 485 et saep.*)  
*Raew* 862 cruenti *P<sup>1</sup>, agnoscit DServ.* 863 dolorem *PR<sup>1</sup>*  
 872 (= *A. 12. 668*) *add. ω (praeter abr)*

bathed his neck, letting his hanging beard flow over his chest. Many a question he kept asking about Lausus, many a time he sent back men to recall him and convey the instructions of his anxious father. But Lausus was being carried dead on his arms by his weeping comrades, a mighty hero overcome by a mighty wound. Mezentius' mind, foreboding evil, recognized the lamentation afar off. He befouled his grey hair with a mass of dust, and stretched out both his palms to heaven, clinging to the corpse: 'Was I possessed by such lust for life, my son, that I should let you, whom I sired, go to replace me under the enemy's hand? Am I, your father, to be saved by these wounds of yours, living by your death? Alas, now at last is my exile truly wretched for me in my misery, now is my wound driven deep: it is I, my son, who have stained your name with infamy, driven through hatred from my throne and my father's domain. I already owed a debt of punishment to my country and to the hatred of my people: would that I had given up my guilty life in every form of death! Now I live on and have not yet left men and the light of day. But leave them I shall.' As he said this he raised himself on his weary thigh, and, though his strength was slowed by his deep wound, undaunted he ordered his horse to be led to him. This was his glory, this his solace, on this horse he came off victorious from every war; he addressed it as it grieved and spoke these words: 'Rhaebus, long we have lived, if anything lasts long for mortals. Today you will either bring back victorious the bloody spoils and the head of Aeneas, and be avenger with me of Lausus' pain, or, if no force can open a way, you will fall at my side; for I do not think, mighty one, that you will deign to suffer another's command or Trojans for masters.' He spoke, and received on the horse's back he set his familiar limbs in their seat, and loaded both hands with sharp javelins, his head gleaming with bronze and shaggy with a horse-hair crest. Like this he made a swift charge for the middle: seething in the same heart was a mighty sense of shame, and mad anger mixed with grief.

atque hic Aenean magna ter voce vocavit. 873  
 Aeneas agnovit enim laetusque precatur:  
 'sic pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo! 875  
 incipias conferre manum.'  
 tantum effatus et infesta subit obvius hasta.  
 ille autem: 'quid me erepto, saevissime, nato  
 terres? haec via sola fuit qua perdere posses:  
 nec mortem horremus nec divum parcimus ulli. 880  
 desine, nam venio moriturus et haec tibi porto  
 dona prius.' dixit, telumque intorsit in hostem,  
 inde aliud super atque aliud; figitque volatque  
 ingenti gyro, sed sustinet aureus umbo.  
 ter circum astantem laevos equitavit in orbis 885  
 tela manu iaciens, ter secum Troius heros  
 immanem aerato circumfert tegmine silvam.  
 inde ubi tot traxisse moras, tot spicula taedet  
 vellere, et urgetur pugna congressus iniqua,  
 multa movens animo iam tandem erumpit et inter 890  
 bellatoris equi cava tempora conicit hastam.  
 tollit se arrectum quadripes et calcibus auras  
 verberat, effusumque equitem super ipse secutus  
 implicat eiectoque incumbit cernuus armo.  
 clamore incendunt caelum Troesque Latinique. 895  
 advolat Aeneas vaginaque eripit ensem  
 et super haec: 'ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa  
 efferata vis animi?' contra Tyrrenus, ut auras  
 suspiciens hausit caelum mentemque recepit:  
 'hostis amare, quid increpitas mortemque minaris? 900  
 nullum in caede nefas, nec sic ad proelia veni,  
 nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus.  
 unum hoc per si qua est victis venia hostibus oro:  
 corpus humo patiare tegi. scio acerba meorum  
 circumstare odia: hunc, oro, defende furorem 905  
 et me consortem nati concede sepulcro.'  
 haec loquitur, iuguloque haud inscius accipit ensem  
 undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore.

883 fugitque *M<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>ceh*  
 898 ut] et *M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>R<sup>1</sup>du*  
*Tib.*

884 aureus (*v.* 271) *Rω*: aereus (*cf.* *v.* 887) *MP*  
 908 anima *P<sup>1</sup>, Tib.* defundit *PR* cruorem *MP<sup>1</sup>,*  
*Tib.*

And then he called on Aeneas three times in a loud voice. Aeneas recognized him well, and prayed in his joy: 'May the great father of the gods bring it to pass, may Apollo on high! Commence close fight!' This much he said, and advanced with hostile spear. But Mezentius: 'Why do you try to frighten me, cruellest of men, now you have taken away my son? That was the only way in which you could destroy me. I do not shudder before death, or pay heed to any of the gods; cease, for I come to die, and bring you these gifts first.' He spoke, and threw his weapon at the enemy, then another and another; he thrust them as he flew around in a huge circle, but the golden shield withstood them. Three times he rode in leftward circuits about Aeneas, who stood at the ready, and hurled weapons with might of hand; three times the Trojan hero carried about with him a vast forest in his bronze-layered shield. Then, when he had tired of dragging out such delay and of tearing out so many spears, and was hard pressed by the clash of unequal battle, turning over much in his mind Aeneas at last broke out, and hurled his spear between the concave temples of the warrior horse. The four-footed beast reared up erect and beat the air with its hooves, and, throwing its rider, pinned him down by following on top, and came down headlong, dislocating its forequarter. The Trojans and Latins kindled the sky with their cries. Aeneas darted up and tore his sword from his sheath, and spoke these words over him: 'Where now is that fierce Mezentius and that wild strength of spirit?' In reply the Etruscan, as gazing at the sky he drank in the air and regained consciousness: 'Bitter enemy, why do you taunt me and threaten me with death? There is no crime in killing me, nor was it on such condition that I came to fight, nor did my Lausus make such a pact with you for me. One thing I beg, by whatever pardon there may be for conquered enemies: let my body be covered with earth. I know that the fierce hatred of my people stands round about me: ward off this rage of theirs, I beg you, and admit me as a sharer to my son's tomb.' So he spoke, and with full awareness took the sword-blow in the throat, and poured out his life over his armour in waves of gore.



## COMMENTARY

1–117. The book begins with a divine council summoned by Jupiter in concern at the war in Italy initiated and promoted by Juno in books 7–9. This is the only divine assembly in the *Aeneid*, a contrast with the five of the *Iliad* (the *Odyssey* has two); in the structure of Vergil's 'Iliadic' plot it recalls the council of *Iliad* 20 in occurring at the beginning of a book which marks the return to battle of the greatest hero, though there are also echoes of the councils which begin *Iliad* 4 and 8. Another model is the *concilium deorum* in the first book of Ennius' *Annales* which raised Romulus to the gods (fr. 51–5 Skutsch), though parallels with it are of expression rather than content (cf. 5 n.); Norden (*EuV* 43 ff.) argued that Vergil imitated a divine council which opened Ennius' account of the Second Punic War in *Annales* 7, but the existence of such a council in Ennius is improbable (cf. Wigodsky 65 ff.). Servius on 104 suggests that Vergil also used Lucilius' burlesque (fr. 3 Marx) of Ennius' *concilium*, but the only element apparently shared by the two is the use of elements of Roman senatorial procedure to characterize the assembly of the gods, a technique later used by Ovid and Seneca (cf. Wigodsky 106–7, Eden on Sen. *Ap.* 8. 1). Vergil's assembly, unlike Lucilius', resembles a senatorial meeting only in a general way: Jupiter calls the council as the presiding magistrate convenes the Senate (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. 915–17), and the initial statement of Jupiter, the pair of opposed speeches by Venus and Juno, and the final decision of Jupiter might be taken to correspond to the three main stages of senatorial business—*relatio* or reporting of the matter in hand by the presiding magistrate, *interrogatio sententiae* or the asking of senators for opinions (which might include an *altercatio* like that of the two goddesses here), and the final *discessio* or voting division (ibid. 952–1003). But in other respects Vergil's council belongs firmly to the divine machinery of epic: Jupiter's indignation at Juno's attempts to thwart his plans matches that of Zeus in the council of *Iliad* 4 (30–3), and his decision is couched in the words of Zeus from that same scene (104 = *Il.* 4. 39).

1. **panditur**: the verb suggests both the physical opening of the hall of heaven and the revelation of its mysteries (cf. 163 = 7. 641). On the question whether this opening implies a new day cf. *Introd.* 1(v).

**interea:** here as at 11. 1 *interea* seems to indicate loose temporal sequence (contrast 5. 1, and cf. Heinze 388 n. 2, O. W. Reinmuth, *AJPh* 54 (1933), 325-7, *TLL* vii/i. 2183. 52 ff.) rather than meaning 'meanwhile' (so T. E. Kinsey, *Glotta*, 57 (1979), 263-4). On the chronology of *Aeneid* 9-10 cf. *Introd.* 1(v).

**domus omnipotentis Olympi:** *omnipotens* is normally used of the gods themselves, especially of Jupiter (cf. 100 n.), but its use of the divine power-base Olympus (so again at 12. 791) is appropriate; cf. further W. Schubert, *Gymnasium*, 91 (1984), 370-8. *domus ... Olympi* recalls the Homeric Ὀλύμπια δώματα (*Il.* 1. 18 etc.), and the dactylic rhythm of the line in general recalls the 'light' Homeric hexameter, as Quintilian (9. 4. 49) noted.

A model for this line is cited in the *Fragmenta de Orthographia* ascribed to L. Caecilius Minutianus Apuleius (ed. F. Osann (1826), 7. 44-6), where it is claimed to be by Naevius: 'panditur interea domus altitonantis Olympi' (= *Olympi*, Jupiter). The ascription of a hexameter to Naevius, not to mention the sense and synzesis of *Olympi*, raises immediate doubts, and the *Fragmenta* have in fact been shown to be a Renaissance forgery aimed at justifying oddities in Latin poetry (here *omnipotentis* of Olympus) by fabricating earlier models; cf. Madvig, *Op. Ac.* 11-12, Skutsch, *Studia Enniana*, 41.

2. **conciliumque vocat:** cf. *Il.* 20. 4 ἀγορήνδε καλέσσαι; *vocare* was also used for calling a meeting of the Senate (Cic. *Cat.* 2. 26, *Dom.* 11, etc.).

**divum pater atque hominum rex:** again at 743, taken from Enn., *Ann.* 203 Skutsch, which in turn renders the Homeric πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε (*Il.* 1. 544 etc.). For the archaic genitive *divum* cf. Ellis on *Cat.* 51. 2 and below, 228-9 n. The monosyllabic line-ending is an archaizing feature in Latin hexameters (found in 8% of the lines of Ennius' *Annales*, in 0.7% of the lines of the *Aeneid*; cf. Skutsch, *Annales*, pp. 49-50), giving a slightly harsh rhythmical effect; cf. further Fordyce on 7. 592, Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 9. 4b, Hellegouarc'h 52 (Tab. 6).

3. **sideream in sedem:** 'seat' in the sense of 'home'; cf. *Il.* 18. 369-70 (the palace of Hephaestus) δόμον ... ἄφθιτον ἀστερόεντα. *sidereus* (following ἀστερόεις) occurs first in Vergil; *-eus* adjectives in Latin poetry usually have a lofty poetical tone, and a number appear first in Vergil; cf. Norden on 6. 281, Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 60-3.

**arduus:** 'on high' (cf. 102). The Homeric Zeus has a similarly high vantage-point (e.g. *Il.* 5. 753-4); cf. Griffin, *Life and Death*, 179-84.

4. **castraque Dardanidum aspectat populosque Latinos:** cf. *Il.* 8. 51-2 εἰσορών Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν. For ... *-que ... -que* (= Homeric ... τε ... τε) cf. 91 n. On the archaic and Graeciz-

ing first-declension genitive plural *Dardanidum* cf. Fordyce on 7. 189, Austin on 6. 92, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 445. *Dardanidae* stresses the Trojans' rights in Italy through their descent from the Italian Dardanus (cf. 3. 167, 7. 240, Buchheit 151–72). *aspectat* is an archaic and poetic verb (Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 326, Norden, *EuV* 45 n. 1). *populi Latini* is Ennian; cf. *Ann.* 22 Skutsch 'quam prisci casci populi tenere Latini'; note how the names of the two sides are opposed at the end of the two line-halves, a common Vergilian technique (cf. App. C).

**5. *considunt tectis bipatientibus*:** cf. *Il.* 20. 11 ξεστῆς αἰδοῦσῆσαν ἐνΐζανον (a similar context of a divine council). The literal meaning of *bipatens* is 'double-opening' (cf. 2. 330 'portis ... bipatientibus' with Austin's note, the only other Vergilian use of the adj.); *tectis bipatientibus* seems to mean that the building itself has two doors, whether in a single entrance or at either end in the manner of some temples. This extremely rare epithet seems very likely to be derived from Ennius, probably from the parallel divine assembly of *Annals* 1 (cf. Servius here, Skutsch on *Ann.* 52).

**incipit ipse:** cf. *Il.* 8. 4 (Zeus similarly begins a divine council) αὐτὸς δέ σφ' ἀγόρευε; here as often *ipse* marks out the important individual (cf. 132 n.).

**6–15.** Jupiter's speech, like the description of heaven which precedes, is grand in tone and archaic in expression, with a number of Ennian echoes. Note the triple end-rhyme in lines 6–8, which perhaps lends a measured dignity.

**6–7. *caelicolae magni*:** *caelicola* is Ennian (*Ann.* 445 Skutsch), a compound typical of early Latin poetry (cf. 216 n.) and forming a kenning ('heaven-dweller' = 'god'; cf. 117 n.).

**quianam:** = *cur*, found only here and at 5. 13 in Vergil, and an archaism, noted as such since antiquity; cf. the *Scholia Veronensia* on this passage, Quintilian 8. 3. 25, Fest. p. 306. 25 ff. Lindsay, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 121.

**sententia vobis/versa retro:** the dative of agent with passive verbs (*vobis*) is frequent in verse as a Graecism (found already in Homer, *Il.* 5. 465); cf. Fordyce on 7. 412, LHS ii. 96–8. *sententia* in this context may recall its common use for senatorial resolutions (cf. Nisbet on Cic. *Dom.* 102).

**animis ... iniquis:** the plural underlines the internal divisions amongst the gods, while *iniquis* suggests the lack of the philosophical virtue of equanimity (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 3. 1–2): for a similar questioning of divine behaviour by human philosophical standards cf. 1. 11 'tantaene animis caelestibus irae?'

**8. *abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris*:** verb and construction are Ennian; cf. *Ann.* 262 Skutsch 'certare abnuero'.

*abnueram* indicates a prohibiting nod ratifying a divine ban, the converse of the approving *adnuo*; cf. 115 and further 31 n. *Italiam* ... *Teucris*: opposing forces are again named at the ends of the two line-halves; cf. App. C. The first syllable of *Italiam* (= *Italos*; the country is used for the people as often; cf. 365 n.), naturally short, is here long for convenience as at Callim. *H.* 3. 58 and Soph. *Ant.* 1119, cf. Norden on 6. 61, Austin on 1. 2, Fordyce on 7. 85.

This line, together with *contra vetitum* in the next, seems inconsistent with 1. 263–4, where Jupiter foretells to Venus the war to come in Italy; here in the divine council he specifically claims to have forbidden its occurrence. Heinze (297 n. 1) preferred to regard the inconsistency as inadvertent, ascribing it unconvincingly to indecision in the poet's plan about a war in Italy; it might similarly be argued that ll. 6–10 are carried into inconsistency by over-enthusiastic imitation of *Iliad* 8. 413–4, which they closely echo (Zeus in the *Iliad* had indeed forbidden divine involvement in the war). However, it is surely more plausible to assume in such a crucial passage, the only divine council in the *Aeneid*, that the poet is not simply in error but is making a point about Jupiter. Some modern interpreters take the point to be the tension between the cosmic and monotheistic aspects of Vergil's Jupiter, or the separate functioning of destiny and the will of the supreme god (A. Thornton, *The Living Universe: Gods and Men in Vergil's Aeneid* (Mnem. Suppl. 46; Leiden, 1976), 123; R. Coleman, *G&R*, ns 19 (1982), 157–8). This seems unnecessarily complex; I prefer to follow D. Servius in claiming that the politic Jupiter adapts his words to the situation, saying one thing to Venus alone in book 1 and another to pacify the assembled and at least partly rebellious gods in book 10 (cf. similarly E. L. Harrison, *ANRW* 31/1 (1980), 389–90 and Lyne 88–90). Jupiter, the arbiter of Fate, is no less capable of cunning than the other gods of the *Aeneid*.

**9–10. *contra vetitum*:** cf. *Ecl.* 7. 27 'ultra placitum': the (Graecizing) nominalization of perfect passive participles is an observable tendency in Augustan Latin; cf. Williams on 5. 6, Ogilvie on Livy 1. 53. 1.

**discordia:** refers both to the war in Italy, effectively a civil struggle (cf. 7. 545, Introd. 1(i)), and to the internal dissension of the gods.

**quis metus ... suasit:** the suggestion of fear as a cause of the war recalls the techniques of historiography (cf. Thuc. 1. 23. 6, 89–90 n. and App. A(i)). Both the questions of 9–10 are rhetorical: Jupiter presumably knows what has happened, but wishes to call Juno publicly to account.

**aut hos/aut hos:** again in identical positions at *G.* 4. 84–5: in both cases *hic ... hic* stands for *hic ... ille*. Two monosyllables at line-end are less harsh than one (on which see 2 n.), avoiding too much of a clash of ictus and accent at the end of the line, and some 45% of Vergil's final monosyllables are preceded by another for this reason; cf. Williams on 5. 372, Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 9. 4b, Hellegouarc'h 58–9.

**arma sequi ferrumque lacessere:** synonyms joined by *-que* in the common 'theme and variation'. *arma sequi* (cf. 6. 612, Tib. 1. 2. 66) looks like a poetic variant of *arma capere*, while *ferrum lacessere* is more unusual, suggesting like Lucan's *ferrum temerare* a rash and impious use of arms; cf. Housman on Lucan 1. 147.

**11. adveniet iustum pugnae ... tempus:** *iustum tempus* (= *καίρὸς*, the right and appropriate time) is a term in Roman law (Ulp. *Dig.* 38. 16. 3), appropriate to the magisterial Jupiter (cf. App. A(iv)).

**(ne arcessite):** short imperative parentheses are much used by Vergil in speeches (cf. Austin on 6. 399, Vahlen, *Op. Ac.* 1. 117–18); *ne* plus imperative appears first in high poetry in Catullus, perhaps with the appeal of a Graecism (compare *μή*); cf. Fordyce on 7. 96, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2. 101, Ogilvie on Livy 3. 2. 9, Wackernagel, *Vorl.* 1. 214–15.

**12. fera Karthago:** note the uncomplimentary epithet given to Rome's greatest enemy. The advent of Hannibal in Italy, alluded to here, is a suitable historical parallel for the current war on Latin soil. This passage seems to give the view found in Naevius that Juno and other gods supported Carthage in the Punic Wars; yet in the *Aeneid* Juno appears to be reconciled to Rome and its future by the end of book 12. The reconciliation of Juno in *Aeneid* 12 would thus seem to be feigned or temporary (cf. W. R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible* (Berkeley, 1976), 123–7, D. C. Feeney, *CQ*, ns 35 (1985), 179–94).

**Romanis arcibus:** the seven hills of Rome, its natural citadels (cf. Smith on Tib. 2. 5. 55). Note the effective juxtaposition of the opposing forces in *Karthago Romanis*: cf. App. C.

**olim:** 'some time in the future', a use of *olim* not found in high poetry before Vergil; the extension from past to future mirrors that of *quondam* (cf. Austin on 6. 876) and the analogous *ποτέ*. The 'indifferent' adverb is placed in an emphatic position at the end of the hexameter, an archaic practice employed with restraint by Vergil; cf. Austin on 2. 18, Norden. *Aen.* 6, Anh. 3. B. 2.

**13. exitium magnum:** again at 2. 190; *exitium* here seems to be concrete, 'cause of destruction' (*TLL* v/2. 1531. 37 ff.), referring to Hannibal; cf. Hor., *C.* 1. 15. 21–2 'Laertiaden, exitium tuae/gentis'.

**atque Alps immittet apertas:** *immittere*, here ἀπό κοινοῦ with *exitium* and *Alpis*, has its common sense of ‘sending evils’ vel sim. on someone (cf. 4. 488), and is easily comprehensible with *exitium*; with *Alpis apertas* the effect is more riddling, but appropriate to the obscurities of a prophecy. The reference is to Hannibal’s remarkable autumn crossing of the Alps in 218 BC, breaching the natural defences of Italy (Liv. 21. 35. 8).

**14. certare odiis:** picks up *animis certatis iniquis* (7).

**res rapuisse:** *res rapere* refers to plundering the other side in a situation of war (see Servius’ note here). Vergil, like other Augustan poets, is fond of the perfect infinitive after an impersonal verb, often used with indifference to tense for its metrical shape; cf. 55 and 59, Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 2. 322 and *Met.* 3. 188. Wackernagel, *Vorl.* i. 260, LHS ii. 351 ff. *nefandum*, like *indignum* (74), has a rhetorical colour (Cic. *Cat.* 4. 13, *Mil.* 72, *Phil.* 13. 22).

**15. sinite:** used absolutely, ‘let it be’, apparently a colloquialism (*OLD* s.v. *sino* 2), but also perhaps reflecting *Il.* 21. 221 ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ καὶ ἔασον.

**placitum ... foedus:** *placitum* means ‘decided by destiny’ (cf. 1. 283, 2. 659); the treaty and marriage-agreement between Aeneas and Latinus was backed by a series of divine omens (7. 58–80, 255–8).

**laeti:** the adjective here suggests not joy but acquiescence (cf. similarly Greek στέργειν).

**16–17. Iuppiter haec paucis:** the omission of the verb of speech and of *verbis* vel sim. with *paucis* (cf. 599) appropriately reflects Jupiter’s magisterial brevity; cf. Milton’s ‘he thus to Eve in few’ (*PL* 10. 157).

**non .../pauca:** suggests the traditional satirical stereotype of female loquacity (Semon. fr. 7. 12–20 West, Ar. *Eccl.* 120, *Thesm.* 393, Lucr. 4. 1165, Plaut. *Aul.* 124, Juv. 6. 440–4), and clearly contrasts her as weak and impassioned with the authoritative brevity of Jupiter (cf. Page’s good note here); cf. similarly 4. 333, 337 (Aeneas contrasted with Dido). Brevity is a characteristic of regal and authoritative speech in the *Aeneid*: so Jupiter here and at 621, Juno at 4. 116, Dido, Anchises, Evander, and Latinus (1. 561, 6. 672, 8. 154, 11. 315; see the acute notes of Servius and D. Servius here and on 621, 1. 561, and 2. 151) and was cultivated by Stoic philosophers (D.L. 7. 59) and Roman orators and generals (Pliny, *Ep.* 1. 20. 1 ff., Plut. *Cato Maior* 12. 5, Tac. *H.* 1. 18. 2, Fraenkel, *KB* ii. 69–73).

**Venus aurea:** a rendering of the Homeric χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη (*Il.* 3. 64); here as at Hor. *C.* 1. 5. 9 (see Nisbet–Hubbard ad loc.) the epithet suggests persuasive feminine charms.

**contra:** ‘in reply’, so of an answering speech at 898, 1. 76, 4. 107, and 6. 544. For the ‘indifferent’ adverb at the end of the line cf. 285 and 12 n.

Line 17 is one of the 58 ‘half-lines’ in the *Aeneid*; these are unique in classical hexameter poetry and must indicate a lack of revision (cf. *Vita Donati* 23–4, 41); there is no justification for regarding them as the poet’s intended final product. Cf. Austin on 6. 94; Fordyce on 7. 129 (both with large bibliography), Sparrow 7–52; G. P. Goold, *HSCP* 74 (1970), 150–3, Berres, *passim*. This particular example belongs to a common type introducing speeches, where the following more elaborate section is very likely to have been written separately and subsequently inserted; cf. Sparrow 37–8 and 490 n.

**18. o pater:** Venus stresses the claim of a daughter, a ploy which worked with Jupiter in book 1 (237, 254–6).

**o hominum rerumque aeterna potestas:** cf. 1. 229–30 ‘o qui res hominumque deumque/aeternis regis imperiis’, a similar prayer-like recitation of Jupiter’s powers in an initial *captatio benevolentiae* by Venus, and Athene’s similar preface at *Il.* 8. 31 and *Od.* 1. 45, both divine councils: ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη, ὕπατε κρείόντων. The hiatus after the interjection *o* is not uncommon (cf. *G.* 2. 486 ‘o ubi campi’, Page on *Hor. C.* 1. 1. 2, and M. Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse* (Cambridge, 1951), 57), while the abstract *potestas* seems to be used in the concrete sense of ‘ruler’ (cf. *Juv.* 10. 100 with Mayor’s note, *TLL* ix/2. 318. 24 ff.) like Greek κράτος (LSJ s.v. II 3).

**19. namque:** in parenthesis as often (2. 604, 3. 362, 11. 12), here in the manner of prayer-style giving reasons why the addressee is appropriate (cf. Austin on 1. 65–6, Williams on 3. 374, Norden and Austin on 6. 117, Norden, *Ag. Th.* 154, Williams, *TORP* 139–40): the all-powerful Jupiter is the ultimate arbiter.

**quid sit quod iam implorare queamus?:** the subjunctive *sit* is of the potential type occasionally found in direct questions (cf. *Ecl.* 5. 53, Woodcock, *NLS* 133); *queo* is a rare and archaic/colloquial verb (cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 643) generally found with negative implication as here (Reid on *Cic. Lael.* 71). *iam implorare:* note the elision of *iam*, which as usual in Vergil is preceded by another monosyllable when elided (cf. Austin on 2. 254); the elision of monosyllables is used by Vergil as an archaism and all but eliminated in Silver poetry. Cf. Austin on 4. 570, Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 11. 2, Soubiran 387–433.

**20. cernis ut:** followed by the subjunctive, like *vides ut* at *G.* 3. 250, though the indicative would also be possible (cf. 6. 855, *Cat.* 61).

12, 77–8, 163–5): the subjunctive looks like a later ‘syntactic’ development of the ‘paratactic’ indicative (cf. Palmer, *LL* 328 ff.).

**insultent:** Venus accuses the Italians of malicious exultation: cf. 2. 329–30 (Sinon) ‘incendia miscet/insultans’, *OLD* s.v. 3.

**20–2.** Turnus’ progress across the battlefield is here described by the extended metaphor of a river (see notes below). Heroic advances are elsewhere described by such imagery (2. 496–9, *Il.* 5. 87–9); here Venus chooses invidious words to suggest that Turnus is out of control.

**feratur/per medios:** cf. 12. 477 ‘medios Juturna per hostis/ fertur equis’. *feror* indicates swift, uncontrolled movement, and is often applied to rapid rivers (2. 498, *TLL* vi. 563. 71 ff.); it can also indicate uncontrollable mental passion: cf. 2. 337, 655, Austin on 4. 110, and the similar use of *φέρομαι* (*Il.* 20. 172, Ps.-Plato, *Clit.* 407 B).

**insignis equis:** cf. 353 ‘insignis Messapus equis’; Turnus is constantly associated with fine horses in the *Aeneid* (see Henry’s note here), no doubt because of his Argive descent (7. 371–2, 409–11), Argos being a source of fine horses in Homer (*Il.* 3. 75 Ἄργος ἰππόβοτον).

**tumidus:** ‘swollen’, here used both literally of the swelling of rivers (11. 393, *OLD* s.v. 3) and metaphorically of excessive and reprehensible pride (9. 596, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 1. 754).

**secundo Marte:** again at 11. 899, 12. 497; *secundus* means ‘favourable’ as often, but in this context of a river-metaphor recalls its more literal use of a following current (cf. 687, 7. 494, 3. 549).

**ruat:** like *tumidus* and *feratur*, this verb is appropriate to the rush of rivers (4. 164 ‘ruunt de montibus amnes’), and suggests Turnus’ lack of control.

**22. clausa ... moenia:** cf. Livy 26. 31. 3 ‘urbem ac moenia clauserunt’. Venus refers to the havoc created by Turnus within the Trojan camp at the end of book 9, but naturally omits to mention that he was let in by the over-confident Trojans Pandarus and Bitias (9. 675–6).

**23–4. quin:** ‘indeed’, its asseverative use, frequent in comedy and used by Vergil to give an archaic/colloquial flavour to speeches; cf. Austin on 1. 279, *LHS* ii. 676.

**ipsis .../aggeribus moerorum:** cf. 11. 381–2 ‘dum distinet hostem/agger moerorum nec inundant sanguine fossae’. The phrase *agger moerorum* is explained by the fact that the *agger* or encircling mound formed the base of the defensive wall of the camp (cf. 7. 158–9).

Here, at 11. 382 (above), and at 144 below at least one capital MS gives the spelling *moerorum* for *murorum* (cf. *Enn. Ann.* 418

Skutsch), mentioned by Servius here and by Quintilian (8. 3. 25) as an archaic form used by Vergil. Given that the variant is ancient, occurs in Vergil's textual tradition only in the three examples of this set phrase *agger moerorum*, and is liable to scribal 'normalization' as an archaic spelling (cf. similarly 6. 747 and 7. 464), there seems a strong case for reading *moerorum* in all three passages: *agger moerorum* may be a set phrase from an older poet such as Ennius (so Heyne), which would explain why this form of *murus* appears only in that phrase in Vergil.

**inundant sanguine fossae:** better than the variant *fossas*: the exact parallel at ll. 382 'inundant sanguine fossae' argues for the nominative and the intransitivity of the verb here, as do Homeric models; cf. *Il.* 12. 430–1 *πάντη δὴ πύργοι καὶ ἐπάλξεις αἵματι φωτῶν/ἐρράδατ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν*, 4. 15 (= 8. 65) *ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα* and G. B. Conte, *RFIC* 111 (1983), 150–7. The abrupt change of subject is in the manner of Homer and of Venus' agitated speech (note how each of the six verbs in ll. 22–6 has a different subject), as is the melodramatic exaggeration.

**25–6. numquamne ... sines:** Venus pathetically presents the siege of the Trojan camp as a cruel continuation of the ten years' siege of Troy; on the theme of the war in Italy as a second Trojan War cf. W. B. Anderson, *TAPA* 88 (1957), 17–30, Williams, *TI* 94–100.

**muris iterum imminet hostis:** the singular *hostis*, contrasted with the collective *exercitus*, alludes to the outstanding opponent Turnus who has dominated book 9, and who recalls the parallel role of Achilles in the *Iliad* (cf. 6. 89 and *Introd.* 1(iii)).

**27. nascentis Troiae:** as *nascentis* implies, 'Troy' here means the 'new Troy' of Aeneas' camp as at 274, 214, and 378. As in his foundation in Sicily (5. 756–7), Aeneas follows other Trojan exiles (Helenus and Antenor; cf. 3. 349, *Livy* 1. 1. 3) in naming his new settlement after his original home, common practice amongst Greek colonists (cf. 179); for settlements named Troia in Italy cf. W. A. Schröder, *M. Porcius Cato: Das erste Buch der Origines* (Meisenheim, 1971), 95 ff., D. Musti, *Arch. Class.* 33 (1981), 1–26.

**nec non exercitus alter:** for the emphatic *nec non*, first found in poetry in Vergil, cf. Fordyce on 7. 521, *LHS* ii. 778, *KS* i. 826. *exercitus alter* rams home the point of repetition of history (cf. 7. 321 'Paris alter').

**28. Aetolis ab Arpis:** so 11. 239 'Aetola ex urbe', again of Arpi; for the learned epithet alluding to the metropolis of a colony cf. 179 'Alphæae ab origine Pisae', 6. 2 'Euboicis Cumarum ... oris', *Hor. C.* 3. 5. 56 'Lacedaemonium Tarentum'. Arpi in Apulia is here 'Aetolian' because of its association with Diomedes, said to have settled there after the Trojan War (Servius on 8. 9, *Timaeus*, *FGrH*

566 F 83, Strabo 6. 3. 9); Diomedes, leader of the Argives at Troy according to Homer (*Il.* 2. 563 ff.), was Aetolian through his father Tydeus, half-brother of Meleager (Servius on *Il.* 239, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 8. 4 ff.), and Vergil sees Aetolian Calydon as his home (*Il.* 270).

**29. Tydides:** strongly placed at the end of its sentence, in single-word enjambment and before a strong pause, a favourite Vergilian technique already found in Homer and the Alexandrian poets; cf. Henry on 2. 247, Pease on 4. 23, Austin on 1. 11 and 2. 119, Wagner, *QV* 13, Worstbrock 158, K. Ziegler, *PhW* 1935, 1402–3. Diomedes, consistently characterized in the *Aeneid* as the mightiest Greek survivor of the Trojan War (cf. 1. 96–7 and W. W. de Grummond, *Phoenix*, 21 (1967), 40–3), is here used for pathos; Venus, like the reader, expects the embassy recently sent to Diomedes by the Latins (8. 9 ff.) to bring back this formidable warrior to aid the Latin war-effort, and his eventual refusal to come (11. 225 ff.), is both a surprise and an indication of the inevitable result of the war.

**equidem credo:** conversational and emphatic (cf. 4. 12, 6. 848, Plaut. *Amph.* 282); *equidem* (= *ego* + *quidem*) often stresses the first person, cf. Page on 8. 471 and *G.* 4. 116.

**mea vulnera:** objective, ‘wounds inflicted on me’. Venus pathetically envisages a repetition of the flesh-wound inflicted on her by Diomedes at Troy under the guidance of Athene (*Il.* 5. 335–40).

**restant:** the familiar rhetorical use of this verb for that which remains as a ‘last straw’: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 11. 22, Ov. *Met.* 2. 471, Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, 105–6.

**30. tua progenies:** concessive, ‘though your offspring’; Venus appeals to Jupiter’s paternal feelings (cf. 18, 45, and 1. 250). *progenies* has an archaic/poetic flavour (Koestermann on Sall. *Jug.* 14. 6) and is found in Catullus (66. 44) and Lucretius (2. 617); Vergil likes such grand fifth-declension nouns inherited from his poetic predecessors: so *effigies* (3. 148, Cat. 64. 61), *canities* (549, Cat. 64. 224), *caesaries* (8. 659, Cat. 66. 8), *materies* (11. 238, Lucr. 1. 171), *planities* (1. 527, Lucr. 4. 294), and *proluviēs* (3. 217, Lucr. 5. 950).

**mortalia demoror arma:** Venus, by a rhetorical paradox, presents herself as a mere immortal hindrance to the progress of mortal arms.

**31. sine pace tua:** the converse of the colloquial conciliatory formula *pace tua* which is also found in the language of prayer (cf. *OLD* s.v. *pax* 3, Fordyce on Cat. 66. 71).

**invito numine:** sc. *tuo*; cf. the common *dis invitis* (2. 402, *TLL* vii/2. 235. 3 ff.). *numen*, ‘divine power’, is etymologically connected with *nuo*, ‘nod’, the traditional sign of divine assent (8 n.) (cf.

Varro, *LL* 7. 85, Festus, p. 178. 9 Lindsay, Ernout–Meillet 452, Walde–Hofmann ii. 186); for Vergil's use of this important term cf. Bailey, *RV* 60 ff., Pötscher, *VGM* 96–105.

**32. Italiam petiere:** this and the previous phrase surely recall and contrast with Aeneas' confidence in his divine mission at 3. 362–4:

namque omnis cursum mihi prospera dixit  
religio, et cuncti suaserunt *numine* divi  
*Italiam petere* et terras temptare repostas.

Venus presents the opposite of the truth in an exaggerated *miseratio* aimed at extracting from Jupiter a promise of Roman greatness as in book 1 (227–96). For the long initial *I* of *Italiam* cf. 8 n.; the shortened perfect *petiere* is a poetic archaism (Austin on 2. 53, LHS i. 607–8, Neue–Wagener iii. 190–9, Lunelli 156–7), though Ennius prefers *-erunt* (Skutsch, *Annales*, p. 62, a good discussion); for Vergil's use of the two cf. D. W. Pye, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1963, 1–27.

**luant peccata:** *luere* is common of atoning for offences (*TLL* vii/2. 1843. 24 ff.), no doubt under the influence of *λύειν*; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 691 *λύσαι τὰς πρότερον ἀμαρτίας*.

In this line the weak third-foot caesura dominates the 'compensating' strong fourth-foot caesura, since it coincides with a strong sense-break. This pattern is unusual in Latin epic hexameters (though found again at 103) and more natural in Greek; cf. Austin on 6. 117, Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 7. B. 2d, Hardie, *Res Metrica*, 8–9.

**32–3. neque illos/iuveris auxilio:** Venus' bitter words to Jupiter recall the boast of Turnus (9. 128–9): 'his Iuppiter ipse/auxilium solitum eripuit'.

**sin:** here introduces a preferred alternative (cf. 1. 555, 2. 192): KS ii. 432–3.

**tot responsa secuti:** cf. 1. 382 'fata secuti' (where *fata* = 'prophecies'); the metaphor of following fate or divine instructions, common in the *Aeneid* (cf. Pease on 4. 361, Heinze 302 n. 1), has Stoic connections (cf. M. W. Edwards, *Phoenix*, 14 (1960), 151–4). *responsa* might suggest oracular answers in particular (cf. 6. 44, 82, 7. 86, 92, 102), but the following words show this is not so.

**34–5. quae superi manesque dabant:** for *dare* of prophecies or oracles cf. *OLD* s.v. *do* 27b. *superi manesque* is a common polarity (again at 40 and 7. 312; cf. Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 138); *manes* (collective here, contrast 524) recalls the ghostly visions vouchsafed to Aeneas (Hector at 2. 289 ff., Creusa at 2. 776 ff., Anchises at 5. 724 ff. and in the Underworld), *superi* the many prophecies given by gods and living individuals to the Trojans.

**cur nunc tua quisquam/vertere iussa potest:** rhetorically loaded: *nunc* contrasts Jupiter's promises of book 1, *tua* appeals to

his vanity by implying that *his* orders are immutable, while *quisquam* stresses the universality of his rule, even over Juno, who is clearly meant here. *vertere iussa* is *simplex pro composito* for *evertere*; *vertere* is commonly used by Vergil for its compound forms (Austin on 1. 20), and this device is archaic and poetic; cf. Norden on 6. 620, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 3. 52, 4. 233, LHS ii. 298–300.

**aut cur nova condere fata:** makes the impossible but rhetorical point that Juno has taken over Jupiter's role as arbiter of fate, rightly equating Jupiter's *iussa* with *fata* or destiny in general; cf. 1. 261–2, Heinze 293–7, Bailey, *RV* 228 ff., Pötscher, *VGM* 22–95, Lyne 71–5.

**36. quid repetam:** a formula of rhetorical *praeteritio* (cf. Cic. *Verr.* 3. 182 'quid ego vetera repetam?'); on this figure of speech cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch*, 436–7, S. Usher, *AJPh* 86 (1965), 175 ff.

**exustas ... classis:** *exustas* implies complete combustion, *classis* large numbers, both rhetorically exaggerated; only four ships were burnt in Sicily by the Trojan women, acting under Juno's influence (5. 604 ff.). Venus exaggerates the same event to Neptune at 5. 793–5 in similar language ('exussit ... puppis ... classe ... amissa').

**Erycino in litore:** cf. 5. 23–4 'litora ... Erycis'. Eryx, a son of Venus and therefore half-brother of Aeneas, gave his name to Mt. Eryx on the NW coast of Sicily (Servius on 1. 570, Diod. 4. 83, Apollod. 2. 5. 10), the site of a famous cult of Aphrodite, and (more relevantly) close to Drepanum, site of the burning of Aeneas' ships in book 5. Venus' geography has a rhetorical point: she is indignant that her protégés the Trojans have been harmed in a region with which she has such strong associations.

**37–8. quid tempestatum regem:** the anaphora of *quid* shows rhetorical indignation. For *tempestatum regem* cf. 1. 80 'tempestatumque potentem', *Od.* 10. 21 *ταμίην ἀνέμων*, both similarly referring to Aeolus: the reference is to Juno's rousing of him and his winds at 1. 50 ff.

**ventosque furentes:** a common metaphor (cf. 694), found as early as Enn. *Ann.* 601 Skutsch 'furentibus ventis'.

**Aeolia excitos:** the island of Aeolia is identified by Vergil as belonging to the Lipari group off the NE coast of Sicily (8. 416–17), a group known in antiquity as the *Αἰόλου νῆσοι* (Thuc. 3. 88. 1, Strabo 6. 2. 10, Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 92).

**actam nubibus Irim:** cf. 9. 18 (also of Iris' descent) 'actam nubibus'; Venus' words are picked up by Juno at 73 'demissave nubibus Iris'. The reference here is to 9. 1 ff.; hence the close echo of 9. 18. Iris in the *Iliad* serves all the gods, but in the *Aeneid* she is closely linked to Juno (a connection already found in Eur. *Heracles* 831–2).

**39–40. nunc etiam manis ... movet:** i.e. the chthonic Fury Allecto (cf. 41 and 7. 312 ‘Acheronta movebo’). The polarity ‘manes ... superi’ is pointedly repeated after 34: the Trojans are backed by prophecies above and below the earth, but Juno uses both dimensions to oppose them.

(**haec intemptata manebat/sors rerum**): *intemptatus*, first found here and in Horace, perhaps as a rendering of ἀπειρατος (cf. Brink on Hor. *AP* 285), is a type of negative participial adjective favoured by Vergil; cf. 430 n. *sors rerum*: *sors* alludes to the partition by lot of the universe between the sons of Kronos: Zeus received the heavens, Poseidon the sea and Hades the Underworld, the earth being common to all (*Il.* 15. 187–93, Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 4. 584).

**superis immissa repente:** *immissa* suggests that Allecto is unleashed like a mad dog on an unsuspecting humanity, very much the situation of book 7 (cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4. 51 ‘feram et truculentam bestiam, iudices, immiseritis’, *TLL* vii/1. 471. 12 ff.), while *repente*, ‘unemphatic’ adverb in last place (cf. 12 n.), is more elevated and archaic than the normal *subito* (Ennius has only *repente*, Vergil 14 instances against 26 of *subito* in the *Aeneid*; cf. further Axelson, *UW* 32–3, Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 70–2).

**41. Allecto:** this name for a Fury occurs first in Latin in Vergil, though it is previously known in Hellenistic Greek (the Furies are not individualized in the classical Greek period); cf. Höfer in Roscher, *Lexikon*, v. 208. Like Tisiphone (cf. 761) ‘avenger of slaughter’ and Megaera (cf. 12. 846) ‘the begrudger’, Allecto, ‘the unceasing one’ (ἄλληκτος), is a significant name in Greek, stressing the ceaseless pursuit of sinners characteristic of the Furies.

**medias Italum bacchata per urbes:** *medias* is used intensively, ‘right through the cities’ (cf. Fordyce on Cat. 64. 149, Vahlen, *Op. Ac.* ii. 540–2, *TLL* viii. 585. 44 ff.). *bacchata* [sc. *est*] *per urbes*, as at 4. 300–1, is pointedly paradoxical since Bacchic frenzy is normally associated with wild rather than urban surroundings (cf. 7. 385–7 and E. R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1960), pp. xiii–xvi). Here the verb, often used metaphorically of any wild progress (*TLL* ii. 1664. 46 ff.), is literally appropriate to the events of book 7 where Allecto inspires in Amata an ostensibly Bacchic madness (7. 385, 405).

**42. nil super imperio moveor:** *nil* is an emphatic and colloquial negative (Wackernagel, *Vorl.* ii. 253), *super* in the sense of ‘about’ an archaism which is both colloquial and legalistic; cf. Austin on 1. 750, Fordyce on 7. 344, J. N. Adams, *CQ*, ns 22 (1972), 358–9. With *imperio* and the following *ista*, as Servius notes, Venus accuses

Jupiter of inconsistency with his previous promise for the Trojans at l. 279, 'imperium sine fine dedi'.

**speravimus ista:** the perfect tense, like that of *fuit*, refers to what has been irrevocably lost, here a rhetorical exaggeration (cf. Austin on 2. 325, *OLD* s.v. *sum* 1*b*).

**43. dum fortuna fuit:** repeated at 3. 16; cf. also 7. 413 'sed fortuna fuit'. The *fortuna* of a nation is a familiar notion in antiquity (Bailey, *RV* 214) and the Fortuna Publica Populi Romani enjoyed an official cult at Rome (Wissowa, *RuK* 256 ff.).

**vincant, quos vincere mavis:** a pointed and pithy conclusion to the tricolon of 42–3, bitter and ironic since Jupiter had promised victory to Aeneas and not the Italians in l. 263–4. *mavis* stresses what Venus presents as Jupiter's capricious change of mind.

**44–5. si nulla est regio:** the form 'if *x* is not to be, then at least *y*' is a common form of pathetic rhetorical request (cf. 4. 272 ff., Cic. *Mil.* 6). Venus' claim that the whole world is closed to the Trojans by Juno recurs from her similar complaint to Jupiter at l. 233.

**Teucris quam det tua coniunx/dura:** *dare*, common of granting prayers (421 n.) is here used with bitter irony of Juno, who will grant the Trojans nothing but trouble. *tua coniunx* (the noun being the normal term for 'wife' in high poetry: cf. J. N. Adams, *Glotta*, 50 (1972), 252–5) maintains outward politeness, but the possessive adjective suggests that Jupiter should do something about his consort. *dura*: emphatically isolated at the end of its clause by enjambment (cf. 29 n.), a sting for Juno, who is hearing herself attacked in the third person.

**45–6. per eversae, genitor, fumantia Troiae/excidia obtestor:** high rhetoric, the *figura iurisiurandi* or σχῆμα ὁμοτικόν by which the speaker generates pathos through an emotional oath (Lausberg, *Handbuch*, 376, Bonner, *Roman Declamation*, 154–5): cf. Sinon at 2. 141 ff., Dido at 4. 314 ff., and the classic Marathon oath of Demosthenes (18. 208). For the internal rhyme *eversae* ... *Troiae* cf. Wilkinson, *GLA* 32–4, W. M. Clarke, *TAPA* 103 (1972), 51 (with extensive bibliography). *fumantia Troiae/excidia*: the smoke from the burning ruins of Troy is a τόπος (cf. 2. 431, 3. 3, Aesch. *Ag.* 818, Eur. *Tro.* 8, Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 459); here it is a vivid picture, rhetorically, imagined in the present (*fumantia*) by ἐνάργεια or *ante oculos demonstratio* (Lausberg, *Handbuch*, 399–400), though it is long past (seven or eight years by the chronology of the *Aeneid*). *genitor*: again urging the claims of kinship (cf. 18, 30), balancing and opposing *coniunx*, and an archaic and poetic noun (Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 108, Acc. *Trag.* 41). *excidia*: poetic plural; this strong word, cognate with *excindere*, 'tear up', is not found in high poetry before Vergil, but occurs in a paratragic passage at Plaut. *Ba.* 944, which

suggests previous currency in tragedy or epic. *obtestor*: natural in a rhetorical adjuration (cf. 9. 260, 12. 820) and frequent in emotional Ciceronian perorations (Cic. *Dom.* 147, *Planc.* 104, *Sest.* 147, *Mil.* 105).

**46-7. liceat ... liceat:** pathetic anaphora in asyndeton of a wish, as at 5. 796-7.

**dimittere ab armis/incolumem:** the verb is military in tone: the young Ascanius is to be 'dismissed from active duty' (cf. 12. 844, *TLL* v/1. 53. 45 ff.).

**liceat superesse nepotem:** *nepotem* presents a double claim, for Ascanius as grandson of Venus is also descended from Jupiter himself.

**48-50.** The argument of these lines, distantly resembling *Il.* 8. 429-30 in shape, resembles that of 44-7, an insincere concession being made in order to bolster a request.

**48. sane:** concessive, 'by all means', common in Cicero in similar rhetorical ploys ('by all means *x*, so long as *y*'; cf. *Cat.* 2. 15, *Mil.* 12); this somewhat prosaic word occurs here for the only time in Vergil and the first time in high poetry (Axelson, *UW* 94), and was clearly a problem for ancient interpreters (Servius glosses with *valde*, incorrectly, while R has the variant *procul*).

**ignotis iactetur in undis:** *ignotis* pathetically stresses Aeneas' misery in strange surroundings (cf. similarly 706, 5. 795, and 5. 871). The phrase, which suggests being tossed on stormy seas, is a gross misrepresentation of Aeneas' miraculous progress up a calm river Tiber (8. 57-8, 86-96), from which he is currently returning.

**49. et quacumque viam dederit Fortuna sequatur:** Vergilian parallels support the adverb *quacumque* over the majority reading *quamcumque*, the easier corruption: cf. 2. 387-8 'qua prima ... Fortuna salutis/monstrat iter', 12. 368 'sic Turno, quacumque viam secat, agmina cedunt'. The future perfect expresses indefinite remoteness (Venus is professing not to care); cf. KS i. 151-2. The way given or led by Fortune is a frequent metaphor in Vergil (above and 4. 653, 12. 405, 626, 677), and 'following the way of destiny' recalls the language of Stoicism; cf. Edwards, loc. cit. (32-3 n.).

**50. hunc tegere et dirae valeam subducere pugnae:** Venus' planned rescue of Ascanius from the fighting looks like a repeat of her attempted snatching of Aeneas from the battle at Troy (*Il.* 5. 314-15), which failed and was completed by Apollo (cf. 81-2 n.). *dirae ... pugnae* recalls the Homeric *φύλοπις αἰνή* (*Il.* 4. 82 etc.), though *dirus* may have some element of its technical religious meaning 'ill-omened' (Fordyce on 7. 324, Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 29), especially as the war in Latium is in fact strictly *dirus* (cf. 7. 583-4).

*subducere pugnae*: again at 615; here as at 81 the verb recalls Venus' action of *Il.* 5. 318 ἡ μὲν εἰς φίλον υἱὸν ὑπεξέφερον πολέμοιο.

51–2. This list of Venus' cult-sites, all but one on her sacred island of Cyprus, is an element taken from hymn-style (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 30. 1). The context resembles l. 680–1, where Venus chooses between Cythera and Idalium as hiding-places for Ascanius. Venus' request for sanctuary for her grandson is of course an exaggerated *miseratio*, like most of her speech.

**Amathus**: on the S. coast of Cyprus, site of the cult of Ἀφροδίτη Ἀμαθουσία (hence Venus' name of 'Amathusia': *Cat.* 68. 51), whose great temple remains uninvestigated; cf. K. Nicolaou in *PECS* 48.

**celsa ... Paphus**: Paphos (Vergil, like *Hor. C.* 1. 30. 1 Latinizes to *Paphus*, cf. l. 415 'Paphum'), modern Palaipaphos, on the W. coast of Cyprus, was the site of a great cult of Aphrodite known to Homer (*Od.* 8. 362; some remains of its temple exist, cf. K. Nicolaou, *PECS* 675). The epithet *celsa* is poetic (261–2 n.).

**atque Cythera**: such non-elision of *atque* is an archaizing harshness in Vergil and other Augustan poets, sparingly used (88% of Vergil's uses of *atque* are elided, while Ennius tends to elide; Skutsch, *Annales*, p. 63); cf. further Austin on l. 147, Axelson, *UW* 83–5, Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 33–9, M. Platnauer, *CQ* 42 (1948), 91–3, J. A. Richmond, *Glotta*, 43 (1965), 78 ff. *Cythera*, an island off Cape Malea, the easternmost of the three 'prongs' of the Peloponnese, was another famous cult-site of Venus (hence her name of *Cytherea*, l. 257, *Od.* 8. 288, *Hes. Th.* 195).

**Idaliaeque domus**: modern Dali in central Cyprus, yet another cult of Aphrodite (cf. Gow on *Theocr.* 15. 100), the temple (*domus*) of which has now been excavated (K. Nicolaou in *PECS* 404). *Idalia* is a feminine variant, first found in Vergil (cf. l. 693), of the usual *Idalium* (86, l. 681).

52–3. **inglorius**: cf. Homer's ἀκλεής (*Il.* 12. 318): it would be inglorious for Ascanius to be forced to retire from the military glories of his Roman destiny. The contrast of glory and obscurity recalls the similar words of another divine mother about a heroic son; cf. *Il.* 9. 410–16.

**exigat hic aevum**: the phrase (as in the similar contexts of 7. 776–7 and 11. 569) suggests eking out a low-quality existence (*TLL* v/2. 1465. 10 ff.). *aevum* with *agere* and its compounds belongs to poetic diction; cf. 235, *Enn. Ann.* 110–11, 307, *OLD* s.v. *aevum* 5b.

53–4. **magna dicione iubeto/... premat**: cf. 7. 737 'late iam tum dicione premebat': *premere* here is invidious, implying oppression. *iubeto*: the so-called 'future' imperative (KS i. 196–9, LHS i. 571–2), a solemn archaism frequent in didactic contexts (cf. *Cato, Agr.* 1. 1 and frequently, *G.* 2. 408 ff.), here going well with the official

and legalistic *dicio*. For the rather colloquial simple subjunctive after *iubeo* cf. *Ecl.* 5. 15 with Geymonat's app. crit. and *OLD* s.v. 3*b*.

**Ausoniam:** Vergil follows the Hellenistic poets (cf. Pfeiffer on Callimachus fr. 238. 28 Pf., Gow-Page on Antipater of Thessalonica, *AP* 11. 24. 3 = *GP* 89) in using *Ausonius/Aἰσών* of Italy and the Italians in general, though it originally referred to a particular tribe whose identity is unclear (cf. Fordyce on 7. 39, Hülsen in *RE* ii. 2561). The name was popularly derived from Auson, a supposed son of Odysseus and Calypso (Servius on 3. 171 and 8. 328, Paul. exc. Fest, p. 16. 23 ff. Lindsay, Schol. on Ap. Rh. 4. 552).

**54-5. urbibus .../... Tyriis:** scholars have seen a reference to the future Carthaginian settlements in N. Africa and Spain, crucial in the Punic Wars (cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 2. 11, Schulten in *CAH* vii. 769-92), but the plural might be simply a rhetorical ploy, for it serves Venus' purpose here to exaggerate the power of Carthage.

**inde:** i.e. *ab eo*, like *unde* = *a quo* a grandiose archaism in Augustan Latin, later the origin of French *en* (cf. Austin on 1. 6, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 12. 17, Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, ii. 149-51, E. Palmén, *Arctos*, ns 2 (1958), 104-42); its position at the end of the line is Ennian (Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 536).

**55-6. quid .../iuvit:** the rhetorical question strikes a note of futility (cf. 316-17 n., 2. 776-7, 4. 65-6, Cic. *Verr.* 1. 84, *Leg. Agr.* 2. 80).

**pestem ... belli:** for the 'plague of war' cf. Pind. *Nem.* 9. 37 λοιγὸν Ἐνναλίου.

**evadere:** such compounds of intransitive verbs are commonly used transitively in poetry (cf. Austin on 1. 580, Housman on Man. 1. 116).

**Argolicos:** this form of adjective is first found in Latin poetry in Cicero (*Poet.* fr. 52. 277 Traglia); Vergil has this and *Argivus* indifferently (11 and 10 instances respectively).

**medium fugisse per ignis:** sc. *Ascānium*, still uppermost in Venus' mind; the reference is to the flight from Troy, as similarly at 7. 296-7 'medios per ignis/invenere viam', but the adjective *medius* here is used adverbially, cf. 7. 169 'solio medius consedit avito'. The use of adjective for adverb is frequent in poetry, averse to adverbs (Axelson, *UW* 62); cf. Austin on 1. 301 and 6. 17, Page on 9. 632, Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, ii. 368-72, KS i. 235-6, LHS ii. 171-3.

**57. totque maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae:** cf. 1. 598-9 'terraeque marisque/omnibus exhaustos iam casibus', Livy 33. 39. 6 'Romanos per tot annos terraque marique tanta pericula

ac labores exhausisse' (perhaps imitating Vergil); the sufferings of the Trojans on land and sea are a theme of the *Aeneid*, cf. 162 and 1. 3. For the metaphor of *exhaurire* here, 'drain the cup of danger', cf. Austin on 4. 14.

**58. recidivaque Pergama:** 'recidiva ... Pergama' recurs at 4. 344 and 7. 322, and is a metaphor taken from new growths in arboriculture, plausibly referred to seeds that fall from the tree or plant (*re + cado*) and sprout up again; cf. Fordyce on 7. 322, Nettleship, *Contributions*, 567–8; for the theme of 'Troy renewed' cf. 27 n. *Pergama* is strictly the citadel of Troy (3. 86–7), Homer's Πέργαμος (*Il.* 5. 446 etc.); the neuter plural occurs first in Stesichorus (*PMG* 192. 3), but is commonly used by part-whole synecdoche for Troy itself.

**59–62.** Venus concludes her speech with a double paradox of *utile et impossibile* (cf. Highet 69), aimed at maximum pathos: the Trojans would have been better off refounding the city on the devastated site of Troy, and the horrors of a second Trojan War would be more endurable than their current evils. The first of these was in fact the preference of Aeneas, as he tells Dido (4. 340–44).

**59. non satius:** sc. *fuit* (cf. *Ecl.* 2. 14); the usage is colloquial (Plaut. *Epid.* 60, Ter. *HT* 475, Petron. 61. 4) but found already in poetry in Lucretius (5. 1127).

**cineres patriae insedisse supremos:** a striking phrase; *cineres ... supremos* (cf. 2. 431 'Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum') suggests a pathetic personification and human cremation, cf. Austin on 2. 431, Lucan 2. 334 'supremos cineres' (of the dead Hortensius).

**60. atque solum, quo Troia fuit:** cf. 3. 11 'campos ubi Troia fuit'; for the unelided *atque* cf. 51–2 n. The obliteration of the once great city is stressed as a tragic and pathetic reversal (cf. similarly 3. 2–3), and Vergil's phrase echoes the historical fate of Carthage; cf. *Font. iur.* 11. 81 'locum ubi oppodum Chartago fuit quondam'.

**60–2.** Venus' final rhetorical request that the Trojans be allowed to suffer again the tribulations of Troy rather than their present misery is a variation on the common literary motif 'better to have died at Troy than suffer these present evils': cf. 1. 94–101, *Od.* 1. 236, 5. 306 ff, Aesch. *Cho.* 345.

**60–1. Xanthum et Simoenta/redde, oro, miseris:** cf. 2. 669 'reddite me Danais', a similar wish of rhetorical despair. Xanthus and Simois (the former is the divine name for the river men call Scamander, *Il.* 20. 74) are the two rivers of Troy, evocative names for Venus and the Trojans, symbolizing the sufferings of the Trojan War; cf. 6. 88–9, Eur. *Tro.* 116–7, Cat. 64. 357–60, Hor. *Epod.* 13. 13–14; for their topography cf. W. Leaf, *Troy* (London, 1912), 31–41. *oro* parenthetical as often (905, 2. 143, 4. 431, 5. 796, 12.

680), and frequent as here in emotional perorations (Cic. *Mur.* 86, *Flacc.* 106, *Planc.* 102).

**61–2. *revolvere casus ... Iliacos*:** for *revolvere casus* of reversing the cycle of history cf. l. 9 ‘*volvere casus*’ with the notes of Page and Austin. *casus ... Iliacos* here surely glances at the proverbial ‘Iliad of troubles’ (Ἰλιάς κακῶν, Cic. *Att.* 8. 11. 3, Otto, *Sprichwörter*, 171). *Iliacus* (first found at Cat. 68.86) echoes Ἰλιακός, not a Homeric form but Hellenistic (Call. fr. 114. 25 Pf.).

**da, pater:** a formula of prayer (cf. 2. 691, 3. 89, 11. 789), here with particular point in the mouth of Jupiter’s own daughter.

Note how Venus’ speech finishes dramatically in mid-line, a device frequent in the *Aeneid* (cf. 113, 335, 495); here the abrupt end indicates high passion.

**62. *tum regia Iuno*:** the verb of speech is omitted (276–8 n.), a sign of Juno’s excitement and quick reply: such repartee is similar to a senatorial *altercatio* (cf. Cicero *v. Clodius* as described at *Att.* 1. 16. 8–10). *regia Iuno*: again at l. 443, 4. 114, 7. 438; the epithet recalls the Homeric πότνια Ἥρη (*Il.* 1. 551 etc.) as well as the Roman cult-title of Iuno Regina (Wissowa, *RuK* 187–91). The imperiousness of Juno’s speech here matches the epithet.

**acta furore gravi:** cf. 5. 659 ‘actaeque furore’. *furore*, literally ‘madness’, is used by Vergil for a large range of passions, in the manner of Stoic μανία (for a good discussion cf. Schenk 329 ff.); *gravis*, like βαρύς (LSJ s.v. I. 3), is commonly used of strong feelings (cf. *TLL* vi. 2298. 9 ff.).

**63 ff.** Juno begins with a long series of rhetorical questions, resembling the exordium of an invective; cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1. 1, *Pis.* fr. i–viii in Nisbet’s edition. She starts *ab adversarii persona* with an attack on Venus, contrasting with Venus’ own *exordium ab iudicis persona*, flattering Jupiter (for these terms cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1. 22), and answers individual points made by Venus in the manner of the forensic *confutatio* (*Rhet. Her.* 1. 18–25), often using verbatim quotation in attempting to refute her opponent’s assertions (85–6 n.).

**63–4. *alta silentia*:** this noun is commonly used in the poetic plural, especially in dactylic poetry and often with *alta*: cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 1. 349 and 2. 700.

**cogis/rumpere:** for *silentia rumpere* (poetic before Vergil) cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 1. 208: *cogis* deftly blames Venus for the flood of invective which follows.

**obductum ... dolorem:** the brooding *dolor* of Juno is her constant motivation in hounding the Trojans in the *Aeneid* (1. 25, 5. 608, 7. 291, 12. 801). The metaphor of *obductum* is taken (as Servius observes) from the formation of a scar over a wound, an apt image for a latent passion; cf. Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 3. 4 ‘refricare obductam iam

rei publicae cicatricem' and Ovid's imitation of this passage at *Met.* 12. 542–3 'quid me meminisse malorum/cogis, et obductos annis rescindere luctus?'

**verbis vulgare:** bitterly alliterative; note the contrasts *obductum* ~ *vulgare* and *silentia* ~ *verbis*.

**65–6. Aenean:** put to the front as the supposed mover of the war, a role (correctly) ascribed to Juno by Venus; for this forensic *remotio criminis* or transfer of the accusation to one's opponents cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch*, 101–3.

**hominum ... divumque:** archaic and poetic (Enn. *Ann.* 284, 591 Skutsch, Lucr. 1. 1, etc.), imitating the Homeric ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε (*Il.* 1. 544 etc.); the polarity picks up Venus' assertion at 33–4 that the Trojan mission was encouraged by visions of human ghosts and divine prophecies.

**quisquam ... subegit/bella sequi:** invidious; Juno suggests that Aeneas and the Trojans have gratuitously taken the course of violence. For *bella sequi* cf. *arma sequi* (10 n.). Note the elision of the iambic *sequi* before the following *aut*: Vergil elides such words more often than most poets, especially before monosyllables as here; cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 28, Soubiran 437 ff.

**aut hostem regi se inferre Latino:** Aeneas is again represented as the aggressor, a tradition found in other versions of the Aeneas-legend (Cato, *Orig.* 1 fr. 10 Jordan, Livy 1. 1. 5, Dion. Hal. 1. 57. 7) but untrue in the *Aeneid*.

**67. Italiam petiit:** echoes 32 *Italiam petiere*: for Juno's use of Venus' own words cf. 85 n.

(**esto**): this as often (cf. similarly 4. 35, 7. 313, 12. 821, Cic. *Verr.* 3. 71, *Clu.* 132, *Dom.* 77) marks a rhetorical concession, allowing Venus' point about the Trojans' prophetic backing in order to undermine it by the sneering allusion to Cassandra in the next line. For this technique of *concessio* cf. Lausberg, *Handbuch*, 425–6.

**68. Cassandreae impulsus furiis:** *furiis* refers to the prophetic ravings of Cassandra (cf. 6. 101), but Juno also means to imply that Cassandra was genuinely mad and unreliable. According to Anchises at 3. 182 ff., Cassandra, though of course unbelieved (cf. 2. 246–7), was the first to name Italy as the Trojans' destination; this follows the tradition of Lycophron's *Alexandra* (1226 ff.).

**num:** the first in a series of three in a rhetorical tricolon (cf. similarly 4. 369–70, 7. 294–5, Cic. *Verr.* 5. 132, *Sulla* 53, *Phil.* 1. 33); such uses of *num* are indignant or challenging in tone, cf. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *CQ*, ns 3 (1953), 123–5.

**linquere castra:** implies that Aeneas' long absence from the Italian camp was a culpable dereliction of duty, thus turning

Venus' complaint *Aeneas ignarus abest* (25) to her own advantage (as D. Servius notes).

**69. hortati sumus:** with the plural Juno usurps the collective authority of the assembled gods, effectively but mendaciously; it was indeed a god, Tiberinus, who encouraged Aeneas to go to Pallanteum (8. 31-65).

**vitam committere ventis:** *committere ventis* is Lucretian (5. 782). Juno picks up Venus' argument of 48, misrepresenting Aeneas' divinely sponsored voyage up the Tiber as a reckless undertaking, since to commit oneself or indeed anything to the uncertainty of the winds is traditionally rash (cf. Sen. *Med.* 301-4, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 26. 2).

**70. puero:** again a clever reprise of Venus' speech: she used Ascanius' age *ad miserationem* (47 *nepotem*), while Juno here turns it *ad indignationem*, censuring Aeneas for leaving his camp and the conduct of the war in the hands of a minor, a claim which is again untrue (senior deputies were appointed in his absence, 9. 172-3).

**summam belli:** not 'chief source of war' as at 12. 572, but 'the highest administration of the war', a military use (Caes. *Gall.* 1. 41. 3, 2. 4. 7, Livy 28. 5. 14, 36. 14. 6).

**71. Tyrrenamque fidem aut gentis agitare quietas:** *agitare* governs both the accusatives here, giving Juno's view of Aeneas' Etruscan alliance as initiating disloyalty to Mezentius (again untrue, cf. 8. 489 ff.). *gentis* suggests the spread of turmoil throughout Italy, something accomplished not by Aeneas but by Juno herself in book 7.

The *Aeneid* is inconsistent about peace and war in Italy before the arrival of Aeneas: Juno's suggestion of peace in *quietas*, which suits her case here, agrees with 7. 45-6 and 11. 253-4, but is contradicted by the suggestion that Turnus, the Etruscans, and Evander have been fighting each other for some time in various combinations (7. 421-4, 8. 55, 474, 569-71). For the problem cf. Camps 134-5; it may derive from the use of differing prose sources, cf. N. M. Horsfall, *Antichthon*, 15 (1981), 148.

**72-3. quis deus in fraudem, quae dura potentia nostra/egit?:** cf. 9. 601 (Numanus Remulus, another enemy of the Trojans) 'quis deus Italiam, quae vos dementia adegit?' *fraudem* invidiously summarizes 71, while *dura* denies Venus' description of Juno as *dura* at 45. For the line-ending *potentia nostra* cf. 97 n.

**73. ubi hic Iuno:** for this use of *hic* ('in all this') cf. 6. 399 'nullae hic insidiae tales'. Juno's use of her own name, rebutting Venus' insinuations, has an imperious grandiloquence: cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 510, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 7. 27, and especially J. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien* (Prague, 1878), 17-26.

**demissave nubibus Iris:** picks up Venus' words at 38 *actam nubibus Irim*.

**74–5.** In these lines Juno ironically makes her opponent's case, which she represents as an absurd objection to Turnus' self-defence, in order to bolster her own further charges in 77–8: 'according to you, Turnus' self-defence and fight for his home is wrong; what then of the much worse acts of depredation committed by the Trojans?'

**indignum est:** common in rhetorical contexts: cf. *G.* 1. 491–2, *Cic. Verr.* 3. 200, *Clu.* 146, *Leg. Agr.* 2. 13.

**Italos Troiam:** a significant juxtaposition of the names of the warring forces; cf. *App. C.*

**Troiam nascentem:** picks up Venus' *nascentis Troiae* and rejects her complaint, supporting the Italian siege of this foreign aggressor.

**circumdare flammis:** cf. 9. 153 'igni circumdare muros', 9. 160 (= 10. 119) 'moenia cingere flammis', all similarly referring to the use of fire in the siege of the Trojan camp.

**patria Turnum consistere terra:** the emphatically full *patria terra* recalls the Homeric *πατρίδα γαίαν* (*Il.* 2. 140 etc.) and stresses that Turnus is a laudable patriot fighting for his homeland. *consistere* is here used in its military sense of taking up a fighting position, 'making a stand' (*TLL* iv. 465. 68 ff.).

**76. cui Pilumnus avus, cui diva Venilia mater:** for the rhetorical anaphora of possessive *cui* cf. 176, *G.* 3. 52. The divine Italian genealogy reinforces the picture of Turnus' patriotism. *avus* here might mean 'ancestor' as at 201, but before *mater* is most naturally taken as 'grandfather'; *Pilumnus* is called *quartus pater* of Turnus at 619 and his *parens* ('ancestor') at 9. 3, but such possible inconsistencies do not worry the poet; compare the varying genealogies of Latinus (cf. 7. 47–9, 7. 178–9 with Fordyce's note, and 12. 164). *Pilumnus* was an ancient Italian deity of agriculture and fertility, usually joined with his partner *Picumnus* (cf. Servius here and on 9. 4, Peter in Roscher, *Lexikon*, ii. 213–15, Carter, *ibid.* iii. 2506–8, von Blumenthal in *RE* xx. 1369–72). *diva Venilia:* Turnus is given a divine mother (so first in Vergil) to match Aeneas (cf. 6. 90), just as he has a divine sword for the same reason (12. 91). Servius on 6. 90 and 12. 29 claims *Venilia* for a sister of *Amata* (cf. similarly *Dion. Hal.* 1. 64. 2), but Vergil gives only a vague idea that Turnus and *Amata* are related (cf. 7. 366, 12. 29). Another old Italian deity, *Venilia* was apparently connected with the sea (cf. Varro, *LL* 5. 72, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 14. 333–4, Peter in Roscher, *Lexikon*, ii. 228–30, Radke in *RE* viii.A. 787–8).

**77. quid:** asks for an adjective parallel to *indignum*, with the same acc. + inf. construction: 'If you think it is *indignum* for Turnus to

defend his country, what do you call it that the Trojans behave so badly?’

**face ... atra:** cf. 9. 74 ‘facibus ... atris’: *ater* as often has sinister and destructive overtones; cf. Fordyce on 7. 525, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 35. 4, André 47-52. Here as Servius notes the ‘dark torch’ is symbolic of war (cf. similarly 7. 456-62).

**Troianos ... Latinis:** warring parties opposed at the end of either line-half (cf. App. C) with a resulting interlaced word-order.

**vim ferre:** poetic *simplex* for *vim adferre*, a common term for murderous assault (*OLD* s.v. *vis* 2b).

**78. arva aliena iugo premere atque avertere praedas:** *arva* and *praedas* cover the two main forms of property (moveable and immovable) in Roman law, *res soli* and *res mobilis* (Ulpian, *Dig.* 7. 1. 7, 13. 3. 1): *arva aliena* also recalls the legal term *alienum solum* (Gaius, *Dig.* 41. 1. 8, Ulpian, *Dig.* 43. 8. 2). *iugo premere* is invidious, suggesting not only the literal yoke of ploughing but also the metaphorical one of oppression (*OLD* s.v. *iugum* 2a), while *avertere* is standard for carrying off plunder (Fordyce on 8. 207-8, *TLL* ii. 1321. 65 ff.). Note how *avertere* begins a series of six differently prefixed compound verbs in the second half of each of the next six lines (*avertere, abducere, praefigere, subducere, obtendere, convertere*), all metrically equivalent infinitives, reflecting like the rhyme of 78-9 the relentless pounding of Juno’s attack.

Aeneas is guilty of neither of these charges in the *Aeneid*, having been granted land and gifts by Latinus (cf. 7. 259 ff.), though in other accounts of Aeneas’ arrival in Italy the Trojans do seize land and plunder Latium (see the passages cited on 65-6, Heinze 247, Hight 71).

**79. soceros legere:** the plurals here and in the following phrases are rhetorical, exaggerating the supposed acts of the Trojans into nefarious new principles. *soceros legere* inverts the Roman norm of a girl’s father choosing his son-in-law (J. A. Crook, *Law and Life in Ancient Rome* (London, 1967), 108), and once more misrepresents the situation: the hand of Lavinia was freely offered by Latinus to Aeneas (7. 252-74).

**gremiis abducere pactas:** the *gremium* or lap of the mother is the conventional abode of the unmarried girl (Cat. 61. 58-9, Fest., p. 364. 26 ff. Lindsay). *pactas* is tendentious; unlike Livy (1. 2. 1), Vergil himself never vouches for a formal engagement between Turnus and Lavinia, which is claimed only by interested parties (Juno here, Amata at 7. 365 ff., Allecto at 7. 423-4); note the careful language of the poet at 7. 54-8. *abducere* invidiously suggests that Aeneas is acting like another Trojan kidnapper of

others' women, Paris, a point made more explicitly by Amata at 7. 361 ff.

**80. *pacem orare manu, praefigere puppibus arma*:** 'but' should be supplied here (for this *asyndeton adversativum* cf. 4. 449 and KS ii. 156). *pacem orare manu* is a brachylogy for the familiar Greek mode of supplication, the bearing in the hand of olive-branches wreathed with wool (cf. Fordyce on 7. 154), and the reference is to the embassy sent by Aeneas to Latinus at 7. 152–7. *praefigere puppibus arma*: in the *Aeneid* arms are hung on the sterns of ships for the purposes of identification (1. 183 with Austin's note); Juno may be referring to this, or (as Servius suggests) to the appearance of Aeneas' ships on the Tiber, hung with shields (8. 92–3), a regular feature of ancient warships (cf. Casson 87 n. 53, 95, 146, 151, pls. 78, 103–4, 130, 132), but in either case is misrepresenting an innocent display as a token of bellicosity.

**81. *tu potes*:** a traditional formula of the language of prayer or hymn for stating divine powers (Fordyce on 7. 335, Norden, *Ag. Th.* 143–63, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 28. 28, West on Hes. *Th.* 420). Note the tense: such aretalogies can use the present even for specific past exploits still vivid in the mind or represented as characteristics of the deity, cf. 8. 294–5 'tu Cresia mactas/prodigia', Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 19. 17, Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 384. Juno here uses this complimentary formula of Venus but turns it to her own advantage: 'You can do all that—why can't I do this?'; for similar arguments of Juno from what was permitted to other deities cf. 1. 39–49, 7. 304–10.

***manibus subducere Graium*:** *subducere* is echoed from Venus' words at 50, which refer implicitly to the same incident (50 n.), the rescue of Aeneas from Diomedes in the *Iliad*, attempted first by Venus (*Il.* 5. 314 ff.) but in fact carried through by Apollo by use of a phantom Aeneas (444 ff.); as at 83 Juno ascribes all divine help for the Trojans to Venus. For *Graius* cf. 720 n.

**82. *proque viro nebulam et ventos obtendere inanis*:** *pro* in the sense of 'instead of' (KS i. 515) occurs elsewhere in Vergil only at 1. 659. *inanis* indicates the contrast between solid man and insubstantial air, while *obtendere*, 'stretch out as a barrier', is found only twice before Vergil (*TLL* ix/2. 273. 75 ff.). The reference of this line is to Apollo's use of a phantom Aeneas to distract Diomedes in *Iliad* 5, wrongly attributed by Juno to Venus; cf. 81 n.

**83. *et potes*:** Markland's *tu* for *et*, printed by Ribbeck, is attractive here: the anaphora of *tu* in *asyndeton* is frequent in the language of prayer (cf. Austin on 1. 78 ff., Fordyce on 7. 293–4, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 10. 9, Norden, *Ag. Th.* 150–7) and would be appropriate in Juno's ironic aretalogy. *et* would merely add 83

as a further point to 81–2 and seems somewhat lame in comparison, but it may well be what Vergil wrote.

**in totidem classem convertere nymphas:** the singular is superior to the variant *classes*, which provides a hyperbole too extreme even for Juno; the plural may have been put in after *totidem*. Juno recalls Cybele's metamorphosis of the Trojan ships (9. 107 ff.; her *totidem* picks up that at 9. 122), which she understandably assumes to have been an act of Venus (cf. 81 n.).

**84. nos:** again the imperious royal 'we' (cf. 72), a clearly balanced contrast with *tu* (81).

**aliquid:** adverbial, 'somewhat', a colloquial use, first appearing in high poetry in Vergil (*TLL* i. 1614. 71 ff.). Juno plays down her major role in starting the war.

**85–6.** These lines quote (and subvert) elements practically verbatim from Venus' speech, going beyond the agonistic picking-up of points found so far: this technique is found in the similar *altercatio* between Drances and Turnus (11. 366 = 392, 375 = 442) and is standard in oratory (e.g. Cic. *Planc.* 31–3, *Phil.* 2. 28–30). It is only one of a number of uses of quotation in the *Aeneid*; cf. further Moskalew 108–16.

**85. 'Aeneas ignarus abest': ignarus et absit:** contemptuously dismissive of Venus' complaint at 25 and of the crucial fact of Aeneas' absence.

**86. est Paphus Idaliumque tibi, sunt alta Cythera:** virtually repeats Venus' list of sanctuaries at 51–2, leaving out Amathus.

**87. quid gravidam bellis urbem et corda aspera temptas?** follows on from 86: Juno suggests that Venus, goddess of the gentle arts of love, is out of her depth in a climate of war, a point twice made to the Aphrodite of the *Iliad* (cf. *Il.* 5. 349–51, 428–30). *gravidam bellis* is a striking phrase (cf. similarly 4. 229–30 'gravidam imperiis .../Italiam'), suggesting the warlike nature of the Italians, stressed in the *Aeneid* as a quality suitable for ancestors of Rome (1. 263, 7. 151, and especially the speech of Numanus Remulus at 9. 603–13). For the frequent metaphorical uses of *gravidus* cf. *TLL* vi. 2271. 70 ff. *urbem:* the city of Latinus, the head of the Latin war effort (12. 572), is mentioned in the *Aeneid* with various periphrases involving the epithet *Laurens* (cf. 671, 8. 1, 7. 63), but never actually named *Laurentum*; whether Vergil intended this as the name for the city, and whether Laurentum ever existed in reality, are still matters of dispute amongst scholars; cf. e.g. J. Perret in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Littérature gréco-romaine et géographie historique: Mélanges offerts à Roger Dion* (Paris, 1974), 174–6, B. Tilly, *Arch. Class.* 28 (1976), 283–93, N. M. Horsfall in *Enc. virg.* s.v., *Laurentum. corda aspera* perhaps imitates the Homeric *λάσιον κῆρ* (literally 'shaggy heart',

*Il.* 2. 851 etc.), *asper* meaning ‘rough’ both metaphorically and literally (as at Plaut. *Capt.* 188, 884 and Hor. *C.* 1. 37. 26–7); such roughness does not suit Venus, the smooth goddess of love. *temptas* is in syllepsis (691–2 n.) here: with *corda* it means ‘work on, try to influence’ (cf. 4. 113), with *urbem* ‘make an attempt on, try to capture’ (8. 231), a military sense (*OLD* s.v. 9a).

**88. nosne:** incredulous and colloquial in tone; cf. Austin on 1. 37, *KS* ii. 510.

**tibi:** *dativus iudicantis*, ‘as you think’; cf. 2. 601 ‘non tibi Tyndaridis facies ...’ (where *tibi* must refer to a previous claim by Aeneas to this effect), *LHS* ii. 96.

**fluxas Phrygiae res vertere fundo:** cf. 3. 1 ‘res Asiae ... evertere’. *res fluxae* is an archaic set phrase for ‘precarious fortunes’ (*Inc. Trag.* 260, Sall. *Jug.* 104. 2, *TLL* v/2. 983. 65 ff.), while *Phrygiae res* strikes a note of formal history; cf. 3. 1 (above), 8. 47 ‘res ... Troiae’, *Hdt.* 7. 50. 3 τὰ Πελοσέων πρήγματα, *Thuc.* 1. 110. 1 τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα, *App.* A(i). *vertere fundo:* *vertere* stands for *evertere* as *simplex pro composito* (35 n.), while adverbial *fundo*, ‘from the depths’, appears first in Vergil (cf. *TLL* vi. 1575. 46 ff.).

**89–90. conamur?:** the verb of the question is isolated in enjambment for emphasis (cf. *egit* 73, *obiecit* 90).

**nos? an ...:** *nos* is indignantly repeated from 88. In effect, *an* does not begin a new question but presents an alternative to *nos* as subject of *conamur*; cf. *Ecl.* 8. 49 ‘crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?’

**miseros qui Troas Achivis/obiecit?:** i.e. Venus, who is meant to see herself lurking beneath the vague masculine pronoun; cf. *quisquam* at 34, which evidently refers to Juno. Venus is depicted here by Juno as the author of the Trojans’ troubles through aiding the abduction of Helen; she is presented with her own dubious past, a transfer of blame for the current situation (*relatio criminis*). *miseros ... Troas:* ‘your “poor Trojans”’, ironic sympathy from their arch-enemy Juno, echoing *miseris ... Teucris* in Venus’ speech (61–2). *Troas Achivis:* note the deliberate juxtaposition of the names of warring parties (cf. *App.* C). *obiecit:* this sense of setting one unit against another is military (*Caes. Civ.* 1. 58. 4, *Livy* 4. 28. 2).

**quae causa fuit consurgere in arma:** for the question *quae causa fuit ...?* cf. 9. 376, and for the construction with the infinitive cf. *TLL* iii. 675. 74 ff.; in poetry this ‘prolative’ infinitive replaces the prosaic gerundive after nouns expressing wish, desire, and other verbal notions, under Greek influence, cf. Norden on 6. 133, Austin on 2. 10, Fordyce on 7. 591, Jocelyn on *Enn. Trag.* 222, E. Wöllffin, *ALL* 11 (1900), 505–6, *LHS* ii. 351.

An interest in motivating or ultimate *causae* is a concern of ancient historians occasionally adopted by poets, cf. 1. 8. ‘Musa, mihi causas memora’, 7. 40 ‘primae revocabo exordia pugnae’, Fraenkel, *KB* ii. 149, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 16. 19, 2. 1. 2, and App. A(i).

**91. Europamque Asiamque:** this use of *-que ... -que*, has Ennian colour and imitates the Homeric  $\tau\epsilon \dots \tau\epsilon$ : cf. Austin on 4. 73, Fordyce on 7. 186, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 170, K. F. Smith on Tib. 1. 1. 33, Brink on Hor. *AP* 11, Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 63–5, Fraenkel, *Elementi plautini in Plauto* (Florence, 1960), 199–201. Juno presents the Trojan War as an intercontinental struggle, a view common since Herodotus (1. 4. 1); cf. 7. 223–4 with Fordyce’s note, Cat. 68. 89, Prop. 2. 3. 36, Stat. *Ach.* 1. 81–2, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 4. 9.

**foedera solvere furto:** the *foedera* here must be the ties of hospitality violated by Paris (cf. Livy 1. 9. 13 ‘violatum hospitii foedus’) in abducting Helen from the home of his host Menelaus (*Il.* 2. 351–4, Aesch. *Ag.* 399–402, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 15. 2); Servius claims *foedera* refers to a Graeco-Trojan treaty in *historiis*, but this is not recorded elsewhere and looks very much like a commentator’s improvisation. With *furto* (contemptuously alliterating with *foedera*) Vergil is perhaps remembering the similar description of Paris’ offence at Aesch. *Ag.* 401–2 ἡσχυνε ξενίαν τράπεζαν/κλοπαῖσι γυναικός.

**92. me duce:** emphatically placed at the head and cohering in military tone with *expugnavit*. It was of course Venus who aided Paris, as Juno wishes to imply.

**Dardanius ... adulter:** again contemptuous alliteration: *adulter* occurs again at 11. 268 (of Aegisthus) but is rare in high poetry, belonging rather to the language of abuse (Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 4. 182, Opelt, *Schimpfwörter*, 154–5, 257).

**Spartam expugnavit:** according to an account found in Servius here and on 1. 526, which Servius claims as *historia*, Paris stormed Sparta in order to carry off Helen. This story is not found elsewhere, and like Servius’ similar claim for a Graeco-Trojan treaty to explain *foedera* in 91 looks like a commentator’s invention; *expugnavit* will then be Juno’s rhetorical exaggeration of Paris’ misdeeds in Sparta. For a different view of this passage cf. Lyne, *WP* 33–6.

**93. tela dedi:** *tela* suggest both Paris’ violent abduction of Helen and the darts of Cupid (cf. the following *Cupidine*).

**fove Cupidine bella:** *bellum fovere* (again at Livy 42. 45. 3) varies the commoner *bellum alere* (*TLL* ii. 1834. 56 ff.). *Cupidine* should remain with a capital C: Juno blames Venus for using her son to foment war through erotic passion.

**94–5. nunc sera:** *serus* here as often means ‘too late’ (*OLD* s.v. 4). Juno ironically suggests that Venus is too late to complain; she should have been more careful in the past.

**querelis/haud iustis adsurgis:** *querela* is common of a rhetorical complaint (4. 360, Cic. *Pis.* 1, *Mil.* 41, *De Or.* 3. 106, *Top.* 86) and is better written with one *l* than two (LHS i. 312). *adsurgis* suits the military metaphor of the following words, suggesting rising to cast a spear (cf. 797).

**et inrita iurgia iactas:** a double military metaphor: *inrita dicta* (244) are like *tela inrita* (11. 735) in failing to reach their mark, while *iactare*, often used of ‘tossing off’ wild words most naturally describes the throwing of weapons; cf. 2. 459 ‘tela manu miseri iactabant inrita Teucuri’. Vergil’s double metaphor has a Homeric source (*Il.* 18. 324 ἡ ῥ’ ἄλιον ἔπος ἔκβαλον); for the image of words as weapons in general cf. G. Lieberg, *Poeta creator* (Amsterdam, 1982), 174–8. *iurgia* is not a dignified word, occurring in the *Aeneid* only in slanging-matches here and at 11. 406 (Turnus and Drances). This concluding line has two unusual metrical features: there is no strong caesura in either third or fourth foot, explained by Norden as depicting Juno’s excitement (*Aen.* 6, Anh. 7. B. 2d), and there is diaeresis after each foot from the third to the fifth (paralleled at 7. 76).

**96–7. talibus orabat Iuno:** for the speech-formula cf. 4. 437, 6. 124; *orare* here has its archaic sense of ‘speak’ (cf. Fordyce on 7. 153, *TLL* ix/2. 1037. 3 ff.).

**cunctique fremebant/caelicolae:** *fremere* and its cognates, conveying the notion of ‘inarticulate or confused sound’ (Fordyce on 7. 389; cf. βρέμειν), often describe audience reaction to a speech (1. 559–60, 5. 385–6, 11. 132, 296–7, *Ov. Met.* 1. 199, Lucan 1. 352–3, Tac. *Agr.* 3. 1). For *caelicolae* cf. 6 n.

**adsensu vario:** cf. 11. 455 ‘dissensu vario’. The phrase is an oxymoron; the gods differ in agreeing with one or the other of the two speakers.

**97–9.** Similes describing audience reaction are common in epic councils (cf. 11. 296–9, *Il.* 2. 144–9, *Ov. Met.* 1. 200–5). The noise of winds in the trees is found in a Homeric simile for the shouting of warriors (*Il.* 14. 398–400):

οὐτ’ ἄνεμος τόσσον γε περὶ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν  
ἦπύει, ὅς τε μάλιστα μέγα βρέμεται χαλπαίωνων,  
ᾧσση ἄρα Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐπλετο φωνή ...

The simile also clearly owes something to the description at G. 1. 356–9:

continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti  
incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis  
montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe  
litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur.

Milton uses and develops Vergil's simile at *PL* 2. 284 ff., in a similar context:

He scarce had finisht, when such murmur filld  
Th' Assembly, as when hollow Rocks retain  
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long  
Had rous'd the Sea, now with hoarse cadence lull  
Sea-faring men orewatcht ...

**97. ceu:** a poetic archaism, often introducing similes in Vergil (cf. 357, 723, Austin on 2. 355, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 361, Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*, 47, Axelson, *UW* 89).

**flamina prima:** for the n. pl. adjective succeeding its noun at line-end cf. 72, 283, 445, 462, 476, 529, 862 and S. J. Harrison, *CQ* n.s. 41 (1991) 138–149.

**98–9. deprensa fremunt silvis:** both *deprensus*, often used of cornered beasts (*TLL* v/1. 603. 70–1, 82 ff.), and *fremere* (linking context and simile; cf. *fremebant* in 96), common of animal noises (711, 9. 341, 11. 496, 599, 607, 12. 8) suggest an analogy of the winds with trapped animals, as does the wooded location. The passage may echo *Lucr.* 6. 197–9, where the winds are enclosed in clouds like trapped beasts ('magno indignantur murmure clausi/nubibus in caveisque ferarum more minantur,/nunc hinc nunc illinc fremitus per nubila mittunt ...'), and the same equivalence of enclosed winds and trapped animals is suggested in the description of Aeolus' cave of the winds at 1. 520<sup>6</sup> (cf. Austin ad loc.).

**caeca volutant murmura:** cf. 12. 591 'murmure caeco' (of the buzzing of bees): *caecus* suggests an indiscriminate noise (*TLL* iii. 46. 4 ff.), much like *fremere* and *murmur*, an effective use of a sight-adjective to characterize sound, a poetic *μετάληψις αἰσθήσεως* (on this device cf. 895 n.). *murmura*, here used of wind in the trees as at *G.* 1. 359, is like *fremunt* a clear element of correspondence between context and simile, corresponding to the *murmura* of the gods receiving Juno's speech in the council (for *murmura* of speech-receptions cf. *Ov. Met.* 1. 206, 12. 124, *Lucan* 1. 352, *Livy* 3. 56. 8, 32. 22. 1). *volutant* is transitive, 'send rolling about'; so *vocem volutare* (1. 725, 5. 149); its use for sounds is a Vergilian innovation (cf. *OLD* s.v. 2).

**venturos nautis prodentia ventos:** sailors are presented as perceiving agents in other similes from the natural world (cf. *Il.* 4.

76, Ap. Rh. 3. 1329); such observers in epic similes (cf. 406 n.) provide a kind of analogue for the reader, who naturally identifies with the human character, making the simile more vivid. Note the elegant *abcab* word-order of 99, and the jingle and internal rhyme (45 n.) of *venturos ventos*.

**100. tum pater omnipotens:** again at 7. 770. This Ennian epithet of Jupiter (cf. 1 n.) follows *παγκρατής* in Greek poetry (Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 447); see further A. Wlosok, *Gymnasium*, 90 (1983), 187–202.

**rerum cui prima potestas:** *prima* is more select than the variant *summa* here, and gives better assonance and alliteration. The shape of the phrase clearly echoes the Homeric *οὐδὲ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον* (*Od.* 5. 4 etc.), and this use of the relative clause belongs to the language of prayer and hymn ('Our father, which art in heaven'); cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 12. 14, Norden, *Ag. Th.* 168–76.

**101. infit:** a poetical archaism, originally meaning 'begin' and often followed by an infinitive of a verb of speech (so at 11. 242 'ita farier infit'), which then dropped out; in Vergil and later poets it is largely used as a synonym of *inquit*, cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 385, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2. 511, Ogilvie on Livy 1. 23. 7. Note how the following parenthesis creates suspense by postponing the vital response of Jupiter (the same technique is used at 6. 667–8 and 12. 139–41).

**eo dicente:** *eo* occurs on only two other occasions in Vergil (4. 476, 8. 705), and like all forms of *is* (apart from n. pl. *ea*) is rare in high poetry; cf. Austin on 4. 479, Fordyce on 7. 63, Axelson, *UW* 70–3 (for the details of Vergil's practice with *is* cf. M. Hélin, *REL* 5 (1927), 60–8).

**101 ff.** This description has the air of a traditional literary epiphany, where the silence of the surrounding world is a standard reaction (cf. E. Pax in *RAC* v. 846 ff.). Macrobius (*Sat.* 6. 2. 26) cites Ennius' description of a similar silence in his encomium of Scipio (*Varia* 9–12 Vahlen), undoubtedly a model here (cf. U. W. Scholz, *Hermes*, 112 (1984), 196–9):

mundus caeli vastus constitit silentio  
et Neptunus saevus undis asperis pausam dedit,  
sol equis iter repressit unguibus volantibus,  
constitere amnes perennes, arbores vento vacant.

Relevant too is the epiphany of Dionysus in Eur. *Bacch.* 1082–5, where the cosmos similarly falls silent at the word of the god:

καὶ ταῦθ' ἄμ' ἠγόρευε καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν  
καὶ γαίαν ἐστήριξε φῶς σεμνοῦ πυρός.

σίγησε δ' αἰθήρ, σίγα δ' ἕλιμος νάπη  
 φύλλ' εἶχε, θηρῶν δ' οὐκ ἄν ἤκουσας βοήν.

Dodds ad loc. gives other examples of cosmic silence in religious contexts, and 'holy silence' before the numinous is a feature of many cultures and religions; cf. G. Mensching, *Das heilige Schweigen* (Giessen, 1926).

**101–2. *deum domus alta*:** high epic language; for *deum domus* cf. Enn. *Ann.* 586 Skutsch 'divum domus' (for the archaic gen. pl. *deum* cf. 228–9 n.), for *domus alta* the δόμος ὑψηλός of Priam's palace (*Il.* 6. 503, 22. 440).

***silescit ... silet*:** the emphatic repetition or use of more than one verb of silence is a feature of the 'holy silence' τόπος: cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 1084–5 σίγησε ... σίγα εἶχε, and the analogous ritual silence in a magical context at Theocr. 2. 38 ἡνίδε σιγῇ μὲν πόντος, σιγῶντι δ' ἀῆται. *silesco* is found only here in Vergil but occurs earlier in poetry (Pac. *Trag.* 77, Cat. 46. 3); Vergil uses such inchoative forms sparingly, generally as archaisms, cf. Austin on 2. 301, 6. 144.

***et tremefacta solo tellus*:** the structure of the sentence confirms that *tremefacta* is a participle rather than a main verb without *est*, as does Claudian's imitation (*De Rapt.* 1. 84–5 'tremefacta silent dicente tyranno/atricia'). *tellus* is lofty and poetic for the ordinary *terra* (cf. Fedeli on Prop. 3. 22. 19). Jupiter characteristically shakes the earth (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 34. 9–12); Apollo too shakes the surroundings when he speaks on Delos (3. 90).

***silet arduus aether*:** *arduus aether* (here and *G.* 1. 324) is not found in extant poetry before Vergil, but has an archaic/poetic ring (for *aether* cf. 264–5 n.).

**103. *tum Zephyri posuere*:** *Zephyri* refers to winds in general here, for the 'gentle Zephyrs' have no particular relevance in a storm-scene: for this use of a specific wind for general cf. Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 5. 686, Brandt on Ov. *Ars* 1. 634. *posuere* is here used intransitively (= *se posuere*), cf. Fordyce on 7. 27, Fedeli on Prop. 3. 10. 6; for the form of the perfect cf. 32 n. The trochaic caesura after *posuere* graphically conveys the sudden halt of the winds; for the pictorial use of this pause cf. Winbolt, *LHV* 78.

***premit placida aequora pontus*:** *placida* is proleptic as Servius notes, placed emphatically before its noun; cf. 1. 207 'premit altum corde dolorem'. *aequora* and *pontus* (both poetic in tone, cf. 233–4 n. and Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*, 40) are practically synonymous, and their use in the same sentence here seems to be an instance of the type of pleonasm collected by Housman on Manilius 1. 539, 4. 472, Lucan 1. 102, and in *CP* iii. 1201–2 and named 'disjunctiveness'

by Postgate; it is particularly frequent in Propertius, cf. J. P. Postgate, *Select Elegies of Propertius* (London, 1881), pp. lxxvii–lxxix, Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, 33–4.

104. Repeated from 3. 250 (cf. also the similar 5. 304). The line expands the Homeric formula  $\sigma\upsilon\delta'\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\ \phi\rho\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\omicron\ \sigma\eta\sigma\omega$  (*Il.* 1. 297 etc.).

**accipite ergo animis:** cf. Enn. *Ann.* 187 Skutsch ‘hoc simul accipe dictum’. *ergo* is generally preferred by poets to *igitur* (cf. Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*, 145 n. 1, P. E. Knox, *Ovid’s Metamorphoses and the Tradition of Augustan Poetry* (Camb. Phil. Soc. Suppl. 11; Cambridge, 1986), 37–8); Vergil has 53 instances of the former to 3 of the latter.

**atque haec mea figite dicta:** cf. Lucilius, fr. 431 Marx ‘firmiter hoc pariterque tuo sit pectore fixum’, Lepidus ap. Cic. *Fam.* 10. 34a. 3 ‘quae perpetuo animo meo fixa manebunt’, and Pindar’s  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \phi\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\ \pi\eta\gamma\gamma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota$  (*Nem.* 3. 62).

105. **quandoquidem:** for the shortened *o* (necessary in hexameters) and archaic/colloquial tone (its three instances in Vergil are all in speeches) cf. Fordyce on 7. 547.

**Ausonios ... Teucris:** opposing forces again named at the end of each half-line, cf. 8. 77, and App. C. For *Ausonius* cf. 53–4 n.

106. **haud licitum:** sc. *est*: for the omission of *esse* in perfect passives, especially after negatives as here, cf. Page and Austin on 2. 2, Williams on 5. 32, Wagner, *QV* 15 and esp. F. Leo, *Senecae Tragoediae* (Berlin, 1878–9), i. 184 ff. The archaic *haud* is predominantly poetic by the Augustan period; cf. Axelson, *UW* 91–2, Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*, 45–6. Note the grander passive form of the perfect (LHS i. 533), again at 344.

- 107–12. The structure and meaning of these lines have caused problems for editors (Ribbeck, following Peerlkamp, went so far as to exclude 109–10). It seems best to place a full stop after *habebo* (108), making 105–12 two sentences and treating *nec Rutulos solvo* as a parenthesis. This gives two balanced sentences, each containing a consideration of possibilities for each side (*quae cuique est fortuna hodie, seu ... sive*) followed by a firm assertion of Jupiter’s neutrality (*habebo, ferent*).

107. **quae cuique est fortuna:** *fortuna* here is neutral, as at 1. 517 but unlike 112. For the wide semantic range of *fortuna* in Vergil cf. Bailey, *RV* 234–40.

**hodie:** not ‘today’ but merely intensifying, a colloquial usage; cf. 2. 670 ‘numquam omnes hodie moriamur inulti’ with Austin’s note. For the difficulty of the temporal interpretation here cf. *Intro.* 1(v).

**quam quisque secat spem:** the striking metaphor seems to suggest 'carving out' one's own way of hope in the carnage of battle (cf. 12. 368 'viam secat' of cutting a way through the ranks). Servius glosses *secat* with *sequitur*, reflecting the view of ancient grammarians that the two verbs were cognate (Gellius 18. 9. 8, Nonius p. 649 Lindsay, Isid. *Et.* 19. 19. 8, Ernout-Meillet 607), and an equivalence of *spem secare* with Ovid's *spem sequi* (*Met.* 9. 738-9, 13. 364) should not be excluded here. The jerky rhythm of the phrase, especially the final monosyllable (cf. 2 n.) is archaic, and recalls Lucr. 3. 983 'quam cuique ferat fors' (cf. also Enn. *Ann.* 186 Skutsch 'quidve ferat fors').

**108. Tros Rutulusne fuat, nullo discrimine habebō:** cf. 1. 574 'Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur'. This single *-ne* in double disjunctive questions is common and favoured by Ovid (LHS ii. 545, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1. 578); normally Vergil seems to prefer the double *-ne* (Williams on 5. 702-3). *fuat*, only here in Vergil and once in Lucretius, is an archaic alternative for *sit* (cf. Jocelyn on Enn. *Trag.* 151, Neue-Wagener iii. 600-2), appropriate in this solemn pronouncement of Jupiter, while *nullo discrimine* is a Lucretian phrase (5. 1314).

**109-10. fatis Italum ... errore malo Troiae monitisque sinistris:** a clear balance: *fatis* here must mean 'favourable destiny', contrasting with *malo* and *sinistris*. *errore malo Troiae:* Jupiter here summarizes the case made ironically by Venus and sincerely by Juno that the Trojans (for *Troia* = *Troes* cf. 365 n.) have been misled by unreliable prophecies in coming to Italy (cf. 31-2, 67-8). *error* also naturally suggests the long wanderings of the Trojans, chronicled in books 2-3. *sinistris* here suggests unfavourable omens (*monita* are divine instructions, usually through portent or prophecy; cf. 689, 4. 331, 8. 336, 504): left was the unlucky side in Greek divination, right in the old Roman tradition, and Vergil like other Latin poets uses both conventions freely (so at 2. 693 left is lucky, see Austin ad loc.): cf. further Fordyce on Cat. 45. 8ff., Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 16 and 2. 82.

**111-12. nec Rutulos solvo:** a parenthesis syntactically, and better marked as such (107-12 n.): Jupiter warns the gods that he does not necessarily take the pro-Juno view sketched in 109-10. *solvo* is used absolutely in the sense of *absolvere* (*simplex pro composito*; 35 n.); cf. *OLD* s.v. 14c.

**sua cuique exorsa laborem/fortunamque ferent:** cf. Livy 24. 14. 7 'suam cuique fortunam in manu esse'. *exorsa:* this substantivized past participle of *exordior* is first found in Vergil (cf. *G.* 2. 46, *OLD* s.v. *exordior* 1b); here it means 'attempts', like *coepta* (cf. 461 n.). *fortuna* here, balancing *labor*, 'tribulation', must mean 'good

fortune'; contrast the neutral *fortuna* at 107 (for this Vergilian trick of close repetition of words in different senses—*distinctio*—cf. 121–2 n.). The connecting *-que* must be disjunctive in sense, equivalent to *-ve*: for the common interchange of copulative and disjunctive particles in Latin poetry cf. 150–2 n., Fordyce on 7. 131, Munro on Lucr. 2. 825, Courtney on Juv. 6. 76, Wagner, *QV* 34. 1, LHS ii. 479.

**rex Iuppiter omnibus idem:** sc. *est*: for the omission of *esse* in such 'breviter graviterque dictis' cf. 121–2 n., and for the notion of Jupiter's impartiality cf. Austin on 6. 129, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 12. 57. *rex Iuppiter* is rarer than its Greek equivalent *Ζεὺς βασιλεύς*; cf. Carter in Roscher, *Lexikon* Suppl. ii. 55.

**fata viam invenient:** evidently causally connected with the previous statement (see further below). For the phrase cf. 3. 395 'fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo' with Williams's note.

The precise implications of Jupiter's speech, cast in a lofty, terse, and quasi-oracular style, are not immediately clear, and are not meant to be. His claim of impartiality in this war and his apparent separation of his own powers from those of destiny must be to some degree insincere temporizing in front of a divided divine assembly (cf. 8 n.); he gives the appearance of magisterial fairness and ignorance as to the outcome of the war at a point when he is fully aware that the Trojans will win (cf. 1. 263–4) with his own help as arbiter and enforcer of fate.

**113–15.** The description of Jupiter's oath is repeated from 9. 104–6, where it is sworn to Cybele; the repetition of such a functional phrase clearly echoes the formulaic technique of Homer, cf. Moskalow 106–7. The oath by the great infernal river of Styx is traditionally the most binding amongst gods; cf. 6. 323–4, *Il.* 14. 271, 15. 37–9, West on Hes. *Th.* 400, Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 5. 250.

**113. Stygii per flumina fratris:** the brother is Pluto (Hades), sometimes known as *Iuppiter Stygius* (Pease on 4. 638): here *Stygii* also signals that the *flumina* are those of Styx itself. *flumina*, poetic in the sense of 'waters' (Enn. *Ann.* 26, 453 Skutsch, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1. 280), gives a pleasing polarity with *ripas* (cf. similarly 6. 327–8, again of Styx).

**114. pice torrentis:** pitch, sluggish and proverbially black (*Il.* 4. 277, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 13. 402, Otto, *Sprichwörter*, 281), is well suited to a river of the Underworld. Vergil's phrase is something of an oxymoron since pitch suggests viscosity, *torrentis* swift movement.

**atraque voragine ripas:** the descriptive ablative functions as a compound epithet; cf. similarly 6. 292 (of Acheron) 'vasta voragine gurgis' and appendix A to Mackail's edition of the *Aeneid*.

*atra* conveys the traditional darkness of the Styx (cf. *G.* 1. 243, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 11. 500) and the adjective often has infernal associations (Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 2. 14. 17, cf. 77 n.). *vorago* is derived from *vorare* ('id quod vorat'), cf. Pease on *Cic. Div.* 1. 73: Vergil uses the word only of infernal rivers (here of Styx, at 6. 296 and 7. 569 of Acheron), perhaps suggesting a link with 'Hell's devouring jaws'; cf. *Cat.* 3. 13–14 'malae tenebrae/Orci, quae omnia bella devoratis'.

**115. adnuat et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum:** cf. *Il.* 1. 528 ff. ἧ καὶ κνανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων [... μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον, *Cat.* 64. 204–6 'annuit invicto caelestum numine rector/quo motu tellus atque horrida contremuerunt/aequora' and Ovid's imitation (*Fasti* 2. 489–90). For the ratifying nod. cf. 8 n. and 31 n.: *adnuat ... nutu* is a *figura etymologica* like *annuit ... numine* in Catullus (above); for this device cf. 873 n., Austin on 2. 53, LHS ii. 124–5, KS i. 278–9. *tremefecit* picks up *tremefacta* at 102: Jupiter's speech concludes with his shaking Olympus, just as it began with shaking the earth.

**116–17. hic finis fandi:** sc. *fuit*; the phrase with the gerund has an archaic ring, cf. *Pac. Trag.* 127 'prolixitudinem ... fandi' and Austin on 6. 76.

**solio tum Iuppiter aureo/surgit:** Jupiter like the Iliadic Zeus has a golden throne (*Il.* 8. 442 χρυσεῖον ... θρόνον): *aureo* (for adjs. in *-eus* cf. 3 n.) is scanned as a spondee by synizesis, a device first widely used in Latin poetry by Lucretius and Catullus and common in Vergil; cf. Norden on 6. 280, Austin on 1. 698, Fordyce on 7. 33, Bailey, *Lucretius*, i. 81–2, Winbolt, *LHV* 191–4. *surgit* (in emphatic enjambment) provides a first-foot spondaic word, a rhythm used sparingly by Vergil, here clearly for solemn effect; cf. Norden *Aen.* 6, *Anh.* 8, Austin on 1. 30, 4. 453. Jupiter's rising marks the end of the council; compare the general *surgitur* at the end of Juvenal's burlesque *concilium Domitiani* (4. 144).

**caelicolae medium quem ad limina ducunt:** for *caelicolae* cf. 6 n. *medium* is the position of honour in the middle of an escort (cf. 5. 76–7, Bömer on *Ov. Fasti* 5. 67). *limina*: poetic plural as often with this noun in Vergil (cf. Austin on 4. 133); for the poetic plural in Latin cf. Fordyce on 7. 445, Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1. 35 ff. and the two comprehensive treatments by P. Maas, *ALL* 12 (1900–2), 479–550 and W. Schink, *De Romanorum plurali poetico* (Diss. Jena, 1911); more recent bibliography in LHS ii. 16–18, Lunelli 104 n. 46. *ducunt*: by *simplex pro composito* (35 n.) for *deducunt*, 'escort'; Servius aptly compares this scene with the *deductio* of newly elected consuls by the Senate (*Ov. Pont.* 4. 4. 41–2, 4. 9. 17–18, Suet. *Div. Iul.* 15, Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, 1. 616), an appropriate echo in a

council which contains other similarities with senatorial practice (cf. 1–117 n.).

**118–45.** Meanwhile, in the world of men, the battle continues in Latium, the Trojans in their camp being hard pressed by the besieging Italians.

**118. *interea*:** here switching from one theatre of action to another (cf. 287, 439, 833); for the word's senses cf. 1 n.

***portis circum omnibus instant*:** *instant* governs not *portis* but the following *sternere*, an infinitive of the 'prolative' type common with verbs of volition (cf. 89–90 n. and Page on 7. 393, Fordyce on 7. 35, LHS ii. 346–7).

**119. *sternere caede viros*:** *sternere* is a common poetic euphemism for 'kill' in Vergil (eight times in this book), reflecting the tendency of Latin poets to avoid the usual prose terms for killing, cf. Austin on 2. 398, Axelson, *UW* 65–8.

***et moenia cingere flammis*:** repeated from 9. 160, where it is used of the defensive ring of Trojan watch-fires; here it is the offensive fire-ring of the Italians, and the repetition of phrases in different senses, often for a deliberate effect of contrast as here, is a feature of Vergilian style, cf. Austin on 1. 350 and 2. 314, Fordyce on 7. 509. Note the elegantly interlaced word-order *abccab* with the two balanced nouns juxtaposed in the middle of the line.

**120. *legio Aeneadum*:** the term *legio* occurs several times in the *Aeneid*, and poets like historians can use the term non-technically in its original sense of 'muster' or 'levy' (cf. Fordyce on 7. 681) to describe forces other than historical Roman legions; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 292 Skutsch, Lucr. 3. 1030, Vretska on Sall. *Cat.* 53. 3, T. J. Luce, *Livy* (Princeton, 1977), 241 n. 23. *Aeneadae* here and generally in the *Aeneid* means 'companions of Aeneas', but assumes its quasi-patronymic role at 8. 341, 648 (already found at Lucr. 1. 1): on its use cf. Fordyce on 7. 616, Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 1. 717.

***vallis obsessa tenetur*:** cf. 109 'obsidione tenentur'. The plural *valli*, unlike *legio* a true military anachronism (of which there are a number in the *Aeneid*, cf. F. H. Sandbach, *PVS* 5 (1965–6), 26–38), are the individual fortification stakes carried by each Roman soldier on the march (Caes. *Gall.* 7. 73. 4, Livy 10. 35. 12), driven into the *agger* of earth to form basic fortifications (Caes. *Gall.* 5. 40. 6).

**121–2. *nec spes ulla fugae*:** repeated from 9. 131: the repetition confirms the fulfilment of a threat of Turnus from book 9. For the phrase cf. Cat. 64. 186 'nulla fugae ratio, nulla spes': Vergil often

omits *esse* in such 'breviter graviterque dictis' (cf. 112 n., 250, 469-70, 501, Wagner, *QV* 15. 7*d* and the list in T. Winter, *De ellipsi verbi esse* (Diss. Marburg, 1907), 22-9), and commonly after *nec* (cf. 537, 712, 2. 137-8, 314, 4. 365, 5. 368, 458, 9. 10, 208, 342, 395, 11. 181, 12. 553, G. 2. 516, 3. 62, 110, 4. 106).

**miseri stant turribus altis/nequiquam:** cf. 9. 470-1 'turribus altis/stant maesti', a similar situation of despair. *nequiquam*, 'all in vain', is emphatically isolated by enjambment from the rest of its clause, a trick used with this word in all thirteen instances of its occurrence in Lucretius; the word is archaic and poetic (cf. Wölfflin, *ALL* 2 (1885), 6-9) and preferred to the more common *frustra* in the *Aeneid* (37 to 19 instances).

**rara muros cinxere corona:** cf. 11. 475 'tum muros varia cinxere corona': *corona* is the normal Latin for a ring of bystanders, while the metaphor of *corona cingere* is found in historians' siege-descriptions, cf. Caes. *Gall.* 7. 72. 2, Livy 7. 27. 7, *TLL* iv. 986. 60 ff. *cinxere* picks up *cingere* at 119, stressing the balancing circles of attack and defence. Vergil often repeats words in the space of a few lines, sometimes for stylistic or literary reasons, sometimes it seems unconsciously; on occasion the sense is deliberately varied, the rhetorical device of *distinctio* or *διαφορά* (cf. 34 and 39-40, Lausberg, *Handbuch*, 333-4). Cf. Austin on 2. 505 and 6. 685, Fordyce on 7. 491.

123-45. These lines give in effect a catalogue of the troops left by Aeneas at the Trojan camp, and contain several elements of catalogue style. This list has the effect of anticipating the impending catalogue of the Etruscan allies, soon to strengthen its sparse numbers.

123. **Asius Imbrasides Hicetaoniusque Thymoetes:** a grand 'name-line' of a kind found in Homer, and sometimes closely adapted by Vergil (cf. 413, Knauer 48 n. 1). However, these particular names are all found separately in the *Iliad* (Berres 181). Homer has two Trojans named Asios (*Il.* 2. 837-9, 16. 717-19; the second is an uncle of Hector) and the name in Vergil is no doubt intended to suggest an Asian origin. The patronymic *Imbrasides* is taken from another entirely unconnected Iliadic character, the Thracian Peiroos (*Il.* 4. 520), and is used again by Vergil of a pair of Lycian brothers at 12. 343. Asius does not appear again in the *Aeneid*. *Hicetaoniusque Thymoetes* combines the names of two of Priam's council of elders at *Il.* 3. 146-7 into a single hero, likewise Trojan; Thymoetes also appears as Priam's counsellor in the *Aeneid* (2. 32) and a Trojan of the same name is killed by Turnus at 12. 364. *Hicetaonius* is a patronymic in *-ius* (cf. 391, 659, 749), following Greek poetic models like *Il.* 2. 528 *Τελαμώνιος Αἴας* (cf.

Wackernagel, *Vorl.* ii. 71); this is clearly a particular development of the ‘adjective for genitive’ (on which see 156–7 n.).

**124. Assaracique duo:** cf. the Homeric *Ἀσάρατε δῶω* (*Il.* 2. 406 etc.). *Assaracus* is the name of a royal Trojan, grandfather of Anchises (*Il.* 20. 232, Fordyce on 7. 207), and these two may be scions of the royal house of Troy, though they do not appear again.

**et senior cum Castore Thymbris:** *senior* is an individualizing detail, often pathetic in effect; cf. 2. 544, 7. 535, 11. 31, *Intro.* 1(iv). *Castor*, the name of one of the Dioscuri (*Il.* 3. 237) is appropriate for a warrior (though it is not Trojan), while *Thymbris* is clearly derived from Thymbra in the Troad, site of a cult of Apollo (3. 85, *Il.* 10. 430, Strabo 13. 1. 35). Again the pair do not reappear.

**125–6. prima acies:** for the phrase and apposition cf. 561 ‘Antaeum et Lucam, prima agmina Turni’; *prima acies* is a military term for the vanguard or front rank (*Caes. Gall.* 1. 25. 7, *Livy* 4. 41. 4). As at 9. 27, this position is an honourable one.

**germani Sarpedonis ambo:** two unknown Lycians are given vicarious glory as brothers of the Iliadic hero Sarpedon: for other Iliadic lineages cf. Antiphates, son of Sarpedon (9. 697), Eurytion, brother of Pandarus (5. 495) and Eumedes, son of Dolon (12. 346–7). *germanus*, strictly of a brother sharing both parents, can be used more loosely (so here; these are presumably not sons of Jupiter like Sarpedon), and like *germana* (607) is poetic since Ennius (*Ann.* 40, 46 Skutsch, *Trag.* 69 Jocelyn, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 5. 13 and 7. 51). Warrior brothers, a feature of the *Iliad* (Fenik 11), are common in the *Aeneid*, especially in this book (cf. 328 ff., 351–2, 403, 575 ff., 7. 670, 9. 672 ff., 11. 604, 12. 270 ff., 509, 516), and the poet often uses the relationship for rhetorical or pathetic effect (cf. 338–9, 342, 600).

**et Clarus et Thaemon Lycia comitantur ab alta:** *Clarus* is the name of a city of Lycia, site of a famous shrine of Apollo (Strabo 14. 1. 27), highly appropriate for a Lycian warrior. *Thaemon* is less easily explained: it is close to the common Haemon (9. 685, *Il.* 4. 296), an unmetrical variant here, but in pairing with *Clarus* should have a Lycian reference. Saunders (543) speculatively suggests an Eastern origin, citing the name *Θαῆμος* from a Syrian inscription. *comitantur*: the verb belongs to catalogue-language: cf. 186, 194, 7. 681. *alta*: a traditional poetic epithet of places (cf. 86, 374), but perhaps pointed here as Lycia is a mountainous area (Pliny, *Nat.* 5. 100). The Trojans have Lycian allies in the *Aeneid* as in the *Iliad* (2. 876–7).

**127. fert ingens ... saxum:** the throwing of large stones is as common in the battles of the *Aeneid* as in those of the *Iliad* (cf. 130, 381, 415, 698). *ingens*, ‘mighty’, used of rocks again at 6. 616, 12.

531, and 12. 896-7, is the archetypal epic epithet, found 168 times in the *Aeneid*; compare the Homeric *πελώριος*, also used of rocks (*Od.* 11. 594), and in general Henry on 5. 118, Conway on 1. 114 and 1. 453, Pease and Austin on 4. 89, Fordyce on 7. 29, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 205.

**toto conixus corpore:** again at 9. 410. *toto corpore* and *corpore toto* occur 11 times in Vergil and 23 times in Lucretius, suggesting an origin in earlier epic: both *toto* and the prefix *con-* suggest concentrated exertion.

**128. haud partem exiguam montis:** cf. 698 (=9. 569) 'ingenti fragmine montis': *haud* (cf. 106 n.) qualifies not *partem* but *exiguam*, forming a litotes, cf. similarly 8. 627 'haud vatium ignarus'. *pars exigua* is Lucretian (3. 399, 5. 595), as is the elaborate type of expression; so 'fragmina silvarum' *Lucr.* 1. 284, 5. 1284. The phrase as a whole has a distant model in the Cyclops' rock-throwing at *Od.* 9. 481 ἦκε δ' ἀπορρήξας κορυφὴν ὄρεος μέγαλοιο.

**Lyrnesius Acmon:** *Lyrnesus* is a city of Mysia, an appropriate origin for a warrior on the Trojan side since Mysians occur in Homer's catalogue of Trojan allies (*Il.* 2. 690). The name *Acmon*, unknown elsewhere, is appropriate to a carrier of great weights, meaning 'anvil' (*ἄκμων*); compare the giant Pyracmon ('fire-anvil') at 8. 425 (see Eden ad loc.).

**129. nec Clytio genitore minor, nec fratre Menestheo:** the comparison with father or brother is Homeric in flavour, cf. *Il.* 1. 404, 2. 704 ff., 6. 479, 15. 641, Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 15. 28, Mayor on *Juv.* 14. 213. *Clytius*, like *Thymoetes* and *Hicetaon* (123), is a name taken from the list of Priam's counsellors at *Il.* 3. 147; it is used by Vergil again for an Italian at 325, and for two more Trojans at 9. 774 and 11. 666. *Menestheus*, here a Lycian not to be confused with the more important Mnestheus (143 n.), is the name of a Greek in the *Iliad*, the commander of the Athenian contingent at Troy (*Iliad* 2. 552 etc.); for the synzesis *Menestheo*, cf. 116-17 n.

**130. defendere saxis:** a desperate measure, again echoing the earlier defence of the camp in book 9 (9. 533 'Troes contra defendere saxis'), and recalling the parallel defence of the Greek camp in Homer, *Il.* 12. 154-5 οἱ δ' ἄρα χερμαδίσιω ἐϋδμήτων ἀπὸ πύργων/βάλλον ἀμνόμενοι.

**131. molirique ignem:** the verb here clearly means 'wield' like a weapon (cf. *G.* 1. 329, *TLL* viii. 1362. 4 ff.), and the Trojans are to be imagined as throwing flaming torches (cf. 1. 150, *Bell. Hisp.* 12. 4) at their besiegers.

**nervoque aptare sagittas:** cf. *Il.* 4. 118 ἐπὶ νευρῇ κατεκόσμεε πικρὸν δῖστόν. *nervus*, like *νευρή*, literally means 'sinew', the original

material for bow-strings, but by Vergil's time at least some of these seem to be made of horse-hair (9. 622).

- 132. ipse:** anticipates *Dardanius puer* and points like *αὐτός* to the important individual in a situation (Austin on 1. 42, Page on 7. 187, Wagner, *QV* 18).

**Veneris iustissima cura:** cf. 1. 678 (Venus of Ascanius) 'mea maxima cura'. *iustissima* indicates the doubly appropriate nature of Venus' care for Ascanius: he is both her grandson and a good-looking boy. *cura* of persons, 'object of concern', belongs to amatory language: (Pichon, *Serm. am.* 120), like its counterpart *μέλημα*, cf. esp. Pind. fr. 217 Sn. *μέλημα Κύπριδος*.

- 133. Dardanius caput, ecce, puer detectus honestum:** note the intricate word-order here with nouns and epithets distributed around the central *ecce*. Vergil's frequent use of complex and often expressive word-order is a technique deriving from neoteric and Hellenistic poetry: cf. Austin on 1. 435, Williams on 5. 26–7, Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 3, J. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien* (Prague, 1878), 35–7, Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 132–7, H. Patzer, *MH* 12 (1955), 77–95, C. Conrad, *HSCPh* 69 (1965), 195–258, T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ*, ns 16 (1966), 140–71, 298–320. For *Dardanius* cf. 4 n. *caput ... detectus honestum: caput* is acc. of respect with the passive participle, a construction common with parts of the body, cf. App. D. Ascanius bares his head in order to be recognized and encourage his men in a moment of crisis; so Ascanius again at 5. 672–3, Aeneas at 12. 312, and Labienus at *Bell. Afr.* 16. 1. *honestus*, here of physical appearance, adds a colloquial touch: the word is so used by Terence and Lucilius before Vergil (*TLL* vi. 2192. 42 ff.). *ecce* draws attention to the appearance of a new character, a technique derived from drama, cf. Austin on 2. 57, G. Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum* (Leipzig, 1901–33), 1. 447.

- 134–7.** Ascanius is here compared in a double simile to a jewel set in gold or ivory inlaid into a darker wood. There are several correspondences between these images and what they illustrate: for such multiple correspondences in the similes of Vergil and Lucretius cf. D. A. West, *JRS* 59 (1969), 40–9, *Philologus*, 114 (1970), 262–75). The choice of such exquisite ornaments suggests Ascanius' beauty, while the bright jewel in its gold setting and the pale gleam of ivory against a darker background pick up the contrast of the boy's bare head (133), gold torque (138), and milk-white skin (137) with the dark ranks of war. Precious artefacts form the basis of two Homeric similes, both imitated by Vergil in the *Aeneid: Il.* 4. 141–5 (cf. *Aen.* 12. 67–9) and *Od.* 6. 232–5 = 23. 159–62 (cf. *Aen.* 1. 592–8).

**134. qualis gemma micat:** *qualis*, frequently introducing Vergilian similes (cf. 264, 565, 641 and Pease on 4. 69), here forms a rare spondaic word in the first foot (116–17 n.). For *micare* of the glancing sheen of jewels cf. *TLL* viii. 930. 41 ff., 73 ff.

**fulvum quae dividit aurum:** for *fulvus* of gold cf. Fordyce on 7. 76, Murgatroyd on Tib. 1. 1. 1. *dividit* is a striking personification: the jewel is said to hold the gold setting apart.

**135. aut collo decus aut capiti:** i.e. suitable for a pendant or diadem; *decus* is used concretely as at 858.

**136. inclusum buxo aut Oricia terebintho:** cf. Nicander, *Ther.* 516 *πύξου δὲ χροιῇ προσαλίγκιος Ὀρικήοιο*, Prop. 3. 7. 49 ‘thyio thalamo aut Oricia terebintho’. Vergil is probably imitated by Propertius, who seems to have seen at least some of the *Aeneid* in the 20s BC (Prop. 2. 34. 63–4), since the two passages look too interdependent to be separately derived from Nicander: Vergil preserves box from Nicander and adds terebinth, to which he switches Orician origin, given to box in Nicander, while Propertius drops box for citrus-wood, keeps terebinth, and continues to describe the latter as coming from Oricus. In fact, that port on the Illyrian coast (in modern Albania) was not particularly known for either box-wood or terebinth (the lustrous dark wood of the turpentine-tree, *Pistacia terebinthus*), both of which were much used in carving and inlay (cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 13. 54, R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982), 280–3). *inclusum buxo*: for *includere*, a technical term for setting or inlaying cf. 12. 211, Lucr. 4. 1127, *TLL* vii/1. 954. 37 ff. Box-wood is proverbially pale (Nicander (above), Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 4. 134–5), and Vergil seems to be conflating two contrasts, that between light box and dark terebinth, and that between white ivory and black terebinth (found at Ov. *Pont.* 3. 3. 97–8). This line, like Propertius’ imitation, shows two Graecizing features: the hiatus after the long vowel *buxo* (Austin on 4. 235, Fordyce on 7. 178, Hardie *Res Metrica*, 47–8, Winbolt, *LHV* 196–7, P. Maas, *Maia*, ns 9 (1957), 223–4 = *Kleine Schriften*, 604–5), and the final tetrasyllable (Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 9. 1, Winbolt, *LHV* 135–6). Two such features often go together in Vergil (Fordyce on 7. 631).

**137–8. lucet ebur:** ivory, like terebinth, was an imported luxury at Rome (Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 31. 6, Blümner in *RE* v. 2356–66); it is familiar as a decorative material in Homer (*Il.* 4. 141, 5. 583, *Od.* 4. 73, 8. 404).

**fusus cervix cui lactea crinis/accipit:** note the elegant chiasmic word-order before the verb (*abcba*), set around the central *cui*. Ascanius is here given a glamorous beauty: *fusi* ... *crines* were traditionally erotic (Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3. 169), as was a *lactea*

*cervix* (Lyne on *Ciris* 170, Pichon, *Serm. am.* 98, 213–14), and the two features are united in Martial's description of a *puer delicatus* (1. 31. 6 'dumque decent fusae lactea colla iubae'); compare too the long hair and pale skin of the effeminate Dionysus of Eur. *Bacch.* 455–9. *lacteus* of complexion (cf. 8. 660 'lactea colla', of the fair-skinned Gauls) is first found in Vergil, no doubt following the similar Hellenistic use of γαλάκτινος (Dioscorides, *AP* 5. 193. 1 = Gow–Page, *HE* 1479). *accipit*: 'receives like a burden' (cf. *G.* 4. 167); suggesting the weighty luxuriance of Ascanius' hair.

**et molli subnectens circulus auro:** *subnectens* (sc. *cervicem*) is superior to the variant *subnectit*, which with *crinis* as object would imply that Ascanius' circlet passes over his hair, inappropriate for *fusus* ... *crinis* and for such a gold torque as this, which passed under the hair: cf. 5. 558–9 and the gold torques of the child-princes Gaius and Lucius Caesar depicted on the Ara Pacis within a decade of Vergil's death (cf. Zanker, op. cit. 209–11 n., 217).

**139. te quoque:** a common conjunction in apostrophe (cf. 324, 740), also suggesting the language of lists or catalogues; it occurs in Hellenistic poetry (in the form καὶ σὺ), and in literary epitaphs, cf. R. Merkelbach, *RhM*, NF 114 (1971), 349–51. The apostrophe, here used 'affectively' with an air of sympathy (cf. 12. 542), is commonly employed by Vergil to vary the tone of his epic narrative, rather more often than in Homer, cf. Austin on 1. 555 and 4. 27, Fordyce on 7. 49, Heinze 371–2, Williams, *TORP* 723–5, *TI* 183–96.

**magnanimae ... gentes:** cf. *Il.* 1. 123 μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί; the epithet is grand and epic, cf. Austin on 1. 260, F. Skutsch, *ALL* 12 (1900–2), 208–10, Skutsch, *Annales*, p. 784.

**Ismare:** Ismarus (350–1 n.) was the city of the Thracian Cicones (cf. *Od.* 9. 40), who were Trojan allies (*Il.* 2. 846–7): the name is thus appropriate for a warrior on the Trojan side, though *Maemia* (141) suggests that Ismarus is no Thracian but a Lydian.

**140. vulnera derigere:** the striking phrase 'direct wounds' is first found in Vergil, and attracted imitation (*TLL* v/1. 1242. 32 ff.); it seems to be a combination of *derigere* of throwing weapons (cf. 401) with the use of *vulnus* for 'prospective wounds residing in missiles, blows, etc.' (*OLD* s.v. 1c), a use first found in Vergil (cf. Enk on Grattius 123, U. Hübner, *RhM*, NF 117 (1974), 353–5).

**et calamos armare veneno:** *vulnera derigere* implies that Ismarus is already using the arrows he is here said to prepare, the so-called ὕστερον πρότερον common in Vergil where the poet puts the more important thing first, appending an explanatory clause which precedes it in strict logic, cf. Austin on 2. 353, Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 2. 2, Williams, *TORP* 728, A. S. McDevitt, *CQ*, ns 17

(1967), 316–21. *calamus*, ‘reed’, is used by part–whole synecdoche for ‘arrow’ like the similar *harundo* (on which cf. Pease on 4. 73) and the Homeric *δόναξ* (*Il.* 11. 584); at least some arrow-shafts were made from reeds in antiquity (Theophr. *HP* 4. 11. 11). *armare veneno*: again in similar context at 9. 773. Poisoned arrows, though common in mythology, seem to be excluded from the *Iliad* as non-heroic, and the single reference in the *Odyssey* (1. 261 ff.) implies disapproval (G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 1934), 129–30); the Romans considered their use barbarous and unnatural (cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 18. 2, Pease on Cic. *Div.* 2. 135, *Nat.* 2. 126, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 22. 6), and their few appearances in the *Aeneid* seem to supply exotic Oriental or barbarian colour (cf. 9. 773 and 12. 856–8).

**141. Maeonia generose domo:** the Maeonians, usually taken to be inhabitants of eastern Lydia, are allies of the Trojans in the *Iliad* (2. 864–6) and reappear here in the same role. *generosus* here means ‘of good descent’ (cf. *genus*), its usual sense; contrast its unique meaning of ‘productive’ (cf. *generare*) at 174. For such *-osus* adjectives in Vergil, which can be either poetic (as here) or colloquial, cf. Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 53–60, P. E. Knox, *Glotta*, 64 (1986), 90–101. *domo* is abl. of origin; cf. 183 ‘Caerete ... domo’ and 345–6 n.

**ubi pinguia culta:** for the Graecizing hiatus between *domo* and *ubi* cf. 136 n.; *pinguia culta* (again 7. 63, *G.* 4. 372) recalls the Homeric *πίονες ἀγροί* (*Il.* 23. 832). In Vergil’s time Lydia was included in the Roman province of Asia, famed for fertility (Hor. *Ep.* 1. 3. 5, Cic. *Imp. Pomp.* 14).

**142. Pactolusque inrigat auro:** *inrigat auro* is a surprise for the normal *inrigat unda* (*Pan. Mess.* 60, *Ov. Met.* 14. 633), reflecting the unusual qualities of the Lydian river Pactolus, famed in literature for carrying gold-dust (cf. Jebb on Soph. *Phil.* 394, Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 814, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 11. 85, Courtney on *Juv.* 14. 299).

**143–4. adfuit et Mnestheus:** Mnestheus is one of the more important Trojans, second in the boat-race of book 5 and colleague of Serestus (with whom he is often coupled, cf. 4. 288, 9. 779, 12. 549, 561) in the command of the Trojan camp in Aeneas’ absence (9. 171–3), whence he drives Turnus at 9. 778 ff. (for which he is praised here). At 5. 117 the poet claims him as the ancestor of the gens *Memmia*, a piece of lore perhaps derived from Varro’s *De familiis Troianis* (cf. Williams ad loc.) and certainly dependent on the alleged etymological connection *Μνησθεύς* / *μειμνήσθαι* / *memini* / *Memmius*.

**aggere moerorum:** on the orthography and the phrase in general cf. 24 n.

**145. et Capys:** another Trojan who appears several times (1. 183, 2. 35, 9. 576). His name like that of the Assaraci (124) belongs to the Trojan royal house, in particular to the father of Anchises (*Il.* 20. 239); it is given by Vergil (6. 768) as by Livy (1. 3. 7) to one of the Alban kings. Coelius Antipater (2nd c. BC), quoted here by D. Servius (= *Hist.* fr. 55), makes the Trojan Capys who founded Capua a cousin of Aeneas, a version which Vergil may be following here.

**hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi:** *hinc* is used in poetry of persons (= *ab hoc*) like *inde* and *unde* (54–5 n.), cf. LHS ii. 309. *Campanae ... urbi: Campanus* is the standard Latin for ‘Capuan’, cf. Nisbet on Cic. *Pis.* 24. 5.

A Trojan Capys is named as the founder of Capua as early as the fifth century BC by Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 62); Dion. Hal. 1. 73. 3 specifies the Homeric Capys, father of Anchises, a version probably derived from Hegesianax in the second century BC (*FGrH* 45 F 8–9) and later followed by Silius (11. 294–7). Livy seems to be following a different tradition in casting a Samnite Capys in this role (4. 37. 1) while Cato made Capua an Etruscan foundation (*Orig.* 3. fr. 11 Chassignet). Vergil himself probably follows the version of Coelius Antipater (above), where Capys is a cousin of Aeneas and presumably a contemporary. For these and other derivations of ‘Capua’ cf. D. Servius here, Bömer on *Ov. Fasti* 4. 45, Ogilvie on Livy 4. 37. 1, Bartelink 45, and esp. J. Heurgon, *Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion et la civilisation de Capoue préromaine* (BÉFAR 154; Paris, 1942), 136–53. In the *Aeneid* Vergil shows a marked interest in aetiological etymologies of a Hellenistic type, made an epic feature by Apollonius (Bartelink, *passim*, Austin on 6. 235), and especially in the naming of places after Aeneas’ companions as here, e.g. the capes of Misenum (6. 235), Palinurus (6. 381), and Caieta (7. 1–4).

**146–62.** A bridge passage (cf. Quinn 72): the fighting around the Trojan camp finishes with the day at 146 as Aeneas returns to Latium at night, accompanied by his new Etruscan allies, listed in a catalogue at 163–214.

**146–7. illi ... Aeneas:** the abrupt ‘cinematic’ switch of subject is typically Homeric; cf. e.g. *Il.* 16. 1–2 ὦς οἱ μὲν περὶ νηὸς εὐσέλμοιο μάχοντο: Πάτροκλος δ’ Ἀχιλλῆι παρίστατο.

**illi inter sese:** again as a line-opening at 8. 452, 12. 720, and *G.* 4. 174: *inter sese* is epic and Ennian (*Ann.* 251 Skutsch, Lyne on *Ciris* 536).

**duri certamina belli/contulerant:** the pluperfect of *contulerant* indicates that the fighting was now over; cf. 246 *dixerat*. *certamina belli* and *certamina conferre* both occur in Lucretius (1. 475, 4. 843); *certamina belli* is likely to be Ennian (Lyne on *Ciris* 358), and looks like a version of the Homeric *νεῖκος πολέμοιο* (*Il.* 13. 271 etc.).

**media ... nocte:** this phrase, like 216 'Phoebe medium pulsabat Olympum', marks the time of midnight: the intervening catalogue is thus outside the narrative-time of the poem, cf. *Introd.* 1(v).

**freta ... secabat:** for *secare* of cleaving the sea (Homeric *τέμνειν*) cf. 222 n.; *freta*, strictly 'straits', is often used more generally of the sea in poetry (*TLL* vi. 1314. 66 ff.).

**148-53.** This long sentence is basically bipartite, the *namque ut* clause extending until *immiscet preces* and *haud fit mora* functioning as the main clause (see translation). The first clause contains five present-tense verbs in swift succession, effectively stressing the urgency of 'Aeneas' discussions with Tarchon.

**148. namque:** explains Aeneas' return: his story is effectively picked up at the point where it was left at the end of book 8.

**ab Euandro castris ingressus Etruscis:** for *ab* of leaving persons (cf. *παρά* in Greek, *LSJ* s.v. A. II. 1) cf. *TLL* i. 15. 41 ff. *castris ... Etruscis:* dative of motion towards (cf. 5. 542 'proximus ingreditur donis', where Servius correctly glosses *ad dona*), common in poetry (cf. Williams on 5. 451, Austin on 2. 186, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 2. 580, Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, i. 180-5, LHS ii. 100-1); *ingredior* here means not 'enter' but 'advance, proceed' (cf. 763).

**149. regem ... regi:** the emphatic polyptoton (cf. similarly 12. 289 'regem regisque insigne gerentem) indicates the urgency of the situation: Aeneas himself goes straight to the king, without the usual mediation of an embassy (contrast the formal approach to Latinus in book 7). For polyptoton in Vergil cf. Pease on 4. 83, Fordyce on 7. 656, E. Breazeale, *SPh* 14 (1917), 306-18, and in general LHS ii. 707-8.

**memorat nomenque genusque:** cf. *Il.* 7. 128 *ἔρέων γενεήν τε τόκον τε*; *memoro*, the poetic *simplex*, is always preferred by Vergil to its prosaic synonym *commemoro* (see the useful table at *TLL* iii. 1830. 53 ff.). The phrase as a whole gives the reply to the standard initial questioning of a stranger in epic: cf. 8. 14 'qui genus? unde domo?', *Od.* 1. 170 *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἢ δὲ τοκῆες*;

**150-2. quidve petat quidve ipse ferat:** *-ve ... -ve* here = *-que ... -que:* *-ve* is regularly attached in Vergil to an interrogative where *-que* might have been expected, cf. Austin on 2. 75, Wagner, *QV*

36. 5, LHS ii. 503 (for the reverse substitution *-que* for *-ve* cf. 111–2 n.). *petat ... ferat*: Aeneas asks a favour (alliance) and offers a benefit (leadership and military help against Mezentius and Turnus).

**Mezentius arma/quae sibi conciliet**: *arma* means ‘armed forces’ (cf. 11. 229, *TLL* ii. 600. 44 ff.), while *conciliare* in this sense of ‘win over’ (again in Vergil only at 1. 79) is a military or political term (Caes. *Gall.* 5. 4. 3, Livy 3. 44. 7, etc.). Aeneas astutely mentions not Turnus but Mezentius, detested by his hearers as their expelled king (cf. 8. 489 ff.), as the principal mover in the war.

**violentaque pectora Turni/edocet**: *violentus* and *violentia* are common of Turnus in the *Aeneid*, pointing to his characteristic impetuosity (11. 354, 376, 12. 9, 45); here *violentaque pectora Turni* (= *violentus Turnus*) is a periphrasis of a common type (cf. 11. 215–16 ‘cara sororum/pectora’ = ‘carae sorores’). The plural *pectora* echoes the Homeric *σῆῤεα* (*Il.* 1. 83 etc.), and is naturally frequent in dactylic poetry; cf. Eden on 8. 29, Maas, art. cit. (116–17 n.), 534 ff. *edocet*: the verb is stressed by isolation at the end of its clause in a first-foot dactyl in enjambment, cf. 29 n.

**152–3. humanis quae sit fiducia rebus/admonet**: cf. 2. 75 ‘memoret quae sit fiducia capto’. The implication of ‘quae sit’ is negative: human affairs traditionally offer no grounds of confidence for the future, a thought commonly used to support pleas for aid or mercy as here (‘I need you now; you may need me in the future’), cf. e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 501–3, Sall. *Jug.* 38. 9, Livy 37. 35. 5 (close to this passage), Ov. *Tr.* 3. 11. 67–8, *Ciris* 454.

**immiscetque preces**: the mixture of warning and request is astute and traditional (cf. Livy 2. 9. 1–2).

**153–4. haud fit mora**: only here; Vergil usually has the shorter ‘haud mora’ (7 times in *Aeneid*).

**Tarchon**: Tarchon, traditionally eponym of Tarquinius, matches the ‘bad’ Mezentius as the ‘good’ Etruscan king of the *Aeneid*, and is found elsewhere as an ally of Aeneas in Italy; on his role in the *Aeneid*. cf. 163–214 n., § 2. His name is *Tarcho* at 8. 603, *Tarchon* here and elsewhere, a casual Homeric-type variation (cf. 515–6 n.).

**iungit opes**: *opes* of troops seems a poetic use, found before Vergil in Accius and first in prose in Nepos, cf. 609, *TLL* ix/2. 814. 81 ff.

**foedusque ferit**: the origin of this phrase (already found in Enn. *Ann.* 32 Skutsch) is given by Livy 1. 24. 4 ff. (cf. Ogilvie ad loc.): an agreement of treaty (*foedus*, cognate with *fides*) is ratified by a mortal blow (*ferire*) to a sacrificial animal, usually a sow, symbolizing the punishment for perjury on either side (cf. 8. 641

‘caesa iungebant foedera porca’). The origin of the Homeric ὄρκια τέμνειν is similar (cf. Stanford on *Od.* 24. 483).

**154–5. libera fati:** better than the variant *fatis*, which gives the ablative normal after *liber* (cf. *G.* 3. 194); the genitive *fati* is a poetic Graecism following the construction of ἐλεύθερος, closely paralleled in Horace; cf. *AP* 212 ‘liberque fatorum’ with Brink’s note and 441 n. below. The Etruscans are now ‘free from fate’ since their prophetic requirement for a foreign leader (8. 503) has been fulfilled in the person of Aeneas.

**classem conscendit:** a variation of the common *navem conscendere* (*TLL* iv. 362. 76 ff.), the collective of *classem* matching that of *gens*.

**iussis gens Lydia divum:** the Etruscans, going into action, are appropriately enclosed in the word-order by the divine orders which back their alliance with Aeneas. *gens Lydia:* the tradition that the Etruscans came to Italy from Lydia in Asia Minor is common from the time of Herodotus (1. 94. 6, Strabo 5. 5. 2), and *Lydius* is used in poetry from the time of Cicero (*Poet.* 11. 34 Traglia) as a learned synonym for ‘Etruscan’, a usage found four times in the *Aeneid* (Austin on 2. 781). The origin of the Etruscans is still controversial, but some recognize an Eastern connection; see the recent summary of the question by M. Torelli in L. Bonfante (ed.), *Etruscan Life and After-Life* (Warminster, 1986), 48–9 (with bibl.).

**156–7. externo commissa duci:** the phrase recalls the prophecy of 8. 503 ‘externos optate duces’, stressing that it is now fulfilled; for similar ‘fulfilment-echoes’ in the *Aeneid* cf. Moskalew 114–16. Note the Greek hiatus *duci Aeneia* (cf. 136 n.), perhaps emphasizing the mid-line sense-break here.

**Aeneia puppis:** *Aeneius* (cf. 494, 7. 1) is a noun-based adjective used for a possessive genitive, and like many instances of adjective for genitive belongs to poetic language, following Homer (cf. esp. *Il.* 2. 25 Νεστορέη ... νηῖ, KG i. 261–3); other instances seem to derive from native Latin idiom (*Flamen Dialis, Campus Martius*). Cf. Austin on 2. 543, Fordyce on 7. 1, Wackernagel, *Vorl.* ii. 70 ff., *Kleine Schriften*, iii. 1346 ff., Marouzeau, *Traité*, 205 ff., Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1. 107 ff. *puppis:* better than the variant *puppis*, unparalleled as nominative singular and perhaps influenced by *leones* at the end of the next line. *puppis*, strictly ‘stern’, is poetically used by synecdoche (part for whole) for ‘ship’ (cf. *Cat.* 64. 6, 172, *TLL* iii. 457. 53 ff. and the comment of Quintilian 8. 6. 20), cf. the similar use of *prora* (223 n.), and also that of *pinus* (205–6 n.).

**prima tenet:** again at 5. 338; Aeneas’ ship holds the leading and honorific first place as at 5. 833–4. *prima* (n. pl.) in the sense

of 'first place' (cf. Cic. *Orator* 4) is probably a Graecism, cf. Soph. *OC* 1313–14 τὰ πρῶτα μὲν/δόρει κρατύνων, πρῶτα δ' οἰωνῶν ὁδοῖς.

**rostrum Phrygios subiuncta leones:** *rostrum* has locative force; for the Greek accusative of *subiuncta leones*, 'yoked with lions', cf. Soph. *Trach.* 157–8 δέλτον ἐγγεγραμμένην/ξυνθήματα and App. D. The *rostrum* or ram is a post-Homeric naval development and here strictly an anachronism, cf. F. H. Sandbach, art. cit. (120 n.) 26–7, Casson 49. The lions seem to be placed above the *rostrum* and below the prow and the depiction of Mt. Ida (below), appearing to draw the ship; they symbolize Cybele, closely connected with Troy and the Trojan cause in the *Aeneid* (219–20 n.), and are often depicted in art and literature as drawing her chariot (cf. 252, 3. 13, Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 4. 215, Jebb on Soph. *Phil.* 399), indicating her civilizing power in taming wild beasts (Lucr. 2. 604–5, Varro ap. Aug. *Civ. Dei* 7. 24).

The appearance of Aeneas' ship here creates some logistical problems, for it must have been left at Pallanteum, where Aeneas and his men took to horseback in order to reach Caere (8. 551–3, 585–7); the second of the two ships he took to Pallanteum was sent back down the Tiber to the Trojan camp (8. 548–50), but fails to reappear in the poem (cf. Büchner, *RE* viiiA. 1412). The Etruscans are presumably imagined as embarking at Pyrgi, the port of Caere (184 n.), and Aeneas' ship could not have joined them there from Pallanteum without passing the Trojan camp again. An equally impossible voyage seems to be envisaged at 205–6 (see n.), and some problems occur with the appearance of the Arcadian and Etruscan cavalry at 239 (see n.). The poet does not seem to worry about inconsistency in such logistical details; this is epic, not history.

**158. imminet Ida super, profugis gratissima Teucris:** suggests a carved representation of Mt. Ida in the lofty figurehead position (cf. Casson, pls. 125 and 146), stressing that the ship is made from Idan timber (cf. 9. 80 ff.) and perhaps that it is named *Ida* or *Idaea* (an Attic ship-name *Ἰδαία* is known, cf. Casson 350 n. 39). It is *gratissima Teucris* in reminding them of their far-off homeland (cf. *profugis*). The great mountain-range of Ida in the Troad was a main cult-centre of Cybele, and is hence closely associated with her lions (above) in the decoration of Aeneas' ship. It was also important as the refuge for Aeneas and his followers immediately after the fall of Troy (2. 801–4, 3. 5–6, Dion. Hal., *Ant.* 1. 47. 1 ff.). The arrival of Aeneas' ship at the Tiber's mouth perhaps recalls the coming to Ostia of another ship from the Troad associated with Cybele, and also built with Idan timber according to Ovid (*Fasti* 4. 273–4), that carrying the image of the Magna Mater to Rome in 204 BC (Livy 29. 11. 7 and 10 ff., Ov. *Fasti* 4. 247 ff.);

cf. P. R. Hardie in L. M. Whitby, P. R. Hardie, and M. Whitby (eds.), *Homo Viator* (Bristol, 1987), 171.

**159-60. hic magnus sedet Aeneas:** Aeneas is clearly seated at the helm (cf. 218), and has steered his ship since the death of Palinurus (5. 868), a symbolic role for a commander: the good leader is a 'good helmsman' (Theognis 675-6 West) of the ship of state (for this metaphor cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 14), and Trajan is depicted in the role of a helmsman on his column, cf. Casson, pl. 128.

**secumque volutat/eventus belli varios:** cf. 6. 157-8 'caecosque volutat/eventus animo secum'. *volutare* is used of turning over thoughts in poetry before Vergil (Laevius, *Poet.* 3), perhaps echoing ἐλίσσω in the same sense in Greek poetry (Soph. *Ant.* 231, Ap. Rh. 1. 463), while *eventus belli* is a frequent phrase of the historians (*TLL* ii. 1843. 24 ff.).

In the *Aeneid* Aeneas is several times presented as isolated in deep thought (cf. 6. 157-8, 8. 20-5), a contrast with the generally brief deliberations of Homeric heroes. This pensiveness has been well compared with the *consilium* or forethought of the good Roman general (cf. R. G. M. Nisbet, *PVS* 18 (1978-80), 50-61) and the thoughtfulness of the philosophical sage (cf. e.g. C. M. Bowra, *G&R* 3 (1933-4), 8-21), but also marks out the solitary nature of Aeneas' mission (cf. e.g. G. Lieberg in H. Bardón and R. Verdière (eds.), *Vergiliana* (Leiden, 1971), 175-91).

**160-1. Pallasque sinistro/adfixus lateri:** the young Pallas makes his first appearance in this book, attached closely to Aeneas' side as if his pupil (cf. Cic. *Q. Fr.* 3. 1. 19 'iubes eum mihi esse adfixum tamquam magistro', *Lael.* 1). This is appropriate, for Pallas has been sent by Evander to learn the art of war under the tutorship of Aeneas (8. 514-17), essentially the Roman institution of *contubernium*, whereby young men would gain military experience through personal secondment to a senior officer (cf. Nisbet, art. cit. (159-60 n.), 57, Williams, *TI* 104). *sinistro ... lateri*; the side of respect and subordination (Courtney on Juv. 3. 131), here also practical as Aeneas' right hand is on the tiller (218).

**iam quaerit sidera:** a charming and youthful curiosity, again marking out the pupil. The stars were of course the normal means of nocturnal navigation in antiquity, found as such in Homer (*Od.* 5. 270 ff.).

**161-2. opacae/noctis iter:** in apposition with *sidera* (for the genitive cf. 9. 391-2 iter .../ fallacis silvae). *opacae/noctis*: the same phrase at 4. 123 and 8. 658; cf. the Homeric νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην (*Il.* 10. 83 etc.). *opacus* is poetic before Vergil (*TLL* ix/2. 657. 24 ff.).

**iam quae passus terraque marique:** the repeated *iam* (cf. Austin on l. 120-2) reflects the eager questions of the young Pallas; for the omission of *sit* after the perfect participle *passus* (frequent in relative and other subordinate clauses in poetry) cf. 106 n. *terraque marique:* a conventional universalizing polarity, often used of the sufferings of the Trojans in the *Aeneid*, cf. 57.

Pallas, like Dido, asks for Aeneas' story from his own lips and is no doubt like her (cf. 4. 13-14) a sympathetic and impressed listener; likewise, the quasi-paternal bond between Aeneas and Pallas, like the quasi-conjugal association with Dido, is to be tragically cut short by death. This short vignette of Aeneas and Pallas alone together is here offered as some motivation for Aeneas' wild behaviour after Pallas' death later in the book (510-605), and provides a quiet moment before the grand Etruscan Catalogue. On Aeneas and Pallas see further Lyne 155-60 and 177-9, and on Pallas' attractive characterization as something of an ideal Roman youth (like his counterpart Lausus, 789-832 n.) cf. Heinze 216. There seems little hint here of any erotic attraction between Aeneas and Pallas, as suggested by M. C. J. Putnam, *Vergilius* 31 (1985), 1-21.

#### 163-214. THE CATALOGUE OF ETRUSCANS INTRODUCTORY NOTE

##### 1. *The Catalogue: Epic Models and Function*

'A list of ships, and captains, and kings reigning' is included amongst Byron's prescriptions for an epic poem (*Don Juan* 1. 200. 4), and such catalogues of heroes are firmly established in epic before Vergil. Homer has the two catalogues of the Greek ships and Trojan allies (*Il.* 2. 484-760, 817-77) and the shorter list of Myrmidons (*Il.* 16. 168-97), Choerilus of Samos a list of tribes crossing the Hellespont with the Persians (*Supplementum Hellenisticum* 319-20), and Apollonius the roll of Argonauts (1. 20-228), while Ennius has a list of Italian military contingents (Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 229). In Silver and later epic the motif is practically indispensable and much varied. The original purpose of the epic catalogue of warriors was to identify the major participants in the forthcoming action (thus 125 of the 140 named in the two catalogues of *Iliad* 2 reappear in the poem); in the *Aeneid* this is true of the Latin Catalogue of book 7 (all but three of the fifteen listed reappear), but not of this Catalogue of Etruscans (only three of the eight listed are heard of again). There is some precedent for this in Apollonius' catalogue, where fewer than half

the Argonauts listed reappear, and in Homer's short list of Myrmidons, where only two of the five named are seen again. Vergil's Etruscans, like Homer's Myrmidons, are important as a supporting group rather than as individuals, but their individual stories, like those of the Latin Catalogue, give an opportunity for literary ornament, introducing antiquarian material and mythological digressions to fill out the bare list (e.g. 186 ff., 199 ff., 7. 761 ff.). They also have a role in Vergil's conception of Roman history, representing the military might of *fortis Etruria* seen in the *Georgics* as essential to the rise of Rome (*G.* 2. 532-5).

In the Catalogue of Etruscans, Vergil uses several Homeric models. The notion of a catalogue of ships and captains is clearly drawn from the Greek catalogue of *Iliad* 2, while the idea of a second and shorter catalogue to balance a preceding list of the other side (here the Latin Catalogue of book 7) also owes something to the catalogue of Trojans later in *Iliad* 2. But perhaps the most interesting Homeric parallel is that with the short list of Myrmidons in *Il.* 16. 168-97, which is closely similar in function in describing reinforcements to the ultimately victorious side which enter the battle late and at a crucial point (cf. Knauer 297), but which do not contain outstanding individuals (see above).

Within the structure of the *Aeneid*, the Etruscan Catalogue has several functions. Firstly, it counterbalances the Latin Catalogue of book 7, which presented the formidable Latin forces which were to have success until the return of Aeneas; the suggestion is that victory will now rest in turn with Aeneas and his side. The two catalogues begin with the same line (163~7. 641) and show other similarities (cf. 175-6 n., 194 n.). Secondly, it provides a variation of narrative pace within book 10; the swift action of 118-62 is halted by the stately grandeur of the Catalogue, and events are resumed at 215 at the same temporal point of midnight which they had reached at 147. Finally, the entrance of the Etruscans is also required for military realism; even with the addition of 400 Arcadian cavalry (8. 518-19), Aeneas' forces are too small to face the thousands listed in the Latin Catalogue, for he has only fourteen or fifteen ships left of his original twenty (cf. 5. 698-9, 6. 334-6), giving him a Trojan contingent of only a few thousand.

## 2. *Structure and Content*

The catalogue contains five contingents, names seven heroes as their leaders (two double commands), and lists over 3,700 men (not all contingents are quantified). The commanders seem to appear in the order of sailing (166 *princeps*, 170 *una*, 175 *tertius*). Most contingents

receive between four and six lines, excepting the digressions on Cycnus (thirteen) and Mantua (nine), though the poet may seem to have more interest in some heroes (e.g. Asilas, Astur) than others (e.g. Massicus, Abas). Further speculations on the literary effects of this arrangement (mostly unconvincing) are offered by C. F. Saylor, *CPh* 69 (1974), 255-7. Like the contingents of the Latin Catalogue, those here appear to exhibit no particular geographical sequence in their order of appearance (cf. *Macr. Sat.* 5. 15. 5), and as in the Latin Catalogue some sort of alphabetical grouping of their leaders seems apparent—Massicus, *Abas*, *Asilas*, *Astur*, *Cunerus*, *Cupavo*, *Ocnus*, *Aulestes*—cf. A. M. Cook, *CR* 33 (1919), 103-4, L. W. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization* (Collection Latomus, 90; Brussels, 1967), 55. Such an alphabetical order is possibly but not necessarily derived from a prose source; two of the heroes in the sequence (*Abas* and *Cunerus*) look like the poet's own inventions, and the poet may simply have liked groups of heroes beginning with the same letter.

Other aspects of the order and content of the catalogue are puzzling: why, for instance, is the nonentity Massicus given first place (contrast the significantly first-placed Mezentius in the Latin Catalogue), and Tarchon, Mezentius' replacement as chief king of Etruria (153 n.) not mentioned at all? On the point of Massicus, it might be argued that the Etruscan Catalogue is generally composed of nonentities who play no significant part in the *Aeneid* (see above), and appropriately begins with one. The exclusion of Tarchon is more surprising; he has just been mentioned (153) as chief king of the Etruscans, a role in which he later reappears (290 ff., 11. 184, 727 ff.). Two reasons for his omission might be suggested. First, his inclusion as king might endanger the heroic primacy of Aeneas, now supreme commander of both Trojans and Etruscans; second, his name would naturally recall that of his eponymous city of Tarquinii (cf. J. Gagé, *MÉFR* 46 (1929), 114 ff.), not only a difficulty for a naval catalogue because of its inland position but also perhaps undesirable in a Roman epic for its traditional associations with the Tarquins.

This leads to the question of the criteria for the selection of cities in the catalogue. The most obvious group is that of the 'Twelve Cities' of Cisappennine Etruria (for their identities cf. Ogilvie on Livy 5. 33. 8, BCP 11, Pallottino 125), but Vergil includes only three from this number (Caere, Clusium, and Populonia). However, this is not surprising: Vergil is writing a ship-catalogue and therefore requires coastal cities with ships. Most of the famous Twelve were inland cities and therefore unsuitable; the only non-coastal cities the poet uses are Clusium and Mantua, both of which are recognizably special cases. Clusium has a title to inclusion in any Etruscan list as

the city of Lars Porsenna (the most famous Etruscan of them all in Roman eyes, cf. Silius 8. 478-9, Pliny, *Nat.* 36. 91), and is in any case paired in this catalogue with the coastal Cosa (167-8), evidently a practical arrangement for the provision of ships (cf. Saunders, *VPI* 66), while Mantua's inclusion is clearly due to its character as the poet's birthplace and to a desire to include Transappennine Etruria; even here the poet seems to give the Mantuans their own ships (205-6 n.). The Ligurians are included as a coastal people; though they are not Etruscan, the fact that Liguria was generally considered to begin at the river Magra, just north of Etruscan Pisa (Strabo 5. 2. 5, Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 48) renders their inclusion not unreasonable on geographical grounds, and it also enables the poet to tell the appealing tale of Cycnus. For further speculations on the inclusion of the Ligurians cf. Saunders, *VPI* 78-82.

Gagé (art. cit.) gives further criteria for Vergil's selection of cities other than coastal position: known antiquity (hence probable Etruscan occupation) and long-standing friendship with Rome. The first of these is reasonably convincing, as all the cities in the catalogue are known Etruscan sites, with the exception of Cosa (168 n.), a third-century Roman colony, where we cannot expect accuracy of the poet, especially as Cosa is in the area Vergil thought of as ancient Etruria. Gagé's second criterion of long-standing friendship with Rome, supposedly honoured by a mention in Vergil's catalogue, seems unlikely given the presence of the Ligurians, with whom Rome had fought a particularly vicious series of wars in the second century bc, though Ligurians later served in the Roman army (185-6 n.).

### 3. Sources

Some of the sources for the antiquarian material of the Etruscan Catalogue may be tentatively identified. The story of an Etruscan alliance with Aeneas is not mentioned by historians such as Livy, Cato and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; it first occurs in Lycophron's *Alexandra* (1238 ff.), whose material is very likely derived from the historian Timaeus of Tauromenium. There the brothers Tarchon and Tyrrhenus, sons of the Mysian Telephus and evident eponyms of the Etruscan race, join Odysseus in allying with Aeneas in Italy. Vergil agrees with Lycophron in this version of a general Etruscan alliance, but maintains the Etruscan Mezentius' opposition to Aeneas, traditional in most other sources, by alienating him from his people, who in the *Aeneid* expel him for cruelty (cf. 8. 478-96 and P. T. Eden, *PVS* 4 (1964-5), 33-4). Lycophron also mentions Pisa and Agylla (Caere) as landing-places of Aeneas, implying their involvement in the alliance (1241). These two cities of course occur

in Vergil's catalogue (179, 183), and it is possible that the poet's selection is influenced by Lycophron, who has been plausibly seen as a source for details in the *Aeneid* (cf. Rehm 14 n. 27, N. M. Horsfall, *Prudentia*, 8 (1976), 86, S. R. West, *CQ*, ns 33 (1983), 132-5).

Vergil's selection of Etruscan coastal cities, apparently unconnected with the Twelve Cities of Cisappennine Etruria (cf. section 2 above), is likely to have been made from a list in a literary source. Strabo (5. 2. 5-8) and the elder Pliny (*Nat.* 3. 50-1) both have descriptions of the Etruscan coast, including all Vergil's cities; Silius Italicus (8. 468 ff.) has an Etruscan catalogue which includes some of them. Strabo probably influenced Pliny, but Rehm (96-106) has argued that Vergil, Pliny, and Silius all derive their Etruscan material from Varro's *Res humanae* 11, a description of the regions of Italy and their products; this is perhaps supported by Vergil's description of Ilva (174 n.). Against this H.-D. Reeker, *Die Landschaft in der Aeneis* (Spudasmata, 27; Hildesheim, 1971), 118 ff., has suggested that the source of Vergil and Pliny is Varro's *De ora maritima*, but that work's contents are problematic (cf. K. G. Sallmann, *Die Geographie des Alten Plinius in ihrem Verhältnis zu Varro* (Berlin, 1971), 11-13). In sum, Vergil has made use of a (probably Varronian) city-list, employing his own criteria of selection; his eclecticism may be paralleled by other uses of source-material in the *Aeneid* (cf. esp. Horsfall, art. cit. 143-4).

The alphabetic groupings of heroes found in both Vergil's catalogues have, as we have seen (section 2 above), no particular implication for sources. Vergil's procedure has clearly been to select coastal cities and then to find heroes for them. Owing to the dearth of Etruscan coastal heroes, their names appear to be appropriated from the heroes of other Italian regions (Asilas, Astur, Ocnus, and Aulestes) or even from mountains (Massicus, Cunerus). It is difficult to believe that by these names Vergil is alluding to their usual regions of provenance, as argued by Holland 205 and approved by Reeker, op. cit. This argument might possibly be true of Ocnus and Aulestes, associated with the important inland Etruscan cities of Perugia and Felsina/Bononia (198 n., 207-8 n.), but why should the poet's apparent appropriation of Astur from Latin Astura (180 n.) or of Asilas from Picenum (175 n.) be significant? Possible sources for such hero-names are Cato and Varro, particularly the former's *Origines*, which gave an account of the foundation (and founding heroes) of Italian cities in books 2 and 3, but this connection is unprovable since our authorities, the notes of Servius and D. Servius, cite such information in this catalogue without reference to specific authors.

Detailed as well as general borrowings from sources may be suggested in the Catalogue. Vergil's accounts of Ilva (174 n.) and

Mantua (202–3 n.) point to Varro's *Res humanae*, while the pun on Graviscae (184 n.) may be traced back to an etymology in Cato's *Origines* (fr. 20 Jordan). Amongst poets, the Hellenistic Phanocles is the source for the tragic love-story of Cynus (187–93 n.), and Homer and Apollonius provide the conventions of the epic catalogue as well as the usual kind of *imitatio* (cf. the use of Apollonius at 209–11).

Perhaps more interesting are the sources which Vergil apparently fails to draw on. In this Etruscan Catalogue there is little sign of Vergil's use of the Etruscological works common in the late Republic (for these, especially those of Caecina, Nigidius Figulus, Tarquinius Priscus, and Varro himself, cf. Harris, *op. cit.* (176–7 n.), 4–31, Rawson 303–6, 310), apart from a possible allusion to Caecina concerning the primacy of Mantua in Transappennine Etruria (203 n.). The details of the Etruscan Catalogue are taken from Greek literature and Roman antiquarianism, and Vergil is no repository of Etruscan knowledge (*contra* R. Enking, *MDAI(R)* 66 (1959), 65–96, P. T. Eden, *PVS* 4 (1964–5), 34, L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge, 1969), 22); even the powers of the Etruscan seer Asilas show no more knowledge of the *Etrusca disciplina* than that of any educated Roman of Vergil's day (176–7 n.). Particularly interesting here is the lack of allusion to any ancestors of Maecenas, fêted by Horace and Propertius for his descent from Etruscan royalty (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C. 1. 1. 1*). Vergil might well have included a Cilnius of Arretium as a compliment to Maecenas' supposed descent from that family, even though his criterion is superficially coastal (Mantua, inland like Arretium, is included for similar complimentary reasons), just as Macaulay did in his Etruscan muster (*Horatius* 23): 'There Cilnius of Arretium/On his fleet roan was seen.' This omission not only reflects on Vergil's non-use of contemporary Etruscology but also stresses the fact that Maecenas does not appear even by veiled allusion in the *Aeneid*, unlike Augustus and Agrippa; this may be due to the general decline of Maecenas' influence in the last years of Vergil's life (cf. Suet. *Div. Aug.* 66. 9, Cassius Dio 54. 19. 6).

Select bibliography for the Etruscan Catalogue: Ritter, *passim*, J. Gag e, *M FR* 46 (1929), 115–44, Saunders, *VPI* 64–86, Rehm 5–14, Holland, *passim*, Knauer 297, Reeker, *Die Landschaft in der Aeneis*, 113–24, J. Gassner, *Kataloge im r mischen Epos: Vergil—Ovid—Lucan* (Diss. Munich, 1972), 5–45, C. F. Saylor, *CPh* 69 (1974), 255–7, W. P. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid* (Amsterdam, 1975), 157–92, *id. A. Class* 25 (1982), 51–60, E. Courtney, *Vergilius*, 34 (1988), 3–8.

**163. Pandite nunc Helicon, deae:** *pandite* suggests the inspirational revelation to the poet of Mt. Helicon, famed as the abode

of the Muses (here therefore simply *dae*) since Hesiod (cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 1).

**cantusque movete:** *moveo* of poetic enterprise (cf. 7. 45 ‘maius opus moveo’) is Ennian and poetic, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 403 Skutsch and Bentley on Hor. *C.* 3. 7. 20.

This same line introduces the Latin Catalogue at 7. 641, suggesting a balance between the two (cf. 163–241 n., section 1). The appeal to the Muses at the outset of a catalogue is an epic convention (cf. *Il.* 2. 484 ff., Ap. Rh. 1. 20–2), originally linked in Homer with a claim that the poet is unequal to the task of memory without their help.

**164. quae manus:** for *manus*, ‘band’, cf. 353 n. The clause following *quae* is an indirect question, an instance of ‘prooemiatic syntax’, the use of one or more indirect questions in invocations and prefaces to summarize the contents to come: cf. 1. 8 ff., 7. 641 ff., *G.* 1. 1 ff., Hes. *Th.* 108 ff., Lucr. 1. 127–35, Livy, *praef.* 9.

**comitetur:** as at 126 the verb suggests heroic companions, Homeric *ἑταῖροι*.

**165. armetque rates pelagoque vehatur:** *armare* of equipping ships (cf. 4. 299, *TLL* ii. 618. 69) recalls Homeric *ἀπλῆεν* (*Od.* 17. 288), while *ratis*, strictly ‘raft’, is a poetic metonymy for ‘ship’ since Ennius, cf. Pease on 4. 52, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 378; *pelagus* too is poetic (231 n.).

**166. Massicus:** the name of a mountain in Campania (Monte Massico), a famous wine-growing region (7. 726, *G.* 2. 143, 3. 526). Vergil apparently uses this for a hero of mid-Etruria; for similar geographical switches cf. Asilas (175 n.), Halaesus (352–3 n.) and Messapus (354 n.). The use of mountain-names for heroes is a Vergilian habit; cf. Cunerus (186), Aventinus (7. 657), Timpanaro *Contributi*, 306–8.

**aerata ... Tigri:** *aerata* indicates the bronze-sheathed *rostra* of the warship (223 n.). *Tigris*: i.e. *Tiger*; Roman ships were commonly named after the devices they bore as figureheads, often animals (cf. 157, Servius here, and Casson 352–3, 357), and *Tigris* occurs at least five times as a known Roman ship-name (cf. F. Miltner in *RE* Suppl. v. 947–56).

**princeps:** though placed first in the Catalogue, *Massicus* has no importance and does not appear again in the *Aeneid* (cf. 163–214 n., section 2); indeed at 655 the king of the Clusians is said to be Osinius (unmentioned here). Here as in *una* (170), *tertius* (175) and *sequitur* (180), we are to imagine an order of ships proceeding.

**secat aequora:** poetic: for *secare* cf. 221–2 n., for *aequor* 233–4 n.

**167. mille manus iuvenum:** a thousand, like a hundred (cf. Fordyce on 7. 153), is a conventionally large number in poetry,

convenient for catalogues (cf. 178, 7. 653, 725). *iuvenum*: a *iuuenis* was technically a person of military age, traditionally up to 45 (cf. Gellius 10. 28. 1); the term is also appropriate to high poetry (cf. Axelson, *UW* 58-9, and in *Mélanges Marouzeau* (Paris, 1948), 7-17).

**167-8. qui moenia Clusi/quique urbem liquere Cosas**: the pairing *qui* and *quique* recalls Homeric οἷτε ... οἷτε, very much catalogue-language (cf. *Il.* 2. 496, 499, 500, 503-5, etc.). *moenia Clusi*: Clusium (modern Chiusi) was an important city of inland Etruria, traditionally the home of Lars Porsenna, cf. Rehm 10 n. 20, Banti 162-72, BCP 54-63, Torelli 308-14. *liquere*: catalogue-language, referring to the place of origin 'left' by the contingent (cf. 7. 670 'Tiburta moenia linquunt', 7. 728, *TLL* vii/2. 1460. 52 ff., Ap. Rh. 1. 40, 105, Aesch. *Pers.* 18). *Cosas*: the name on inscriptions and coins is the singular *Cosa* (cf. Bormann in *CIL* xi/1, p. 415), though Strabo (5. 2. 8) has the plural *Κόσσααι*: only Vergil has the plural form in Latin. The town referred to was on the coast of central Etruria, some 100 km. from inland Clusium, with which it is here paired to supply ships (cf. 163-214 n., § 3), and some 115 km. north of Rome. It first appears in history as a Latin colony, established in 273 BC (Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 51, Velleius 1. 14. 7), and there seems to be no evidence of its earlier occupation or importance: for its history cf. F. E. Brown, *Cosa* (Ann Arbor, 1980). Its mention here is an understandable anachronism, like that of Velia at 6. 366 (cf. Gellius 10. 16. 1-5): the poet assumes that it is an ancient Etruscan city.

**169-70. quis tela sagittae/gorytique leves umeris et letifer arcus**: cf. *Il.* 1. 45 τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρέφεια τε φαρέτρην. *quis tela sagittae*: sc. *sunt*; cf. 7. 730-1 'teretes sunt aclydes illis/tela'. *quis*: archaic and poetic form of *quibus* (Austin on 1. 95). The identification of contingents by their arms is a piece of catalogue-technique, often showing the poet's learning; cf. 7. 664-5, 686-8, 730-2, 742-3, *Il.* 2. 529-30, 542-4, 872 ff., Heinze 201-2, N. M. Horsfall, *C&M* 30 (1969), 297-9. *gorytique leves umeris*: *gorytus* is Homeric γορτυός (*Od.* 21. 54), 'bow-case': Roman poets use the word (only here in Vergil) simply as a synonym of *pharetra*, 'quiver', cf. *TLL* iv. 1032. 9 ff. and H. Blümner, *Berl. Ph. Woch.* 1917, 1121-7. *-que ... et*, echoing τε ... καί, is a poetic archaism usually linking a pair of nouns (Brink on Hor. *AP* 196, Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 65-7, LHS ii. 515). *letifer arcus*: cf. 9. 631 'fatifer arcus'; *letifer* (again at 3. 139) is found in Catullus (64. 394) before Vergil, perhaps as a rendering of θανατηφόρος (Aesch. *Cho.* 369, Soph. *OT* 181). For such (poetic) epithets in *-fer* and *-ger* cf. J. C. Arens, *Mnem.* 4th ser., 4 (1950) 241-62, Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*, 58 ff.

Archery and the use of the bow are sometimes disparaged as cowardly in Homer (cf. Bond on Eur. *Heracles* 161), but are accepted as a method of heroic warfare in the *Aeneid* (cf. Heinze 202–3, Wickert 446–9), perhaps reflecting their use by auxiliaries in the Roman army, cf. Fiebiger in *RE* iA. 1743 ff.

**170–1. una torvus Abas:** catalogue-formula, *una* (cf. 7. 710 ‘una ingens Amiterna cohors’) echoing the Homeric ἄμα (cf. *Il.* 2. 542 τῷ δ’ ἄμ’ Ἄβαντες ἔποντο θοοί). *torvus* is poetic before Vergil (*Pac. Trag.* 37), while *Abas* is a common heroic name, used in the catalogues of Homer (*Il.* 2. 542 above) and Apollonius (1. 142) and for two further characters in the *Aeneid* (1. 121, 3. 286); this Etruscan Abas reappears only to die at 427.

**insignibus armis:** as one might expect from the famous iron-island of Ilva (173–4 n.).

**aurato ... Apolline:** a gilded image of Apollo, the *tutela* or guardian deity (‘an essential feature of every Roman vessel’: cf. Casson 347); the ship is probably named *Apollo* after it (this was common practice, and *Apollo* is an attested Roman ship-name, cf. Miltner, art. cit. (166 n.), 952. 64 ff.).

**172. sescentos illi dederat Populonia mater:** the personification of the city is a feature of Vergil’s catalogue-language not found in Apollonius or Homer (cf. 7. 762, 350–1 n., Gassner 31), though the image of the native land as mother is common in Greek poetry (cf. e.g. Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 1, Aesch. *Sept.* 416). Populonia (modern Piombino) is a coastal town of Etruria, some 100 km. north of Cosa (168) and closely connected in antiquity with the iron industry of neighbouring Ilva (173). Cf. further Banti 140–6, BCP 94–100, Torelli 280 ff., A. Minto, *Populonia* (Florence, 1943).

**173. expertos belli iuvenes:** cf. *Il.* 2. 611 (again from the Greek Catalogue) ἄνδρες ... ἐπιστάμενοι πολεμίζειν, 5. 549 μάχης εἰδότε πάσης, Enn. *Ann.* 407 Skutsch ‘senex ... belli ... peritus’. The genitive replaces the normal ablative (cf. 7. 235) after *expertus* here, either a Graecism following Homer or an assimilation to the construction of *peritus* (above). For *iuvenes* cf. 167 n.

**ast:** used in early Latin mainly in conditional sentences with the meaning ‘but if’, but employed by Horace and Vergil as an archaic alternative for *at* (Catullus, Lucretius, Propertius, and Tibullus do not use it at all). It is usually followed by a pronoun or adjective (nouns here and at 11. 293 are the only Vergilian exceptions) beginning with a vowel (the only Vergilian exception at 743). Cf. Austin on 2. 467, Fordyce on 7. 308, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 93, Leo, op. cit. (106 n.), 214–16, LHS ii. 489.

**Ilva:** modern Elba, off the coast of Etruria opposite Populonia. Ilva is the Ligurian name, the Greek name being Αἰθάλη or Αἰθά-

λεια, ‘smoky’, reflecting its most notable feature, the famous iron-smelting works (174 n.). By late Hellenistic times the iron ore was taken from the open-cast mines on the island and transported to Populonia for refining (cf. Ps.-Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 93, Varro quoted by Servius here, Strabo 5. 2. 6, Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 81, Philipp in *RE* ix. 1090–1). Apollonius records it as a port of call for the *Argo* on her return journey, making the iron discuses and shots left behind by the athletic Argonauts the αἴτιον for its ferrous rocks (Ap. Rh. 4. 654–8).

**174. inexhaustis ... metallis:** Strabo in his account of Ilva (5. 2. 6) refers to the apparent inexhaustibility of its mines; Vergil probably takes his information from Varro, cited here by Servius for the transport of ore from Ilva to Populonia (cf. 173 n.), who in *Res humanae* 11 was interested in the products of different areas of Italy: cf. Macr. *Sat.* 3. 16. 12, Rehm 104, Horsfall in *Enc. virg. s.v. Varrone (e l'Eneide)*. Vergil’s allusion to mines here perhaps echoes the silver-mines of Alybe mentioned in Homer’s Catalogue of Trojans (*Il.* 2. 857).

**Chalybum:** the Chalybes, located on the south shore of the Black Sea and mentioned like Ilva in Apollonius (ii. 1000 ff.) were famed as great workers of iron and steel (cf. Fordyce on 8. 421, Griffith on Aesch. *PV* 714–15, Ruge in *RE* iii. 2099 ff.), and stand here as at 8. 421 by an easy metonymy (cf. 408 n.) for iron itself; so iron and steel can be called simply *chalybs* or χάλυψ (cf. 8. 446, Aesch. *PV* 133, Soph. *Trach.* 1260).

**generosa:** usually ‘noble’ (141), derived from *genus*, here ‘productive’ (cf. Servius), apparently derived from *generare*, a Vergilian innovation.

**175. ille hominum divumque interpres:** *ille* suggests a reputation, the grounds for which follow; for *hominum divumque* (Homeric ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε) cf. 65 n. For *interpres* cf. Page’s note here and Austin on 4. 356.

**Asilas:** reappears several times, never crucially (11. 620, 12. 127, 550); his name is reused for a Rutulian at 9. 571). A tribe of Asili is known from Picenum (Silius 8. 445), and Vergil may have taken the name of a Picene hero for his Etruscan seer (cf. Holland 203), who looks very like a Vergilian invention: the seer-warrior is a convention of the epic catalogue (*Il.* 2. 858 ff., Ap. Rh. 1. 65–6, 139–41).

**176–7.** For the elaborate list of the seer’s powers compare 3. 359–61 (Helenus), Aesch. *Sept.* 24–6, Soph. *OT* 300–1 (Tiresias), and the imitations of Vergil in Lucan (1. 537–8) and Ovid (*Tr.* 1. 9. 49–50). Asilas’ skills are set out in two balanced pairs, the first connected by the anaphora of *cui*, the second by that of *et*. He is

presented as a typical Etruscan seer, expert in extispicy, astrology, ornithomancy and divination by lightning, all parts of the *Etrusca disciplina*, traditional religious lore for parts of which (especially extispicy, *haruspicina*) Etruscan seers were still called to Rome in Vergil's day: cf. C. O. Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, 3 vols. (Göteborg, 1906-9), esp. i. 1-12, Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 3, W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971), 4-9, 194-5, Rawson 298-316. Asilas is a figure of religious power, like the mysterious priest Umbro in the Latin Catalogue (7. 750-8).

**176. pecudum fibrae:** the characteristically Etruscan *haruspicina* or extispicy, usually involving a sheep's liver (cf. Thulin, op. cit. ii, *passim*). *fibrae* is used by the poets for entrails in general (cf. 6. 600, *TLL* vi. 642. 75 ff.), though it can have a more technical anatomical sense in extispicy (Thulin, op. cit. ii. 42-4, *TLL* vi. 642. 24 ff.).

**caeli ... sidera:** astrology, Eastern as well as Etruscan in association, was particularly popular at Rome in the first century BC; cf. Thulin, op. cit. iii. 90-1, Rawson, 306-10, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 11. 2.

**parent:** hyperbole: the means of prediction are said to obey Asilas because of his skill in wielding them.

**177. linguae volucrum:** 'bird-cries', a rare and generally poetic sense of *lingua* (*TLL* vii/2. 1448. 70 ff.); substantive *volucris* ('winged one') also belongs to poetry as a simple type of kenning (for these in Latin cf. Hollis on Ov. *Met.* 3. 376, Kiessling and Heinze on Hor. *Epod.* 2. 11). Etruscan ornithomancy (Thulin, op. cit. iii. 106 ff.) lay at the root of augury, the most prestigious branch of divination at Rome (Wissowa, *RuK* 523-45).

**praesagi fulminis ignes:** cf. Lucr. 2. 384 'caelestem fulminis ignem', which suggests that *praesagi* agrees with *ignes*; for this epithet (= *πρόμαντις*) cf. 843 n. Etruscan divination by lightning was famously attacked by Lucretius (6. 381 ff.); for its details cf. Thulin, op. cit. i. 13-128 and Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 92.

**178. mille rapit:** for the epic thousand cf. 167 n., for *rapit* 308 n.

**densos acie atque horrentibus hastis:** *horrentibus hastis* is not governed by *densos* like *acie* but is ablative of quality with *mille* (cf. 2. 333 'acies mucrone corusco'); for *horrere* of spears cf. 237 n.

**179. hos parere iubent Alpheae ab origine Pisae:** *parere* is repeated soon after 176; for such close repetition in Vergil cf. 122 n. *Alpheae ab origine Pisae:* better than the variant ablative *Alphea* since it balances *urbs Etrusca solo* in the next line. *Alphea*, referring to Alpheus, river of Olympia, indicates the supposed foundation of Etruscan Pisa from Pisa in Elis (Strabo 5. 2. 5, Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 50, Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1. 20. 5), a story probably taken from Varro's *Res*

*humanae* (cf. Rehm 104, Ritter 20–1) but unlikely to be true: the Arcadians were not known as colonists, and the names of the two cities are not identical, *Πίσσα* in Elis being singular, Italian *Pisae* plural (cf. Ritter 19–21). Pisa's origin is more likely to have been Ligurian or Etruscan; it was certainly Etruscan in culture (Banti in *RE* xx. 1768, Radke in *KP* iv. 867).

- 180. sequitur pulcherrimus Astur:** Astur's ship is next; for *sequitur* (catalogue-language) cf. Ap. Rh. 1. 71 εἴπετο δ' Εὐρυτίων τε καὶ ἀλκείης Ἐριβώτης. *pulcherrimus*: heroic beauty (345–6 n.); the epithet suggests some play between Astur's name and Greek ἀστήρ, 'star', since stars were paradigms of beauty in antiquity (cf. Denys Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981), 161).

The name Astur, otherwise unknown in the Latin antiquarian tradition, is to be connected with the river and island-city of Astura in southern Latium rather than with the Astures of north-western Spain (the modern Asturias): the latter and their eponymous hero Astur, no doubt suggested by Vergil, appear in a catalogue at Silius 3. 332–4. Astur's transfer from Latium to Pisa would be paralleled by other examples of Vergil's moving of heroes within Italy (cf. 166 n.). The spelling *Astur* is to be preferred to *Astyr*, since the latter is a natural scribal 'improvement' and the former is closer to 'Astura', cf. Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 313–15.

- 181. Astur:** epanalepsis, common in epic catalogues and a natural ornament for lists of proper names: cf. the double *Lausus* of 7. 649–51 and the triple *Νιρεύς* of *Il.* 2. 671–3, in both of which (as here) the epanalepsis sympathetically stresses the hero's beauty (for pathetic Vergilian epanalepsis cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 164, Fordyce on 7. 586).

**equo fidens et versicoloribus armis:** cf. *Il.* 23. 319 δὲ μὲν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν οἰσι πεποιθώς. D. Servius here links this equestrian element with the Spanish Astures (above), famed for their horsemanship (cf. Silius 3. 335 ff., Hübner in *RE* ii. 1863), but *equo fidere* is conventional, recurring at 11. 706. *versicoloribus armis*: again Homeric cf. *Il.* 5. 292–5 τεύχεα .../αἰόλα παμφανόωντα; *versicolor* = αἰόλος, 'iridescent' (cf. André 231, Stanford on Soph. *Ajax* 1024–5).

- 182. adiciunt:** scanned as a choriamb, cf. 377 n.

(**mens omnibus una sequendi**): traditional heroic unity of purpose, here elegantly contrasting with diversity of origin; cf. *G.* 4. 212 'mens omnibus una est', *Il.* 13. 487 πάντες ἓνα φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἔχοντες, *Lucr.* 2. 43 '[legiones] pariter animatas', Tennyson, *Ulysses*, 68 'One equal temper of heroic hearts'.

- 183. Caerete domo:** cf. 141 'Maeonia ... domo'; both are ablative of origin (345–6 n.). *Caerete*: the form *Caerite* would be usual for

this adjective, but Livy has *agrum Caeretem* (5. 16. 5). Caere (modern Cerveteri), also known to Vergil by its Greek name *Agylla* (cf. 7. 652, 8. 479), was one of the most important cities of ancient Etruria, about 50 km. north of Rome and three miles inland (its port was Pyrgi, see below). In the *Aeneid* it is the former home of Mezentius and Lausus and the rallying-point of Tarchon, and provides troops for both sides in the current war (cf. 7. 651-3); like Pisa it is mentioned by Lycophron as allied with Aeneas (cf. 163-214 n., §2). Cf. further Livy 1. 2. 3, M. Sordi, *I rapporti romano-ceriti* (Rome, 1960), Banti 37-51, BCP 93-100, Torelli 49-92.

**Minionis in arvis:** for the periphrasis cf. 300 n. The river Minio (modern Mignone) flows into the Tyrrhenian Sea 40 km. north of Caere, 30 km. north of Pyrgi, and a few kilometres south of Graviscae.

**184. et ... que:** for this pairing, more frequent in poetry than prose, cf. 11. 2-3, *TLL* v/2. 888. 20 ff., LHS ii. 516.\*

**Pyrgi veteres:** Pyrgi (modern Santa Severa) was the main port of Caere (above), known in antiquity as a pirate haven and for its rich temple of Leucothea and more recently for the discovery of important Etruscan remains (cf. Banti 51, BCP 175-80, Torelli 96-105). The epithet *veteres* alludes to the reputed great antiquity of the temple of Leucothea, similarly asserted by Strabo (5. 2. 8).

**intempestaeque Graviscae:** the epithet plays on an etymology of the name already found in Cato (quoted by Servius here = *Orig.* fr. 20 Jordan): 'ideo Graviscae dictae sunt, quod gravem aerem sustinent'. By *intempestae* here Vergil clearly means the opposite of *temperies*, the cool, balanced climate conducive to health (cf. R. F. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry* (Camb. Phil. Soc. Suppl. 7; Cambridge, 1982), 11-12), and the malarial swamp of Graviscae provided a notoriously insalubrious climate (cf. Livy 40. 29. 1-2, Rutilius Namatianus, *De Red.* 1. 281-2, W. P. Basson, *A. Class.* 25 (1982), 131-3). The etymological play on a proper name, especially in a following epithet, is a common Vergilian technique, following Homer; cf. Austin on 1. 298, J. S. T. Hanssen, *SO* 26 (1948), 113-25, Bartelink 35-60, 177-202, and L. P. Rank, *Etymologiseering en verwante verschijnselen bij Homerus* (Diss. Utrecht = Bibliotheca Classica Vangorcumiana, 4; Assen, 1951).

Graviscae, modern Porto Clementino, a coastal town some 80 kilometres north of Rome, was known until 1969 only as a Roman colony of 181 bc. Since then, however, Etruscan remains of the sixth century bc have been discovered there, and it has been seen as the port of the important Tarquinii. Vergil's depiction of this town as anciently Etruscan (supported by Rehm 13) has thus been

justified by archaeology. Cf. further Banti 83–4, BCP 215–16, Torelli 157–62.

**185–6. non ego te .../transierim:** for the combination of litotes and apostrophe, striking a panegyric note, cf. 793 ‘non equidem nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo’, 7. 733, *G.* 2. 101–2 (below), and Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 12. 21.

**Ligurum:** the Ligures (*Λίγυες*) occupied in their various tribes a large area of the coast of south-eastern France and north-western Italy, extending from Rhône to Arno. The martial qualities here attributed to their leader recall their traditional toughness (cf. *G.* 2. 167–9, *Cic. Agr.* 2. 95, *Diod.* 5. 39), shown in several wars against Rome and in later service in the Roman army (cf. P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 223–14 BC* (Oxford, 1971), 169 n. 3), an appropriate connection for allies of Aeneas.

**ductor:** common in Vergil, more poetical and sonorous than the usual *dux*, cf. Austin and Servius on 2. 14, *TLL* v/1. 2167. 63 ff.

**Cunere, et paucis comitate Cupavo:** this problematic phrase has been well discussed by Timpanaro, *Contributi*, 289–317. The close parallel of *G.* 2. 101–2 ‘non ego te, dis et mensis accepta secundis,/transierim, Rhodia, et tumidis Bumaste racemis’ clearly shows that *Cunere* and *Cupavo* here are two different persons. The MSS exhibit many spellings of the first name: Timpanaro argues conclusively for *Cunere*, probably derived from Mons Cunerus in Picenum (D. Servius here, Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 111, modern Monte Conero; for the use of mountain-names for heroes in Vergil cf. 166 n.); *Cunare*, favoured by modern editors, is probably a scribal vulgarism. *paucis comitate:* the motif comes from Homer’s Catalogue of Greek ships: cf. *Il.* 2. 675 *παῦρος δέ οἱ εἶπετο λαός*. *Cupavo:* neither the name nor the character seem to appear elsewhere, and certainly not in connection with Cycnus; Schulze (*Eigennamen*, 354) links the name with Etruscan *Cupna* or *Cupsna*.

**187–93.** The mention of Cupavo’s swan-feather crest introduces a mythological digression, giving colour to the catalogue by connecting an obscure warrior with the well-known myth of Phaethon. Cupavo is made the son of Cycnus, known elsewhere as a Ligurian king (Pausanias 1. 30. 3, Phanocles fr. 6 Powell, Hyginus, *Fab.* 154), while the death of Phaethon is already located in the Po by Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 68, cf. Rehm 5), probably the source of the same version in Ps. Aristotle *Mir. ausc.* 81; the swans of the Po were famous (Lucian, *De Electro* 4–5, Servius on 11. 457), and no doubt well known to the Transpadane Vergil. Here Vergil, like Ovid (*Met.* 2. 367 ff.), follows the same basic story as the Alexandrian poet Phanocles (fr. 6 Powell)\*: when Phaethon plunged disastrously into the Po, Cycnus lamented so piteously by the river that he was

metamorphosed into a swan. In Ovid Cyncus is a relation of Phaethon (*Met.* 2. 368); Vergil here follows Phanocles, who included the story in his *Ἔρωτες ἢ καλοί*, in making the pair lovers (188 *Amor*, 189 *amati*), giving greater erotic colour and pathos to the tale, and use of Phanocles is confirmed by close imitation of that poet at 190-1. Characters named Cyncus who are appropriately metamorphosed into swans are common in myth (Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* has three and there are more, cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 2. 367).

This appearance of a little-known aspect of a well-known myth as a colourful digression in a catalogue is closely paralleled by the introduction of the myth of Hippolytus in the Latin Catalogue (7. 761 ff.). Both are myths about fathers narrated on the appearance of their sons, both are prefaced with the 'reporting' device *namque ferunt* (189 = 7. 765), and both are followed by an abrupt return to the figure of the son marked simply by the word *filius* (194 = 7. 781).

**187. cuius olorinae surgunt de vertice pennae:** *olorinus*, adjective for genitive, first appears in Vergil, perhaps following *κύκνειος*, cf. *TrGF* Adespota 619. 3 *πύλον κύκνειον*. Feathered crests are Italian and particularly associated with Samnium, cf. Hollis on *Ov. Met.* 8. 25, Polyb. 6. 23. 12.

**188. crimen, Amor, vestrum:** *crimen* here means 'reproach' (cf. *Ov. Met.* 3. 240), while the plural *vestrum* indicates that the poet is blaming both Cupid and his mother Venus for the passion and metamorphosis of Cyncus (cf. Housman, *CP* ii. 792-3 and Timpanaro, *Contributi* 316-17); cf. similarly 1. 140 'vestras, Eure, domos' and 9. 525 'vos, o Calliope, precor, adspirate canenti', where the collective winds and Muses are clearly in the mind of the poet.

**formaeque insigne paternae:** cf. 7. 657 'clipeoque insigne paternum'; such epic heraldic devices are normally seen on the shield and often recall the hero's father or ancestors (cf. Fordyce on 7. 657, Wickert 299 ff., G. H. Chase, *HSCP* 13 (1902), 72).

**189. namque ferunt:** again at 7. 765; such 'reporting' devices as *ferunt*, commonly introducing a story taken from tradition or a particular but unnamed source (the latter here), are in the Alexandrian manner: cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 14, Pease on 4. 179, Heinze 240-3, Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 7. 23, F. Leo, *Hermes*, 42 (1907), 63-70 (= *AKS* 183-5), T. C. W. Stinton, *PCPhS*, ns 22 (1976), 60 ff. = *Collected Papers on Greek Tragedy* (Oxford, 1990), 236 ff.\*

**luctu Cyncum Phaethontis amati:** note the pathetic juxtaposition of the names of the lovers: for the technique cf. App. C.

190–1. These lines clearly echo Phanocles, fr. 1. 3–4 Powell *πολλάκι δὲ σκιεροῖσιν ἐν ἄλσεσιν ἔζειτ' ἀείδων/ὄν πόθον* (of Orpheus), most appropriately since this whole episode derives from another passage of the same poet (187–93 n.).

**populeas inter frondes:** cf. 8. 32 ‘populeas inter ... frondes’; the conjunction is Ennian (cf. Enn. *Ann.* 588 ‘populea fruns’ with Skutsch’s note).

**umbramque sororum:** the sisters are those of Phaethon, metamorphosed into poplars as they lamented their brother’s death (cf. Ap. Rh. 4. 604, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2. 340; at *Ecl.* 6. 62–3 Vergil has the alder as their tree of metamorphosis, a rarer version), and Cynus is of course following their lead in pining for Phaethon and in changing form. Singing in the shade of trees recalls the world of pastoral (cf. *Ecl.* 1. 1–2, 2. 3–5, 5. 5, Theocr. 1. 21–3, 7. 88–9), as does the solace of music for love (see next note).

**maestum Musa solatur amorem:** cf. *G.* 4. 464 (Orpheus) ‘cava solans aegrum testudine amorem’. *Musa* = ‘music’ by the poetic metonymy in which a patron deity denotes an object or activity (*TLL* viii. 1694. 40 ff.). For *solari* with non-personal objects (= ‘alleviate’) cf. 829, Austin on l. 239, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 5. 7. The motif ‘Muses/music/song as alleviation for passion’ is a common *τόπος*, cf. *G.* 4. 464 (cited above), Theocr. 11. 1–3, Callim. *Ep.* 47. 3–4, Bion, fr. 3 Gow, Hor. *C.* 4. 11. 35–6, as is the generally curative power of poetry (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 32. 15). The use in these two lines of the themes of singing in the shade and songs of unhappy love irresistibly recalls both the style and content of the *Eclogues* (cf. too the parahrhyme *sorum/amorem*, the kind of musical effect common in the *Eclogues*): the story of Cynus is thus a ‘pastoral’ digression from the epic world of the catalogue.

192. **canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam:** Cynus’ old age is not a literal one (*contra* Servius here and the imitation at Claudian 28. 170) since as a lover he should not be a *senex*; it is a metaphorical comparison for the swan-metamorphosis, following the comparison of white-haired old men with swans (Bond on Eur. *Her.* 110), as Nemesianus saw (*Cyn.* 37 ‘Cycnum plumamque senilem’). *canentem*: the verb is poetic, occurring first in Vergil; *cānentem* after *cānit* in 191 is something of a prosodic word-play (*adnominatio*), occurring again at 417–18 (cf. 418 n.). *duxisse*: probably *simplex pro composito* for *inducere*, ‘draw on’, a metaphor from the putting on of clothes (*TLL* vii/1. 1236. 22 ff., see Henry’s note here). *senectam*: Vergil uses the archaic *senecta* only in the oblique cases, where the usual *senectus* is metrically intractable (cf. E. Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1904–6), 346–7). Note how noun and epithet enclose the line, a device taken

over by Vergil from Catullus, cf. T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ*, ns 16 (1966), 140-7.

**193. linquentem terras:** cf. Hor. *C.* 2. 20. 3-5 (of his poetic swan) 'neque in terris morabor/longius, invidiaeque maior/urbis relinquam'; Horace's very different swan is likely to be echoed by Vergil here, cf. Griffin, *Latin Poets*, 75-6.

**sidera voce sequentem:** note the jingling effect of three successive participles, two enclosing this line (cf. 572-3 n.). This phrase seems to combine two expressions, *sidera sequi*, 'make for the stars' (cf. 12. 893 'astra sequi'), and *voce sequi*, 'call after' (cf. 1. 406=9. 17). Cynus' song is a feature both of his human character and of his new form of swan (for the lore of swan-song cf. Thompson, *Birds*, 180-3, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 20. 10).

*sidera sequi*, as Servius notes, gives a suggestion that Cynus is to be catasterized as the constellation of the Swan (*Κύκνος* or *Olor*). The *αἴτιον* of this constellation is usually the swan impersonated by Jupiter in his rape of Leda (Germ. *Arat.* 276-7, Man. 1. 337 ff., Gundel in *RE* xi. 2449), but Claudian, using this passage of Vergil, clearly connects the celestial body with the Ligurian Cynus of the Phaethon story (28. 168-77). This version might derive from a common source, perhaps Phanocles (187-93 n.); it is not found in the well-known *Catasterismi* of Eratosthenes (cf. pp. 142-4 in C. Robert's edition).

**194. filius:** the brusque return to the son from a digression about the father matches 7. 781, cf. 187-93 n.

**aequalis ... catervas:** cf. *G.* 4. 460 'chorus aequalis Dryadum'; *catervas* is a word of elevated register (cf. Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 190, *TLL* iii. 609. 65 ff.), and its suggestion of large numbers in the fleet contrasts with Cupavo's own small following (186). *comitatus:* catalogue-language (cf. 124, 164) and here deponent (contrast the passive at 186, a typically Vergilian variation).

**195. ingentem ... Centaurum:** cf. 5. 156-7 'ingens/Centaurus' (likewise a ship). The ship is named after its figurehead, described below, and *ingens* (127 n.) matches *immane* (196) in suggesting its monstrous Centauric nature; the name probably belonged to real Roman ships (Fedeli on Prop. 4. 6. 49), and the feminine form *Κενταύρα* is a known Athenian ship-name (cf. Casson 353, Miltner, art. cit. 166 n. 950).

**promovet:** this verb (found only here in Vergil) is used of moving up heavy siege-engines (Caes. *Gall.* 2. 31. 2, 7. 27. 1, Livy 5. 7. 2, 32. 17. 10), an appropriate nuance of weight for the vast *Centaur*.

**ille:** Homeric *ὁ δέ*, effecting a swift change of subject (348-9 n., 409 n.). The pronoun clearly indicates the *Centaur* figurehead; conversely, the subject of *sulcat* (197) must once more be the whole

ship, and this ambiguity between the ship and its homonymous figurehead is exploited to clever effect here (for this and associated Vergilian techniques cf. E. A. Hahn, *TAPA* 89 (1958), 249 ff.).

**196. instat aquae:** the figurehead looms threateningly over the sea: *instat* coheres well with *minatur*.

**saxumque ... immane:** again 1. 139, 8. 225–6, 12. 904; cf. *saxum ingens* (127 n.) and the Homeric *λάας πλώριος* (*Od.* 11. 594). For *immanis* cf. 318 n.

The figurehead is clearly a rock-throwing Centaur, probably a reference to the celebrated fight of Centaurs and Lapiths (cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 12. 210 ff.). Propertius recalls this passage in a description of painted Centaurs on the ships of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium, 4. 6. 49 ‘quodque vehunt prorae Centaurica saxa minantes’.

**197. et longa sulcat maria alta carina:** cf. 5. 158 ‘longa sulcant vada salsa carina’. *longa ... carina:* the epithet is appropriate as the keel runs the whole length of the boat; note how noun and epithet enclose the whole phrase (245 n.). *sulcat:* for the metaphor of ‘ploughing the sea’ cf. 222 n. *maria alta:* the phrase is a poetic plural found in Ennius (*Trag.* 249 Jocelyn, *TLL* i. 1781. 72 ff.).

**198. ille ... Ocnus:** the pronoun indicates fame, as at 175. *Ocnus* is probably a version of the Etruscan name *Aucnus* (Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 130). Servius and D. Servius here relate the following, which is partly corroborated by Silius 8. 599–600: Ocnus, son or brother of Aulestes, originated from Perugia and founded Felsina/Bononia (Bologna) and Mantua (cf. further Holland 204, Knaack in *RE* ii. 2269. 19 ff.). Vergil’s version that the Tiber is his father looks like the poet’s invention (the *Tuscus amnis* provides an appropriate pedigree for an Etruscan hero), but the other details may be taken from another source: the poet, native of the Mantuan region, might be preserving a local tradition in naming Ocnus as Mantua’s founder.

**patriis ab oris:** Ocnus clearly arrives from Mantua (cf. 204–6), but since he is its founder these are not strictly his *patriae orae*; either the poet is simply inconsistent, or *patriis ab oris* is purely conventional as at 11. 281.

**agmen ciet:** for this military sense of *ciere* cf. 6. 165, Cat. 68. 88, Livy 5. 47. 4, *TLL* iii. 1055. 2 ff.

**199. fatidicae Mantus:** the epithet (again at 8. 340, rare before Vergil) plays on and brings out the etymology of the name (for this technique cf. 184 n.), which is clearly connected with *μάντις*, ‘prophet’. *Mantus* here is the Greek genitive *Μαντοῦς* (from *Μαντώ*); this prophetess is surely to be identified with the well-known daughter of Tiresias, found in the Theban portions of the Epic Cycle (cf. Eitrem in *RE* xiv. 1355–9). Only Vergil brings her to Italy and

connects her eponymously with Mantua, though this version might be derived from an antiquarian source.

**Tusci ... amnis:** referring as at 8. 473 and 11. 316 to the Tiber, boundary of Etruria and Latium.

**200. qui muros ... dedit:** *muros dare* = *condere*, fortification being the essential act of foundation: cf. 3. 501 'gentique meae data moenia cernam', 5. 597, 631, 797, 6. 783.

**tibi, Mantua:** the apostrophe, followed by epanalepsis in the next line, shows the poet's affection for the region of his birth; cf. *G.* 3. 12 'primus Idumeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas', *Ecl.* 9. 27–8, *G.* 2. 198–9 (on the precise location of Vergil's birthplace cf. K. Wellesley, *WS* 79 (1966), 330–50).

**201. Mantua dives avis:** a traditional compliment: the race of its founders or settlers was a common topic in the praise of a city, cf. Menander Rhetor 1. 353. 5 ff. Sp. Vergil uses *avi* unusually of ancestors in general (*TLL* ii. 1611. 73 ff.), perhaps following the similar use of *πάπποι* (Plato, *Thl.* 174 E, Ar. *Av.* 765, Lycophron, *Alex.* 1226); cf. also 76 n.

**202–3. gens illi triplex:** the expression recalls *Il.* 2. 668 *τριχθὰ δὲ ᾠκηθεν καταφυλαδόν*, the description of the Rhodians in Homer's catalogue of Greek ships: *gens triplex* is used rather than *tres gentes* to express both racial diversity and political unity.

**populi sub gente quaterni:** *sub* = 'classed under' (Ov. *Fasti* 6. 696, Man. 2. 965).

This description of Mantua is complex and allusive. The *gens/populus* distinction recalls Greek ethnographical distinctions such as *ἔθνος/γένος* and *ἔθνος/πόλις*, *gens* usually indicating a race or tribe, *populus* a community belonging to it (cf. Livy 4. 49. 3, 4. 56. 5, Rehm 6–7, E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' Germania* (Leipzig–Berlin, 1920), 314–18). Though the threefold division of the *gens* has its origin in Homer's description of the Rhodians (above), its combination with a further fourfold division of each part into *populi* is also significant. Three *gentes* each with four *populi* make a total of twelve *populi*: this number is surely connected with the *duodecim populi* of the Po valley, the twelve cities (variously identified) of Transappennine Etruria. These are mentioned by the *Scholium Veronensium* on 200, citing the Etruscological work of A. Caecina, and are known elsewhere; they match the more familiar group of twelve cities in Cisappennine Etruria (cf. further Livy 5. 33. 7 ff. with Ogilvie's note, Banti 5–6).

Thus Vergil combines the Etruscan federation of twelve *populi* with the Homeric idea of threefold racial division. This suggests a further antiquarian source, for the commentary of 'Probus' on *Ecl.* 6. 31 describes the similar division of the Illyrian Salentini as set

out in the third book of Varro's *Res humanae*: 'gentis Salentinae nomen tribus e locis fertur coaluisse, e Creta, Illyrico, Italia ... in tres partes divisa copia in populos duodecim'. The correspondence with Vergil's description of Mantua is evident, and Vergil may well be using Varronian material here. Identities for the three different races in Vergil may be suggested: the following agrees with R. E. A. Palmer, *The Archaic Community of the Romans* (Cambridge, 1970), 39–40 (for a different version, less plausibly substituting Umbrians for Gauls, cf. H. Bengtson, *Grundriß der römischen Geschichte*, 3rd edn. (Munich, 1982), 38). The Etruscans are clearly one (203), and a Gallic tribe should be another given the strong Gallic presence in the Po valley by Vergil's time (cf. Hülsen in *RE* iii. 1899–1900), probably the Cenomani, said by Ptolemy in the second century AD to occupy the region of Mantua. The third is probably the Veneti, the pre-Etruscan inhabitants of the area, later coexisting there with Etruscans and Gauls (Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 130). It has been interestingly argued (Holland 204) that Vergil stresses Mantua as triracial in order to compare himself with his epic predecessor Ennius, who as a Calabrian claimed (possibly in the *Annales*) to belong to three cultures: Greek, Oscan, and Latin (Gellius 17. 17. 1, Skutsch, *Annales*, pp. 749–50).

**203. ipsa caput populis:** *caput* meaning 'capital city' is first found in Cicero (*TLL* iii. 425. 74 ff.); the metaphor appears to have no similar counterpart in Greek. Mantua's primacy here looks like a Vergilian invention, since Etruscan hegemony in this area is assigned elsewhere to Felsina/Bononia (Bologna) (Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 115). By making Mantua the capital and representative of the twelve *populi* of Transappennine Etruria, Vergil not only does honour to the region of his birth but also alludes to the northern federation in a highly economical way, thus stressing in the catalogue that all Etruria, north and south, joins Aeneas against Mezentius (cf. 204), but excluding a longer and possibly tedious city-list.

**Tusco de sanguine vires:** Mantua's fighting strength comes from its Etruscan stock, an appropriate remark in a catalogue of Etruscan military forces; so Vergil speaks of *fortis Etruria* at *G.* 2. 533. Note the omission of *esse* in this and each of the four phrases in 202–3, common in the syntax of catalogues (168–9, 7. 649, 710 ff., 729–30, 746–7, 805–6).

**205–6. patre Benaco .../Mincius:** cf. 11. 666 'Eunaeum Clytio ... patre'; the simple ablative indicates descent (LHS ii. 104–5), and the river's parentage is given as if he himself were a hero in the catalogue, cf. 199. The Mincius (modern Mincio), here depicted in the form of river-god figurehead giving its name to a ship (cf. Casson 358), is the river of Mantua (cf. *G.* 3. 15); it is here fittingly

called the son of Lake Benacus (Lago di Garda), in which it originates.

**velatus harundine glauca:** the river-god's appearance naturally recalls that of the river itself (cf. *G.* 3. 15), like that of Tiberinus (8. 33–4) and the water-nymph Juturna (12. 885). *glaucus* = γλαυκός, roughly 'grey-green' (André 175–8), common of the sea. Artistic representations of river-gods were common at Rome, especially when carried in triumphal processions (cf. Waser in *RE* vi. 2784 ff., Sichtermann in *EAA* iii. 715–17).

**infesta . . . pinu:** *pinus* = 'ship', a poetic 'material for object' synecdoche (cf. *Ecl.* 4. 38, *OLD* s.v. 2a) and the similar *abies* at 8. 91); *infesta* suggests the Mantuans' warlike purpose.

The Mincius figurehead suggests that the ship is Mantuan in origin. This would imply that the Mantuans have sailed down the Mincio into the sea and circumnavigated the Italian peninsula to join Aeneas, a highly improbable voyage, but the poet is not over-concerned with logistics here; a wholly impossible epic voyage already existed in the return of the *Argo* via Danube and Rhône to Marseilles in Ap. Rh. 4.

**207–8. it gravis Aulestes:** *gravis* here suits the weighty motion of Aulestes' vessel, and *verberat adsurgens* refers to ship rather than captain. Vergil is creating and exploiting an ambiguity between ship and captain as at 687, matching the ambiguity between ship and figurehead at 195 ff. and 209 ff.; cf. Hahn, art. cit. (195 n.). Aulestes is found only in Vergil (he reappears only to be killed at 12. 289–90, where he is called *rex*) and in D. Servius' note on 198, which (probably conjecturing from Vergil's text) calls him brother or father of Ocnus, favouring the latter version, and founder of Perusia (the latter may be genuine information); he is thus apparently transferred from Umbria to Transappennine Italy by Vergil, for here he seems to be associated in the command of the Mantuan contingent, whom he follows without separate indication of identity or origin. An Etruscan root for his name is suggested by Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 73.

**centenaque arbore:** *centena* is distributive for cardinal number here as at 566 and often in poetry (cf. Fordyce on 7. 538, *KS* i. 660, *LHS* ii. 212–13), while *arbore*, collective singular, here used uniquely for 'oars', combines with *centena* to give an impression of immense size (cf. Servius here). A 'hundred-benched ship' is mentioned as hyperbolically large at *Il.* 20. 247; here too a hundred is an epically large number (cf. Fordyce on 7. 153), even though ships of several hundred oars were common in Vergil's own time (cf. C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1962), 53).

**fluctum/verberat adsurgens:** cf. *Od.* 4. 580 *πολίην ἄλα τύπτον ἑρετμοῖς*. For the unusual collective singular *fluctum* (better than the obvious and trivializing variant *fluctus*) cf. 3. 554 and the Homeric *κύμα θαλάσσης* (*Il.* 18. 66). *adsurgens*: the ship rises with the up-stroke of the oarsmen (cf. 295, 299).

**spumant vada marmore verso:** cf. 5. 141 and Enn. *Ann.* 377–8 Skutsch ‘marmore flavo/caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum’. *vada*: strictly ‘shallows’, then ‘shoals’ (cf. 303); the word is extended to mean ‘sea’ in poetry (cf. *Cat.* 64. 58 and Fordyce on 7. 24). *marmor* also refers poetically to the sea, deriving from the Homeric *unicum ἄλα μαρμαρέην* (*Il.* 14. 273), cf. Fordyce on 7. 28 and on *Cat.* 63. 88, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 377; its use so close to *vada* is another example of pleonastic ‘disjunctiveness’ in describing the sea (103 n.).

**209–11. hunc vehit immanis Triton:** *immanis Triton*, like ‘ingen-tem ... Centaurum’ (195), suggests monstrous size (for *immanis* cf. 318 n.). The ship is as usual named after its figurehead, and here, as with the *Centaurus* (195 n.), there is an ambiguity between ship and homonymous figurehead: *vehit* here describes the vessel, *exterrens ... praefert ... desinit albus* the image. A *Triton* is known in the Roman imperial navy (cf. Casson 357, Miltner in *RE* Suppl. v. 956), and the names of marine divinities are naturally popular for ships. The following description of the sea-god Triton (for whom cf. 1. 144, 5. 824, 6. 173, and H. Herter in *RE* viiA. 245–304) has as model that at *Ap. Rh.* 4. 1610–16, picked up in a number of verbal details:

δέμας δέ οἱ ἐξ ὑπάτοιο  
κράατος ἀμφί τε νῶτα καὶ ἰξύας ἔστ’ ἐπὶ νηδὺν  
ἀντικρὺ μακάρεσσι φηὴν ἔκπαγλον εἶκτο·  
αὐτὰρ ὑπαὶ λαγόνων δίκραιρά οἱ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
κήτηος ἀλκαίη μηκύνετο· κόπτε δ’ ἀκάνθαις  
ἄκρον ὕδωρ, αἶ τε σκολιοῖς ἐπινείοθι κέντροις  
μήνης ὡς κεράεσσιν εἰδόμεναι διχόωντο.

Vergil’s detailed description may also be connected with the use of a Triton with a conch-shell trumpet in sculptures celebrating Octavian’s sea-victory at Actium: cf. P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, 1988), 81–3.

**caerula:** used by Vergil as the regular neuter plural of *caeruleus*, *metri gratia* (cf. Austin on 2. 381); this poetic adjective, common of seas and rivers (cf. Fordyce on 7. 64, *TLL* iii. 104. 40 ff.), can describe a large range of colours (black-green to light blue), cf. Austin on 2. 381 and 6. 410, Fordyce on 7. 346, André 162–71.

**concha/exterrens:** the conch-shell trumpet of Triton, common in art and literature since the Hellenistic period (cf. Austin on 6. 171, Moschus 2. 124, Herter loc. cit., *Dict. Ant.* 5. 483 ff.), while *exterrens* is Ennian (*Ann.* 35 Skutsch). Triton's horn is usually regarded as a means of herding the creatures of the deep, but its formidable aspect here as a war-trumpet coheres with the aggressive presentation of the Mantuan ships.

**cui laterum tenuis ... nanti:** *cui* picks up Apollonius' οἱ, *laterum tenuis* his ἔστ' ἐπὶ νηδύν and possibly λαγόνων (= *laterum*). The genitive after *tenuis* is a rare and poetic alternative for the ablative (cf. Austin on 2. 553); *tenuis*, like *instar*, was originally a noun, meaning 'extent', which became prepositional (first in Quadrigarius, *Hist.* 41), cf. Austin, loc. cit. and on 1. 737, Wölfflin, *ALL* 1 (1884), 415–22, Wackernagel *Vorl.* ii. 163, LHS ii. 267–8. It is always postponed in Vergil and usually elsewhere, cf. Neue-Wagener ii. 948–9.

**hispidus .../frons hominem praefert:** *hispidus*, not found before Vergil and Horace (*C.* 2. 9. 1) and probably an alternative for *hirsutus* in older, lost poetry, clearly refers to Triton's hairy chest, his human half (cf. Arist. *Part. An.* 2. 14, 658<sup>a</sup>12 ff.). The use of *frons* for the front of the body seems to be a Vergilian innovation; for *hominem praefert* cf. Sen. *Cont.* 10. *pr.* 4 'erat qui patrem familiae praeferet'.

**in pristim desinit alvus:** cf. Hor. *AP* 4 'desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne'. The construction *desinere in*, a Graecism following λήγειν εἰς (LSJ II. 4), is first found in Vergil (*TLL* v/1. 723. 16 ff). *pristis*, referring strictly to the πρίστis or saw-fish (πρί-εω), *Pristis antiquorum* (cf. D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (London, 1947), 219) is used generally here as often in poetry for any large fish or sea-monster, while *alvus* is a more dignified word for 'belly' than *venter* and is preferred to it in epic (Vergil has 10 and 3 instances respectively), cf. J. N. Adams, *BICS* 27 (1980), 54.

**212. spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda:** cf. *Il.* 1. 481–2 ἀμφὶ δὲ κύμα/στείρη πορφύρεον μεγάλ' ἴαχε and Ap. Rh. 1. 542–3 ἄφρω δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐκῆκιεν ἄλμη, /δεινὸν μορμύρουσα. The poetic *spumeus* is first found in Vergil (five times; on adjs. in *-eus* cf. 3 n.); for the collective singular *unda* cf. 6. 174, Enn. *Ann.* 302 Skutsch, and the similar *fluctus* at 207. *semifer* (again 8. 267, of Cacus) is found in poetry before Vergil (*OLD* s.v. 1), and like other compound epithets (215–16 n.) may belong to old Latin epic. The waves are *sub pectore* since the figurehead is curved to the line of the ship and directly over the water, cf. Casson pls. 130, 146. Note

the alliteration of *s* and assonance of *u* in this line, evoking the foam and roar of the waves.

**213–14.** This formal conclusion to the Etruscan Catalogue recalls those to the Catalogue of Ships, *Il.* 2. 760 οὔτοι ἄρ' ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν and to the Catalogue of Argonauts, *Ap. Rh.* 1. 228 τόσσοι ἄρ' Αἰσονίδη συμμήστορες ἡγερέθοντο. By contrast, the Latin Catalogue of book 7 has no formal conclusion, finishing with the vignette of Camilla at the end of the book; here, however, such formality is entailed by the need to return to the narrative.

**tot lecti proceres:** cf. 3. 58 'delectos populi ... proceres'. *tot* recalls Apollonius' τόσσοι (above), while *lecti* refers to a select élite, an epic τόπος going back to Homer: cf. 294, 839, *Il.* 7. 434 κριτός ... λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν, *Od.* 4. 463 κούροι Ἰθάκης ἐξαίρετοι, *Ap. Rh.* 4. 831 λεκτοὺς ἡρώων, *Enn. Trag.* 212 Jocelyn 'delecti viri', *Cat.* 64. 4 'lecti iuvenes', Lucretius 1. 86 'ductores Danaum delecti'. *proceres:* the noun is archaic and poetic in the general sense of 'chief' (Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 3. 530).

**ter denis navibus:** as at 8. 47, *ter denis* is periphrastic for the cardinal *triginta*, cf. 207–8 n. Thirty ships is a good round number; compare in particular the *bis deni* of Aeneas' original fleet sailing from Troy (1. 381). The contingents named in the catalogue total 3,700, and 30 ships is roughly appropriate for this number on a Homeric reckoning of 120 per crew (*Il.* 2. 510–11).

**ibant/subsidio Troiae:** *subsidio ire* (predicative dative) is a favoured phrase of the historians, an appropriate echo in this brief and matter-of-fact summing-up (cf. *Caes. Gall.* 7. 62. 8, *Bell. Afr.* 11. 4. 25. 1, *Livy* 2. 53. 2, 27. 27. 10, *App. A(i)*). *Troiae* is the new Troy, the camp of Aeneas, which they are trying to relieve (cf. 27 n.).

**et campos salis aere secabant:** *campos*, like 'aequor', is applied in poetry to the sea because of its level surface (cf. *TLL* iii. 220. 63 ff.), while *sal* in the sense of 'sea' imitates the Homeric use of ἄλς (*Il.* 1. 41) and is found in Ennius (*Ann.* 378 Skutsch). *aere* as at 1. 35 refers to the bronze-sheathed *rostra* or 'beaks' of warships (cf. 166 and 223 n.) and goes well with *secabant* and *campos* to suggest the image of ploughing the sea (cf. 222 n. and Austin on 2. 780). The final rhyme of *ibant* and *secabant* helps to mark a conclusion here: cf. Clarke, art. cit. 45–6 n., 64–77.

**215–59.** The action is resumed after the catalogue: the time is still midnight, as at 147. The nymphs that were once Aeneas' ships (cf. 9. 77 ff.) intercept him on his return to Latium; their leader, Cymodocea, informs him of the siege of the Trojan camp and

prophesies victory for the Trojans in the next day's fighting. Aeneas prays for Cybele's favour in the battle to come.

**215–16.** Macrobius (*Sat.* 6. 5. 12) cites as Vergil's model here two lines from the *De rerum natura* of Egnatius (= *Poet.* 2), a poet of the earlier first century BC, possibly the butt of Catullus 39 (cf. Schanz–Hosius i. 314):

roscida noctivagis astris labentibus Phoebe  
pulsata loco cessit concedens lucibus altis.

Egnatius describes dawn; Vergil, by a typical modification, uses much the same words for sunset. Wigodsky 102–3 suspects, perhaps rightly, that both passages derive from a lost Ennian original.

**iamque dies caelo concesserat:** *concedo* here is picked up from Egnatius: Vergil uses it not in Egnatius' sense of 'yield' but in its original archaic and colloquial sense of 'depart' (cf. 820 and Austin on 2. 523).

**almaque ... Phoebe:** *alma*, a common epithet of goddesses in Vergil (cf. 220, 252, 332, 439) is found again of Diana at 7. 774 and 11. 557. *Phoebe*, the name of a Titaness in Greek literature (cf. Hes. *Th.* 136, Aesch. *Eum.* 8), is used by Roman poets for Diana in her aspect of moon-goddess as a counterpart to *Phoebus*, Apollo's title as sun-god (cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 2. 24).

**curru/noctivago:** for the chariot of the Moon cf. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 19–20 χρυσάρματος ... Μήνα, Lyne on *Ciris* 38, Roscher, *Lexikon*, ii. 3136; Vergil also depicts the Sun, Night, and Dawn with chariots (5. 739; 3. 512, 5. 721; 7. 26). The epithet *noctivagus*, only here in Vergil and probably picked up from Egnatius (it also occurs in Lucretius), is typical of the Homerizing compound epithets of earlier Roman epic (on which cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 141, Williams on 3. 544, Austin on 1. 85, 224, Bailey, *Lucretius*, i. 132–4, Cordier, *Études* 219 ff., Worstbrock 172 ff.). It is particularly appropriate for the Moon given the common use of *vagus* to describe the movements of heavenly bodies (cf. Fordyce on *Cat.* 64. 271).

**medium pulsabat Olympum:** cf. Enn. *Ann.* 1 Skutsch 'Musae quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum'. Ennius' dance of the Muses is here transferred by Vergil to the hoof-beat of the horses of the Moon (imitated at *Ciris* 37–8 and *Ov. Met.* 6. 486–7). *medium* ... *Olympum* indicates a position half-way across the sky, i.e. midnight, cf. 7. 218 'extremo veniens sol ... Olympo' (dawn), Lucan 1. 540 'ipse caput medio Titan cum ferret Olympo' (noon). For *Olympus* as 'sky' in Latin poetry, a Graecism popularized by Vergil, cf. Varro, *LL* 7. 20, Fordyce on 7. 218, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 6. 487: the usage is probably Homeric (cf. Merry on *Od.* 20. 103).

**217. Aeneas:** an emphatic return to the hero, still at the helm of his ship (cf. 159–60 n.); for the (Homeric) asyndeton cf. 146–7.

**(neque enim membris dat cura quietem):** cf. 4. 5 (of Dido) ‘nec placidam membris dat cura quietem’, Lucr. 4. 907–9 ‘nunc quibus ille modis somnus per membra quietem/irriget atque animi curas a pectore solvat/... edam’. Such wakefulness (*vigilia*) is a traditional characteristic of good generals (*Il.* 2. 24–5 and Woodman on Velleius 2. 79. 1; for Aeneas as an ideal *imperator* cf. R. G. M. Nisbet, *PVS* 18 (1978–80), 50–61, and for his anxiety cf. 159–60).

**218. ipse sedens clavumque regit velisque ministrat:** cf. 6. 302 (Charon) ‘ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat’. Aeneas is still at the helm, the very symbol of the responsible commander (cf. 159–60 n.). *velisque ministrat:* for the double *-que* (= Homeric  $\tau\epsilon$  ...  $\tau\epsilon$ ) cf. 91 n.; *velis* seems to be dative after *ministrat*, ‘attends to the sails’ (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7. 752–3) rather than the instrumental ablative of 6. 302 ‘directs [the ship] with sails’; it is difficult here to supply the direct object (e.g. *navem*) which would permit the ablative. This interpretation supplies a neat balance and verbal play between *regit*, ‘rules’, and *ministrat*, ‘serves’.

**219–50.** This mildly fantastic episode of the nymphs contrasts with the grim realism of war which is to follow, and is told with a certain lightness and humour (222 n., 225 n., 246–7 n.), though it also has a serious aspect. The nymphs appear in mid-ocean as in Cat. 64. 14–18 and cavort playfully like the Nereids of Moschus, *Europa* 118 ff., but bring an important message and prophecy of victory, following an epic tradition of help given to heroes by sea-nymphs (cf. *Od.* 4. 364 ff., 5. 333 ff., Ap. Rh. 4. 950 ff.). Their appearance is sudden and dramatic (*atque, ecce* 219, *ignarum* 228) and their powers inscrutable to mortals (249–50). This baroque mixture seems Hellenistic in taste (note the imitations of Apollonius at 226–7 and 246–7). For useful accounts of this scene see E. Fantham, *CPh* 85 (1990), 102–116, O’Hara, op. cit., 244 n., 40–43.

**219–20. atque illi:** *atque* introduces a dramatic moment, a Plautine usage (especially before a pronoun as here), cf. Gellius 10. 29. 4, Norden and Austin on 6. 162, Pease on 4. 261, Fordyce on 7. 29, Leo, *AKS* 1. 57–8, *TLL* ii. 1075. 82 ff.

**chorus, ecce, suarum/occurrit comitum:** *chorus* =  $\chi\omicron\rho\acute{o}s$ , ‘band’, a poetic use. Interjected *ecce* (cf. 133 n.) is, like *atque* (above), a Plautine device suggesting dramatic surprise, cf. 133 n. *suarum* ... *comitum:* in their previous form as ships the nymphs had accompanied Aeneas from Troy to Italy, as D. Servius notes.

**alma Cybebe:** for *alma* cf. 215–16 n.; its etymological connection with *alo* here suits the nurturing Great Mother of the gods.

Cybele, the Magna Mater, a goddess of Phrygian origin, is naturally a protectress of the Trojans in the *Aeneid* (cf. Williams on 3. 111 ff., Austin on 6. 784 ff., R. M. Wilhelm, *Vergilius*, 34 (1988), 77–101). T. P. Wiseman in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, ed. A. J. Woodman and D. A. West (Cambridge, 1984), 117–28, plausibly argues that her prominence in the *Aeneid* reflects the revival of her cult under Augustus, and Vergil is probably the first to connect her with the Aeneas-legend; cf. Austin on 2. 788. *Cybebe* (*Κυβήβη*: contrast *Κυβέλη*) is a by-form of her name, also found in Catullus (63. 9); it has been derived from *κύβηβος*, ‘frantic’, a reference to the ecstatic rites of her priests the Galli, and D. Servius also records a derivation ‘a Cybebo Phryge, qui primus ei sacrum instituit’, which sounds like improvisation but may be linked with Semonides’ use of *κύβηβος* for a priest of Cybele (fr. 36 West), while a connection with a Hittite divine name *Ku-ba-ba* is also suggested. Cf. W. Fauth in *KP* iii. 383–9 (with bibliography).

**221. numen habere maris:** for *numen habere*, ‘have divine power’, cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 1. 545. The phrase as a whole recalls Homer’s description of the similar divine honours given to Ino as the sea-nymph Leucothea (*Od.* 5. 335): *νῦν δ’ ἄλδος ἐν πελάγεσσι θεῶν ἕξ ἔμμορε τιμῆς*.

**nymphasque e navibus esse:** *e*, like *de* and *ἐξ*, can express the change from one state to another: cf. Hor. *S.* 2. 5. 55–6 ‘recoctus/scriba e quinqueviro’, *KS* i. 505. The repeated *nymphas* stresses the fortunate state which the ships have now achieved.

**222. innabant pariter fluctusque secabant:** the nymphs are humorously described as if they were still ships (as D. Servius notes): *innare* is used of ships (cf. 8. 93), while *pariter* suggests the regular front of a naval formation, and *fluctus secare* commonly refers to vessels cleaving the waves. The last metaphor is taken from ploughing, and is frequent in epic, following Homeric *τέμνειν* (cf. 147, 166, 214, 687, 5. 218, Austin on 2. 780, Cic. *Arat.* 129, *Od.* 3. 174–5, *Ap. Rh.* 4. 225).

**223. aeratae ... prorae:** cf. 166 ‘aerata ... Tigri’. The adjective refers to the bronze sheathing of the *rostrum* or ram mounted on the prow of an ancient warship (156–7 n.); the poet is no doubt thinking anachronistically of the ships of his own time, cf. Sandbach, loc. cit. (156–7 n.). *prora*, though *aeratae* is specifically appropriate to the prow, is here used by poetic ‘part–whole’ synecdoche for the whole ship (like *puppis* and *carina*, 156–7 n.), cf. *OLD* s.v., *b*.

**steterant ad litora:** the position of Aeneas’ ships at the point of metamorphosis (cf. 9. 118).

**224. agnoscunt longe regem lustrantque choreis:** cf. *Il.* 13. 27–8 (sea-creatures greet Poseidon) ἄταλλε δὲ κήτε' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ/πάντοθεν ἐκ κευθμῶν, οὐδ' ἠγνοίησεν ἄνακτα. *lustrantque choreis:* cf. 7. 391 (of Bacchus) 'te lustrare choro', Prop. 2. 10. 1 'sed tempus lustrare aliis Heliconae choreis'. *lustrare* here = 'encircle'; for the developments in meaning of this verb (originally 'purify') cf. Fordyce on 7. 391. *choreae* are the measures of the dance (χορείαι; cf. 6. 644, 9. 615), and the word here recalls the description of the nymphs as a *chorus* (χορός) at 219.

**225. quarum quae fandi doctissima Cymodocea:** cf. 1. 72 'quarum quae forma pulcherrima Deiopea'. *fandi doctissima* has been objected to as inappropriate for a sea-goddess (Markland on Stat. *Silvae* 2. 2. 19 conjectured *nandi!*), but Page's note sees the point: 'surely there is a touch of humour in the suggestion that these new-made nymphs were not yet very fluent'. Such humour matches other elements of light relief in this passage (222 n., 226–7 n., 228–9 n., 230–1 n.). *Cymodocea:* the name is evidently based on that of the Nereid Cymodoce (Κυμοδόκη, 'receiver of the waves'), found at 5. 826, *Il.* 18. 39, and Hes. *Th.* 252.

**226–7. pone sequens:** again at *G.* 4. 487; *pone* is a poetic archaism, as Quintilian (8. 3. 25) noted, cf. Austin on 2. 725, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 219, Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*, 47–8, LHS ii. 242.

**dextra puppim tenet:** an echo of the appearance of the sea-god Glaucus at Ap. Rh. 1. 1313–14 στιβαρήν ἐπορέξατο χειρὶ/νηϊοῦ δλκαίοιο.

**ipsaque dorso/eminet:** *ipsa* ('the rest of her') stresses the main part of the body as opposed to the hand already mentioned (cf. Wagner, *QV* 18. 2n). *dorso eminent:* i.e. lifts her whole back out of the water; for the ablative cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 35 'cum promineret ore'. Like 226 this phrase recalls the appearance of Glaucus to the Argonauts (cf. Ap. Rh. 1. 1312–13 ὕψι δὲ λαχνήεν τε κάρη καὶ στήθε' ἀείρας/νειόθεν ἐκ λαγόνων), and also echoes the similarly semi-immersed Nereids of Cat. 64. 18 (a poem probably recalled at 230). In all three cases the sea-deities show their upper, more human and less disturbing half (cf. 211–12).

**ac laeva tacitis subremigat undis:** *subremigat* is not found before Vergil; the prefix indicates gentle movement (cf. ὑπο-), going well with *tacitis* ... *undis*, while the metaphor of rowing here is surely another element of humour carefully chosen to suggest the ship Cymodocea so recently was (cf. 222 n.), as well as echoing *Od.* 12. 444 διήρεσα χειρὶν ἐμῆσιν.

**228–9. tum sic ignarum adloquitur:** sc. *Aenean.* Aeneas is surprised at the midnight appearance of the nymphs, and is similarly

mystified at their disappearance (249–50); the poet dramatizes the scene.

**vigilasne .../Aenea? vigila:** according to Servius here (our only authority) these words echo a formula of the Vestal Virgins, ‘vigilasne, rex? vigila’, with which they greeted the *rex sacrorum*, the priest of Janus who took over the sacerdotal function of the early kings. This echo is appropriate in an address by female characters to Aeneas, who is both a king and the guardian of the future Roman religious tradition, as Servius points out. Cymodocea’s question also recalls *εὐδαίς*;—the salutation of similarly nocturnal visions of ghosts in Homer (*Il.* 2. 23, 23. 69, *Od.* 4. 804).

**deum gens:** doubly archaic with the original *-um* genitive plural of the second declension (cf. Fordyce on 7. 189) and the monosyllabic line-ending (2 n.). *gens* of a single descendant is a Graecism (cf. *γένος* at *Il.* 19. 124, 21. 186) first found in Vergil (here and 11. 305), cf. *TLL* vi. 1846. 28 ff.

Punctuation is an issue here. G. B. Townend, *PVS* 9 (1969–70), 85–6, followed by Geymonat in his text, wishes to place the question mark after *deum gens* at the end of 228, taking the vocative *Aenea* with the imperative *vigila*, giving a polite address followed by a forthright command. However, Servius’ parallel with the ritual formula of the Vestals suggests that *vigila* should head the second sentence and that *deum gens Aenea* should be one vocative phrase by apposition (‘divinely born Aeneas’, cf. *Il.* 1. 337 *διογενὲς Πατρόκλεις*), followed by the question-mark.

**et velis immitte rudentis:** i.e. expose more sail to the wind (cf. 8. 708 ‘vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis’). More wit here: Cymodocea as an ex-ship is well qualified to give navigational instruction, cf. 247 n. *velis* is dative (cf. 6. 1 *classique immittit habenas*), while *rudentis* strictly means not ‘sheets’ (as it is commonly translated; this would be *pedes* = *πόδες*) but brails or reefs (*κάλω*), a series of ropes attached all along the bottom of the sail and passed over the yard-arm, enabling the sail to be pulled up and down at will from the deck (cf. Casson 70, 230, pls. 81–2, 90–1, 97). *rūdēns*, popularly derived from *rūdo* (Fest. p. 322. 10–11 Lindsay), was probably a linguistic import like many nautical terms in Latin: cf. A. Ernout, *Aspects du vocabulaire latin* (Études et Commentaires, 18; Paris, 1954), 45.

**230–1.** *nos sumus* means ‘it is we’ but also goes closely with *classis tua* with the two intervening phrases in apposition, cf. similarly 8. 62–4 ‘ego sum, pleno quem flumine cernis/stringentem ripas et pingua culta secantem,/caeruleus Thybris’. Here the postponement of the explicit *classis tua* surely has an element of humour:

Cymodocea, only an apprentice speaker (cf. 225), needs three attempts to identify herself.

**Idaeae sacro de vertice pinus:** the phrase looks like an exchange of epithets (double hypallage): *Idaeus*, linking Aeneas' ships aptly with their protector the *Mater Idaea* (252 n.), goes more naturally with *vertex*, *sacer* with *pinus* in the context of this story (cf. 9. 115–16 'maria ante exurere Turno/quam sacras dabitur pinus', Ov. *Met.* 14. 435 'has pinus Idaeo vertice caesas'), and Vergil is particularly fond of such exchanges (cf. Austin on 6. 2). Note the recurrence of the line-ending *vertice pinus* from Catullus 64. 1, a poem in Vergil's mind here (226–7 n.).

**nunc pelagi nymphae:** *pelagus* is a transliteration of *πέλαγος* and a poetic Graecism before Vergil (on its occasionally heteroclitite declension cf. LHS i. 456).

The nymphs' emphasis on their change from trees to sea-deities recalls the type of epigram where an artefact is presented as speaking of its former mode of existence, found in the Greek Anthology (cf. especially AP 9. 131 (anon.) a boat, once a pine-tree) and taken over by Roman poets, cf. Prop. 4. 2. 59–63, Niall Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge, 1966), 68.

231–2. Forcefully put: note the elegant chiasmic arrangement about *Rutulus* of the two alliterating pairs *ferro ... flammaque* and *praecipitis ... premebat*, the latter enclosing the line.\*

**perfidus . . . Rutulus:** Turnus, seen here by the pro-Trojan nymphs (as by Aeneas himself, cf. 8. 538–40) as a treaty-breaker. The charge of *perfidia* was commonly levelled against the enemies of Rome, especially Carthage (Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 3. 148). For the dramatic strong sense-pause at the bucolic diaeresis before *perfidus* cf. 9 n., 427 n.

**ferro . . . flammaque:** the alliterative pairing is frequent (Cic. *Cat.* 3. 1, *Bell. Alex.* 60. 1, Livy 1. 29. 2, and Wölfflin, *AS* 259), as is the polarity of fire and sword (cf. Pease on 4. 601).

Note that the nymphs describe themselves as if already animate (cf. esp. *praecipitis*), though the description refers to a time when they were still artefacts; here as elsewhere in the passage the poet plays on their metamorphosis.

233–4. **rupimus invitae tua vincula:** the nymphs are made to reproduce the words used by the poet to describe their metamorphosis: cf. 9. 117–18 'et sua quaeque/continuo puppes abrumpunt vincula ripis'. The expression and tone of apology recall the words of the Lock to Berenice (Cat. 66. 39) 'invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi' (more closely imitated by Vergil at 6. 460, cf. E. L. Harrison, *CPh* 65 (1970), 241). *vincula* in the sense of 'mooring-

ropes' is first found in Vergil, following the Homeric *δεσμός* (*Od.* 13. 100).

**teque per aequor/quaerimus:** *aequor* is archaic, poetic, and a Vergilian favourite for 'sea'; its traditional derivation from *aequus* (cf. Cic. *Acad. fr.* 3 Müller 'quid tam planum videtur quam mare? e quo etiam aequor illud poetae vocant', Varro, *LL* 7. 23) seems correct, cf. Ernout-Meillet 11, Walde-Hofmann i. 17.

**hanc genetrix faciem miserata refecit:** *hanc* is strongly deictic, while *genetrix* refers to Cybele, the Great Mother (cf. 2. 788, 9. 82, 94, 117).

**235. aevumque agitare sub undis:** *aevum agitare* is archaic and poetic (cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 307).

**237. tela inter media:** again at *Ecl.* 10. 45, and perhaps from older epic; *media* is used 'intensively' (41 n.), while *inter* is postponed here as often in Vergil (cf. 778 and Pease on 4. 256). Its placing between noun and verb may echo Homeric diction (cf. *Il.* 17. 419 ἄστν πότι σφέτερον).

**atque horrentis Marte Latinos:** a striking phrase; the variant *ardentis* is clearly a scribal simplification. The image of 'bristling with war' extends the common epic notion of 'bristling with weapons' (cf. 178, 7. 526, 11. 601-2, 12. 662-3, *G.* 2. 142, *Macr. Sat.* 6. 4. 6, *Il.* 4. 282, Enn. *Ann.* 384 Skutsch); for the bellicosity of the Latins cf. 87 n.

**238-9. iam loca iussa tenent:** *locum tenere* is military in tone (*Caes. Gall.* 7. 62. 4, *Civ.* 1. 47. 2). *tenent* seems better than the variant *tenet*: somewhat similar cases occur at 358 (see n.) and at 5. 825. Here *Arcas*, collective singular, might well take a plural verb, especially as a further subject of the verb is implied in *forti permixtus Etrusco* and in the distributive plural *loca iussa*. For similar difficulties with collective singulars in Vergil and other Latin poets see the examples collected by L. Becker, *Numerum singularem qua lege in sententiis collectivis praetulerint Romani* (Diss. Marburg, 1913).

**forti permixtus Etrusco/Arcas eques:** for *forti Etrusco* cf. *G.* 2. 533 *fortis Etruria*, and Evander's description of the Etruscan people as 'bello praeclara' (8. 480): such qualities suit the allies of Aeneas and co-ancestors of martial Rome. *Etruscus* and *eques* represent two main types of collective singular in Latin poetry: the names of peoples (cf. 1. 574, 8. 474) and those of military units (cf. 6. 516, 11. 517): for discussion of these types cf. Austin on 2. 20 and Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 19. 12.

Aeneas' orders to the allies mentioned here are not previously recorded, and this combined cavalry unit, presumably imagined as covering the 40 km. from Caere to the battlefield by land (so Servius), does not appear in the battle, unless it is identical with

the cavalry commanded by Pallas at 364 ff., which appears to be purely Arcadian. The *Aeneid* is happily inconsistent elsewhere on troop-movements (this is epic and not history), cf. 156 n., 205-6 n., Heinze 226 n. 2.

**239-40. medias illis opponere turmas:** *medius* here means 'intervening': Turnus' tactic of intercepting the combined force is the obvious one. *turma* (cf. 310) is the technical term for a Roman cavalry squadron, alleged originally to number thirty and derive its name from *terima*, 'three times', i.e. 'three times ten' (Varro, *LL* 5. 91); it is in fact most likely to be a linguistic import like many technical terms (Ernout-Meillet 708, Walde-Hofmann ii. 713).

**ne castris iungant:** *iungere* is here used intransitively and followed by the dative, a construction found in later writers but not before Vergil (*TLL* vii/2. 661. 41 ff.), who likes intransitivizing normally transitive verbs (cf. 103, 362, and Fordyce on 7. 27). For the general phenomenon of intransitivization see the lists (not wholly reliable) in L. Feltenius, *Intransitivizations in Latin* (Uppsala, 1977).

**241-2. surge age, et:** cf. 8. 59 'surge age, nate dea' (where the nocturnal vision of Tiber, like Cymodocea here, rouses Aeneas to action). The second imperative with *age* is a feature of colloquial Latin (Hofmann, *LU* 37, LHS ii. 471, *TLL* i. 1403. 80 ff.), but may also be compared with the Homeric ἀλλ' ἄγε followed by imperative (*Il.* 1. 270 etc.).

**socios . . . vocari/primus in arma iube:** *primus* is used adverbially (55-6 n.) as elsewhere, cf. Wagner, *QV* 28. 4, Austin on 4. 169 ff.

**242-3. et clipeum cape:** Aeneas' shield is a *clipeus* as in book 8 (625, 729), equivalent to the round Homeric ἀσπίς; it had been replaced in Roman use by the oblong *scutum* long before the Augustan period (cf. Sandbach art. cit. (120 n.), 31, Walbank on Polybius 6. 23. 2). Vergil tends to use *clipeus* and *scutum* interchangeably (cf. Heinze 203-4, Wickert 294-5; for a different view see Lyne, *WP* 104-5). This is the first reappearance of the shield of Aeneas after book 8: it is a symbol of coming victory after the reverses of book 9 (cf. 243 *invictum*), appropriately portraying *Romanos . . . triumphos* (8. 626), and as a divine gift matches the prayer to Cybele in suggesting the renewed favour of heaven for the Trojans.

**quem dedit ipse/invictum ignipotens:** the variant *igni* for *ipse* was defended by Geymonat (*SCO* 14 (1965), 96-8), but seems wrong, for the resulting emphatic repetition 'igni . . . ignipotens' lacks point (indeed it argues that *igni* is a corruption deriving from *ignipotens*), while *ipse* stresses the crucial fact that the divine Vulcan

himself fashioned the shield and gave it invulnerability; compare the similar description of Turnus' sword (12. 90–1) 'ensem quem Dauno ignipotens deus *ipse* parenti/fecerat'. *ignipotens*, first found in Vergil, is used as a kenning (on these cf. 176–7 n.) for the smith-god Vulcan several times in book 8 (414, 423, 628, 710); as a compound of archaic type (215–16 n.) it may well have occurred in earlier poetry, cf. the similar *armipotens* (9. 717, Acc. *Trag.* 127) and *bellipotens* (11. 8, Enn. *Ann.* 198 Skutsch).

**atque oras ambiit auro:** *oras* is poetic plural (476–7 n.). The imperishable gold decoration indicates the divine source of Aeneas' shield: the god-given arms of Aeneas and Achilles in the *Iliad* are similarly golden (*Il.* 20. 268, 21. 165), as are the arms of the gods themselves (cf. Williams on Callim. *H.* 2. 32).

**244. crastina lux:** cf. 8. 170 'lux ... crastina'; the adjective has some claims to be colloquial (Plaut. *Men.* 175, *Stich.* 638, Cic. *Att.* 15. 8. 2), though it is here combined with the poetic *lux* for 'dawn' (*TLL* vii/2. 1908. 38 ff).

**mea si non inrita dicta putaris:** for *inrita dicta* cf. 94–5 n.; such syncopated verb-forms as *putaris* (= *putaveris*, future perfect) were essentially colloquial and are favoured by Vergil in speeches (cf. Austin on 1. 201). The fear that the hearer may disregard the prophet's prediction is matched at 8. 42 'ne vana putes haec fingere somnum'—cf. further J. J. O'Hara, *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton, 1990), 13–14 and 55–6.

**245.** Note how this elegantly arranged 'Silver' line (*abcba*: for the term cf. Wilkinson, *GLA* 216–17 and for examples in Vergil cf. A. M. Young, *CJ* 27 (1932), 517) is enclosed by a noun–adjective pair, a neoteric trait; for this cf. T. E. V. Pearce, art. cit. 133 n.

**Rutulae ... caedis:** *Rutulae* is 'adjective for genitive' (156–7 n.), this particular phrase being derived from Greek poetry, cf. Soph. *OT* 450–1 *φόνον/τόν Λαίτιον*.

**spectabit:** clearly superior to the majority reading *spectabis*, which would involve a frigid apostrophe of *crastina lux* and is probably corrupted by *putaris* in 244 (on the error cf. Timpanaro, *Storia*, 131–2). The verb suggests the common notion that the Sun is a universal witness (cf. Pease on 4. 607, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1. 769).

**acervos:** used of heaps of dead in similar poetic descriptions of slaughter before Vergil: cf. Acc. *Trag.* 323 'acervos ... corpore explevi hostico', Cat. 64. 359 'caesis ... corporum acervis'.

**246–7. dixerat:** 'she finished speaking' (for the tense cf. 147), a frequent speech-formula in the *Aeneid* (24 times), resembling the Homeric *ὡς φάτο* or *ὡς ἔφατ*'. Vergil habitually imitates the speech-formulae of Homer with his own, cf. Pease on 4. 30, Moskalew

63-6, S. Lundström, „*Sprach's*“ bei *Silius Italicus* (Lund, 1971), 11-15.

**dextra ... impulit:** cf. 5. 241-2 (the sea-god Portunus pushes Cloanthus' ship) 'pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem/impulit'. Both passages are modelled on the push of Athene which enables the *Argo* to pass the Symplegades (Ap. Rh. 2. 598-9):

καὶ τότε Ἀθηναίη στιβαρῆς ἀντέσπασε πέτρης  
σκαυῆ, δεξιτερῆ δὲ διαμπερὲς ὥσε φέρεσθαι.

(*dextra ... impulit* = δεξιτερῆ ὥσε).

**altam ... puppim:** *puppis* = 'ship' by synecdoche (156 n.), while *altus* is a conventional epithet for ships (cf. *TLL* i. 1773. 40 ff.).

**haud ignara modi:** another touch of humour (cf. 229 and 219-20 n.); as a former ship Cymodocea knows exactly how ships move, as Servius notes. The litotes with the archaic *haud* (106 n.) belongs to high style, cf. Soph. *Ajax* 213 οὐκ αἰδρις.

247-8. Compare the similar double simile used for Cloanthus' ship after its analogous divine push (5. 242-3): 'illa Noto citius volucricque sagitta/ad terram fugit'. Epic similes for speed are often short and in pairs, cf. 5. 319 'emicat et ventis et fulminis ocior alis' and Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 16. 23. The arrow and javelin are paired as at 130, here as weapons of swift motion.

**ocior ... sagitta:** cf. Eur. fr. 1063. 13 Nauck θᾶσσον μὲν οἰστοῦ καὶ πτεροῦ.

**ventos aequante:** recalls the Homeric ἴσος ἀέλλη (*Il.* 11. 297 etc.).

249-50. **inde aliae celerant cursus:** *celerare* with this kind of noun (*fugam* at 1. 357, 3. 666, and 9. 378, *iter* at 1. 656 and 8. 90, *viam* at 5. 609) is a common type of phrase in Vergil (Austin on 1. 357, *TLL* iii. 758. 6 ff.), perhaps following Greek poetic phrases such as στόλον ἐπέγειν or ὄδον σπεύδειν (Soph. *Phil.* 499, Eur. *Ion* 1226).

**stupet inscius ipse/Tros Anchisiades:** *stupet inscius* of astonishment again at 2. 307 and 7. 381: even the great Aeneas is taken aback by this token of divine power, his importance being stressed by *ipse* and the weighty naming *Tros Anchisiades* (cf. 6. 126, a similarly solemn context and the only other occurrence of this double naming; the patronymic has no pointed reference to Anchises here, contrast 822).

**animos tamen omine tollit:** cf. *G.* 4. 386 'omine quo firmans animum': *animos tollere* is as old as Lucilius (*TLL* ii. 103. 2 ff.). Note the splendid 'jingling' effect of both assonance (*a, i, o*) and alliteration (*-nim, -men, -mine, and t*).

251. **breviter:** for *brevitas* as a royal, Roman, and military characteristic, fitting for Aeneas, cf. 16-17 n.

**supera aspectans convexa:** much better than the variant *super aspectans*, the simplest of haplographical errors: the substantive *convexa* (so used first in Vergil and reflecting the standard ancient view that the heavens were spherical) requires a complement, and is found twice with *supera* in the *Aeneid*, cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 241. *aspectans* has an archaic ring (4 n.); the glance at heaven, home of the gods, is a natural and Homeric gesture of prayer, cf. Sittl 193 and the formula *οὐρανὸν εἰσασιδῶν* (*Il.* 16. 232, 24. 307).

**252. alma parens Idaea deum:** Cybele, called *alma parens* as the Great Mother of the gods (cf. 219-20 n.); compare her official title at Rome, *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* (*ILS* 4099, 4100, etc.). Note how *parens* here has two epithets, one deriving from a noun (*Idaea*), a common Lucretian locution, cf. 391 n. For Cybele's association with Ida cf. 158 n.; Aeneas' prayer to her follows naturally on the sign of favour given in the saving of his ships by metamorphosis.

**cui Dindyma cordi:** sc. *est. cui:* for the use of the relative pronoun in prayer-style cf. 100 n. *Dindyma*, again at 9. 618, is a metrically convenient plural of Mt. Dindymum on the Cyzicus peninsula in NW Asia Minor, frequently associated with the cult of Cybele, sometimes called *Dindymene* (*Cat.* 63. 13, *Hor. C.* 1. 16. 5): cf. Hdt. 1. 80. 1, Bömer on *Ov. Fasti* 4. 182 ff., Jessen in *RE* v. 651-2. *cordi* (*est*) is an archaism, perhaps originally a locative (Fordyce on 7. 326), which seems to occur particularly (as here) in the language of hymn and prayer, cf. 7. 325-6, Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 17. 14, Ogilvie on *Livy* 1. 39. 4.

**253. turrigeraeque urbes:** this compound epithet, first found in Vergil and used again of a fortified city at 7. 631, is found in subsequent poets of the 'mural crown' of Cybele (*OLD* s.v., *b*), and in this context Vergil must be playing on 'tower-bearing' cities and the picture of the 'tower-wearing' goddess: Cybele, traditionally the protectress of cities, is frequently depicted in art and literature as wearing the *corona muralis* or turreted diadem (illustrated in Roscher, *Lexikon* ii. 1671-2, cf. *Lucr.* 2. 606-7, Bömer on *Ov. Fasti* 4. 219-20). Her close connection with both cities and Rome led to an identity in cult between Cybele and the Dea Roma, Rome as a personified divinity, cf. 6. 783-9, *Lucan* 1. 187-90, R. J. Getty, *PCPhS* 172 (1939), 3-5, P. Boyancé, *Latomus*, 13 (1954), 339-42.

**biuigique ad frena leones:** *biuigi leones* comes from Lucretius' depiction of Cybele (2. 601); Vergil uses the second declension adjective-form *biuigus* here and at 5. 144, *biuigis* (third declension) at 12. 355 and *G.* 3. 91, a variation for reasons of euphony cf. *Neue-Wagener* ii. 165 and 395-6 n. For Cybele's traditional lions, symbolizing her civilizing powers, cf. 156-7 n.

**254–5. tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps:** sc. *sis*; cf. Diomedes' prayer to Athene at *Il.* 10. 291 ὦς νῦν μοι ἐθέλουσα παρίσταιο καί με φύλασσε.

**tu rite propinques/augurium:** for the anaphora of *tu* in prayer-language cf. 83 n. *rite* as at 3. 36 indicates due fulfilment after a sign, while *propinques* (a rare transitivization, cf. Greek πελάζω) means 'bring nearer' in the sense of 'make to happen in our world'; cf. similarly 8. 78 'adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes'. *augurium*: strictly used of the appearance of birds but here as often of any omen or prediction (cf. *TLL* ii. 1375. 45 ff.).

**Phrygibusque adsis pede, diva, secundo:** cf. 8. 302 (prayer to Hercules) 'et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo'. *Phrygibus* stands in emphatic first place, naming the Trojans as Phrygians in a prayer to Cybele, particularly associated with Phrygia; for this kind of *captatio benevolentiae* in prayers in the *Aeneid* cf. S. J. Harrison, *CQ*, ns 34 (1984), 488. For *adesse* of divine presence and help in prayer-language cf. 461, Pease on 4. 578, *TLL* ii. 923. 79 ff.; *pede secundo* refers to the Roman superstition of starting off with the lucky right foot (Courtney on *Juv.* 10. 5, A. P. Wagener, *TAPA* 66 (1935), 73–91). Note how this last clause caps an ascending tricolon in 255–6, adding to the rhetorical power of the prayer.

**256–7. tantum effatus:** a concluding speech-formula (again at 877), following Homeric style (246–7 n.). *effari* is archaic and poetic (cf. Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 46); note the rare trochaic sense-pause in the second foot after *effatus*, Greek in character (Winbolt *LHV* 25–7).

**et interea revoluta ruebat/matura iam luce dies:** the variant *ruebat* is certainly appropriate to dawn, but *ruo* is used of the swift entry of night at 2. 250 *ruit Oceano nox* and here describes the similar arrival of day. *revoluta* is a 'middle' participle, active in sense, as at 660, 4. 691, and 6. 449. *dies*: Vergil uses the feminine gender of this noun in the nominative for metrical convenience (as here, giving *revoluta*) and for fixed days (467–9 n.), otherwise the masculine: cf. further Norden on 6. 429, Austin on 4. 169, and Fraenkel, *KB* ii. 64–5.

**noctemque fugarat:** for the syncopated verb-form *fugarat* cf. 244 n. 'Putting the night to flight' is a simple variation of the normal 'rout of the stars' by the new day (5. 42, Diggle on *Eur. Phaethon* 66, Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 2. 9. 12, Lyne on *Ciris* 535).

**258. principio sociis edicit signa sequantur:** for the simple subj. after *edico* cf. 3. 234–5 and 53–4 n.; the verb, technical for the proclamations of Roman magistrates (*OLD* s.v., 1), has a solemn and legalistic flavour. *signa sequi* is an anachronistic term for advancing in formation behind Roman legionary standards (cf. e.g. Sall.

*Jug.* 80. 2, *Livy* 23. 35. 6). Note the forceful alliteration and assonance in this and the following line, apparently echoing forceful words of Aeneas to his men; Aeneas is here following the instructions given by Cymodocea at 241–2.

**259. atque animos aptent armis pugnaeque parent se:** cf. 588 ‘aptat se pugnae’; Nettleship aptly compares *Xen. Hell.* 7. 5. 22 τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευήν. Assonance ensures the frequency of the pairing *animus/arma* (cf. 12. 788 and Wölfflin, *AS* 48), alliteration of *pugna/parare* (*Livy* 7. 16. 5; cf. *Enn. Ann.* 238 Skutsch). The final monosyllable *se* (cf. *Enn. Ann.* 28 Skutsch and above, 2 n.), along with the alliteration, suggests the style of old Latin epic.

**260–307.** Aeneas approaches the shore, and his signal and appearance are joyfully received by his hard-pressed forces. Turnus seeks to counter-attack as the new arrivals land safely, apart from the ship of Tarchon, which breaks up on a sandbank.

**260. in conspectu ... habet:** the phrase has a military flavour (*Livy* 5. 49. 3, 10. 43. 10, *TLL* iv. 492. 17 ff.).

**261–2. stans celsa in puppi:** *celsus* is archaic and poetic (*Enn. Ann.* 408, 538 Skutsch), and like *altus* (246) is commonly used by Vergil of ships and their parts (Pease and Austin on 4. 397); it may be simply conventional or point to the height of fortified sterns in Roman warships (cf. Casson 122, pls. 114, 127–8). *stans celsa in puppi* occurs again at 3. 527 of Anchises and at 8. 680 of Augustus at Actium (as represented on Aeneas’ shield). This last passage has been used to draw a close analogy between Aeneas here and Augustus at Actium (cf. esp. Binder 225–6): both are sailing to the decisive battle which is to establish peace and civilization, and the shield which Aeneas raises in the next line has Augustus ‘stans celsa in puppi’ depicted on it. Further support for this view comes from 270–1, where the omen of flame from Aeneas’ head matches that from Augustus’ head at Actium (8. 680–1). The stern is the natural place for the commander (cf. 5. 132–3, 159–60 n.), and it is possible that Vergil is recalling a painting or sculpture of the Actian victory with Augustus in that position, perhaps accompanied by Apollo (cf. *Prop.* 4. 6. 29–30); cf. the relief from Trajan’s column which shows the emperor in full dress uniform at the helm of a trireme (Casson, pl. 128). Such analogies between Aeneas and Augustus surface at intervals in the *Aeneid* (especially in book 8, cf. Binder, *passim*), but there is no constant identity (cf. esp. 517–20); for laudable caution cf. Syme, *RR* 463, Griffin, *Latin Poets*, 197.

**clipeum cum deinde sinistra/extulit ardentem:** *ardentem*: renders Homeric αἶθων, used of the sheen of iron (*Il.* 4. 485, *Od.* 1. 184).

Again, as in 258–9, *pious Aeneas* follows the instructions of Cymo-docea (cf. 242 ‘clipeum cape’), raising the shield that portends victory (242–3 n.).

**clamorem ad sidera tollunt:** the hyperbole of noise reaching the stars or heaven in general is frequent in Vergil (2. 222, 338, 488, 5. 140, 451, 11. 832–8, 878) and belongs to the epic tradition (cf. *Il.* 2. 153, 12. 338, 14. 60, 17. 424–5, *Lucr.* 2. 327–8, Bömer on *Ov. Fasti* 3. 374). Vergil makes frequent use of hyperbole as appropriate to the grand style of epic: cf. esp. Hardie 241–92.

**263. spes addita suscitatur iras:** *suscitare* is poetic before Vergil (*Enn. Trag.* 343 Jocelyn) and here perhaps echoes *Il.* 5. 510 θυμὸν ἐγείρει. The motivation of hope in battle is a τόπος of the historians (cf. *Caes. Civ.* 2. 5. 2, *Livy* 21. 44. 3).

**tela manu iaciunt:** cf. 886 and *Enn. Ann.* 398 Skutsch ‘tela manu iacentes’; *manu* seems often to be used redundantly in such expressions in Vergil, an inheritance from Ennius and echoing the Homeric χερί, cf. Austin on 2. 645, Fordyce on 7. 127 and 621, Skutsch on *Enn.* loc. cit.

**264–6.** This simile is based on *Il.* 3. 3–6, where the Trojans shout before entering battle:

ἦ ὅτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,  
αἶ τ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον  
κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ’ Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων  
ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι.

Vergil uses it similarly to describe the beleaguered Trojans’ great shout of joy on seeing Aeneas: the cry of the crane, the primary point of comparison, was proverbially loud and raucous (cf. Thompson, *Birds*, 70, Capponi 285). Both similes share the details of the cranes’ flight or southward migration before stormy weather or winter (a traditional characteristic, cf. *G.* 1. 374–5, Thompson, *Birds*, 71–2, Capponi 280–4). This has no symbolic point in the context of *Iliad* 3, where it is the Greeks and not the Trojans who have just escaped disaster, but is more relevant in Vergil, where the glad cries of the migrating cranes clearly correspond to the joy of the rescued Trojans. Vergil omits the Homeric reference to Pygmy-fighting, perhaps in the interests of propriety, but suggests a similarly military dimension with *dant signa* (265). For other views on the simile cf. Quinn 434–5, Moskalew 137 ff.

**264–5. quales:** introducing the simile; cf. 134 n.

**sub nubibus atris:** cf. the Homeric ὑπὸ νεφέων (*Il.* 23. 874); *ater* is conventional for clouds (663–4 n.), but here suggests the dark and stormy dangers which both cranes and Trojans escape (see above).

**Strymoniae ... grues:** *Strymonius* refers strictly to the river Strymon in Thrace, a conventional northern habitat of cranes (11. 580, *G.* 1. 120), but is used by Vergil as by Greek poets to mean ‘Thracian’ generally (*OLD* s.v., Ps.-Eur. *Rh.* 386, Callim. *H.* 4. 26). *grus* (unlike γέρανος) is an onomatopoeic name based on the bird’s cry (André, *Noms d’oiseaux*, 89).

**dant signa:** i.e. with their cries, corresponding to the shout and renewed war-spirit of the Trojans; *dare signum* is standard for giving the battle-signal (Caes. *Gall.* 1. 52. 3, Livy 2. 25. 1).

**atque aethera tranant:** for the common poetic metaphor of swimming for flying cf. 4. 245 and Enn. *Ann.* 18 Skutsch ‘transnavit cita per teneras caliginis auras’. *aethera* = ‘heaven’ in general, echoing the Homeric use of αἰθήρ and a poetic usage since Ennius (Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 545).

**266. cum sonitu:** repeating the sense of *dant signa*; for ‘sonitus’ of raucous bird-cry cf. 11. 458 (swans).

**fugiuntque Notos:** cf. χειμῶνα φύγον in the Homeric model; *Notos* does not mean ‘south winds’, for in this case the southward-migrating cranes would be flying the wrong way, but rather ‘storm-winds’ in general (cf. Servius here and Austin on 1. 575).

**clamore secundo:** varying the Ennian line-ending *rumore secundo* (cf. Fordyce on 8. 90, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 244).

**267. ea mira videri:** *ea* is the only form of *is* at all frequent in the *Aeneid* (101 n.); *videri* is the historic or narrative infinitive, here used for description in place of the imperfect (for Vergil’s use cf. Austin on 4. 422, Fordyce on 7. 15, Wagner, *QV* 30, Quinn 93–4, J. J. Schlicher, *CPh* 9 (1914), 380 ff., and in general LHS ii. 367–8).

**268. versas ad litora puppis:** the sterns are set to beach first, prows facing seawards for ease of relaunching (cf. 3. 277, 6. 3).

**totumque adlabi classibus aequor:** a bold poetic hyperbole: to the astonished Italians the sea itself seems to be gliding towards them bearing multiple fleets.

**270–5.** This description and simile continue the aspect of 267–9, giving the view of the Italians as they see Aeneas approach, and balancing the view of the Trojans as given in the description and simile of 262–6. Two Homeric models underlie the description of 270–1. The first is Athene’s preparation of Diomedes as he begins his great ἀριστεία (*Il.* 5. 4–7):

δαίε οἱ ἐκ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος ἀκάματον πῦρ,  
ἀστέρ’ ὄπωρινῶ ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα

λαμπρὸν παμφαίνησι λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο·  
τοῖόν οἱ πῦρ δαῖεν ἀπὸ κρατὸς τε καὶ ὤμων.

Second is the brief vignette of Achilles as he finally re-enters the battle, similarly prepared by Athene (*Il.* 18. 205–6):

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε δία θεάων  
χρῦσεον, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ δαίε φλόγα παμφανώσασαν.

The first of these influences Vergil's specification of the head, helmet, and shield as sources of flame, while the second occurs at the parallel point in the plot of the *Iliad*, where Achilles, analogous with Aeneas here, re-enters the battle after a long and critical absence; cf. *Intro.* 1(iii). In Vergil as in Homer such supernatural fire indicates divine support (cf. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 114 ff., Gow on *Theocr.* 24. 22), a symbol also found in the flaming heads of Ascanius (2. 682 ff.) and Augustus at Actium (8. 680–1), the latter reinforcing the analogy between Aeneas and Augustus in this passage (cf. 261–2); these passages have clear verbal links (Grassman-Fischer 19–24, Moskalew 138). Here as often (cf. esp. 7. 79–80) the flame portent is double-edged, indicating divine support and forthcoming victory for Aeneas, but deadly destruction for the watching Italians, whose feelings are portrayed in the simile of 272–5 (cf. Williams, *TI* 65). On the flame-portents of the *Aeneid* cf. Grassman-Fischer loc. cit. H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam, 1938), 165–75.

**270–1. ardet apex capiti:** better than the variant *apex capitis*, which would simply mean 'the top of his head' (cf. 7. 66). *Apex* should mean 'tongue of flame' as in the parallel omen of 2. 682–3 'ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli/fundere lumen apex' and Ovid's imitation (*Fasti* 6. 636 'flammeus arsit apex'); this requires the locative *capiti*. This reading neatly provides each verb in the tricolon *ardet ... funditur ... vomit* with one noun referring to fire (*apex ... flamma ... ignis*) and another specifying the part of the figure of Aeneas whence the flame seems to issue (*capiti ... vertice ... umbo*). These considerations also argue against taking *apex* in the sense of *λόφος*, 'helmet-top', as at 12. 492.

**tristisque a vertice flamma:** the transmitted text *crisisque* presents a real difficulty. *crisis*, which should naturally be associated with *vertice* (cf. 6. 779, 9. 732), has no real role in its sentence, since *a vertice* already provides the noun indicating the source of flame. One possibility is to take *crisisque* as belonging with *capiti* in the first clause, but the resulting asyndeton *crisisque, a vertice* seems particularly clumsy in the central clause of the tricolon of 270–1. Another possibility, reading the variant *ac vertice*, is equally

unlikely since Vergil never uses *-que ... ac*, and *a vertice* is clearly supported by ἀπό κρατός in the Homeric model at *Il.* 5. 7 (above).

Far preferable to these makeshifts is the reading *tristisque* for *crístisque*, conjectured by Faernus (Gabriello Faerno), a conjecture first published by Faernus' friend Fulvius Ursinus (Fulvio Orsini), *Virgilius collatione scriptorum Graecorum illustratus* (Antwerp, 1568), 408 but ignored by modern editors. *tristisque* not only solves the problem of *crístis*, but has added stylistic benefits: it gives the bare *flamma* an appropriately sinister epithet ('grim') to match the following *vastos ... ignis*, is appropriately echoed by *contristat* in 275, and provides a significant parallel with the similar description of Turnus' helmet at 7. 787 as 'tristibus effera flammis'. The corruption to *crístis*, palaeographically simple, may have been assisted by the similar 8. 620 'terribilem crístis galeam flammasque vomentem'.\*

**funditur:** 'pours', the 'middle' use of the passive: the metaphor is common of fire and light in poetry since Ennius (*Ann.* 606 Skutsch), following an evident analogy with liquids, cf. West, *IPL* 79–92, *TLL* vi. 1566. 6 ff.

**et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis:** *aureus* is evidently superior to the variant *aereus* (cf. 884 n.): Aeneas' shield is golden because of its divine manufacture (cf. 242–3 n.), and Vergil is also recalling the Lucretian line-end *aureus ignis* (6. 205). *vastos ... ignis*: recalls the Homeric δῆϊον πῦρ (*Il.* 9. 347 etc.), *vastus* having the connotation of 'devastating' (cf. Fordyce on 7. 302). *vomit ... ignis*: again at 8. 199, 259, 681; the usage is inherited from Lucretius (1. 724), and coheres with the liquid metaphor of *funditur*.

272–5. The simile is based on *Il.* 22. 26–31 (Priam sees Achilles in pursuit of Hector):

παμφαίνονθ' ὡς τ' ἀστέρ' ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίωιο,  
ὅς ῥά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ  
φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ,  
ὄν τε κύν' Ὀριώνος ἐπικλήσιν καλέουσιν  
λαμπρότατος μὲν ὄ γ' ἐστί, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται  
καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.

The *comparandum* in Homer is Achilles' shining armour, while in Vergil it is the miraculous fire emanating from Aeneas, but both similes are clearly seen from the subjective viewpoint of an enemy (cf. Heinze 259 n. 1); thus Aeneas is once again implicitly compared with the returned Achilles (cf. 270–5 n.) as an agent of destruction. Vergil uses the more irregular and sinister comet for Homer's (annual) dog-star, more appropriate to the unexpected and formid-

able appearance of Aeneas. The first half of his simile is well imitated by Milton (*PL* 2. 708 ff.):

*Satan* stood  
Unterrifi'd, and like a Comet burnd,  
That fires the length of *Ophiucus* huge  
In th'Arctick Sky, and from his horrid hair  
Shakes Pestilence and War.

**272. non secus ac:** introduces similes five times in Vergil. The litotes *haud/non secus* seems archaic/colloquial: it is not found in high poetry before Vergil (*OLD* s.v. *secus* 2*b*), but this may be only historical accident.

**si quando:** 'whenever', found in similes again at 803 and 12. 749 and echoing the Homeric simile-formulae ὡς δ' ὄρε and ὡς δ' ὄταν (*Il.* 4. 141, 15. 170, etc.).

**cometae:** κομήται; the word is usually transliterated in Latin but sometimes translated (Cic. *Nat.* 2. 14 *cincinnatas*, Pliny, *Nat.* 2. 89 *crinitas*); the name derives from the apparent 'hair' of comets.

**273. sanguinei lugubre rubent:** so the elder Pliny describes comets as 'horrentis crine sanguineo' (loc. cit. above; for the physical origin of the colour cf. Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 98, *Nat.* 2. 14). The symbolism here is evident, suggesting bloody destruction for the Italians. *sanguineus*, found before V. only at Cic. *Div.* 2. 60, echoes Homeric αἱματόεις (for such *-eus* adjs. cf. 3 n.). *lugubre:* n. sing. of the adj., used as adv.; the word is archaic and poetic before Vergil, who has it only here (for this sense of 'ill-omened' cf. *TLL* vii/2. 1803. 50 ff.). Comets were thought bad omens and portents of war (highly appropriate here) in antiquity and after (cf. *G.* 1. 488, Pliny, *Nat.* 2. 91-2, Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 18 and addenda, p. 591, Smith on Tib. 2. 5. 71).

**aut Sirius ardor:** *Sirius*, though here poetic adj. for genitive (156-7 n.) rather than noun, is Σείριος, the so-called dog-star, rising in the extreme heat of July and August in the Mediterranean region (cf. further Gundel in *RE* vA. 314-51). Note how *ardor* picks up *ardet* (270), an obvious correspondence between context and simile.

**274. ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris:** close to Homer's καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν (272-5 n.). *ille* is resumptive, 'the one which', picking up *Sirius ardor* (cf. Homeric ὃ γε and Page on 11. 494, Austin on 1. 3, Fordyce on 7. 787), while *sitim morbosque* unpacks the Homeric πυρετὸν, 'fever', no doubt for the sake of the 'morbos ... mortalibus' word-play (found in Plaut. *Ba.* 732 and in Lucr. 6. 771, 1095, 1144, 1250), which stresses the connection between disease and mortality.

*mortalibus aegris* is a rendering (four times in Vergil, all at line-end) of Homer's formulaic *δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν* (six times in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, all at line-end); it occurs before Vergil in Lucretius (6. 1, again at line-end), and may go back to earlier Latin poetry.

**275. nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum:** cf. *G.* 3. 278–9 'unde nigerrimus Auster/nascitur et pluvio contristat frigore caelum'. *nascor* of the rising of heavenly bodies occurs first in Vergil (*OLD* s.v. 3a), while *laevo ... lumine* goes with *lugubre* in suggesting inauspicious light (for the left as unlucky cf. 109–10 n.). *contristare* is a metaphor from the 'darkening' of the human countenance (cf. similarly Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 36 'contristat Aquarius annum', *TLL* iv. 779. 46 ff.).

**276–8.** Lines 276 and 278 are repeated from 9. 126–7; 276 changes 9. 126 *at non haud tamen*, while 278 is a verbatim repetition. Line 276 is clearly a significant echo of 9. 126, for Turnus finds himself once more in the position of encouraging his men after a miraculous omen encouraging the Trojans (cf. Moskalew 105), but 278 has been rightly excluded by editors. It is found here only in R of the three available capital MSS, and is clearly unknown to Servius or Ti. Donatus; it is also evidently out of context, since *animos tollit* suggests an immediately preceding reference to the Italians not found here (there is such a reference in the original context of book 9). Such errors seem to occur through the marginal copying of parallel passages (for a similar instance cf. 870–1 n.), though 9. 127 might have been inserted here to provide the verb of speech which could have been thought needed to introduce 279 ff.

**276. haud tamen . . . fiducia cessit:** cf. 8. 395–6 'fiducia cessit/quo tibi, diva, mei?' (for *cedere* of the departure of mental states cf. *OLD* s.v. 4c).

**audaci Turno:** *audax* is a constant epithet of Turnus, indicating the heroic impetuosity which is his glory and downfall (cf. Fordyce on 8. 110, Schenk 28–35).

**277. litora praecipere et venientis pellere terra:** note the 'prolative' infinitives (90 n.) after *fiducia*; *praecipere* is a military term for pre-emptive capture (*TLL* x/2. 451. 6 ff.). The tactic is sound, as are those of 238–9 and 285–6; Vergil here represents Turnus as a competent general, not as an irrational blunderer.

**279. quod votis optastis adest, perfringere dextra:** cf. *Il.* 16. 207–8 *νῦν δὲ πέφανται/φυλόπιδος μέγα ἔργον, ἕης τὸ πρὶν γ' ἐράασθε*, Livy 34. 13. 5 (Cato to his troops) 'tempus ... quod saepe optastis, venit'. *perfringere* of smashing through the enemy echoes the Homeric *διαπραΐσαι* (*Il.* 2. 473, 11. 713), and is also found in Caesar (*Gall.* 1. 25. 2).

**280. in manibus Mars ipse, viri:** the vocative *viri*, preceded by a comma, seems better stylistically than the dative *viris* given here by two of the capital MSS. The vocative suits a lively exhortation to fellow soldiers, is found in similar contexts at 737, 2. 373, 4. 573, 9. 158, 376, and 11. 14, and was clearly in Silius Italicus' text of Vergil (cf. Silius 12. 194–7 and Timpanaro, *Storia* 137. n. 13); the dative *viris* is a possible reading (cf. Lucan 9. 211 'scire mori sors prima viris, sed proxima cogi'), but has less vigour and force. For *in manibus* (picking up *dextra* in the preceding line) cf. *Il.* 16. 630 ἐν γὰρ χερσὶ τέλος πολέμοιο, 15. 741 τῶ ἐν χερσὶ φῶος. *Mars ipse:* the inspiring presence of the war-god is a common metaphor for strength and bellicosity: cf. 11. 389–90 (Turnus to Drances) 'an tibi Mavors/ventosa in lingua pedibusque ...?', Aesch. *Ag.* 78 Ἄρῆς δ' οὐκ ἔνι χῶρα with Fraenkel's note.

**280–1. nunc coniugis esto/quisque suae tectique memor:** cf. *Il.* 15. 662–3 ἐπὶ δὲ μνήσασθε ἕκαστος/παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων καὶ κτήσιος ἠδὲ τοκῆων, and similar exhortations of troops evoking home and family (Aesch. *Pers.* 402–5, Livy 8. 10. 4, 5. 49. 3, 21. 41. 16, Tac. *H.* 5. 17. 12, *Ann.* 12. 34. 4). The initial *coniugis* perhaps suggests Turnus' own chief priority: the hand of Lavinia.

**281–2. nunc magna referto/facta, patrum laudes:** *referto* is to be preferred to the variant *referte* as a third-person imperative matching *esto*, better than a change to the second person, especially since the rhetorical anaphora of *nunc* (cf. 5. 192, 6. 261, 8. 441–2) strongly suggests that *quisque* is to be understood with both verbs. *laudes* as often means 'praiseworthy deeds' (*TLL* vii/2. 1064. 33 ff.), like the Homeric κλέα (*Il.* 9. 524). The appeal to the deeds of ancestors is again a τόπος of military speeches of encouragement (cf. Alcaeus, fr. 6. 11–14 LP, Thuc. 7. 69. 2, Sall. *Jug.* 4. 5, Caes. *Gall.* 7. 1. 8, 7. 77. 12, Livy 5. 30. 5, 41. 52. 14, Tac. *H.* 5. 17. 13, *Ann.* 12. 34. 3).

**283. dum trepidi:** sc. *sunt*; for the omission of *esse* in excited discourse cf. 121–2 n.

**egressisque labant vestigia prima:** the dative is superior to the variant nominative *egressique* as *vestigia* ought to be the subject of *labant*: cf. 5. 432 'sed tarda trementi genua labant'. *egredior* is standard for disembarking from ships (*TLL* v/2. 284. 52 ff.), while *vestigia* in this sense of 'steps' is poetic before Vergil (*OLD* s.v. 4). For the pattern of *prima* following its noun at line-end cf. 97 n.

**284. audentis Fortuna iuvat:** Vergil's non-jingling version of the proverbial 'fortes Fortuna adiuvat' (Otto, *Sprichwörter*, 144), occurring in Ennius (*Ann.* 233 Skutsch) in the form 'fortibus est fortuna viris data'. The terse proverb makes a strong conclusion to Turnus' speech. This 'half-line' (cf. 16–17 n.) belongs to a common type

concluding a speech, an obvious place for a stopgap at the end of a major section in composition; cf. similarly 876 and Sparrow 37–41. It is quoted by Seneca with the supplement ‘piger ipse sibi obstat’ (*Ep.* 94. 28), and a hand in the late Leiden MS supplies ‘viresque ministrat’ (cf. Bücheler, *KS* 2. 365–6), interpolated ‘fillers’ of a type common early in Vergil’s manuscript tradition, cf. Donatus, *Vita* 41, Sparrow 46–50.

**285. haec ait et:** speech-formula (6 times in Vergil), cf. 246–7 n.

**secum versat:** common in the sense of ‘ponder’ (cf. *volutare* similarly at 159), though not found in high poetry before Vergil (*OLD*, s.v. 8; for the following indirect question cf. Brink on Hor. *AP* 41). Turnus considers how to divide his forces between attacking camp and fleet, again showing the kind of careful strategic thought which Romans admired (cf. 277 n.).

**287. puppibus altis:** probably ‘sterns’ (261, 268) rather than ‘ships’ (246–7).

**288–9. pontibus exponit:** technical terminology: *pons* = ἀποβάθρα, ‘gangplank’ (cf. 654 and Casson 251 n. 104), *exponere* = ἀποβιβάζειν, used of unloading persons from a ship (*TLL* v/2. 1757. 62 ff.).

**multi servare recursus/languentis pelagi:** *servare*, like *se credere* below, is ‘historic’ infinitive (cf. 267 n.; two or more often go together in Vergil, cf. Quinn 93 n. 2) and means ‘watch’, an archaic sense (*OLD* s.v. 2). *recursus*: ‘ebbing tide’, a Vergilian innovation (*OLD* s.v. 1b) to indicate a faster movement than the usual *recessus* (Cic. *Div.* 2. 34, *Nat.* 2. 132). For *pelagus* cf. 231 n. The notion of *languentis* is that the sea has spent itself in striking the coast: cf. 304 ‘fluctus fatigat’, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 11. 5).

**et brevibus se credere saltu:** *brevia* seems to be substantivized by Vergil following βραχέα (Hdt. 2. 102. 2, Thuc. 2. 91. 4), cf. Austin on l. 111. *saltu*: quasi-adverbial as often in Vergil, found as such in earlier poetry (Enn. *Trag.* 76 Jocelyn, Lucr. 5. 1318).

**290. per remos alii:** the ellipse of the verb (e.g. *descenderunt*, as D. Servius suggests) is natural in this excited narrative. *per remos* suggests a slide down the oars.

**speculatus litora Tarchon:** *speculator*, not in high poetry before Vergil, has a military tone (‘reconnoitre’; cf. Caes. *Gall.* 1. 47. 6, Livy 22. 42. 5), while *litora* means not ‘shores’ but ‘inshore waters’ as often (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 18. 21).

**291. qua vada non spirant:** probably better than the majority reading *sperat*, which would mean ‘anticipate’ as at 4. 419, looking forward to Tarchon’s unwitting grounding of his ship on *vada* (= ‘shoals’) at 302 ff., while *spirant* would refer to the heaving and

foaming of the sea's waters (a different sense of *vada*, as at 208), resembling breathing; cf. *G.* 1. 327 'fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor', Aus. *Mosella* 35–6 'non spirante vado rapidos properare meatus/cogeris' (apparently imitating Vergil), Timpanaro, *Storia*, 170–2. *spirant* also goes much better with 'nec fracta remurmurat unda', which ought to be a practically synonymous variation of the preceding clause, and gives each of the elegant series of three terms for the sea (*vada ... unda ... mare*) an appropriately characterizing verb (*spirant ... remurmurat ... adlabitur*).

**fracta remurmurat unda:** *frangi* of the breaking of waves (*TLL* vi. 1244. 30 ff.) follows the similar Homeric *ρήγνυσθαι* (*Il.* 4. 425 etc.), while *remurmurare*, 'roar back' (for *murmur* of loud water-noises cf. *TLL* viii. 1675. 51 ff.) is first found in Vergil.

**292. mare inoffensum:** *inoffensum*, a type of 'negative participial adjective' favoured and often apparently coined by Vergil (430 n.), is found in previous poetry at Varro, *Men.* 289 'labi inoffensum per aequor', a possible model for this line.

**293. advertit ... proram:** the singular *proram* seems preferable to the plural *proras* since in all Vergilian cases of this phrase the number of the noun agrees with that of the verb governing *prora* (7. 35–6 'sociis ... advertere proras/imperat', 8. 101 'advertunt proras', *G.* 4. 117 'festinem advertere proram').

**294. nunc, o lecta manus, validis incumbite remis:** *lecta manus* suggests a heroic crew (cf. 213 n.), *validis ... remis* as at 5. 15 'oars fit for mighty men'. *incumbere remis*, first found in Vergil (three times), imitates the Homeric *ἐμβαλέειν κώπης* (*Od.* 9. 489).

**295–6. tollite, ferte rates:** the excited Tarchon (note the breathless imperatives in asyndeton) urges his men to lift their ships bodily on to the shore with their oar-stroke. For the poetic *rates* cf. 165 n.

**inimicam ... terram:** emotive poetic personification: cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 271 *ἐχθρᾶς ... χθονός*.

**findite rostris/... terram:** the ships are to 'plough' the land (the usual sense of *findere terram*, *TLL* vi. 768. 38 ff.), a neat modification of their usual 'ploughing' of the sea (cf. 214), ramming it with their *rostra* (156–7 n.) like an enemy vessel. Servius acutely remarks 'militari felle dictum est, ut etiam terra ipsa quodam modo sentiat hostis adventum'.

**sulcumque ... premat:** continues the metaphor of *findite ... terram* (the ship is to plough its own furrow). This line resembles an anonymous poetic fragment cited by Isidore (*Et.* 1. 37. 3 = *Inc. Poet.* 33), 'pontum pinus arat, sulcum premit ipsa carina', which looks like a reuse of Vergil's line-end, but could be older and its model (Isidore preserves some Ennian lines concerning ships, cf.

Skutsch, *Annales*, p. 44); Nettleship has suggested Varro of Atax as its author.

**297–8. frangere nec tali puppim statione recuso:** *puppim* is better than the variant *puppis*: as at 293 the singular suits the single subject of the verb, and also fits the future fulfilment of Tarchon's words: it is his ship alone which will be wrecked (302 ff.). *puppim frangere* poeticizes the common *navem frangere* (*TLL* vi. 1241. 80 ff.) by using the synecdoche *puppis* (156–7 n.); the litotes *nec ... recuso* also has a lofty tone (cf. *Il.* 9. 116 οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀναίνομαι, Aesch. *Ag.* 1380, Soph. *Ajax* 96, *Ant.* 443), though *recuso* is not found in poetry before Vergil. *statio*, 'anchorage', is a technical term (2. 23, *OLD* s.v. 3, cf. *ναύσταθμον*), and provides an ironic climax here: the wrecking envisaged by Tarchon will be an anchorage indeed—a permanent nature. His willingness to bargain shipwreck for landing on enemy territory may be compared to the similar orders of Brasidas to his captains at Thuc. 4. 11. 4 (cf. Heinze 228 n. 1).

**arrepta tellure semel:** *arripere* of making land or an objective is a usage not found before Vergil (cf. 3. 477, *OLD* s.v. 6a).

**298–9. quae talia postquam/effatus Tarchon:** a combination of two Vergilian speech-formulas, 'quae ... effatus est' (3. 463; for the archaic and poetic *effatus* cf. 256–7 n.) and 'talia fatus' (6. 372; for *quae talia* cf. Fordyce on 7. 21). *postquam* is postponed after a relative as commonly in Vergil (cf. 3. 463, 6. 888, 11. 146), probably following the neoteric mannerism of postponing connectives (Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 3. 3), and *est* is omitted as often in perfect passives in subordinate clauses (106 n.).

**socii consurgere tonsis:** cf. 3. 207 'remis insurgimus'; the rise is the upward movement of body and oar in the pull. *consurgere*, like the following *inferre*, is historic infinitive (267 n.), two coming together as often in Vergil (288–9 n.). *tonsis* here as at 7. 28 = *remis*: the word is Ennian, and its traditional etymology from *tondere*, referring to the flat shaven blades of oars (Fest., p. 487. 32 Lindsay), may be right, cf. Fordyce on 7. 28, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 218, Ernout–Meillet 695, Walde–Hofmann ii. 691.\*

**300. spumantisque rates arvis inferre Latinis:** a striking image: the ships 'foam' amid the spray as they drive for the shore, like charging war-horses (cf. 6. 881). *arvis ... Latinis*: again at 8. 38, a poetic periphrasis of a familiar type (= simply *Latium*): so similarly *arva Rutula* (390), *arva Laurentia* (9. 100, 12. 24), *arva Lavinia* (4. 236), *arva Tyrrhena* (8. 551). *inferre* picks up *ferte* (295), fulfilling Tarchon's orders.

**301–2. donec rostra tenent siccum:** the verb suggests gripping with the teeth (cf. 12. 754), appropriate to the *rostra* of ships (156–7 n.), often shaped and toothed like animal beaks or jaws

(Casson, pls. 88–90), 117). *siccum*, ‘dry land’, is substantivized (cf. *G.* 1. 363, 3. 433) following τὸ ξηρόν (LSJ s.v. ξηρός III).

**et sedere carinae/omnes innocuae:** *sedere* of the grounding of ships (*OLD* s.v. 9) follows the similar use of καθίλειν (LSJ s.v. II. 6). *innocuae:* here ‘unharméd’, for the first time in Latin, normally ‘harmless’; *innoxius* (*OLD* s.v.) and the similar Greek ἀβλαβής (LSJ s.v.) regularly have both meanings.

**sed non puppis tua, Tarchon:** *puppis* = ‘ship’ by synecdoche here (156–7 n.) as at 297 (contrast 287). *sed non* presents Tarchon’s grounding as a correction of the poet’s *omnes innocuae*, a version of the rhetorical device of ἐπιδιόρθωσις or *correctio rei superioris* (Lausberg, *Handbuch*, 389). The apostrophe of Tarchon marks the dramatic moment with a vivid address. Note the unusual line-ending of three disyllables (again 400, 442, 772); it is increasingly frequent in the later books of the *Aeneid*, cf. Page on 440, Gransden and Fordyce on 8. 382, Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 9. 4a.

**303–4. inflicta vadis:** better than the variant *vadi* (supported by Timpanaro, *Storia*, 89–90); though *vadi dorso*, ‘back of the shoal’, is a possible phrase, the neat pairing of *inflicta* with *vadis* (cf. 1. 112 ‘inluditque vadis’) and of *dorso* (= ‘ridge’, cf. *G.* 3. 436) with *pendet*, forming an elegant chiasmus, seems preferable to taking *dorso* as ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both verbs (for further arguments cf. Delvigo 55–62).

**dorso dum pendet iniquo:** *iniquus* here seems to combine its literal sense of ‘uneven’ with the transferred ‘hostile’ (the bank opposes Tarchon), a trick found again at Prop. 1. 17. 10 ‘vada iniqua’ and Hor. *C.* 2. 10. 4 ‘litus iniquum’ (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard ad loc.). For *pendet* of a grounded ship cf. 5. 206 and Lucan’s imitation of this passage (9. 337).

**anceps sustentata diu:** this language follows *pendet* in the previous line in suggesting the metaphor of a weighing-balance, *anceps* indicating the wavering of the arm (cf. Pers. 4. 11), *sustentata* the support which holds it up (cf. 12. 726).

**fluctusque fatigat:** vivid alliteration; for the conceit cf. 289 ‘languentis pelagi’.

**305. solvitur:** ‘disintegrates’, a poetic *simplex* (34–5 n.) for the normal *dissolvitur*: cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1. 4. 11 ‘solvetur in aequore navis’.

**atque viros mediis exponit in undis:** for the non-elided *atque* cf. 51–2 n. *viros ... exponit*: an ironic reminiscence of *socios ... exponit* (287–8); this is no organized disembarkation but a mishap.

**306. fragmina remorum:** *fragmen* is more poetic than the alternative *fragmentum* (cf. the tables of usage at *TLL* vi. 1231. 10 ff., 1232. 21 ff.). Nouns in *-men* are often coined by the poets to replace intractable forms in *-mentum* (cf. 493–4 n.); for the two types in

general cf. LHS i. 370–1, ii. 744–5 and J. Perrot, *Les Dérivés latins en -men et -mentum* (Études et Commentaires, 37; Paris, 1961).

**quos et fluitantia transtra:** for the postponement of the relative *quos* cf. 531–2 n. *fluitantia transtra* is probably taken from Lucretius 2. 553–6, a similar description of shipwreck:

disiectare solet magnum mare *transtra* cavernas  
antennas proram malos tonsasque natantis,  
per terrarum omnis oras *fluitantia* aplustra  
ut videantur ...

The *transtra* are the cross-benches on which the rowers sat (Homeric ζυγά), usually also the cross-beams of the ship's structure (Casson 220 and pls. 100–2).

**307. retrahitque pedes simul unda relabens:** better than the variant *pedem: retrahit pedes* would refer to dragging back the feet of the shipwrecked sailors as they struggle to shore, *retrahit pedem* to the sea withdrawing its metaphorical foot. The latter is certainly possible in poetry (cf. 9. 125 'revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto'), but the former gives the right emphasis in a passage stressing the difficulties of the sailors in getting in shore.

**308–61.** The battle begins on the shore. Aeneas gains the first successes in a short ἀριστεία; on the Italian side Clausus, Halaesus, and Messapus distinguish themselves, and the battle becomes evenly poised.

**308–9. nec Turnum segnīs retinet mora:** *segnīs* means 'slow' and then 'cowardly' (cf. 592 'fuga segnīs'); Turnus is both swift and brave here.

**sed rapit acer/totam aciem in Teucros:** for *rapere* of the swift deployment of troops cf. 178, 7. 724–5, 12. 450, Livy 2. 20. 7, 23. 36. 3. *acer:* 'fierce', of heroes at 577, 897, 11. 518, and 12. 661; *acer* and *acies* are derived from the same root (Ernout–Meillet 6–8, Walde–Hofmann i. 8), and Bartelink 101 suggests an etymological word-play between the two here and at 12. 661–2. As Servius notes, Turnus here resolves his tactical dilemma of 285–6 in favour of throwing all his men against Aeneas.

**et contra in litore sistit:** *sistere* is a standard term for stationing troops (cf. Livy 2. 65. 2, Tac. *Hist.* 3. 77, and the similar Homeric use of ἵστημι, *Il.* 2. 525, 4. 298).

**310–11. signa canunt:** a military phrase for the trumpet-signal (*TLL* iii. 266. 22 ff.); the trumpet is unknown in the fighting of the *Iliad*, but is mentioned in a simile (*Il.* 18. 219) and is common

as a battle-signal thereafter, cf. Skutsch on *Annales* p. 280 (adding Aesch. *Pers.* 395), Wickert 456.

**primus turmas invasit agrestis/Aeneas, omen pugnae:** cf. *Il.* 6. 5–6 *Αἴας δὲ πρῶτος Τελαμώνιος, ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, Τρώων ῥῆξε φάλαγγα, φῶως δ' ἐτάροισιν ἔθηκεν*, a similarly auspicious start to a battle-episode. *turma*, strictly of cavalry (239 n.), is here used loosely of infantry, while *agrestis* points to the agricultural associations of the Italian army which have been much stressed in book 7 (505–10, 635–6, 681; cf. Lyne 8). *invasit* of attacking persons is a military use (*TLL* vii/2. 109. 56 ff.), while *omen pugnae* is accusative ‘in apposition with the sentence’, a syntactical Graecism (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 752–7, KG i. 284–5) common in Vergil (Page on 11. 62, Austin on 6. 323, Fordyce on 8. 683, KS i. 247 ff.).

Aeneas’ initial act of successful aggression, beginning his *ἀριστεία* and indeed his active involvement in the war, matches that of Turnus at 9. 52–3, and is symbolic of a book of military success for him as book 9 was for Turnus; here he is to establish his credentials as a Homeric warrior (cf. Heinze 193). The idea that an initial event portends the outcome of a war is found in the analytical hindsight of Latin historians, cf. Livy 21. 29. 4, Sall. *Hist.* 1 fr. 109 M.

**stravitque Latinos:** for the poetic euphemism *sterno* cf. 119 n. 312–13. **occiso Therone:** *occido*, generally avoided by poets is used three times by Vergil, cf. Lyne, *WP* 106–8. Theron, occurring only here in the *Aeneid* and not a traditional epic name, recalls the famous tyrant of Acragas addressed by Pindar (e.g. *Ol.* 2); Saunders 540 suggests a link with *θήρ*, ‘beast’ (this hero might be a hunter).

**virum ... maximus:** cf. *Il.* 15. 526 *φέρτατος ἀνδρῶν* (for the archaic genitive *virum* cf. 228–9 n.).

**ultra/... petit:** Theron’s confidence in his massive physique leads him to fight the great Aeneas of his own accord (*ultra*); *petit* means ‘sought’ in a hostile sense, ‘went for’ (cf. 388, 420, *OLD* s.v. 2).

313–14. The description of the weapon’s penetration is typically Homeric, cf. *Il.* 3. 357–60:

διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε φαεινῆς ὄβριμον ἔγχος,  
καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαίδαλου ἠρήριστο·  
ἀντικρὺς δὲ παρὰ λαπάρην διάμησε χιτῶνα  
ἔγχος ...

Vergil’s repeated *per* (for his asymmetrical omission of the second *-que* cf. Fordyce on 7. 75) imitates Homer’s *διὰ μὲν ... διὰ δέ*.

**gladio ... haurit:** *gladius* is the normal prose word for ‘sword’, found only four times in Vergil, who usually has the more poetic *ensis* (64 times in *Aen.*): for the distinction cf. Axelson, *UW* 51,

Lyne *WP* 103-4, *TLL* v/2. 608. 40 ff. The fundamental sense of *haurire* is 'scoop' (D. A. West, *CQ*, ns 15 (1965), 271-80); this vivid use of 'gashing out' wounds seems to have belonged to *sermo castrensis*, the colourful talk of common soldiers, cf. Servius here, W. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften* (Heidelberg, 1937), 153, M. G. Mosci Sassi, *Il sermo castrensis* (Bologna, 1983), 76.

**aerea suta:** 'aereus' = *χάλκεος* (for these adjs. in *-eus* cf. 3 n.); *suta* is first substantivized by Vergil. The phrase seems to refer (anachronistically) to the sewn rings or platelets of chain-mail, not known in Homer but worn by the Roman troops of Vergil's own day, cf. Walbank on Polyb. 6. 23. 5, Sandbach, art. cit. (120 n.), 31-2.

**tunicam squalentem auro:** cf. 12. 87-8 'auro squalentem .../ ... loricam'. *squalentem* evokes the stiffness of gold thread woven into the tunic (818 n.); for its use of anything rough cf. Gellius 2. 6. 20-5.

**latus ... apertum:** *latus* here renders the Homeric *λαπάρην* (above); *apertus* 'exposed', is a military use (*OLD* s.v. 8b).

**315. inde ... ferit:** compare the Homeric *ἐνθ' ἔλε* (*Il.* 5. 677 etc.), formulaic in slaying-catalogues (Fenik 68); *ferire* of striking down an enemy is Ennian (*Ann.* 234 Skutsch).

**Lichan ... exsectum iam matre perempta:** the name is that of Heracles' herald in myth, cf. Soph. *Trach.* 189. *perempta:* *perimo* is archaic and poetic (Axelson, *UW* 67).

**316-17. et tibi, Phoebe, sacrum:** note the apostrophe of the god, here pathetically powerless to save his protégé. The death of divine favourites or servants is common in both Vergil (cf. Haemonides at 537 ff., 2. 429-30 (Panthus), 11. 843-4 (Camilla)) and Homer (Scamandrius at *Il.* 5. 49 ff., Sarpedon, and Hector). According to Servius here all those born by the kind of posthumous section envisaged here were sacred to Apollo, who cut his own son Asclepius from the womb of the dead Coronis (Pind. *P.* 3. 24-44).

**casus evadere ferri/quo licuit parvo?:** *quo* (conjectured independently by Markland on Stat. *Silvae* 1. 2. 88) is superior to the variants *quod* and *cui*, giving a pathetic rhetorical question which is both more stylish and more Vergilian than the lamely explanatory *quod*, cf. 11. 735 'quo ferrum quidve haec gerimus tela inrita dextris?', 12. 879 'quo vitam dedit aeternam?' *casus ferri* followed by *parvo* gives the pathetic irony of Lichas' death; he survived the hazard of surgeon's steel when young, but not the steel of Aeneas' sword when grown.

**nec longe:** the temporal use of this adverb, appearing in poetry first in the Augustan period; cf. Courtney on Juv. 6. 561, *TLL* vii/2. 1649. 23 ff. The motif of victims slain in quick succession is

a feature of the Homeric ἀριστεία, cf. *Il.* 8. 277 πάντας ἐπασσύντερος πέλασε χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ (a recurring line in Homer).

**Cissea durum:** Cisseus' name (he appears only here in the *Aeneid*) is borrowed from a Thracian king in the *Iliad* (5. 537) or from the father of Hecuba (704–5 n.); it is also a title of Apollo (Aesch. fr. 341 Radt, with his note). *durum* suggests that Cisseus is from tough Italian stock, cf. 422, 7. 504, 9. 603.

**318. immanemque Gyan:** *immanis* corresponds to Homeric πελώριος, indicating 'unnatural, terrifying, or forbidding size'; it is poetic before Vergil and frequent in the *Aeneid*, cf. Mackail on 1. 616, Pease and Austin on 4. 199, Fordyce on 7. 305. This Italian Gyas occurs only here (the name is also given to a prominent Trojan, 1. 222, 5. 118 ff., 12. 460); his name plays on the gigantic aspect of *immanis* here, for it is closely related to the Greek giant-names Γύγης and Γύης (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 17. 14, West on Hes. *Th.* 149).

**sternentis agmina clava:** the hyperbole echoes *Il.* 7. 141 σιδηρείη κορύνη ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας (for the euphemistic *sternere* cf. 119 n.). *clava:* the weapon of Hercules (below), which Cisseus and Gyas carry as sons of the hero's companion Melampus.

**319–20. deiecit leto:** cf. 662 'demittit ... morti' and *Il.* 1. 3 Ζεὺς προΐαψεν; such phrases in Latin retain something of the primitive and Homeric personification of death, cf. Fordyce on 8. 566, J. H. Waszink, *Mnem.* 4th ser., 19 (1966), 249–53 (for the archaic and poetic *letum* cf. 418 n.).

**nihil illos ... iuvere:** that a warrior's special status or qualities do not prevent his death (cf. similarly 7. 756–8, 9. 327–8) is a pathetic motif of the Homeric battle-obituary: cf. *Il.* 7. 143–4 οὐ κορύνῃ οἱ ὄλεθρον/χραΐσμε σιδηρείῃ (the same model as for 318), *Il.* 5. 53–4, 16. 837, Griffin, *Life and Death*, 114.

**Herculis arma:** the club is an early identifying characteristic of Hercules in art (Roscher, *Lexikon* i. 2138–9, 2147), but does not appear as such in literature until Pindar (fr. 111. 3 Snell with G. Zuntz, *Hermes*, 85 (1957), 401).

**validae ... manus:** cf. the Homeric χειρὶ παχείῃ (*Il.* 3. 376 etc.).

**genitorque Melampus:** i.e. their heroic descent from a comrade of Hercules gave them no help; *-que* is here used for *-ve* as often (111–12 n.). For the archaic/poetic *genitor* cf. 45 n. Melampus appears only here as a companion of Hercules, presumably brought to Italy by that hero like Antores (779–80); his name is that of a famous seer of Greece (*G.* 3. 550, *Od.* 15. 225 ff.).

**321–2. Alcidae comes:** the learned patronymic *Alcides*, referring to Hercules' putative paternal grandfather Alcaeus, is first found in Hellenistic poetry, cf. Austin on 6. 123. *comes:* Homeric εἵταιρος; at

779 another minor Italian, Antores, is similarly dignified with the status of ‘comrade of Hercules’ (for this associative technique cf. 125–6 n.).

**gravis ... labores:** the well-known Labours (called *duros ... labores* at 8. 291).

**dum terra .../praebuit:** implicitly contrasts Hercules’ hard life on earth with his subsequent apotheosis.

**ecce Pharo:** the dative, natural after *intorqueo* (cf. 2. 231 and 11. 637) is to be preferred to the accusative variant *Pharon*. Saunders 547 suggests that the name plays on *φάρος*, a by-form of *φάρυγξ* found at Lycophron, *Alex.* 154; this is doubly appropriate, for Pharus here is not only all talk and no action but also receives a throat-wound, a piece of poetic justice (Heinze 207). For the dramatic *ecce* cf. 133 n.

**voces dum iactat inertis:** both verb and adjective suggest that Pharus is a coward who throws words instead of weapons (for this image cf. 95 n.).

**323. intorquens iaculum:** *intorquere* and *torquere* both refer to the rifling of spears (333–4 n.).

**clamanti sistit in ore:** *clamanti*, dative with *Pharo*, is here better than the genitive variant *clamantis*, impossible with *Pharo*, although Vergilian practice usually makes ‘the participle in such cases agree with the person, not with the organ which he employs’ (Nettleship), cf. 535–6 ‘reflexa/cervice orantis’, 4. 79 ‘narrantis ab ore’ and esp. 9. 442 ‘clamantis in ore’. For the wound in the throat or mouth, usually sustained while speaking, cf. 347–8, 7. 533–4, 9. 442–3, *Il.* 16. 345, 404ff. For *sistit* cf. Lucilius fr. 155 Marx ‘gladium in stomacho . . . ac pulmonibus sisto’.

**324–5. tu quoque:** ‘affective’ apostrophe, varying the catalogue of victims (cf. *te quoque* at 139 with n.).

**flaventem prima lanugine malas:** cf. Lucr. 5. 889 ‘mollis vestit lanugine malas’. *flaventem* suggests the traditional ruddy/golden colour of first down (Gow on Theocr. 6. 3), while *malas* follows it as ‘Greek accusative’ of respect (cf. App. D). For *prima ... lanugine* cf. *Il.* 24. 347–8 *κούρω .../πρώτον ὑπηνήτην*; *lanugo* is etymologically connected with *lana* (cf. E. Eyben, *Latomus*, 31 (1972), 693). The age of first down was considered to be the most attractive in a youth (cf. 9. 179–81, K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978), 172).

**dum sequeris Clytium:** Cydon follows both as squire and as lover (for *sequor* of amatory pursuit cf. Pichon, *Serm. am.* 261). The pairing of warrior and squire as homosexual lovers, excluded from Homer, is common thereafter (cf. Dover, *op. cit.* 191–9) and found

prominently in Vergil in the story of Nisus and Euryalus (cf. esp. 9. 182). For the common heroic name *Clytius* cf. 129 n.

**infelix ... Cydon:** the epithet, pleasingly paradoxical next to *nova gaudia*, suggests sympathy for the victim (425, 596, 730, 781, 829, Pease on 4. 68). *Cydon* suggests an association with *κῶδος*, ‘glory’, fitting for a hero and matching *Clytius* in sense; links with *Cydonius*, ‘Cretan’ (cf. Servius here, B. W. Boyd, *HSCPh* 87 (1983), 170–1) would be attractive here because of the Cretan reputation for pederasty in antiquity (cf. Dover, op. cit. 185–90), were it not for the different quantity of the first vowel (*Cydon/Cydonius*).

**nova gaudia:** in apposition with *Clytium*: *gaudia* is common in love-elegy of the beloved (Pichon, *Serm. am.* 159), and the plural may owe something to those of the similar *deliciae* and *παιδικά*.

**326–7. Dardania stratus dextra:** epic phrasing: cf. *Il.* 10. 452 *ἐμῆς ὑπὸ χειρὶ δαμείς*.

**securus amorum:** again at 1. 350, in a different and active sense (cf. Austin ad loc.; for the technique of repetition in a different sense cf. 119 n.). Here *securus* suggests freedom from the erotic *cura* of the beloved (132 n.) in death, the remover of all cares, ‘leti secreta quies’ (Lucr. 3. 211). ‘Forgetting his concerns in life’ is another motif from Homeric battle-obituaries: cf. *Il.* 16. 776 *λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων*, Griffin, *Life and Death*, 106.

**miserande:** for the pathetic apostrophe cf. 825 n.

**328. ni fratrum stipata cohors foret obvia:** *cohors*, which usually refers to a tenth of a Roman legion, is both anachronistic and hyperbolic: the seven brothers (who may be Cydon’s brothers or not) are like a battalion; cf. 12. 277 (the nine sons of Gylippus) ‘fratres, animosa phalanx’.

**328–30. Phorci/progenies:** the brothers’ father bears the name of a sea-god (cf. 5. 824, *Od.* 13. 96). For *progenies* cf. 30 n.

**septem numero, septenaque tela/coniciunt:** the distributive adjective *septena* following *septem* means ‘a corresponding seven’ (Fordyce on 7. 538); for the elegant variation of cardinal and distributive cf. 565–6, 5. 85, 560–1.

**330–1. partim ... partim:** a favourite pairing of Lucretius’ (eight times), twice in Vergil (cf. 11. 204–5).

**resultant/inrita:** the verb is again Lucretian (Lucr. 2. 98, 101), while *inrita* (sc. *tela*) recalls the Homeric *ἄλιον βέλος* (*Il.* 4. 498, cf. 95 n.). Aeneas’ divine arms repel missiles, like those of Achilles in the *Iliad* (20. 259–66, 21. 591–4).

**331–2. deflexit ... stringentia corpus/alma Venus:** combines two Homeric motifs, that of divine intervention to turn aside spears from favoured heroes (*Il.* 5. 185–7, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 17. 28) and that of the harmless grazing of a hero (*Il.* 3. 359–

60 = 7. 253-4). *alma Venus* is traditional and probably belongs to old epic (cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 694, Lucr. 1. 2); for the epithet, appropriate here for Venus' protection of her son, cf. 220 n.

**fidum Aeneas adfatur Achaten:** the poetic verb (cf. *TLL* i. 1245. 47 ff.) echoes Homeric *προσέφη*. Achates in the *Aeneid* is Aeneas' right-hand man and constantly called *fidus* (Austin on 1. 188), but is not strongly characterized (he is credited with no direct speech: the ideal subordinate). He may well be an invention of Vergil's; Servius (on 1. 174 and 312) connects his name with *ἀχάτης*, 'agate' and *ἄχος*, 'grief', but it is more likely to derive from the river Achates in Sicily, a region rich in the Aeneas-legend (O. Rossbach in *RE* i. 211-12).

**333-4. suggere tela mihi:** Achates acts as Aeneas' squire here as at 1. 188, where he carries his hunting-weapons.

**non ullum dextera frustra/torserit in Rutulos:** a heroically confident speech; cf. *Il.* 14. 454-6 οὐ μὰν ἀδτ' οἶω μεγαθύμου Πανθοῖδαο/χειρὸς ἄπο στιβαρῆς ἄλιον πηδῆσαι ἄκοντα, | ἀλλὰ τις Ἀργείων κόμισε χροῖ, a model here. *torserit:* the future perfect of strong confidence or predicted result; cf. 9. 282 and LHS ii. 323. *torquere* of spears (first found in Vergil and Horace) refers to a rotating motion imparted by a thong (*amentum*), cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 8. 12, Hollis on Ov. *Met.* 8. 28-9, H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London, 1972), 36-7.

**334-5. steterunt quae in corpore Graium/Iliacis campis:** cf. *Il.* 8. 298 (of Teucer's arrows) πάντες δ' ἐν χροῖ πῆχθεν ἀρηϊθῶν αἰζήων. *steterunt* scans as an anapaest, an archaic form surviving in Vergil's day as a poetic licence (cf. Austin on 2. 774), while ἐν χροῖ confirms that *corpore* means 'flesh'; for the postponement of the relative *quae* cf. 531 n. The echo of the Trojan War stresses that Aeneas here shows himself once again as a warrior, fighting with the same weapons (drawn from his victims in the usual heroic manner, cf. 383-4, *Il.* 13. 573-5, 16. 503-4). For *Graium* cf. 720 n., for *Iliacis campis* cf. 581-2 n., for *Iliacus* cf. 61-2 n.

**magnam ... hastam:** echoing the Homeric μέγα ἔγχος (*Il.* 1. 100 etc.).

**336-7. et iacit:** the sense-pause after the initial verb of effort, coming after the first dactyl, mirrors the relaxation of the thrower after dispatch, cf. 400, 646, Page on 9. 411.

**illa volans clipei transverberat aera/Maeonis, et thoraca simul cum pectore rumpit:** Homeric description of penetration: cf. 313-14, 485 and *Il.* 3. 357-8 (= 7. 251-2, 11. 435-6) διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε φαεινῆς ὄβριμον ἔγχος, | καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαίδαλου ἠρήρειστο. *illa volans:* the change of subject to the spear is also typically Homeric (*Il.* 3. 355-8, 5. 65-7, etc.); for flying spears cf.

476, 777, and *Il.* 20. 99. *clipei ... aera*: the bronze layers of the shield (cf. 482, 783-4). *transverberat*: the verb is first found in Cicero (*Poet.* fr. 69. 8-9 Traglia, *Fam.* 7. 1. 3), and here as at 484 and 11. 667 vividly characterizes the violent penetration of a quivering spear. *Maeonis*: Maeon is the name of a Greek in Homer (*Il.* 5. 394), Vergil uses it of an Italian who occurs only here. *thorax* is the Homeric *θώραξ*, a solid bronze breastplate (cf. *Il.* 17. 314 *ρήξε δὲ θώρακος γύαλον*); Vergil mixes this freely with the Roman anachronism of chain-mail (cf. 313-14, 485).

**338-9. huic frater subit Alcanor:** *subit* means 'comes up to help'; cf. 2. 467, Livy 28. 13. 8 'cum ... integri fessis subirent'. *Alcanor*, an Italian occurring only here, shares his name with a Trojan at 9. 672, and it is close to that of *Ἀλκανδρος*, a Trojan in the *Iliad* (5. 678): both names are derived from *ἀλκή*, 'might, aid', and *ἀνήρ*, 'man', appropriate to Alcanor's role here in helping his wounded brother (so Saunders 554). The rescue of a brother (note the emphatic polyptoton *frater ... fratrem*) is a Homeric motif (cf. *Il.* 8. 330-4).

**339-40. traiecto ... lacerto:** the verb (again 348, 1. 355, 9. 419) has military overtones (Caes. *Gall.* 5. 35. 6, Livy 27. 32. 5); the noun is more poetic than the commoner *bracchium* (*TLL* vii/2. 892. 57 ff.).

**missa . . . hasta** (again 457, 11. 799) is Ennian, cf. *Ann.* 356 Skutsch 'missaque per pectus dum transit striderat hasta'.

**servatque cruenta tenorem:** *servare tenorem*, like *protinus*, is Lucretian (cf. *Lucr.* 4. 632, 5. 508); cf. further Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 3. 113. *cruenta*: the adjective, like the verb *cruentare* (730-1 n.) is Ennian (*Trag.* 138 Jocelyn). The sequence of events is clear; Aeneas' spear of 335-6, maintaining its forceful course, passes right through Maeon and into the top of Alcanor's arm as he attempts to support his brother from behind, severing it. Anatomical probability need not be a consideration here: fantastic wounds and slayings occur already in Homer (Fenik 195-6), and are plentiful in later epic (cf. Henry's note here).

**341. dextera ... moribunda:** cf. *Lucr.* 3. 653 'moribundus ... pes', where the adj. similarly means 'dying' (for the range of meanings of *moribundus* in Vergil cf. Wagner, *QV* 29. 2b). Such adjectives in *-bundus* are closely related to present participles: for their character (at least sometimes poetic) and use cf. Gellius 11. 15, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 3. 393, Lyne on *Ciris* 256, Goodyear on *Tac. Ann.* 1. 17. 1, P. Langlois, *RÉL* 39 (1961), 117-34, E. Pianezzola, *Gli aggettivi verbali in -bundus* (Florence, 1965).

**342-3. tum Numitor:** the name is genuinely Italian, belonging to the grandfather of Romulus and Remus (cf. 6. 768, Livy 1. 3. 10,

Dion. Hal. 1. 76. 1), probably with Etruscan roots (cf. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 200).

**iaculo fratris de corpore rpto:** a pathetic inversion of the extraction of the spear by the killer (cf. 383-4).

**Aenean petiit:** again at 313 'Aenean petit'; the motif of avenging a brother is Iliadic, cf. Fenik 88.

**343-4. sed non et figere contra/est licitum:** *figere* is poetic *simplex pro composito* (34-5 n.) for *transfigere* (first so in Vergil; cf. 381, 778, *TLL* vi. 715. 37 ff.), while *contra* means 'in answer'. *non . . . / est licitum:* for this verb and form cf. 106 n.; Aeneas cannot be killed here since he is destined to survive the war.

**magni femur perstrinxit Achatae:** thigh-wounds are traditional in epic (12. 926, *Il.* 3. 660-1, 11. 582, 16. 308); here the verb indicates only a graze (cf. 331). This motif 'warrior aims for major hero but strikes his lesser companion' is common in Homer, and has been conveniently termed *alienum vulnus*, cf. 781-2 n., Fenik 57, 126-8.

**345-6. Curibus ... Clausus:** 'Clausus of Cures': the simple ablative of place of origin is found with the names of persons in both poetry and prose, cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 499 'Periphanes Rhodo mercator', Caes. *Civ.* 3. 71. 1, Cic. *Clu.* 36, LHS ii. 105, Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, i. 296-7. Cures was a Sabine town, traditionally the original residence of Numa (Austin on 6. 811), while Clausus was the ancestor of the gens *Claudia* (cf. his first appearance at 7. 707-9); Vergil has put him back into the legendary period, modifying the usual view that the original Clausus came from Sabine country to Rome at the beginning of the Republic (c.504 BC), cf. Fordyce on 7. 707, Ogilvie on Livy 1. 13. 5. Clausus' appearance in the *Aeneid* compliments the gens *Claudia* and particularly Augustus' consort Livia, whose father (adopted by a Livius Drusus) and first husband were both Claudii; for an analogous compliment cf. 752 n.

**fidens primaevus corpore:** cf. *Iliad* 5. 299 ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς; *primaevus* (again at 7. 162 and Cat. 64. 401) renders the Homeric πρωθήβης (*Il.* 8. 518). The beauty of a prime physique was considered part of the ἀρετή of Homeric warriors (so Achilles and Ajax, *Il.* 2. 673-4, 21. 108-10; *Il.* 17. 279-80). This tradition is carried on in the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas and Turnus combine beauty and might, cf. 4. 141, 7. 55, 649-50, 783.

**rigida ... hasta:** *rigidus*, referring to hardness and penetrative power, is first found of weapons in Vergil (cf. 12. 304, G. 1. 508).

**Dryopem ferit eminus:** a similar minor Trojan Dryops is killed at *Il.* 20. 455. For *ferit* cf. 315 n.; *eminus*, 'at a distance' (645, 776, 801) is derived from *e manu* and the opposite of *comminus*, from *cum manu* (cf. 453-4 n.); both words are military terms (for *eminus*

cf. *TLL* v/2. 496. 55 ff.; it is found in poetry before Vergil only at Lucr. 6. 904, but may well have occurred in Ennius).

**347–8. sub mentum graviter pressa:** again a Homeric wound, cf. *Il.* 13. 387–8 ὁ δὲ μιν φθάμενος βάλε δουρὶ/λαιμὸν ὑπ’ ἀνδρεῶνα, διαπρὸ δὲ χαλκὸν ἔλασσειν. *mentum* is found six times in Vergil, clearly an acceptable part of the body for the proprieties of epic (for Vergil’s anatomical censorship cf. J. N. Adams, *BICS* 27 (1980), 50–62).

**pariterque loquentis/vocem animamque rapit:** modelled on *Il.* 16. 505 τοῖο δ’ ἅμα ψυχὴν τε καὶ ἔγχρεος ἐξέρυσ’ αἰχμὴν; *anima* renders ψυχή, ‘breath of life’, as often (*TLL* ii. 70. 59 ff.). For wounds in the mouth or throat sustained while speaking cf. 323 n.; *loquentis* picks up φθεγγομένου on *Il.* 10. 457 (= *Od.* 22. 329) φθεγγομένου δ’ ἄρα τοῦγε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη.

**traiecto gutture:** for *traiectus* cf. 339–40 n.; *guttur* like *mentum* is a prosaic part of the body which is mentionable in epic (three times in *Aeneid*).

**348–9. at ille/fronte ferit terram:** cf. *Od.* 22. 86 ὁ δὲ χθόνα τύπτει μετώπῳ, with similarly graphic alliteration to mark the head hitting the ground.

**et crassum vomit ore cruorem:** *crassum cruorem* (again 5. 469) renders *Il.* 23. 697 αἷμα παχύ, *vomit ... cruorem* (again *G.* 3. 516) *Il.* 14. 437 αἷμ’ ἀπέμεσσειν. *cruor* is generally used like Homeric βρότος for fresh-spilt blood; for its usages in poetry and senses cf. *TLL* iv. 1242. 1 ff. and A. Ernout, *Philologica* (Études et Commentaires, 1; Paris, 1946), 99–102. The jingle *ore cruorem* contains a favourite type of Vergilian assonance, often found at line-end (cf. 789 ‘genitoris amore’, Pease on 4. 54).

**350–1. tres ... tris:** probably preferable to the majority reading *tris ... tris. tres ... tris* is read and approved for euphony by Gellius (13. 21. 10), and the predominance of *e* in 350 and *i* in 351 makes this elegant variation attractive here (for examples of similar euphonic variation cf. N. I. Herescu, *La Poésie latine* (Paris, 1960), 96–9).

**Threicios:** Vergil prefers the sonorous *Threicius* (cf. Homeric Θρηῖκιος: *Il.* 10. 559) and *Thracius* to the prosaic *Thrax*, just as he always has *Graius* for *Graecus* (720 n.); the Thracians appear as Trojan allies here as in the *Iliad* (2. 844).

**Boreae de gente suprema:** cf. 7. 220 ‘Iovis de gente suprema’, Enn. *Ann.* 166 Skutsch ‘a stirpe supremo’. Thracians from the north are fittingly made descendants of the North Wind.

**quos Idas pater et patria Ismara mittit:** for the parechysis *pater ... patria* cf. Jocelyn on Enn. *Trag.* 87, Wölfflin, *AS* 270. *Idas* is the name of a Trojan at 9. 575 and of a Thracian here, both of whom appear only once, and is taken from a well-known Argonaut

(Ap. Rh. 1. 151, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 60). *Ismara* is neuter plural as at *G.* 2. 37 and *Lucr.* 5. 31; the Homeric form is *Ἰσμάρος* (*Od.* 9. 40), followed by Vergil at *Ecl.* 6. 30. The personification of the place and the use of *mittit* suggest catalogue-style: cf. 7. 715-16 'quos frigida misit/Nursia', 744, 9. 177 and 172 n.

**352-3. per varios sternit casus:** *casus* here means 'death' (*TLL* iii. 577. 41 ff.) just as *cadere* means 'fall in death' (390 n.), both poetic euphemisms like *sterno* (119 n.).

**accurrit Halaesus/Auruncaeque manus:** *Halaesus* and his men appeared in the Latin Catalogue at 7. 723 ff.; the *Aurunzi* (a Latinized version of *Ἀῤῥονες*, probably identical with *Ausonii*: cf. 53-4 n.) were strictly a tribe of N. Campania (Ogilvie on *Livy* 2. 16. 8, Hülsen in *RE* ii. 2554); the name is here extended to cover the various Campanian tribes in Halaesus' contingent (cf. 7. 725 'mille populos'). Elsewhere Halaesus is not a Campanian but a Latin, founder of Falerii (cf. *Ov. Fasti* 4. 73-4 with Bömer's note, Servius on 7. 695); such geographical switching of legendary Italian heroes is common in the *Aeneid*, cf. 166 n., the case of Messapus below and Holland 202-6. Halaesus is normally seen as an Argive (so he is *Agamemnonius* at 7. 723), and sometimes as a son of Poseidon, a paternity switched by Vergil to Messapus (see below and Ritter 27-37); cf. further Fordyce on 7. 723 ff., Eisenhut, *KP* ii. 921. The most important hero killed by Pallas in this book (425), Halaesus effectively plays the role of Sarpedon to Pallas' Patroclus in Vergil's replay of the *Iliad*; cf. *Introd.* 1(iii).

**353-4. Neptunia proles:** so of Messapus again at 7. 691, 9. 523, 12. 128; the adjective for genitive (156-7 n.) is here poetic following Homer (*Il.* 4. 367 *Καπηνῆϊός υἱός*), while *proles* is an archaism favoured by the Augustan poets, cf. *Cic. De Or.* 3. 153, *Quint.* 8. 3. 26, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 2. 19, Murgatroyd on *Tib.* 1. 4. 7, Fedeli on *Prop.* 1. 20. 25-6. Only in the *Aeneid* is Messapus son of Neptune, a link probably taken by Vergil from Halaesus (above) which confers heroic stature.

**insignis ... equis:** the same phrase is used of Turnus with a hint at his origins (20-2 n.); here, like Messapus' constant characterization as *equum domitor* (7. 691, 9. 523, 12. 128, 550), it alludes to the equine associations of his father Neptune, *Ποσειδῶν Ἴππιος*. As with Halaesus (see above), Vergil changes Messapus' traditional region of association; as his name suggests, he is usually seen as the eponymous hero of the Calabrian Messapii in the heel of Italy, but in the Latin Catalogue he leads a contingent from southern Etruria (7. 695-7). Cf. Holland 202, Ritter 27-37, F. Altheim, *ARW* 29 (1931), 22-32, Lamer in *RE* xv. 1209-10, Radke in *KP* iii. 1249, J. Perret in *Mélanges Boyancé* (Paris, 1974), 557-68.

**354–5. expellere tendunt/nunc hi, nunc illi:** cf. *Il.* 15. 416–18 οὐδὲ δύναντο/οὐδ’ ὁ τὸν ἐξελάσαι καὶ ἐνιπρήσαι πυρὶ νῆα/οὐδ’ ὁ τὸν ἄψ ὤσασθαι, where ἐξελάσαι seems to suggest Vergil’s *expellere*. The anaphora of *nunc* with a pair of balancing demonstrative pronouns or adverbs is characteristically Vergilian; cf. 680 ‘nunc huc, nunc illuc’, 4. 442 ‘nunc hinc nunc . . . illunc’, 5. 441 ‘nunc hos nunc . . . illos’ (cf. 6. 315).

**355–6. certatur:** the impersonal passive (cf. 7. 553 ‘pugnatur’) recalls the language of military historians, cf. Austin on 1. 272, Fraenkel, *Horace*, 115 n. 1, Wackernagel *Vorl.* i. 144 ff., LHS ii. 288, 418, E. Wistrand, *Über das Passivum* (Göteborg, 1941), 88 ff.; *certare* itself is Ennian (*Ann.* 77, 193, 250, 262, 434, 464 Skutsch).

**limine in ipso:** again at 11. 881; here with *Ausoniae* it refers to the sea-shore battlefield, the ‘threshold of Italy’ for Aeneas and his invasion force; so Macrobius (*Sat.* 3. 1. 2) follows Vergil in calling the mouth of the Tiber *limen Italiae*.

**356–61.** Similes comparing human battles to the warring of the winds are an epic tradition since Homer (*Il.* 9. 4 ff., 16. 765 ff., *Enn. Ann.* 432–4 Skutsch). Vergil uses this image at 2. 416–19 to describe the confused fighting in Troy, but the point here is not confusion but equipoise between opposing forces.

**356–7. magno ... aethere:** poetic; cf. *Lucr.* 5. 473 ‘maximus aether’ and μέγας αἰθήρ (*Soph. Ant.* 426, *OC* 1471, *Eur. El.* 59).

**discordes ... venti:** recalls Homer’s ἐριδαίνετον ἀλλήλοισιν in a model simile at *Il.* 16. 765 (above); *discors* is poetic before Vergil (*TLL* v/1. 1343. 79 ff.).

**proelia ceu tollunt:** for *ceu* (archaic and poetic) cf. 97 n.; frequently postponed in Vergil, it is here held back to sixth place (fifth at 723). *proelia tollere* in the sense of ‘raise battle’ recalls πόλεμον αἵρεσθαι (*Aesch. Suppl.* 342, *Hdt.* 7. 132. 2, *Thuc.* 4. 60. 2). As with *pugna* (359), the military metaphor of *proelia* echoes and ‘interacts’ with the context of the simile, illustrating a real battle: cf. D. A. West, *JRS* 59 (1969), 48.

**animis et viribus aequis:** after *venti* (354) *animis* surely plays on ἀνεμοί, ‘winds’ (for the play cf. Servius and Austin on 1. 57). Note how the winds are personified to match the warriors they describe, another ‘interactive’ element.

**358. non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit:** for the triple anaphora of *non* in a tricolon cf. *G.* 3. 520–2 (for anaphora of *non* in classical Latin cf. A.-M. Guillemin, *RÉL* 19 (1941), 101–12). Note the careful separation of elements: the winds are locked in a struggle bounded above by the clouds and below by the sea. *cedit*: the singular number of the verb is usual in Vergil with multiple singular subjects (Wagner, *QV* 8. 3a: for further examples see

Becker, op. cit. 238 n.); the variant *cedunt* is clearly a scribal ‘correction’.

**359. *anceps pugna diu*:** this use of *anceps* (lit. ‘two-headed’) of evenly poised battle, first found at Cic. *Rep.* 2. 13, seems to derive from a striking phrase at *Il.* 11. 72 ἴσας δ’ ὑσμίνῃ κεφαλὰς ἔχεν.

**stant obnixa omnia contra:** the central point of comparison: *contra* is adverbial as at 5. 21 ‘obniti contra’, and recalls in sense and final position the *contra* of Enn. *Ann.* 433 Skutsch, a model here (cf. above, 356–61 n.).

**360–1. *haud aliter Troianae acies aciesque Latinae/concurrunt*:** echoes the close of the model at *Il.* 16. 770–1 ὡς Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες/δήουν; cf. also the same lines *Il.* 11. 70–1, another context operative here (359 n.). *haud aliter* like *non aliter*, is commonly used by Vergil to introduce or conclude similes (cf. *TLL* i. 1655. 44 ff.); for the litotes cf. Theocr. *Ep.* 10. 3 οὐχ ἑτέρως. The chiasmic word-order *Troianae acies aciesque Latinae* appropriately juxtaposes the two opposing sides in the battle (cf. App. C), while the repetition of *acies* anticipates the double polyptoton of the next line. *concurrunt*: emphatic enjambment of a single verb (cf. Worstbrock 158); *concurrunt* introduces Ennius’ wind-simile at *Ann.* 432 Skutsch, a model for Vergil here (cf. Norden, *EuV* 158–9 and above 356–61 n.).

**haeret pede pes densusque viro vir:** such double polyptoton describing a military close encounter has a long ancestry: cf. *Il.* 13. 131 (= 16. 215) ἀσπίς ἄρ’ ἀσπίδ’ ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ’ ἀνήρ, Tyrtaeus 11. 31–3 West καὶ ποδὰ πὰρ ποδὶ θείεις καὶ ἐπ’ ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ’ ἔρεισας, Eur. *Hcl.* 336–7 τὸ δεύτερον δὲ πούς ἐπαλλαχθεὶς ποδί,/ἀνήρ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀνδρὶ στὰς ἐκαρτέρει μάχῃ, Enn. *Ann.* 584 ‘pes premitur pede et armis arma teruntur’ (see Skutsch ad loc. for a useful note and later examples), Furius Bibaculus, *Poet.* 10 ‘pressatur pede pes, mucro mucrone, viro vir’, the last being a clear model for Vergil, as Macrobius (*Sat.* 6. 3. 5) notes. Livy also picks up this poetic theme (23. 27. 7) ‘dum corpora corporibus applicant armaque armis iungunt in artum compulsi’.

The ablatives of *pede* and *viro* are not easily explained after *haeret*, and may derive from Furius’ *pressatur pede pes*; the dative would be normal after *haerere*. They are perhaps best taken as local ablative, with a touch of causal (‘foot sticks fast by foot, close-packed man by man’).

**362–438.** The Arcadians are encouraged by the words of Pallas, who then leads by example with a major ἀριστεία, killing seven warriors.

Halaesus strikes back with several successes for the Italians, but is killed by Pallas. Fate forbids the meeting of Pallas and Lausus.

**362–3. parte ex alia:** *ex* means ‘in’, cf. Ovid. *Met.* 2. 227 ‘cunctis e partibus’, ‘in every part’. For the ‘cinematic’ switch from one perspective to another in battle-narrative cf. 267, 287, 308, and 345.

**qua saxa rotantia late/ impulerat torrens:** cf. *Il.* 13. 137–8 ὄλοοιτροχος ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης/ὄν τε κατὰ στεφάνης ποταμὸς χειμάροος ὤση (this Homeric context has already served as a model in 360–1); *saxa rotantia* pluralizes Homer’s noun ὄλοοιτροχος, involving a unique intransitive use of *rotans* (Vergil does the same with *volvens*, cf. Austin on l. 234, and with other verbs—cf. 239–40 n.). *late* is a favourite Vergilian adverb (*TLL* vii/2. 1023. 25 ff.), often in ‘unemphatic’ position at line-end (16–17 n.). *impulerat* seems preferable to the variant *intulerat* as a closer translation of ὤση in the Homeric model (see above), and also avoids repetition of the verb *inferre* (cf. 364).

**arbustaque diruta ripis:** *arbusta* of individual trees (*arbum*) is usually collective, ‘coppice’, cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 178–9) is a poetic use (Lucr. 5. 671).

**364. Arcadas:** probably the ‘Arcas eques’ at 239.

**acies inferre pedestris:** a periphrasis for ‘attack on foot’ (again at Tac. *Ann.* 2. 17. 3); *peditris acies* in the sense of ‘infantry forces’, common in Livy (*TLL* i. 405. 78 ff.) recalls πεζὴ στρατιά and πεζὸς στρατός (Thuc. 6. 33. 2, 7. 16. 1; Aesch. *Pers.* 721, 728).

**365. ut vidit Pallas:** cf. *Il.* 16. 419 Σαρπηδῶν δ’ ὡς οὖν ἴδ’. Pallas here makes his first appearance in the battle, and his intervention and encouragement of his men are modelled on those of Sarpedon at *Il.* 16. 419–26, with clear linguistic echoes (365, 369); the two episodes are structurally parallel in immediately preceding the death of both heroes, cf. Knauer 298.

**Latío dare terga sequaci:** *Latío ... sequaci* = *Latinis sequentibus*; for the substitution of the name of the country for that of its people cf. 8, LHS ii. 752–3 (with bibl.), G. Garuti, *Il toponimo in luogo dell’etnico in latino* (Bologna, 1955). *sequax* is poetic before Vergil (Lucr. 2. 48); *-ax* adjectives resemble participles in being derived from verbs, and mean ‘characteristically *x*’, ‘tending to *x*’ (LHS i. 376). *dare terga*: military language, frequent in Livy (*TLL* v/1. 1668. 61 ff.).

**366–7.** In these lines the MSS give a relative pronoun in the same clause as another element expressing the same subordination, the conjunction *quando*. This is intolerable, and either *quis/quos* (either is possible: cf. 9–10, 3. 161) or *quando* must be corrupt; emendation

seems required. Recent editors have favoured Madvig's conjecture *aspera aquis* (*Adversaria critica* (Copenhagen, 1873), ii. 43); this is highly plausible palaeographically, and would mean 'made rough by the waters'; cf. 4. 526–7 'aspera dumis/rura', Horace *C.* 1. 5. 6–7 'aspera nigris aequora ventis', Sall. *Cat.* 59. 2 'planities . . . rupe aspera' (a possible model here, cf. 369 n.). For such 'causal' ablatives cf. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 275, KS i. 394, LHS ii. 132–4. However, this has seemed unsatisfactory to some, not only because it produces something of an odd phrase but also because it leaves an even odder word-order, the subordinating *quando* being postponed almost to the end of its clause: *quando* occurs in fourth place at 6. 50, in third at 11. 509, but never this far back at sixth place. For those unpersuaded by Madvig the passage remains a genuine crux.

**natura loci:** a matter-of-fact term of the historians (Caes. *Gall.* 2. 18. 1, Livy 3. 42. 4).

**dimittere ... equos:** again military terminology: dismounting and sending away horses was a common practice of cavalry on rough ground (Caes. *Civ.* 3. 69. 4, *Bell. Hisp.* 15. 1).

**rebus ... egenis:** ablative absolute, possibly derived from older epic (cf. Norden. *Aen.* 6, Anh. 1. 1, Austin on 6. 91).

**368. nunc prece, nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris:** cf. *Il.* 12. 267–8 ἄλλον μελιχίους, ἄλλον στερεοῖς ἐπέεσσιν/νείκεον. *virtutem accendit:* this metaphorical use of *accendere* for 'kindling' mental states is found in poetry before Vergil (Acc. *Poet.* 7, Lucr. 5. 173).

**369. quo fugitis, socii?:** cf. *Il.* 16. 422 (Sarpedon, a model in this context, 365 n.): αἰδώς, ὦ Λύκιοι, πόσε φεύγετε; *socii:* here Homeric ἑταῖροι (cf. 1. 198, Hor. *C.* 1. 7. 26): the Arcadians are not Pallas' allies but his companions.

**per vos et fortia facta:** the verb of entreaty is omitted as in other excited requests, cf. 597, 4. 314 ff., 12. 56–7. For the adjuration *per vos* cf. 595 'per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes', Cic. *Planc.* 103, Sall. *Jug.* 14. 25 (with Koestermann's note). *fortia facta:* this phrase (again 1. 641) perhaps derives from early Latin epic, cf. Vretska on Sall. *Cat.* 59. 6. The last-quoted passage of Sallust looks like a model for Vergil here: 'plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat: ea commemorando militum animos accendebat'.

**370. devictaque bella:** the internal object after *vincere* and its compounds is a Graecism, cf. *Od.* 11. 544–5 εἵνεκα νίκης, /τήν μιν ἐγὼ νίκησα, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 523; for the force of the prefix *de-* here cf. 809 n.

**371. patriae quae nunc subit aemula laudi:** not a boast but a hope to equal 'ducis Euandri nomen'. For *patriae ... laudi* cf. *Ecl.* 4. 17 'patriis ... virtutibus'; in both cases the adjective replaces a genitive (156–7 n.), following Greek poetry: cf. Eur. *Held.* 325

πατρῶαν δόξαν. For the heroic theme of ‘son rivalling father’ cf. 129 n.

**372–3. fidite ne pedibus:** echoes the Homeric ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πεποιθῶς (*Il.* 6. 505, 22. 138); the postponement of *ne*, used like μή with imperative (cf. 11 n.), might echo a similar feature of μή, putting emphasis on the succeeding word, cf. Soph. *Ph.* 332 φράσης μοι μὴ πέρα, KG ii. 179 n. 1.

**ferro rumpenda per hostis/est via:** *ferro* is in strong rhetorical contrast with the chastically juxtaposed *pedibus* (‘not flight but fight’); the language recalls similar speeches to troops in historians (cf. Sall. *Cat.* 58. 7 ‘ferro iter aperiendum est’, Livy 22. 50. 9 ‘ferro atque audacia via fit quamvis per confertos hostis’), and *viam rumpere* is first found in Vergil and Livy, cf. Austin on 2. 494–5.

**qua globus ille virum densissimus urget:** cf. *Il.* 15. 616 ἧ δὴ πλείστον ὄμιλον ὄρα καὶ τεύχε’ ἄριστα. *globus* can be a technical description for a densely packed small formation (cf. *cuneus*), but is here used less strictly of the massed enemy (*TLL* vi. 2055. 3 ff.). *ille*: deictic; Pallas points to the Latins. For the archaic gen. *virum* cf. 228–9 n.

**374. hac vos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposit:** note Pallas’ grandiloquent use of his own name (cf. 73 n.); *Pallanta ducem* picks up *ducis Euandri*, stressing Pallas’ intention to match his father’s deeds (cf. 371). *patria alta*: again at 11. 797 and conventional (125–6 n.), though here one might think of the lofty hills of the future Rome at Pallanteum.

**375–6. mortali urgemur ab hoste/mortales, totidem nobis animaeque manusque:** cf. *Il.* 21. 568–70 (Aeneas on Achilles) καὶ γὰρ θῆν τούτῳ τρωτὸς χρώς ὀξεί· χαλκῶ, / ἐν δὲ ἴα ψυχῇ, θνητὸν δέ εἰ φασ’ ἀνθρώποι· ἔμμεναι. *mortali ... mortales*: emphatic polyptoton. *ab hoste*: Vergil generally avoids this prosaic *a/ab* of agent with the passive, found only five times in the *Aeneid*, cf. Fordyce on 7. 412. *totidem ... nobis ... manus* perhaps recalls *Il.* 13. 814 ἄφαρ δέ τε χεῖρες ἀμύνειν εἰσὶ καὶ ἡμῖν.

**377. ecce:** Pallas indicates the ocean, telling his men like Ajax in the *Iliad* (15. 739–41) that they must fight since their backs are to the sea.

**maris ... pontus:** such pleonastic expressions for the sea belong to epic (cf. *Il.* 21. 59 πόντος ἀλὸς πολιῆς, Ap. Rh. 2. 608 πέλαγος ... θαλάσσης, Lucr. 1. 8 ‘aequora ponti’); for this kind of ‘disjunctiveness’ and for the poetic tone of *pontus* (πόντος) cf. 103 n.

**magna ... obice:** the variant *magno* reflects the usage of later Latin, where *obice* was invariably masculine (cf. Zetzel 113–14); in earlier Latin it can be either feminine (here and Livy 9. 2. 10) or masculine (Sen. *HF* 999 and Silius 4. 24). *obice* here scans as a

dactyl, being strictly *obiice* with the first consonantal *i* making position (so *abiectum* is a molossus at 736 and *adiciunt* a choriamb at 182), cf. Gellius 4. 17. 1 ff., Servius on 4. 549, Eden on 8. 227.

**378. deest iam terra fugae:** cf. Livy 22. 6. 6 'locus fugae deest'. *deest* is scanned as a monosyllable by synizesis (116-17 n.; so *deerit* is a disyllable at 7. 262, *deerunt* at *G.* 2. 200, 233), usual with this verb in poetry and reflecting popular pronunciation. Cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 1. 77, *TLL* i. 778. 50 ff., W. M. Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1922), 150.

**pelagus Troiamne petamus?:** *Troiam* is the new Troy, the camp (27 n.), not the old Troy, which means nothing to an Arcadian audience. For *pelagus* cf. 230-1 n. and for the single *-ne* in disjunctive questions cf. 108 n. *petamus* is to be preferred to the variant *petemus*; the more forceful deliberative subjunctive seems more appropriate here at the end of a rousing speech.

**379. medius densos prorumpit in hostis:** *medius* is adverbial as at 56, while *densos ... hostis* (cf. 729) picks up *densissimus* in 373, stressing Pallas' application of his own words. *prorumpit*: a verb of violent movement, poetic before Vergil (*Lucr.* 2. 264), who also innovates by using it transitively (cf. Williams on 3. 572).

Similar leadership by example after a hortatory speech to reluctant troops is found in a parallel passage of the *Iliad* (17. 342 (Aeneas) ὡς φάτο, καί ῥα πολὺ προμάχων ἐξάλμενος ἔστη) and again in the *Aeneid* at 11. 732 ff. (Tarchon and the Etruscans). Such inspiration by personal example in battle was traditionally attributed to the good general in the Roman period: cf. Polyb. 3. 17. 8 (Hannibal), Sall. *Jug.* 85. 47 (Marius), *Cat.* 60. 4 (Catiline), Livy 2. 19. 6, 4. 41. 4, 30. 18. 4, 35. 5. 1 (various Republican generals), Quintus Curtius 4. 14. 6 (Alexander), Lucan 9. 394 ff. (Cato), Suet. *Div. Jul.* 57, 62 (Julius Caesar). To what extent Roman generals actually did fight at the head of their troops is unclear: cf. Ogilvie on Tac. *Agr.* 18. 2.

**380. obvius huic primum:** the stress on the sequence of slayings in an ἀριστεία is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 5. 703 (similarly 8. 273, 11. 299, 16. 692) ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἐξενάριζεν, Fenik 68.

**fatis adductus iniquis:** cf. *Il.* 13. 602 τὸν δ' ἄγε μοῖρα κακῆ θανάτοιο τέλοσδε; *iniquis* like Homer's κακῆ alludes sympathetically to Lagus' imminent death.

**381-2. fit Lagus:** the name means 'hare' in Greek (cf. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 119), as Saunders 554 pointed out.

**hunc .../intorto figit telo:** cf. *Il.* 15. 433 τὸν ῥ' ἔβαλεν ... ὀξεί χαλκῶ; for *figere* cf. 343-4 n., and for *intorquere* 323 n.

**magno vellit dum pondere saxum:** this order seems preferable to the variant *vellit magno*: whenever *dum* is postponed after its

verb in Vergil, the verb always immediately precedes it: cf. 1. 453 'namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo', 7. 71 'castis adolet dum altaria taedis', 8. 454 'haec Aeoliis properat dum Lemnius oris'. *magno ... pondere saxum*: cf. 9. 512 'saxa ... infesto ... pondere'. The rocks wielded in epic fighting are naturally large, cf. 127 *ingens ... saxum* with n.

**382-3. discrimina costis/per medium qua spina dabat:** the imperfect *dabat* is to be preferred to the perfect *dedit* in a description. The precise anatomical details are Homeric in tone, cf. the similar *Il.* 14. 465-6 τὸν ῥ' ἔβαλεν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ αὐχένος ἐν συνεοχμῶ, /νεία- τον ἀσπράγαλον and Adams, art. cit. (347-8 n.), 59-60; for wounds in the back cf. 11. 411-13, *Il.* 5. 56, 13. 545-7, 16. 806, 20, 402, 488. *discrimina dare* is used (characteristically) in somewhat different senses at 393 and 529 (for the verbalizing *dare* cf. 870 n.). The unusual prosody *dabāt* may be a simple lengthening before the caesura (394 n.) or give the original prosody of the imperfect (so Enn. *Ann.* 364); cf. Austin on 4. 64, Fordyce on 7. 174, Bailey, *Lucretius* 1. 127-8.

**hastamque receptat:** *receptat* is Ennian (*Enn. Trag.* 366 Jocelyn).

**384. quem non superoccupat Hisbo:** *quem*, relative for demonstrative, must refer to the subject of the last verb (i.e. Pallas), just as at 117. *superoccupat* seems better printed as one word than two; it means 'surprise from above' (cf. *OLD* s.v. *occupo* 11) and is first found here (so *OLD*), cf. *superimminere*, 'threaten from above' (12. 306). Vergil has a number of *super-* compounds for the first time: so *supervolare* (522), *supereminere* (765, 6, 856), *superimponere* (4. 497), *superincumbere* (5. 858), *superinicare* (*G.* 4. 46), *supervolitare* (*Ecl.* 6. 81). *Hisbo*: probably to be preferred to the variant *Hisbon* (though both are possible as nominative endings) for its closer resemblance to the Roman cognomen *Hispo* (on which see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965), 42).

**385-7. ille quidem hoc sperans:** a concessive participial clause as at 9. 796 'ille quidem hoc cupiens'; *ille* is resumptive (274 n.) and limited by *quidem* in the manner of γε ('he at least').

**dum furit:** *furere* of wild battle-rage (cf. Homeric μαίνεσθαι, *Il.* 6. 101 etc.), is first used in Latin by Vergil, frequently, cf. 544, *TLL* vi. 1624. 58 ff.

**incautum .../excipit:** again 3. 332, *Livy* 21. 55. 3; *excipit*, 'intercepted', is a military term (*Caes. Gall.* 8. 7. 1, *Livy* 35. 50. 7).

**crudeli morte sodalis:** the pathetic tone of *mors crudelis* is matched by the colloquial and familiar *sodalis*, found only here in Vergil and suggesting a closer companionship than *socius* or *amicus* (cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 25. 19). The motif 'warrior

moved to revenge by witnessing death of friend' is common in Homer, cf. *Il.* 13. 402–3, 660–2, 16. 552–3.

**atque ensem tumido in pulmone recondit:** for the lung-wound cf. 9. 701 and *Il.* 4. 528. *ensem ... recondit* (again 815–16) varies the similar use of *condere* (*TLL* iv. 150. 67 ff.). *tumido ... pulmone:* such swelling of the lungs is a traditional sign of high emotion, here grief and anger at the death of a comrade: cf. Archilochus 13. 4–5 West οἰδαλέους δ' ἀμφ' ὀδύνης ἔχομεν/πνεύμονας, Onians 23–42.

**388–9. hinc Sthenium petit:** suggests, like 'inde Lichan ferit' (315 n.), the sequence of a slaying-catalogue; for *petere* = 'attack' cf. 312–13 n. *Sthenius*, 'mighty one' (*σθένος*), not found before Vergil, is an appropriate name for a hero.

**Rhoeti de gente vetusta:** cf. 9. 284 'Priami de gente vetusta'; *vetustus* is poetic and Ennian (*Ann.* 403 Skutsch). *Rhoetus* is the name of a Rutulian killed at 9. 344 ff., and is found in myth as a name of centaurs and giants, cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 19. 23, *RE*, Suppl. iii. 757.

**Anchemolum thalamos ausum incestare novercae:** *thalamos* (poetic plural) means 'marriage-chamber' (cf. 498 and similarly 6. 623 'thalamum inuasit natae'), though the plural might also suggest the figurative sense of 'marriage' (cf. 649 'thalamos ne desere pactos'), both polluted by Anchemolus' act. *incestare* means 'pollute' (cf. 6. 150), here as usually in a sexual sense (*OLD* s.v., *b*). *etiam* in 390 leads us to assume that Anchemolus is killed here; for the omission of the death-narrative cf. 400, 425, 544, 561–4.

Servius here fleshes out this story of Anchemolus, alluded to by Vergil with the utmost brevity. It is found according to him in no Latin authors but in Alexander Polyhistor, the Greek historian of the Sullan period (on Alexander and the possibility of his direct influence on Augustan writers cf. Rawson 61–2, Ogilvie on Livy 1. 3. 6, T. J. Luce, *Livy* (Princeton, 1977), 237). Rhoetus, a Marsian king, married a certain Casperia; Anchemolus, his son by a previous marriage, seduced his stepmother, and, fearing his father's wrath, fled his homeland to the court of Daunus, Turnus' father. This legend exhibits typical motifs, resembling both the Hippolytus story and that of Phoenix in the *Iliad* (9. 447 ff.), and it is possible that Anchemolus' name, as often in such stories, characterizes his mythical role: it suggests ἀγγίμολος, 'coming near' (*Il.* 4. 529), and given the common euphemism 'come near' for sexual congress (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 81, Aesch. fr. 175. 1 Radt, Stevens on Eur. *Andr.* 25), his name might mark the man who 'came near' his stepmother. This passage attracted interest early on in the study of Vergil: the

'nomen patriamque novercae/Anchemoli' is satirized as a pedantic *quaestio Vergiliana* of the *grammatici* by Juvenal (7. 234-5).

**390. vos etiam:** a pathetic apostrophe in this list of Pallas' victims, varying the list-formula *tu quoque* (324, 139 n.).

**gemini:** Homer has two pairs of twins similarly slain together in the *Iliad* (5. 548 ff., 6. 21 ff.).

**Rutulis cecidistis in arvis:** there is little to choose between *arvis* and the variant *agris* here (for the same choice cf. 12. 24): *agris* might be preferred for alliteration with *gemini*, while *arvis* is the majority reading and favoured in the periphrases of this particular book (300 n.). *cecidistis:* high style, common of falling in battle (470, 674, *OLD* s.v. 9), following Homer's use of *πίπτω* (*Il.* 8. 67 etc.).

**391. Daucia ... simillima proles:** cf. 353 'Neptunia proles' and note (for the intricate word-order cf. 133 n.). Two asyndetic epithets with the same noun, generally avoided in prose, are common in poetry and especially in Lucretius. Vergil and Horace favour this particular type, where one of the epithets is adjective for genitive and derived from a noun, cf. 252 'alma parens Idaeae deum', 408 'horrida acies Volcania' and the full list in Heyne-Wagner's app. crit. to 5. 24, Munro on *Lucr.* 5. 13, LHS ii. 160-1; whether the usage is Ennian is uncertain, cf. Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 141. *simillima:* the likeness or unlikeness of twins is a *τόπος*, especially in ancient astrology and divination, cf. *Hor. Ep.* 2. 2. 183-9 with Brink's note, Pease on *Cic. Div.* 2. 90.

The names *Daucus*, *Larides*, and *Thymber* occur only here; two at least may be genuinely Italian. *Daucus* recalls *δαῦκος*, a plant-name (*LSJ* s.v.), but a gloss in Hesychius *δαῦκος· ὁ θρασύς* would give an appropriate etymology for the name of a hero. *Larides*, like the *Lacus Larius* (Lago di Como, cf. *G.* 2. 159), might derive from the Etruscan root *lar-* (Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 83-4), while *Thymber* is perhaps to be connected with *Θύμβρις*, a spelling of *Tiber* in Greek (*Diod.* 9. 219. 4, *Plut. Rom.* 1. 1).

**392. indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error:** *indiscretus* in the sense of 'indistinguishable' is first found in Vergil, who likes such negative participial adjectives on Greek models, cf. 430 n. and the similar *ἀδιάκριτος* (*Arist. Somn.* 458<sup>a</sup>21). The indistinguishability of twins even by their parents, used here as a pathetic detail bringing the family of the victims into an epic obituary (as often in Homer: Griffin, *Life and Death*, 120-7), is a literary *τόπος*: cf. *Hdt.* 6. 52. 3-4, *Plaut. Men.* 19-21.

This line and the next were much imitated by later poets. Lucan (3. 603-8), Statius (*Theb.* 9. 292-5), and Silius (2. 636 ff.) all expand with interesting and often gory variations on Vergil's theme

of ‘identical twins, non-identical fates in battle’; the rhetorical possibilities clearly appealed to the Silver taste.

**393. at nunc dura dedit vobis discrimina Pallas:** *nunc* marks the pointed and pathetic contrast of *dura* ... *discrimina* (bitterly alliterating with *dedit*) with *gratus error*. For *discrimen* in the concrete sense of ‘distinguishing mark’ cf. Hor. *C.* 2. 5. 20 and *TLL* v/1. 1356. 67 ff., and for *discrimina dare* 381 n.

**394. nam tibi, Thymbre:** resumes the pathetic apostrophe. *Thymbre* is vocative like *Thymber* in 391, the variation in the declension of the name *metri causa* imitating a Homeric licence: at *Il.* 16. 7, 11 Achilles addresses Patroclus successively as *Πατρόκλεις* and *Πάτροκλε*.

**caput abstulit:** *-put* is here lengthened before the caesura (cf. 433), a licence inherited by Vergil from Homer and Ennius; cf. Page on 12. 13, Wagner, *QV* 12, Austin on 1. 308, Fordyce on 7. 174.

**Euandrius ensis:** possessive adj. for genitive (156–7 n.), after the Greek manner (*Il.* 2. 416 *Ἐκτόρεον ... χιτῶνα*); for *ensis* cf. 313–14 n. Pallas bears his father’s sword in typical epic fashion; so Turnus bears the sword of his father Daunus (12. 90) and Achilles his father’s spear (*Il.* 19. 387 ff.).

**395–6.** The main model for this grotesque and almost comically gruesome description is Enn. *Ann.* 483–4 Skutsch (cited by Servius here):

oscitat in campis caput a cervice revulsum  
semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt.

Having used Ennius’ motif of decapitation in 394, Vergil now combines Ennian phrasing with a reference to the digit-twitching of a severed arm which recalls Lucretius’ similar description of a severed leg (3. 653): ‘digitos agitat propter moribundus humi pes’. The severed arm is a standard epic wound (cf. 414–15, 545–6, *Il.* 5. 81–2, Wickert 444–5).

**te decisa suum ... dextera quaerit:** the personification of the severed limb (cf. similarly Ov. *Met.* 6. 560) is no doubt intended to be pathetic. *te* echoes *tibi* in 494, balancing the diverse fates of the twins, while *decisa* is a metaphor from pruning (Cato, *Agr.* 45. 1, Lucr. 5. 936).

**semianimesque micant digiti:** echoing the Ennian model (above), but substituting fingers for eyes. *semianimis* here as in Ennius means not ‘half-dead’ but ‘dying’, and is usually scanned as a tetrasyllable (Fordyce on 8. 194). Vergil uses both second- and third-declension endings with this adjective (second at 404; third here, 4. 686, 11. 635, and 12. 356), cf. Neue–Wagener ii.

154–5 and the similar variations *biugis/us* (253 n.), *inermis/us* (424–5 n.), *exanimis/us* (495–6 n.), *quadriugis/us* (570–1 n.), and *infrenis/us* (750–1 n.). Such variations seem to occur for reasons of metre or euphony; cf. Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 4 (p. 406). *micant digiti: micare* can be used of any twitching or flickering movement (2. 475, G. 3. 84, 439), and therefore survives the change of Ennius' *oculi* to *digiti*. Here the reader thinks of its use to describe a game, Italian *morra*, played by each of the two players guessing the total number of fingers held up at a given signal by himself and his opponent (cf. M. S. Smith on Petronius 44. 7); this is a piquant allusion to the trivial in the context of war. *ferrumque retractant*: again at 7. 694, in a different sense (for this kind of variation in repetition cf. 119 n.).

**397–8. Arcadas accensos monitu:** picking up 368 'nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris': Pallas' rebuke and example have done their work. *monitus* as *simplex pro composito* for *admonitus* occurs first in Vergil (*TLL* viii. 1422. 30 ff.).

**et praeclara tuentis/facta viri:** *factum praeclarum* is Ciceronian (*Mil.* 43, *Phil.* 2. 114, 5. 37), *praeclarus* Lucretian (1. 729, 732, etc.), *tueor* in the sense of 'look at' archaic and poetic (Enn. *Ann.* 492 Skutsch).

**mixtus dolor et pudor armat in hostis:** *pudor* is better than the variant *furor* (cf. the same error in the same MS at 4. 91): shame is clearly the appropriate emotion for the previously retreating Arcadians as they watch Pallas' ἀριστεία, and *pudor* picks up *praeclara tuentis/facta* just as *dolor* matches *accensos monitu*, describing the Arcadians' pain at being chastised by their leader.

**399–400. tum Pallas biugis fugientem Rhoetea praeter/traicit:** compare *Il.* 20. 401–2 Ἴπποδάμαντα δ' ἔπειτα καθ' ἵππων ἀίξαντα/πρὸσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα μετάφρενον οὐτάσε δουρί. *tum ... traicit* (cf. Homer's ἔπειτα ... οὐτάσε) is a formula of the slaying-catalogue (315 n.; for *traicere* cf. 339–40 n.). The pause after an initial dactyl containing a verb of effort is dramatic, cf. 336–7 n. *biugis*: here as at 453 referring to the two-horse chariot as a whole, not just the team (cf. 575, 587). The two-horse chariot is standard in Homer, though a four-horse version appears twice (570–1 n.). *fugientem ... praeter*: *praeter* is used adverbially, perhaps for the first time in extant Latin (*OLD* s.v. 7; *Lucr.* 4. 141 is surely a postponed preposition). *Rhoetea*: this Italian seems paradoxically to draw his name from Cape Rhoeteum in the Troad (cf. 6. 505), though it might be derived from the same mythological sources as *Rhoetus* (388–9 n.); compare the case of *Ilus* (below).

**hoc spatium tantumque morae fuit Ilo:** the Italian *Ilus*' name is at first sight Trojan (it belongs to the founder of Troy at

6. 650), but it is used in the *Odyssey* of a Greek (1. 259) and may be taken as generally heroic. *hoc tantum* implies that Ilus too will be killed by Pallas, but this is not narrated: cf. 388–9 n.

**401. Ilō:** the epianalepsis of the name displaces *namque* from its normal initial position, a neoteric postponement (584–5 n.). For epianalepsis in Vergil and Latin poetry (it is found already in Homer and Alexandrian poetry) cf. Austin on 6. 164, Fordyce on 7. 586, Kroll on Cat. 64. 61, Williams, *TORP* 705, LHS ii. 811–12.

**validam ... hastam:** again 12. 93, imitating the Homeric ἄλκιμον ἔγχος (*Il.* 3. 338 etc.).

**402–3. intercipit:** D. Servius plausibly suggests an ironic play of the poet on the legalistic use of *intercipere* in the sense of appropriating another's property (cf. Courtney on Juv. 13. 71, Gaius, *Inst.* 3. 195, Ulpian, *Dig.* 9. 4. 38): Rhoeteus takes the spear intended for Ilus (cf. 343–4 n.).

**optime Teuthra:** recalls Homer's Τεύθραντ' ἀντίθεον (*Il.* 5. 705), but the Iliadic Greek here gives his name to a fighter on the Trojan side and is sympathetically apostrophized (there is much of this in these last ten lines). *optimus* of heroes is Ennian (*Ann.* 28 Skutsch).

**te fratremque Tyren:** for warrior brothers in the *Aeneid* cf. 125–6 n. Tyres' name has been connected with the Pontic river Tyras (Saunders 545).

**curruque volutus:** cf. the Homeric ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων (*Il.* 5. 47 etc.). *volvi* is used deponently as often in Vergil (cf. 700, 9. 433, 11. 635, 640 and the similar use of *revolvi* at 256), perhaps echoing the Homeric middle κυλίνδομαι (*Il.* 22. 414).

**404. caedit semianimis Rutulorum calcibus arva:** cf. 730–1 'calcibus atram/tundit humum expirans', *Od.* 18. 99 λακτίζων ποσὶ γαῖαν, 22. 87–8. *semianimis* could in theory be either nom. sing. or abl. pl. (2nd or 3rd decl., cf. 395–6 n.), agreeing with *Rhoeteus* or *calcibus*, but yields a more poetic phrase and more elegant word-order as the latter. *caedit ... calcibus* alliteratively echoes the thump of the heel (cf. similarly 349 'fronte ferit terram').

**405–11.** The simile of fire raging in a wood is used by Homer to describe the destruction wrought by rampaging heroes (*Il.* 11. 153–7, 15. 605–6, 20. 490–2), and by Apollonius to describe the clash of forces in battle (1. 1026–8); Vergil uses the image similarly of the destructive progress of heroes at 2. 304–5 and 12. 521–2. Here Pallas' companions, gathering to aid him in battle, are compared to converging fires deliberately started by a *pastor*. The allusion seems to be to the regular burning of dry scrub pasture (*silvis*) at the end of summer grazing (*aestate*) to create the new growth for next year (Columella 6. 23. 2, Palladius 9. 4), a rustic event which

caught the imagination of Roman poets (Lucr. 5. 1247-8, Lucan 9. 182-5, Silius 7. 364-5, 9. 605-7). The fundamental points of comparison are the massing of fire and men from a dispersed position, indicated by the detailed correspondences *extenditur/coit* and *una/omnis in unum*, and the initiating roles of the *pastor* and Pallas, the 'shepherd of the host' (cf. D. A. West, *JRS* 59 (1969), 48). More subtle is the continuation of previous fire-imagery: the *pastor* fires the wood just as Pallas has fired his men (368 'accendit' ~ 397 'accensos monitu'). There is also considerable interaction between simile and context here, as West has noted (loc. cit.): *coortis* (405), *immittit* (406), *extenditur .../horrida ... acies* (407-8), *victor* and *ovantis* (409) are all military terms used metaphorically in the simile but literally appropriate to the context of fighting. Finally, Nettleship notes Vergil's debt to Lucr. 1. 899-903, a description of spontaneous combustion in mountain forests: *coortis* (405) echoes Lucretius' *coorto* (900), *immittit silvis incendia* (406) his *creat incendia silvis* (903). For further remarks cf. Lyne, *WP* 72-4.

**405. ac velut:** commonly introducing Vergil's similes (707, 803, and 11 other times in the *Aeneid*).

**optato:** adverbial, 'according to his wish', apparently a colloquial usage (Plaut. *Amph.* 658, Ter. *And.* 533, Cic. *Att.* 13. 28. 3) introduced to high poetry by Vergil; on the type cf. Austin on 1. 737.

**ventis ... coortis:** *coorior* is a favourite of Lucretius (see above), used by him at 6. 578-9 of the rising of winds.

**406. dispersa immittit silvis incendia pastor:** cf. the similar simile at 12. 521-2 'immissi diversis partibus ignis/arentem in silvam'. *dispersus* suggests military straggling or disorder (*TLL* v/1. 1408. 57 ff.), *immittit* sending in troops (*TLL* vii/1. 470. 43 ff.), both metaphors interacting with the context of fighting (cf. above, 405-11 n.); *silvis incendia* is a Lucretian reminiscence (ibid.). *pastor* surely suggests Pallas' role as commander, echoing the Homeric metaphor 'shepherd of the host', ποιμὴν λαῶν, (*Il.* 1. 263 etc.); so *pastor* similarly describes Aeneas in a simile at 2. 308 (see Austin ad loc.). Herdsmen are common in similes both in Vergil (4. 71, 12. 587) and in Homer (*Il.* 4. 455, 5. 137, 8. 559, 12. 451, 13. 493), evoking a pastoral world contrasting with that of epic warfare.

**407-8. extenditur una/horrida ... acies Volcania:** *aciem extendere* is a military term (Livy 7. 14. 9), an interactive metaphor here like *immittit*, *dispersa*, and *coortis* (above). *una*, adjective and not adverb, contrasts with *dispersa* and clearly corresponds to *omnis in unum* (410); for the use of the two adjectives *horrida* and *Volcania* with *acies* cf. 391 n. *horrida* is yet another interactive metaphor: usually used of bristling weapons in epic (237 n.), it is here

strikingly but appropriately used of spiky tongues of flame. *Volcania*: ‘of fire’, poetic adj. for gen. (156–7 n.); ‘Vulcan’ stands for ‘fire’ here and elsewhere in Vergil (2. 311, 5. 662, 7. 77, *G.* 1. 295) by the metonymy ‘associated gods for things’ (so ‘Bacchus’ = ‘wine’, ‘Ceres’ = ‘bread’, etc.), common in poetry from Homer (*Il.* 2. 426); cf. further Fordyce on 7. 113, Pease on Cic. *Nat.* 1. 40.

**per latos . . . campos:** *lati . . . campi* is Ennian (*Sat.* 11 Vahlen) and probably imitates the Homeric εὐρὴ . . . πεδίον (*Il.* 14. 145). The spreading of the fire to the plain corresponds to the plain where Pallas and his men are fighting (cf. 540, 602).

**409. flammās despectat ovantis:** *despectare*, found only in Sallust before Vergil, looks archaic like the similar *aspectare* (4 n.): the *pastor* is observing from a high vantage-point (as at 2. 307–8). The striking metaphor of *flammās ovantis*, ‘triumphant flames’, suggests looking down on a cheering crowd, and Henry here argues that Vergil here uses the underlying image of a Roman general celebrating a triumph; however, this does not fit *sedens*, since the *triumphator* always stood in his chariot.

**410. non aliter:** cf. 360–1 n.

**socium virtus:** abstract for concrete, = *fortes socii*; *virtus* suggests a collectivity of heroic *virī* (cf. 280). For the archaic gen. pl. *socium* cf. 228–9 n.

**coit omnis in unum:** again 9. 801; *coit in unum* has a military flavour (cf. Livy 6. 3. 6, 25. 35. 6): the Arcadians regroup after their previous confusion.

**411. teque iuvat, Palla:** Pallas is sympathetically apostrophized as he approaches his end. *iuvat* here could mean either ‘aids’ or ‘gives pleasure to’: Pallas is aided by his men, but also pleased by their renewed valour.

**bellis acer Halaesus:** suggests the Homeric μενεπτόλεμος (*Il.* 2. 740 etc.); Halaesus is presented as a vigorous warrior, the structural analogue of Sarpedon in the *Iliad* (352 n.).

**seque in sua colligit arma:** cf. 12. 491 ‘et se collegit in arma’, *TLL* iii. 1616. 16 ff. The warrior gathers himself behind his shield as he charges, leaving little of his body exposed.

**413. hic mactat Ladona Pheretaque Demodocumque:** cf. *Il.* 21. 209 ἐνθ’ ἔλε Θερσίλοχόν τε Μύδωνά τε Ἀστύπυλόν τε, closely echoed in phrasing and rhythm. Here *mactare*, archaic and Ennian, like *immolare* (541), means ‘slaughter like sacrificial victims’, a use found in poetry before Vergil (*Acc. Trag.* 52, Cic. *Poet.* fr. 59. 26 Traglia); for the other senses and history of this verb cf. Palmer, *LL.* 66 ff., Ernout–Meillet 376. The three names in this line all seem to be taken from previous epic: *Ladon* is the serpent guarding the apples of the Hesperides (*Ap. Rh.* 4. 1396), *Pheres* a Thessalian Aeolid,

father of Admetus (*Od.* 11. 259), and *Demodocus* the bard of Phaeacia (*Od.* 8. 44).

**414–15. Strymonio dextram fulgenti deripit ense:** for the severed arm cf. 395–6 n. The Thracian associations of *Strymonius* (264–5 n.) are appropriate for a warrior on the Trojan side since the Thracians were Trojan allies at Troy (*Il.* 2. 844). *dextram fulgenti deripit ense:* compare ‘fulgentem deripit ensem’, used differently (of unsheathing a sword) at 475. *fulgens:* again of weapons at 475 and 550, and poetic before Vergil (*Enn. Ann.* 27 Skutsch).

**elatum in iugulum:** i.e. to strike the death-blow: the cutting of the throat (again 907 n.) belongs both to epic (cf. 907, 11. 750, 12. 358, *Il.* 21. 555) and to the gladiatorial arena (*Cic. Phil.* 13. 40, *Celsus* 3. 23. 7, *Suet. Div. Claud.* 34. 1); for gladiatorial allusions in the *Aeneid* cf. Hardie 152–3.

**415–16. saxo ferit ora Thoantis/ossaque dispersit cerebro permixta cruento:** modelled on the similar wound at *Il.* 16. 737 ff. βάλει δ’ Ἐκτορος ἠνιοχῆα/Κεβριόνην . . . λίθος, οὐδέ οἱ ἔσχευ/δοστέον. *Thoantis:* Thoas (cf. *Θοός*) is a typical heroic name, belonging to an Aetolian at Troy, one of the band inside the Wooden Horse (2. 262, *Il.* 2. 638), and to the well-known king of Lemnos, father of Hypsipyle (*Il.* 14. 230, *Ap. Rh.* 1. 621). The present warrior is on the Trojan side and appears only here. *ossa* like Homer’s *δοστέον* (above) refers as at 5. 480 to the shattered skull, called the ‘bones of the head’ (*Od.* 12. 412–13 *σὺν δ’ ὀστέ’ ἀραξεν/πάντ’ ἄμυδις κεφαλῆς*): spattered brains are also a Homeric feature: *Il.* 11. 97–8, 20. 399–400), and *cerebrum cruentum* (the epithet is Ennian, 339–40 n.) echoes the Homeric *ἐγκέφαλος* .../αἰματώεις (*Il.* 17. 297–8).

**417–20.** The Homeric model is *Il.* 2. 831–4 (repeated at 11. 329–32):

οὐδὲ δὴ Μέρπος Περκωσίου, ὃς περὶ πάντων  
ἦιδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὖς παῖδας ἔασκε  
στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα· τῶν δὲ οἱ οὐ τι  
πειθέσθην· κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.

Vergil shares Homer’s interest in the pathos of the prophetic father unable to keep his sons from death (cf. Griffin, *Life and Death*, 125–6, Fenik 11), but by making the son obedient to the father during his lifetime adds an element of Roman *pietas* as well as the further pathos of the old man’s death.

**417. fata canens silvis genitor celarat Halaesum:** the variant *fata cavens* is attractive here, being more appropriate with *celarat*; however, *canens* does provide an explicit reference to the prophetic powers of Halaesus’ father, matching the Homeric model (above), and makes an elegant prosodic play with the following *canentia*

(below), as well as matching 8. 499 'fata canens', of another prophetic father soon to lose his son. *silvis celarat*: for the form of the pluperfect cf. 244 n., and for the forest hiding-place 7. 773-6.

**418. ut senior leto canentia lumina solvit**: *senior* is a pathetic detail, cf. *Introd.* 1(iv), while *letum* is archaic and poetic, perhaps deriving from an early name of the god of the dead, cf. Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 389, J. H. Waszink, *Mnem.*, 4th ser., 19 (1966) 249 ff. *canentia lumina*: for *canere* cf. 192 n., for *lumina* = 'eyes' 446-7 n.; the phrase is a poetic description of age, and Henry suggests that it refers more technically to the whitening of the iris of the eye in the old and the formation of the light *arcus senilis* around the cornea, a fact known in antiquity, cf. Censorinus 14. 7. *cānentia* after *fata cānens* in 417 seems something of a prosodic play, found with the same two verbs at 191-2 *cānit ... cānentem*; such *adnominatio* is a familiar device in Latin poets and orators, cf. Norden on 6. 204 ff., Austin on 4. 159 and 6. 43, Fordyce on 7. 491, *Rhet. Her.* 4. 29 with Caplan's note, Curtius 278 ff. *solvit*: the relaxing of the eyelids in sleep or death: cf. 5. 856 'natantia lumina solvit', Soph. *Ant.* 1302 *λύει κελαινὰ βλέφαρα* with Jebb's note.

**419-20. inicere manum Parcae**: as noted by Servius, *manum inicere* is a technical term of Roman law for claiming one's own property in court (*Lex XII*, Gaius, *Inst.* 4. 21, Ulpian, *Dig.* 11. 7. 14), often metaphorically employed in literature (Bömer on *Ov. Fasti* 6. 515): here it also recalls the similar metaphor for the rapacity of death in Callimachus' epigram on Heraclitus (*Ep.* 2. 6): *ὁ πάντων ἀρπακτῆς Αἴδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ*. *Parcae*: 'Fates', the Roman form of the *Μοῖραι*; their name is plausibly connected with *parere*, 'give birth' (so Varro, cited by Gellius 3. 16. 10, Walde-Hofmann ii. 251-2, Ernout-Meillet 482) since they represent destiny which is determined at or by birth (cf. Varro, *LL* 6. 52). On their nature and cult at Rome cf. Wissowa, *RuK* 264-6, Latte, *RRG* 52-3, W. Pötscher in *KP* iv. 509.

**telisque sacrarunt/Euandri**: *telis ... Euandri* picks up 394 'Euandrius ensis'.

**quem sic Pallas petit ante precatus**: *sic* goes with *precatus*, not *petit* (cf. similarly 4. 364 'et sic accensa profatur'), forming a speech-formula (cf. 6. 186, 11. 784); this formula always introduces prayers, inverting its Homeric counterpart *ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος* (*Il.* 1. 43 etc.), which always concludes them. The prayer before throwing a spear (cf. 773 ff., 11. 783 ff.) is a Homeric convention (cf. *Il.* 3. 351 ff.).

**421. da nunc, Thybri pater**: *da*, 'grant', is frequent in the requests of prayer-language (cf. 44, 62, 2. 291, 3. 85). *Thybri pater*: again 8. 540. For the prayer to Tiber cf. 8. 72 and Livy 2. 20. 11, both

modelled on Enn. *Ann.* 26 Skutsch; the divinity is doubly appropriate here, since (as Servius notes) the current battle is taking place at the Tiber's mouth, and Pallas himself comes from Pallanteum (the future Rome) on the Tiber's banks. The river-god Tiberinus had a shrine and festival at Rome; for further details of the cult cf. Wissowa, *RuK* 225, Latte, *RRG* 132, G. Rohde in *RE* viA. 784–7. *Thybrī*: for the alternative forms of the name *Thybris*/*Tiberis*/*Tiberinus* (Vergil has all three in the *Aeneid*) cf. Servius on 3. 500 and 8. 31, H. Philipp in *RE* viA. 792–4.

**ferro, quod missile libro:** cf. the similar prayer of 773–4 'dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro' and 'missile ferrum' at 12. 278; *telum missile* is common in Livy (2. 65. 4 etc.), and Lucretius has *missilibus saxis* (5. 975). *libro* in the sense of 'poise to throw' is first found in Vergil (480, 773, *TLL* vii/2. 1352. 11 ff.).

**422. fortunam atque viam:** *fortunam* means 'a favourable hit', as at 12. 290; for the archaizing unelided *atque* cf. 51–2 n.

**duri ... Halaesi:** for the epithet cf. 316–17 n.

**423. haec arma exuviasque viri:** *exuviae*, 'spoils', is poetic before Vergil (*TLL* v/2. 2130. 7 ff.), while *viri* here replaces *eius*, unwelcome in high poetry (101 n.).

**tua quercus habebit:** cf. Hor. *C.* 3. 26. 3–4 'nunc arma defunctumque bello/barbiton hic paries habebit'. Spoils are hung on trees in Homer (*Il.* 10. 460–6); the oak receives offerings of arms again at 11. 5–8, and was the tree on which Romulus dedicated the first *spolia opima* (Livy 1. 10. 5), being normally associated with Jupiter (*G.* 3. 332) rather than Tiberinus. Pallas' promise of dedication contrasts with Turnus' ill-omened keeping of his spoils, cf. 501–5 n.

**424. audiit illa deus:** formula for divine hearing of prayers: cf. 464 'audiit Alcides', 4. 220, 9. 630, 11. 794, *Il.* 1. 43 τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, 5. 121, 16. 249.

**dum textit:** *dum* followed by a perfect describing a continuing action is found since Plautus but only here in Vergil (KS ii. 373). For *tegere* = 'protect' cf. 22 and 50.

**Imaona:** probably the best version of the name (found only here) to be extricated from the confusion of the MSS; the *-ona* acc. ending matches Homeric names such as *Hicetaon* (123 n.) and *Machaon* (*Il.* 11. 506). The elision in the fifth foot followed by a final trisyllable is a rare pattern (Soubiran 551–2), no doubt used here as a licence with proper names.

**425. infelix telo dat pectus inermum:** cf. 12. 540–1 'dedit obvia ferro/pectora'. For *infelix* cf. 324–5 n.; *pectus inermum* echoes the Homeric στέρνον γυμνωθέντα (*Il.* 16. 312, 400). Vergil seems to use the second declension form *inermum* here and in 12. 131 in order

to avoid the open short vowel *inerme* at the end of the line, elsewhere employing third-declension forms of this adjective (for such variations in declension cf. 395-6 n.). Note that Halaesus' death is left to be inferred, as often in Vergilian battle-narrative (388-9 n.); *pectus* picks up Pallas' prayer to strike 'duri per pectus Halaesi' (422), stressing its fulfilment.

**426-7. caede viri tanta:** the reference must be to Halaesus, whose death is the real shock to Lausus' troops, with *tanta* functioning as an epithet transferred from *vir*. *vir* does not merely replace *is* (cf. 423) but also has the nuance of 'hero' (cf. 280).

**non ... perterrita .../... sinit agmina:** *perterritus* is common of the panic of troops in Caesar (*Gall.* 1. 18. 10, 6. 40. 1, etc.), while *sinit* = 'leave alone' (cf. 598, *OLD* s.v. 1); Lausus, like Pallas earlier (362 ff.), prevents his troops from panic by leading through example.

**pars ingens belli:** cf. 737 (of Orodes) 'pars belli haud tenenda' (for *ingens* cf. 127 n.). This use of *pars* for individuals (cf. 2. 6) has an encomiastic flavour: cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 7. 483, Fedeli on Prop. 1. 6. 34 and the Gallus fragment (2-3): 'Fata mihi, Caesar, tum erunt mea dulcia, quom tu/maxima Romanae pars eris historiae'.

**427-8. primus Abantem/oppositum interimit:** *primus* is quasi-adverbial as at 242. *Abas* is evidently the Etruscan of 170, while *interimere* (archaic but not poetic, cf. *TLL* vii/1. 2205. 70 ff.) occurs only here in Vergil, who largely avoids the more usual verbs for killing (119 n.).

**pugnae nodumque moramque:** the phrase as a whole is evidently a variation on the Homeric *ἔρκος ... πολέμοιο* (*Il.* 4. 299). Heyne convincingly saw in *nodum*, a problem since the earliest commentators (cf. Servius here), the vivid image of a knot in wood (cf. 9. 743), impeding Lausus' cutting edge as he sweeps through the fight, an interpretation coherent with *mora* and with the imitation of Florus (4. 9. 1) 'cum scopulus et nodus et mora publicae securitatis superesset Antonius'. For *mora* used concretely of a person, first found in Vergil, *TLL* viii. 1467. 67 ff.

**429. sternitur Arcadiae proles, sternuntur Etrusci:** this line-pattern with asyndeton and variation in verb-number, found elsewhere in Vergil (11. 191 'spargitur et tellus lacrimis, sparguntur et arma', *Ecl.* 10. 19 'venit et upilio, tardi venere subulci'), has an Alexandrian musicality, cf. Theocr. 2. 38 *ἠνίδε σιγῇ μὲν πόντος, σιγῶντι δ' ἀῆται*. *Arcadiae proles*: elevated language (for *proles* cf. 353-4 n.): the Arcadians are sons of their country (172 n.).

**430. et vos, o Grais imperdita corpora Teucri:** the emotional climax of this rhetorical tricolon, marked as such by the apostrophe

*Grais imperdita corpora*: in apposition with *Teuceri* (cf. similarly 6. 582-3); this is the poetic synecdoche whereby *corpus* refers to the whole person (cf. 662, *TLL* iv. 1015. 37 ff.). *Grais* (for the form cf. 720 n.) is placed at the end of the first half of the line to balance *Teuceri* at the end of the second (cf. App. D); *imperditus*, first found here, belongs to a type of 'negative participial adjective' favoured by Vergil, who may coin a number of them, cf. Williams on 3. 420, Fordyce on 7. 11, and the list in Cordier, *Études*, 144-5. The pathetic theme of 'Trojans who survived the Greeks but died in Italy' is found again at 12. 544-5. Note the rhyme of 429-30, which reflects the symmetry of the sense.

**431. ducibusque et viribus aequis**: cf. 5. 809 'nec dis nec viribus aequis'; *-que ... et* imitates  $\tau\epsilon \dots \kappa\alpha\iota$  (169-70 n.). The youthful pair Pallas and Lausus with their armies are a fair match, unlike the impending unequal combats of Turnus and Pallas and of Aeneas and Lausus (438 n.); on equal and unequal matches in this book cf. Barchiesi 55-73.

**432-3. extremi addensent acies**: the MSS of Vergil waver between *densare* and *densere* and their compounds in every instance of these verbs (cf. 7. 794, 11. 650, 12. 264, *G.* 1. 248, 419). Both forms seem to be used by Lucretius (1. 395, 5. 491), *densare* was probably the form in Ennius (*Ann.* 267 Skutsch), and *densere* is clearly the form favoured in later antiquity (cf. Servius here). This compound is only found once elsewhere, in the form *addensare* (Pliny, *Nat.* 20. 230), which should probably be preferred here. *addensant acies* means 'press the ranks close': the troops in the rear (*extremi*, a military term, cf. *TLL* v/2. 1999. 37 ff.) on each side press the two front ranks together in their eagerness to fight.

**nec turba moveri/tela manusque sinit**: *-que* is used for *-ve* as often (111-2 n.); the final syllable of *sinit* is lengthened before the caesura (394 n.). The *impasse* in close-packed battle is an epic  $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  (360-1 n.).

**433-4. instat et urget**: cf. Cic. *Att.* 1. 13. 3 'instat et urget Cato', which might suggest that the phrase is a literary cliché, perhaps from previous epic; the pairing of verbs indicates fast-moving action, cf. 2. 530 'tenet et premit', 4. 389 'avertit et aufert'.

**nec multum discrepat aetas**: the adverbial use of *multum* has something of a colloquial flavour (Wölfflin, *AS* 133 ff., Hofmann, *LU* 204, KS i. 280, *TLL* viii. 1616. 70 ff.), though it might also reflect the similar use of  $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\nu$  in Homer (*Il.* 19. 113), while *discrepare* is originally a musical metaphor (cf. Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2. 2. 194).

**435-6. egregii forma**: again 6. 861 and 12. 275, and a well-established phrase (Pac. *Trag.* 230-1, Ter. *Andr.* 72, *TLL* v/2. 290).

67 ff.); cf. also Pind. *Ol.* 9. 65 ὑπέρφρατον ἄνδρα μορφή. For beauty as a heroic quality cf. 345-6 n.; it is here pathetically stressed before the deaths of Pallas and Lausus in this book.

**sed quis Fortuna negarat/in patriam reditus:** cf. *Od.* 12. 419 θεὸς δ' ἀποαίνυτο νόστον. For the archaic *quis* cf. 169-70 n.; *Fortuna* here is identical in effect with Jupiter (437) and fate (438), as generally in the *Aeneid* (Lyne 71-5). *reditus:* probably poetic plural (cf. 11. 54), but possibly assigning the two a return each; for the same ambiguity cf. Austin on 2. 118.

**concurrere passus:** *concurrere* echoes *concurrunt* (431): the two commanders (*ipsos*) are not permitted to clash as their units do.

**437. magni regnator Olympi:** cf. 2. 779 'superi regnator Olympi', 7. 558 'summi regnator Olympi'; *magnus Olympus* is Ennian and an imitation of Homer's μέγας or μακρὸς Ὀλυμπος (Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 1), while *regnator* is a more sonorous and poetic form (cf. Naeuius, *Poet.* 12. 3) of *rex* (so *ductor* and *dux*, 185-6 n.).

This passage is at odds with Jupiter's promise of neutrality at 112-13, insincerely given as a tactic to quell discord amongst the gods (cf. Lyne 88-90). He here intervenes with unseen and distant power to preserve the course of fate which must end in the defeat of the Latins: Lausus cannot kill Pallas, for Turnus must kill him and be killed by Aeneas in revenge. Gods intervene similarly in the *Iliad* to preserve the divine plan, but more directly and dramatically; compare especially the scene where Apollo restrains Patroclus from the premature capture of Troy (*Il.* 16. 706-9).

**438. illos sua fata manent:** *manere* of future destiny is poetic before Vergil (*TLL* viii. 211. 33 ff.); compare the similar use of μένειν (Aesch. *Cho.* 103).

**maiore sub hoste:** i.e. Turnus and Aeneas respectively. This use of *sub* (cf. 12. 410) goes back to Ennius (*Ann.* 14 Skutsch 'cum veter occubuit Priamus sub Marte Pelasgo'), following the Homeric ὑπό, cf. *Il.* 6. 453 πέσσειεν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσον, 13. 98 ὑπὸ Τρώεσσι δαμῆναι.

Vergil uses here a technique of tragic suspense, pathetically foreshadowing the deaths of the two young heroes, matched as future victims of superior warriors as in age, beauty, and early death (434-5; cf. similarly 471-2 and 503-5). This follows the *Iliad*, where the deaths of Patroclus, Sarpedon, Hector, and Achilles are all foreshadowed in the narrative, cf. Quinn 327-30 and esp. G. E. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius and Vergil* (Diss. Princeton, 1933).

**439-509.** Turnus claims the right to fight Pallas, who replies bravely to his ferocious language. Pallas prays to Hercules for success, here

impossible; Jupiter reminds the sorrowing Hercules of universal mortality—Turnus too is soon to die. Turnus slays Pallas, boasts over the body, and despoils it of the fatal baldric. The poet comments on Turnus' action and laments the passing of Pallas.

**439. interea:** indicates temporal sequence (cf. 1).

**soror alma monet:** *alma* is a frequent epithet of goddesses (215–16 n.), while the *soror* is surely Turnus' sister Juturna, helping her brother, not Juno, sister of Jupiter (as oddly suggested by Knauer 300 n. 2). Juturna's appearance here is certainly unexpected and strictly inconsistent with 12. 138 ff., where she is formally introduced to the reader; there is much to be said for the view of Berres (170–1) that her appearance in book 10 is a revision added after the passage in book 12. Juturna was a water-nymph originally connected with Lavinium, well known at Rome through the Lacus Juturnae in the Forum Romanum; the association with Turnus, no doubt suggested by the etymology *iuvare Turnum* (D. Servius on 12. 139; cf. Varro, *LL* 5. 71) first appears in Vergil, who makes her his sister deified for yielding her virginity to Jupiter (12. 138 ff.). On the cult of Juturna at Rome cf. further Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 1. 463, Latte, *RRG* 77–8, Wissowa, *RuK* 222–3. *succedere* has its military sense of 'relieve' (*OLD* s.v. 4, cf. 690 n.); note the juxtaposition of reliever and relieved in *Lauso|Turnum*.

**440. qui volucris curru medium secat agmen:** for *currus volucris* cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 34. 8. For the archaic line-ending of two disyllables without a preceding monosyllable cf. Enn. *Ann.* 474 Skutsch, Norden *Aen.* 6, Anh. 9. 4a.

**441. ut vidit:** translates the Homeric ὥς ἴδε (365 n.).

**tempus desistere pugnae:** the omission both of the verb of speech and of *est* after *tempus* makes for speed and excitement. *desistere pugnae:* superior to the variant *pugna* (which gives the ablative regular after *desistere*, cf. 1. 37): the genitive is a poetic Graecism, imitating the Homeric ἀπέληγε μάχης (*Il.* 7. 263, 11. 255). Analogous Graecizing genitives are found after similar verbs in Horace and other poets; cf. *C.* 2. 9. 17–18 'desine ... querelarum' with Nisbet–Hubbard's note and 154–5 n. above.

**442–3. solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas/debetur:** the triple anaphora in different cases *solus ego Pallanta ... soli mihi Pallas* powerfully depicts Turnus' insistence on single combat, which *debetur* claims as his right: this is a matter of heroic honour since Pallas has been killing many of his men (compare the words of Sarpedon at *Il.* 16. 423–5), but the reader also senses that Turnus is keen to seek the easy glory of killing a young and

inexperienced hero. For the rare triple disyllable *solī mihi Pallas* at the line-end cf. 301-2 n.

**cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset:** the simple subj. after *cupere*, originally colloquial, is first found in poetry in Vergil (KS i. 179-80). *spectator*, the normal word for an onlooker at the games, callously suggests that Evander should be present to witness his son's death as if at gladiatorial *ludi*.

'*aspere et amare dictum*', remarks D. Servius here. Turnus gratuitously evokes an image of particular horror for the ancients. The death of a child before its parents, all too common, was considered a cruel perversion of nature (cf. 6. 308, G. 4. 477, Hdt. 1. 87. 4); its death *ante ora parentum*, desired by Turnus here, was even more horrifying since exacerbated by the religious pollution of seeing one's own children die (cf. Bond on Eur. *Heracles* 323, Lattimore 187-8). Turnus' words here pair him with the callous Pyrrhus of book 2, cursed by Priam for forcing a father to watch his son's death (2. 538-9), and stress the cruel and arrogant manner in which he kills Pallas, cf. 491-2 n.

**444. haec ait, et:** speech-formula: cf. 379, 285, and 246-7 n.

**socii cesserunt aequore iussi:** all MSS have *iusso*, but *iussi*, found in the first Aldine edition (1501), seems stylistically preferable: Turnus has not ordered an *aequor* or level fighting-ground (cf. 451), but has told his *socii* to fall back, and they do as ordered (*cesserunt ... iussi*); for the phrase cf. 7. 156 'festinant iussi'. Heyne-Wagner praise *iusso* as an elegant hypallage, recognizing (with Servius) that *iussi* would be natural Latin, but the language of this line was doubted as early as the commentator Probus (1st c. AD), who according to D. Servius placed here the sign *alogos*, indicating puzzlement, cf. Zetzel 44, H. D. Jocelyn, *CQ*, ns 35 (1985) 472. *iusso*, to agree with *aequore*, would be an easy assimilating error.

**445-6. Rutulum abscessu:** for the genitive form *Rutulum* cf. 228-9 n.; here as often 'Rutulian' stands for 'Latin' or 'Italian' in general (it is in fact Lausus and his Etruscans who are called off here). *abscessu*, found only here in Vergil, seems chosen to pick up *cesserunt* in the previous line, just as *iusso* picks up *iussi*.

**iuvenis:** cf. 167 n. Pallas' youth, like his beauty (435-6 n.), is pathetically stressed just before the fatal duel; for a similar piece of pathos cf. 685-6 n.

**tum iussa superba/miratus:** *tum* here emphatically picks up the previous temporal indication of *Rutulum abscessu*, a regular use found also with *deinde*, cf. Williams on 5. 720, Wagner, *QV* 25. 7, KS i. 789-90, LHS ii. 385. *iussa superba*: again (in hostile tone) at 12. 877; for the noun *iussa* cf. 34-5 n. *superbus*, here of Turnus' words, often characterizes him in the *Aeneid*; for an account of the

epithet in Vergil cf. R. B. Lloyd, *AJP* 93 (1972), 125-32. *miratus*: the subordinate participle is much better than the variant *miratur* before the main verb *stupet* and avoids an over-abrupt asyndeton.

**stupet in Turno:** *in* of emotional reaction ('over' or 'at'): cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 17, Fordyce on Cat. 64. 98, Fedeli on Prop. 1. 13. 7, KS i. 563.

**446-7. corpusque per ingens/lumina volvit:** cf. 8. 618 'oculos per singula volvit': *volvare* of 'causing the eyes to travel restlessly' is a Vergilian innovation (*OLD* s.v. 8), *lumina* for 'eyes' appears first in the poetry of Lucretius and Catullus, imitating the Homeric use of *φάεα* (*Od.* 16. 15, 19. 417; also found in Callimachus, cf. Bulloch on *H.* 5. 92). *corpus ingens* (for the epic epithet cf. 127 n.) stresses Turnus' heroically formidable physique.

**obitque truci procul omnia visu:** *obire* of surveying with the sight (first found in Vergil, *TLL* ix/1. 48. 17 ff.) seems to derive like the similar use of *lustrare* (cf. Fordyce on 7. 391) from the notion of covering ground; cf. 12. 478 'obit omnia curru'. *truci* stresses that the heroic Pallas does not lose heart despite Turnus' intimidating appearance, while *visus* in the sense of 'gaze' is poetic and Lucretian (5. 101 etc.).

**448. talibus et dictis it contra dicta tyranni:** *et* is postponed, a neoteric and Hellenistic mannerism (cf. Austin on 4. 33 and 2. 383, Haupt, *Opusc.* i. 115 ff., Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 3. 3, Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 67-9); *talibus dictis* (11 times in Vergil) is a Homeric speech-formula (246-7 n). *dictis it contra dicta: it contra*, as if moving to battle, suggests the analogy of this verbal skirmish with the coming physical confrontation. *tyranni*: the term can be neutral in Vergil (= simply 'king', 4. 320, 7. 266, 342, *G.* 4. 492), but is clearly derogatory here and on other occasions (1. 361, 8. 483, and 12. 75); a similar ambiguity may be observed with *τύραννος* in Greek poetry, cf. Bond on Eur. *Heracles* 29.

**449-50.** The motif 'glory in either victory or death', varying the Homeric 'death or glory' (862-5), is matched at Enn. *Ann.* 382-3 Skutsch 'nunc est ille dies cum gloria maxima sese/nobis ostentat, si vivimus sive morimur'.

**spoliis ... raptis ... opimis:** the *spolia opima* were the highest military achievement at Rome, gained by commanders who killed enemy generals in single combat and therefore appropriate to the duel of the two leaders Pallas and Turnus. Interest was revived in this dormant institution in Vergil's own time, when M. Licinius Crassus, grandson of the triumvir, claimed them unsuccessfully in 29 BC, and Vergil may allude to it here for that reason: cf. S. J. Harrison, *CQ*, NS 39 (1989) 413-14.

**leto insigni:** the ablative after *laudare* is first found in Vergil (*TLL* vii/2. 1045. 19 ff.); for *letum* cf. 418 n. Even death will be glorious since Pallas is to fight the enemy commander.

**sorti pater aequus utrique est:** a brave rhetorical counter to 443, but untrue: Evander, already frail and tearful at Pallas' departure for the wars (8. 560 ff.), does not show equanimity over Pallas' corpse (11. 152 ff.).

**451. tolle minas:** *tolle* = 'cease', apparently a poetic version of the more colloquial *auffer* (both occur in the same sentence at 8. 439); cf. Kiessling–Heinze on Hor. *Ep.* 1. 12. 3 and Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 11. 686.

**fatus medium procedit in aequor:** only here, at a highly dramatic point, does Vergil use *fatus* so abruptly as a concluding speech-formula without an accompanying *sic* or the like (cf. 495, 535, and 594).

**452. frigidus Arcadibus coit in praecordia sanguis:** i.e. in fear (cf. 3. 30 'gelidusque coit formidine sanguis' and the Homeric *φόβου κρυόεντος* at *Il.* 9. 2), as was believed to happen by Aristotle (*Part. An.* 2. 650<sup>b</sup>27 ff.). *praecordia*, frequently the seat of emotion in Latin poetry (Kiessling–Heinze on Hor. *Serm.* 1. 4. 89, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 11. 799), strictly refers to the diaphragm (Cato, *Agr.* 157. 7) but like its equivalent *φρένες* may have originally meant 'lungs', which at least explains the plural number of both nouns, cf. further Onians 21–48. The Arcadians feel physically for Pallas, just as the Trojans feel for Hector as he faces Ajax (*Il.* 7. 215 *Τρώας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἕκαστον*).

**453–4. desiluit Turnus biugis:** cf. *Il.* 16. 733 ἀφ' ἵππων ἄλτο χαμάζει. for *biugi* cf. 399–400 n. Both Patroclus and Hector similarly dismount for the parallel duel in *Il.* 16. 733 ff.

**pedes apparat ire/comminus:** *pedes ire* (again 6. 880, 7. 624) links the adjective closely with the verb as in the Homeric *ῥορνυτο πεζός* (*Il.* 5. 13). For *comminus* cf. 345–6 n.; it is found in poetry since Ennius (*Trag.* 149 Jocelyn). Note the dramatic pause after this first dactyl in enjambment (cf. 336–7 n.), an emphatic stop before a simile.

**454–6.** Turnus is similarly compared to a lion at 9. 792 ff. and 12. 4 ff. (for a list of Vergil's comparisons for Turnus cf. Pöschl 131): the traditional beast of anger (Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 16. 15) is appropriate for the impetuous Turnus. Lion-similes are common for heroes in Homer, and this same motif of 'lion and bull' is found several times in the *Iliad* (5. 161 ff., 12. 293 ff., 17. 542), especially in the simile used of Patroclus as he stands over the dying Sarpedon (*Il.* 16. 487 ff.); it is also common in Greek art (cf. Robertson, *HGA* 90, 161). Here the simile pathetically

anticipates Pallas' coming death as he is compared to the bull, similarly brave but doomed against ruthless and superior opposition.

**454. utque leo, specula cum vidit ab alta:** cf. *Il.* 4. 275 (also beginning a simile) ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδεν ... αἰπόλος ἀνήρ; *specula* (again 3. 239) renders σκοπιή, and observtion from a vantage-point is a theme in Vergilian similes (cf. 409 and 2. 307–8).

**455. stare procul campis meditantem in proelia taurum:** two reasons lead to a preference for *meditantem in proelia* over the variant *meditantem proelia*, the normal construction after this generally transitive verb (cf. 4. 171, *Ecl.* 5. 61). First, a passage of Silius (17. 438) has the undisputed reading *meditantem in proelia*, and second, the interpolation of *in*, the *lectio difficilior*, is much less likely than its omission; *meditari in* is a Graecism imitating παρασκευάζεσθαι εἰς (Hdt. 9. 96. 1; for the purposive *in* cf. 12. 103–4 'mugitus veluti cum prima in proelia taurus/terrificos ciet' and 586–7 n.). The bellicose bull is a τόπος in Vergil and elsewhere (cf. 9. 629, 12. 103 ff., 715 ff., *G.* 3. 229 ff., *Ecl.* 3. 87, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 9. 46).

**456. haud alia est Turni venientis imago:** *venire* as often means 'come at a pace, charge' (Mayor on *Juv.* 11. 106), while *imago* might be a subtle word-play on its context: it describes the 'impression' of Turnus on the onlookers as elaborated in the simile, but is also itself the standard word for 'simile' (= εἰκών; cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4. 62, Cic. *De Or.* 2. 266).

**457. contiguum missae ... hastae:** clearly based on the Homeric ὄσον τ' ἐπὶ δουρὸς ἐρωή (*Il.* 21. 251); *missa ... hasta* is Ennian (339–40 n.), while *contiguus* is here used for the first time in extant Latin, clearly in a passive sense (*quod contingi potest*); it is later common in the active sense of English 'contiguous' (*quod contingit*), cf. *TLL* iv. 697. 82 ff.

**458. ire prior Pallas:** 'historic' or 'narrative' infinitive (267 n.), here without another to accompany it, unusual in Vergil (Quinn 93–4 n.).

**si qua fors adiuvet ausum:** another version of the proverbial 'audentis Fortuna iuvat' (284 n.): *ausum* is clearly masculine, going closely with *viribus imparibus*. *si qua* (adverb = εἰ πως) and the similar *si quis* (pronoun = εἰ τις) are common Vergilian locutions to express a doubtful possibility, often a pathetic 'hope against hope' (cf. 827–8, 860–1, 1. 17–18, 6. 882–3, 7. 3–4, Page here and on 1. 18 and 6. 882, Fordyce on 7. 4): Pallas has no chance here.

**459. viribus imparibus:** this duel of Pallas and Turnus matches the Turnus/Aeneas duel in this respect as in others, cf. 12. 216 'impar pugna', 218 'non viribus aequis', and 431 n.

**magnumque ita ad aethera fatur:** cf. 11. 556 (Metabus prays to Diana) 'ita ad aethera fatur', *Il.* 7. 178 ὁδὲ δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδῶν

εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν; prayers are naturally directed to heaven, the home of the gods. *magnus aether* renders the μέγας αἰθήρ of Greek tragedy (Soph. *Ajax* 1192, *OC* 1471, Eur. *El.* 59), while *ita fatur* is a common Vergilian speech-formula imitating the Homeric ὡς φάτο (cf. 480 and 246–7 n.). *ita* is found in poetry since Ennius (*Ann.* 39 Skutsch), and is common enough in Vergil, though avoided by some other poets (cf. Axelson, *UW* 121–2, Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 72–4). The elision of the pyrrhic *ita* here is rare (found elsewhere in Vergil only in this same phrase at 11. 356): cf. Soubiran 302, 306–7.

**460. per patris hospitium et mensas, quas advena adisti:** echoing *Od.* 14. 158–9 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ξενίη τε τράπεζα/ἰστίη τ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἣν ἀφικάνω. Pallas here presents his claim on Hercules as a *captatio benevolentiae*: such hospitality as that afforded by Evander to Hercules (cf. 8. 362 ff.) is an important tie in the heroic world of Vergil and Homer (cf. 494–5 n.). *quas advena adisti*: a play on the prefix *ad-* repeated at 516–17 ‘mensae quas advena primas/tunc adiit’, there of Evander’s similar (and parallel) *hospitium* towards Aeneas (compared with Hercules in the *Aeneid*, cf. Galinsky, *HT* 131–48).

**461. te precor, Alcide:** for *Alcides* = Hercules cf. 321–2 n. (for the vocative form cf. Neue–Wagener i. 62–5).

**coeptis ingentibus adsis:** a prayer-formula: cf. *G.* 1. 40 ‘audacibus adne coeptis’, *Ov. Ars* 1. 30 ‘coeptis, mater Amoris, ades’ (for *adesse* in prayers cf. 254–5 n.). *coeptum* (subst.) is first found in Lucretius (1. 418), while *ingens* (127 n.) suggests the heroic nature of the undertaking, cf. 9. 296 ‘ingentibus ... coeptis’ (the mission of Nisus and Euryalus).

This unsuccessful prayer for help to Hercules balances and contrasts with Pallas’ successful invocation of the divine aid of Tiber in killing Halaesus (421 ff.); D. Servius notes that the greater god is appropriately invoked against the greater enemy.

**462. cernat:** counters Turnus’ *spectator* in 443, and appeals similarly to the commonplace that evils are exacerbated by autopsy (D. Servius on 443 and 2. 5, Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 2. 13).

**semineci:** not ‘half-dead’ but ‘dying’, like the similar *semianimis* (395–6 n.); this word appears first in Latin in the Augustan period, perhaps following ἡμιθνής (*Ar. Nub.* 504, *Thuc.* 2. 52. 2).

**arma cruenta:** recalls the Homeric ἔναρα βροτόεντα (*Il.* 6. 480 etc.), likewise at line-end; for the Ennian *cruentus* cf. 339–40 n., and for the line-ending 97 n.

**463. morientia lumina:** for *lumina* = ‘eyes’ cf. 446–7 n. Pallas’ reply is fierce, but not as dreadful as Turnus’ taunt (cf. esp. 443), and is piously couched as a prayer to a god.

**464–73.** This scene in heaven is modelled on *Il.* 16. 431–61, where Zeus considers whether to rescue his son Sarpedon from impending death at the hands of Patroclus but is dissuaded by Hera on the ground of dangerous precedent ('all the gods will want to save their children'), and contents himself with a shower of bloody rain to honour and lament his son. Vergil's reworking is characteristic: Jupiter is cast as consoler, his son Hercules as mourner, while a divine squabble is excluded as Hercules does not attempt to save Pallas but defers to the authority and inevitability of fate. On this scene cf. further Barchiesi 16–30, R. Jenkyns, *JRS* 75 (1985), 65–6.

**464–5. audiit Alcides iuvenem:** a formula (424 n.). For *Alcides* cf. 321–2 n.; *iuvenem* stresses Pallas' youth at this tragic moment, cf. 445–6 n.

**magnumque sub imo/corde premit gemitum:** for similar repression of grief cf. 1. 209 'premit alto corde dolorem', 4. 332 'curam sub corde premebat' (both of Aeneas); Hercules, hero of the Stoics (Galinsky, *HT* 146–8, 167–8), behaves with fitting self-restraint, weeping but not crying out. *imus* is overwhelmingly preferred by the poets to the metrically awkward *infimus*: cf. *TLL* vii/1. 1398. 12 ff.

**lacrimasque effundit inanis:** *lacrimae ... inanes* is first found in Vergil (cf. 4. 449, *TLL* vii/1. 824, 46 ff.), while *lacrimas effundere* (an appropriately liquid verb) is Lucretian (1. 91, 125), modelled on the Homeric δάκρυ χέων (*Il.* 1. 357 etc.). Hercules' tears cannot affect destiny but confirm his *humanitas*.

**466. genitor natum:** the juxtaposition significantly stresses family ties (cf. similarly 800, 6. 820 'natosque pater', and Eur. *Heraclēs* 31 παῖς πατρός).

**dictis adfatur amicis:** again at 8. 126, imitating the Homeric speech-formula μύθοισι προσήδα μειλιχίοισι (*Il.* 6. 343); cf. 246–7 n. For *adfari* cf. 331–2 n.

**457–9. stat sua cuique dies:** *stare* indicates immovable fixity (For-dyce on 7. 553, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 9. 1), while *dies*, the feminine usual for a fixed day (but cf. 256–7 n.), represents the Homeric μόρσιμον ἡμαρ (*Il.* 15. 613 etc.). This is the τόπος of the universality of death, often used as here in consoling the bereaved (Sen. *Dial.* 11. 1. 4, B. Lier, *Philologus*, 62 (1903) 563 ff.).

**breve et inreparabile tempus/omnibus est vitae:** *inreparabilis* (again *G.* 3. 284) is a type of sonorous negatively prefixed adjective much favoured by Vergil: cf. *ineluctabilis* (2. 324, 8. 334), *irremeabilis* (5. 591, 6. 425) and the list in Cordier, *Études*, 144–5. These words combine two τόποι, the brevity of life (cf. 861), and the thought that life once gone cannot be recovered (*Il.* 9. 408–9, Lucr. 1. 467–8).

**sed famam extendere factis,/hoc virtutis opus:** cf. 6. 128–9 ‘sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,/hoc opus, hic labor est’. *famam extendere factis*: cf. 6. 806 ‘virtutem extendere factis’, similarly indicating a Roman and Stoic ideal of the active life (cf. Sen. *Ep.* 122. 3 ‘extendamus vitam’), a thought which naturally follows that of the brevity of life (cf. similarly *Il.* 18. 120–1). *hoc virtutis opus*: this idiom with *opus* (*TLL* ix/2. 843. 4 ff.) imitates the similar use of *ἔργον* (cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 673 ἀνδρῶν τόδ’ ἐστὶν ἔργον).

**469–70. Troiae sub moenibus altis/tot gnati cecidere deum:** cf. *Il.* 16. 448–9 (Hera to Zeus, a model here, cf. 464–73 n.) πολλοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἄστῳ μέγα Πριάμοιο μάχονται/νιέες ἀθανάτων. *Troiae sub moenibus altis*: again at 1. 95 and 3. 322. *Tot gnati cecidere deum* appeals to the informed reader’s familiarity with the Trojan War: the sons of gods killed at Troy were Ascalaphus, son of Ares, and Sarpedon, son of Zeus (*Iliad*), Achilles, son of Thetis, and Memnon, son of Eos (*Aethiopsis*), and Cycnus, son of Poseidon (*Cypria*). *gnati*: the archaic and poetic form, used sparingly by Vergil (8 times, only in the *Aeneid*); cf. Norden on 6. 116, Wagner, *QV* 38. *cecidere deum*: for the poetic forms of these two words cf. 32 n. and 228–9 n., and for *cado* of death in battle 390 n.

This thought is offered as a consolation to Hercules for Pallas’ forthcoming death; it perhaps hints at a story, not explicit in Vergil but known elsewhere, that Pallas was Hercules’ son rather than Evander’s (Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1. 43. 1). It contains two τόποι of consolation: *tot* stresses the universality of death, while *gnati deum* suggests the *occidit et* motif (below): ‘even the sons of gods must die’, a thought found at Eur. *Alc.* 989–90 (cf. Barchiesi 28).

**470–1. quin occidit una/Sarpedon, mea progenies:** for *quin* in this emphatic sense cf. 23–4 n.; *occidit* of death in battle, picking up the preceding *cecidere*, is found already in Ennius (*Ann.* 573 Skutsch). The mention of a famous casualty recalls the consolatory τόπος *occidit et*, ‘X too died’ (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 28. 7, Fedeli on Prop. 3. 18. 28, Lier, art. cit. (467–9 n.), 575, Lattimore 250–6); *mea progenies* (for *progenies* cf. 30 n.), concluding a list of casualties at Troy with the speaker’s own son, recalls the moving words of Nestor at *Od.* 3. 108–12, a model for Jupiter’s speech:

ἔνθα δ’ ἔπειτα κατέκταθεν ὄσσοι ἄριστοι  
 ἔνθα μὲν Αἴας κείται ἀρήϊος, ἔνθα δ’ Ἀχιλλεύς,  
 ἔνθα δὲ Πάτροκλος θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος,  
 ἔνθα δ’ ἐμὸς φίλος νιός, ἅμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀμύμων,  
 Ἄντιλοχος, περὶ μὲν θείειν ταχὺς ἦδὲ μαχητής.

**471–2. etiam sua Turnum/fata vocant:** cf. *Il.* 16. 693 (= 22. 297) θεοὶ θανάτῳ δὲ κάλεσαν; the ‘call of fate’ (again 6. 147, 11. 96–7,

G. 4. 495–6) is a tragic motif (*TrGF* Adespotia 348*d*). For the rare line-ending of 471 cf. 849 and 440 n.

**473. sic ait, atque:** Homerizing speech-formula (246–7 n.).

**oculos Rutulorum reicit arvis:** cf. *Il.* 13. 3 *αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὄσσε φαεινῶ.* *reicit* is scanned here as a dactyl as normally in hexameters, cf. *Il.* 619, *G.* 3. 389, *M. V. Mather, HSCP* 6 (1895), 139–41, *LHS* i. 128–9. Jupiter turns his eyes away from the battle in sorrow, not with the detachment of the Homeric Zeus at *Il.* 13. 2–3 (cf. Griffin, *Life and Death*, 197); the contrast with Homer's divine audience is characteristically Vergilian (so again at 758–9).

**474. magnis . . . viribus:** found in Lucretius (2. 273, 5. 819, 6. 559) and perhaps deriving from earlier epic: cf. *Enn. Ann.* 298 *Skutsch validis . . . viribus, Il.* 12. 224 (= 13. 193) *σθένει μάγλω.*

**emittit . . . hastam:** again at 9. 52, 11. 676, perhaps echoing *Il.* 10. 372 *ἔγχος ἀφήκεν.*

**475. vaginaque cava fulgentem deripit ensem:** cf. 896 (= 4. 579) 'vaginaque eripit ensem', *Il.* 1. 194 *ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος.* *fulgentem deripit ensem:* cf. 414 'fulgenti deripit ense' with the verb in a different sense, a typically Vergilian variation (cf. Austin on 2. 508). The pattern of drawing the sword immediately after the spear-cast is Homeric (Fenik 23).

**476. illa volans:** cf. 336 n.

**umeri surgunt qua tegmina summa:** *summa*, better attested than the variant *prima* (for the same choice cf. 100), is also more appropriate; the spear hits the top of the cuirass, probably the projecting (*surgunt*) shoulder-pieces (*tegmina*) of the Roman *lorica*, cf. *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1314–15, figs. 4547–8, 4552. For the line-end 'tegmina summa' cf. 97 n.

**477. incidit:** echoing the Homeric *ἔμπεσε* of the fall of arrows (*Il.* 4. 217, 15. 451).

**atque viam clipei molita per oras:** for the rugged unelided *atque* cf. 51–2 n.; *viam . . . molita* suggests a difficult progress (cf. 6. 477). For the heroic *clipeus* cf. 242–3 n.; *oras* is poetic plural as at 243 and 589, rendering the Homeric *ἀντιξ*, 'shield-rim', the thinnest and most easily penetrable part of the shield (cf. *Il.* 20. 275). Note the *ὑστερον πρότερον* (cf. 140 n.) here; the spear would naturally pierce the shield before striking the armour beneath.

**478. magno strinxit de corpore Turni:** *strinxit de* seems to be used elliptically: we should understand a direct object such as *aliquid*, while *de* is used like a partitive genitive with *corpore*, a usage fairly common in Latin (cf. 4. 324, *OLD* s.v. 10, *KS* i. 499, *LHS* ii. 58–9, *Wackernagel, Vorl.* ii. 216–17). The harmless grazing of a hero is a Homeric theme (331–2 n.); Pallas' miss here recalls that of Sarpedon in his parallel duel (464–73 n.) with Patroclus, where

the spear likewise passes over the opponent's shoulder (*Il.* 16. 477–8).

**479–80. ferro praefixum robur acuto:** cf. 5. 557 (= 12. 489) 'praefixa hastilia ferro', *Il.* 10. 135 (= 15. 482) ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἀκαχμῆνον ὀξεί χαλκῶ. *robur:* 'oak, timber', first used in Vergil for 'wooden spear-shaft' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), following the Greek use of δόρυ (*LSJ* s.v. II).

**in Pallanta diu librans iacit:** cf. *Il.* 3. 355 ἀμπεπαλὼν προῖει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος (for *librans* cf. 421 n.).

**atque ita fatur:** Homerizing formula, cf. 459 n.

**481. aspice num:** a colloquial construction (cf. Ter. *Eun.* 663 'vise amabo num sit', *KS* ii. 513). The taunt 'your spear has missed, now watch mine' is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 22. 279 ff. (Hector to Achilles) ἤμβροτες ... νῦν αὖτ' ἐμὸν ἔγχος ἄλευαι/χάλακρον.

**mage:** archaic form of *magis*, common in Plautus and usually before vowels (F. Leo, *Plautimische Forschungen*, (2nd edn.; Berlin, 1912), 292) is used by Vergil (only here), Lucretius, and Propertius as a metrical convenience, though it may also have survived in everyday speech: cf. Neue–Wagener ii. 594–5, Tränkle *Sprachkunst*, 35, Fedeli on Prop. 1. 11. 9. *penetrabile:* 'penetrating' as at *G.* 1. 93; this word occurs first in Vergil, echoing Lucretius' similar active use of *penetralis* (1. 494). Such adjectives in *-abilis* formed from first-conjugation verbs tend to be passive in meaning, but the poets use a number of them actively; cf. Munro on Lucretius 1. 11, C. Paucker, *Vorarbeiten zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte* (Berlin, 1884), 46–71.

**482–3. dixerat:** speech-formula: cf. 246–7 n.

**tot ... tot ... totiens:** the tricolon is rhetorically effective as at 7. 328–9 (*tot ... tam ... tot*).

**ferri terga:** 'layers of iron', literally 'hides': so *terga* is used of layers of cloth at 784 *linea terga*.

**quem pellis ... obeat circumdata tauri:** *quem* is more stylish and emphatic than the simpler majority reading *cum*, and is supported by the similar 8. 552–3 'quem fulva leonis/pellis obit totum'; as a relative it may be followed by a concessive subjunctive, cf. Cic. *Att.* 1. 13. 3 'nosmet ipsi, qui Lycurgei a principio fuisset, quotidie demitigamur', Woodcock, *NLS* 115–16. This elaborate description of the materials of Pallas' shield, pathetic since even such protection fails to save the youth, is an epic τόπος (cf. 783–5, *Il.* 7. 220–3, 20. 269–72), though the introduction of iron is non-Homeric (cf. Wickert 296–9).

**484. vibranti cuspis medium transverberat ictu:** the variant order *medium cuspis* is less attractive since *medium*, widely separated from its noun *clipeum* and going predicatively with *transverberat* (for

which cf. 336–7 n.), is better placed next to the verb. Turnus' spear pierces the centre of his opponent's shield where Pallas penetrated only the edge (477). *vibranti ... ictu*, cf. 9. 769 'vibranti ... gladio'; the noun and epithet enclose the line, cf. Pearce, art. cit. (133 n.). *cuspis*: here in its strict sense of 'spear-point' (5. 208, 7. 817), more common as a synecdoche for the whole spear (733, a use first found in Vergil, cf. *TLL* iv. 1553. 27 ff.).

**485. loricaeque moras:** 'material' genitive, cf. 12. 541 'clipei ... mora', 9. 143 'fossarum morae', Munro on Lucr. 6. 453. *lorica* is the common word for 'cuirass' in Latin, supposedly derived from its original material of leather (*lora*, 'thongs', cf. Varro, *LL* 5. 116); those of the *Aeneid* seem to reflect the Roman armour of Vergil's day in being largely of chain-mail (313–14 n.).

**et pectus perforat ingens:** Servius was worried about attributing a 'mighty breast' to the young Pallas, but the poet pathetically stresses Pallas' fine and heroic physique (cf. 435–6) at the moment of his mortal wound. *perforat*: a vivid metaphor (cf. *Il.* 11. 236 *ἔτορε ζωστήρα παναίολον* and Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 12. 377) and a prosaic verb (cf. Lyne, *WP* 114–15). For the sequence of penetration (shield–cuirass–flesh) cf. 313–14.

**486–7.** Modelled on Patroclus over the body of Sarpedon (*Il.* 16. 503–5):

ὁ δὲ λάξ ἐν στήθεσι βαίνων  
ἐκ χροός ἔλκε δόρυ, προτὶ δὲ φρένες αὐτῷ ἔποντο.  
τοιοῦ δ' ἅμα ψυχὴν τε καὶ ἔγχυος ἐξέρυσ' αἰχμὴν.

**ille:** echoing Homer's ὁ δέ, refers to Pallas, who (like Camilla at 11. 816–17) pulls out the fatal spear in a vain attempt (*frustra*) to save himself, a pathetic modification of Homer, where the victor Patroclus extracts it.

**calidum ... telum:** the spear is warmed by Pallas' blood (cf. 570–1 n.).

**de corpore:** preferable to the variants *de pectore* and *de vulnere* since it echoes the Homeric model's ἐκ χροός (above; cf. 744 'eduxit corpore telum'); such dactylic ablatives, especially in the fifth foot, are particularly prone to corruption by substitution of a similar word (cf. Skutsch, *Annales*, p. 401 n. 14, with bibliography).

**una eademque via:** note the synzesis of *eadem* (so again at 12. 847 in this same phrase), already found in Lucretius (Bailey, *Lucretius* 1. 81–2); *unus idemque* is also Lucretian (2. 919).

**sanguis animusque sequuntur:** combines προτὶ δὲ φρένες αὐτῷ ἔποντο and ἅμα ψυχὴν τε καὶ ἔγχυος ἐξέρυσ' αἰχμὴν in the Homeric model. *sanguis* (as always in Lucretius) preserves the

original long quality of its last syllable, here metrically convenient; for other examples cf. Neue-Wagener i. 243.

**488. corruit in vulnus:** cf. Lucr. 4. 1049 'cadunt in vulnus', Livy 2. 46. 4 'telo extracto praeceps Fabius in vulnus abiit'; *corruit*, only here in Vergil, is also Lucretian (6. 824).

**sonitum super arma dedere:** cf. Enn. *Ann.* 411 Skutsch 'sonitum simul insuper arma dederunt', itself an imitation of the Homeric death-formula ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶ (Il. 4. 504 etc.).

**489. terram hostilem:** cf. 295-6 n.

**morians petit ore cruento:** for the bloody mouth cf. 349, 1. 296, 12. 8; the phrase recalls the Homeric 'bit the dust' (as at 11. 418), cf. Il. 2. 418 γαῖαν δὲ δάξ' ἔλλον, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 7. 12.

**490. quem Turnus super adsistens:** the following speech is the Homeric εὐχος over the body of the slain (Fenik 134-5, 146, 215); note the omission of the verb of speech at this dramatic moment. This 'half-line' is one of a common type introducing speeches (16-17 n.); the second half is filled by R with 'sic ore profatur', an un-Vergilian speech-formula (for such interpolations cf. 284 n.).

**491-500.** Turnus' conduct here over the dead Pallas presents a clear contrast with that of Aeneas over Lausus at 825 ff. (Otis 359-60, Thornton, op. cit. (8 n.), 128-30, Schenk 84-92). This is brought out by specific parallels. Once the duel is over, Aeneas is moved by Lausus' *pietas* towards his father (824-6), while Turnus seeks to exacerbate Evander's loss (491-2); Turnus' arrogant rhetoric in permitting burial (493-4) contrasts with Aeneas' humanity (827-8), both using the verb *remitto* (492, 828); Turnus despoils Pallas, whereas Aeneas leaves Lausus his armour as a tribute to his *pietas* (825-7). The final words and succeeding actions of the two victors are notably different: Turnus taunts the bereaved Evander (494-5) and strips the fatal baldric from Pallas (495-500), while Aeneas offers a heroic consolation (829-30) and parallels a chivalrous act of the Iliadic Achilles by picking up Lausus' body himself (830-2). This is the greatest point of contrast between the two commanders and essential for their characterization.

**491-2.** The taunt cruelly involving the parent(s) of the slain is Homeric, specifically recalling Il. 14. 501-2:

εἰπέμεναί μοι, Τρῶες, ἀγανού Ἰλιονῆος  
πατρὶ φίλω καὶ μητρὶ γοήμεναι ἐν μέγαροισιν ...

(cf. Griffin, *Life and Death*, 123); Turnus' phrasing also echoes a different but equally vicious taunt of Pyrrhus to Priam at 2.547-50

(*referte* picks up *referes* at 2. 547, *memores memento* at 2. 549); for Turnus and Pyrrhus cf. 443 n.

**qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto:** i.e. dead; Evander has earned Pallas' death by allying with Aeneas (cf. 494–5). This sending back of the corpse for burial, though intended to injure Evander, indicates that Turnus shows mercy of a kind here; far worse in ancient terms is the mutilation or exposure of a corpse, commonly threatened in Homer and by the enraged Aeneas in this book (557–60), cf. Griffin, *Life and Death*, 44–6.

**493–4. quisquis ... quidquid:** these pronouns (here in elegant variation of gender) are used adjectivally as often (Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 13. 9); their brash generality contrasts with Aeneas' sympathetically indefinite 'si qua est ea cura' at 828.

**honos tumuli:** cf. Hor. *C.* 2. 20. 23–4 'sepulcri ... honores', Aesch. *Cho.* 511 *τύμημα τύμβου*; burial conventionally honours the dead (cf. 6. 333, 11. 22–3, *Il.* 16. 456–7, 674–5).

**solamen humandi:** the noun occurs first in Vergil (again 859 and 3. 661); Vergil like Lucretius and Ovid appears to like coining such nouns in *-men* (cf. 306 n.), especially *-amen*, cf. Austin on 1. 649 and 6. 221, Cordier, *Études*, 161, Bailey, *Lucretius*, 1. 134–5, Hollis on Ov. *Met.* 8. 729. The burial of Pallas by Evander is no real consolation for his death; burial of son by father is a tragic inversion of the course of nature (Hdt. 1. 87. 4, Polybius 12. 26. 7, Cic. *Cato* 84, Lattimore 187–91).

**largior:** this verb, like English 'largess', indicates large-scale giving (*TLL* vii/2. 968. 46 ff.), and is a cruel addition to the commercial metaphor of *meruit* and *stabunt*: Pallas' death costs Evander dear, but the boy's body is a free gift.

**494–5. haud illi stabunt Aeneia parvo/hospitia:** *stabunt*, 'cost', followed by ablative of price, continues the commercial metaphor of *meruit* and *largior* (above), while *haud parvo* is a taunting litotes—Turnus is well aware what Pallas's death means to Evander. *Aeneia ... hospitia*: adj. for genitive (156–7 n.); *hospitium* is the Homeric *ξενία* or guest-friendship, a central feature of the heroic world (M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus* (2nd edn.; London, 1977), 99–103), used here as often in the *Aeneid* as a sign of political alliance (7. 264, 8. 492–3, 11. 113–14).

**495–6. laevo pressit pede talia fatus/exanimem:** the attitude of the victorious Homeric hero (cf. *Il.* 13. 618–19, 16. 503, 863). *laevo ... pede* is clearly symbolic: Turnus uses the inauspicious left foot (cf. 109–10 n., 254–5 n.), and his action here will bring him bad luck and death. *talia fatus*: speech-formula: cf. *Il.* 5. 290 *ὡς φάμενος* and 246–7 n. *exanimem*: adjective used substantively; as with *semianimis* and others (395–6 n.), Vergil uses the forms of two

declensions with this adjective (cf. Neue-Wagener ii. 153-4, *TLL* v/2. 1172).

**496-7. immania pondera baltei:** *immania* (cf. 318 n.) suggests both the weight of the gold *balteus* and the enormity of the deed depicted on it, while *pondera* is poetic plural. *baltei*: not 'belt' but 'baldric', a strap worn diagonally across the shoulder for a sword or quiver (5. 312-13, 12. 941-2); the word is here scanned as a spondee by synzesis (cf. 116-7 n.).

**497-9.** The design of Pallas' baldric is evidently symbolic. One model in Homer is the baldric of Heracles, seen by Odysseus in the Underworld and decorated with 'bears, boars, lions, battles, fights, slayings, and killings of men', clearly relevant to the heroic character of the wearer (*Od.* 11. 609-12). Vergil's description of the baldric of Pallas, though it contains no proper names, clearly evokes the legend of the Danaids (who are similarly anonymously introduced at *Lucr.* 3. 1008-10; for the technique cf. Lyne 139-40), the fifty daughters of the Argive Danaus who (with the exception of the virtuous Hypermestra) slew their fifty cousin-husbands on their wedding-night owing to a family feud. This story was the subject of an epic *Danaïdes* in the Archaic period, and of Aeschylus' *Supplices*; its frequency in the Augustan poets may owe something to its depiction in the statuary of the *porticus* of the temple of Palatine Apollo, dedicated in 28 BC, cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 2. 14. 18, P. Zanker in *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale* (Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl. 10; Rome, 1983), 27 ff.

Various connections of the Danaid legend with this point in Vergil's narrative have been suggested, mostly unconvincing (cf. Pöschl 181, Knauer 303 n. 1, R. R. Schlunk in D. F. Bright and E. S. Ramage (eds.), *Classical Texts and their Traditions* (Chico, Calif., 1984), 223-6). The design should surely have some reference to both Turnus as slayer and Pallas as slain. The first of these is supplied by its use of an Argive legend, for Turnus is Argive by descent and stresses the association (7. 371-2, 409-10, 789-92); one might also add that it looks forward to Turnus' own death, for he too is an Argive prospective bridegroom who will die young. The second is found in the argument of G. B. Conte (now in *The Rhetoric of Imitation*, tr. and ed. C. Segal (Ithaca, NY, 1986), 185-95), that the *caesa manus iuvenum* of the design reflects the *mors immatura* of the young Pallas and suggests that Turnus' deed is equally nefarious (*nefas*). This technique whereby the description of an artefact symbolizes or anticipates events in a poem derives from Hellenistic poetry, for example the use of the basket-description in Moschus' *Europa* (37-62; see Bühler ad loc.) and is seen at its most extensive in Catullus 64.\*

**497–8. una sub nocte iugali:** the single night contrasts with the mass murder. *iugali* is a poetic *simplex* for the usual *coniugalis* (*TLL* vii/2. 624. 17 ff.).

**caesa manus iuvenum foede thalamicque cruenti:** *foede* suggests both moral foulness and the physical pollution of spilt blood (cf. 2. 539, 552), cohering with *cruenti* (for which cf. 340 n.).

**499. quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelaverat auro:** the generalizing n. pl. *quae* picks up the picture of 497–8. *Clonus Eurytides*: the maker of a fine artefact is often named in poetry (cf. 5. 359, *Ecl.* 3. 37, Theocr. 1. 27, 5. 104), and ancient collectors were fond of ‘named pieces’ (e.g. Prop. 1. 14. 2). *Clonus* is not found elsewhere: his name suits the heroic world (cf. κλόνος, ‘tumult’, *Il.* 5. 167 etc.), and his patronymic is taken from the Homeric Iphitos (*Od.* 21. 14, 37).

**500. quo nunc Turnus ovat spolio gaudetque potitus:** cf. *Il.* 18. 131–2 *τεύχεα δ’ Ἐκτωρ/αὐτὸς ἔχων ὤμοισιν ἀγάλλεται*, a crucial structural parallel (501–5 n.): *ovat* borrows the ablative construction usual after *gaudet*, which here takes the participle following the Homeric model *ἔχων ἀγάλλεται* (for this Graecism cf. Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2. 2. 107, *TLL* vi. 1709. 63 ff.).

**501–5.** This is one of a number of interventions by the poet in the *Aeneid* which comment on significant moments in the action, developing Homeric technique (Heinze 371–2). The poet makes it clear that the taking and wearing of the baldric will be Turnus’ downfall; this matches the episode in the *Iliad* where Hector puts on the armour of Achilles, stripped from the dead Patroclus, which elicits a similar soliloquy from Zeus (*Il.* 17. 201–6):

ἄ δειλ’ οὐδὲ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιός ἐστιν,  
ὅς δὴ τοι σχεδὸν ἐστι· σὺ δ’ ἄμβροτα τεύχεα δύνεις  
ἀνδρὸς ἀριστῆος, τὸν τε τρομέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι·  
τοῦ δὴ ἑταῖρον ἔπεφνες ἐνῆέα τε κρατερόν τε,  
τεύχεα δ’ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἀπὸ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων  
εἶλεν·

Like Hector’s, Turnus’ ill-advised act of wearing plunder from the body of a greater hero’s friend will lead to his death (cf. *Il.* 22. 323–4, *Aen.* 12. 941–4); neither is blamed for the act of spoliation itself, normal in heroic warfare, but for ostentatiously putting on the spoils, a token of fatal over-confidence. Here as elsewhere in the *Aeneid* ill-luck, perhaps connected with religious taboo, attends those who wear or seek to wear the arms of the slain instead of dedicating them to the gods (Heinze 209–10, R. A. Hornsby, *PhQ* 45 (1966), 347 ff.).

**501–2. mens hominum:** a Lucretian phrase (Lucr. 2. 14, 4. 1011, 6. 77).

**servare modum:** used by Lucan (2. 381), no doubt following Vergil, to describe the Stoic virtue of temperance amid elation, similarly characterized by Seneca (*Ep.* 23. 6) as *modum tenere*. This does not make Vergil express Stoic doctrine here: ‘nothing in excess’ was one of the great platitudes of antiquity, the proverbial *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, and the maintaining of the ‘golden mean’ is commonly urged by poets without any particular philosophical implications; cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 10. 5.

**rebus sublata secundis:** again the language of conventional moralizing: cf. Hdt. 5. 81. 2 *εὐδαιμονίη ... μεγάλη ἐπαρθέντες*, Lysias 2. 10 *ὑπὸ τῆς τυχῆς ἐπαρθέντες*, Eur. fr. 963. 1–2 Nauck *μηδ’ εὐτύχημα μηδὲν ᾧδ’ ἔστω μέγα, | ὄ σ’ ἐξεπαρεῖ μείζον ἢ χρεῶν φροεῖν*. Turnus fails to observe the well-worn precept well stated by Horace (*C.* 2. 3. 1–4, see Nisbet–Hubbard ad loc.):

aequam memento rebus in arduis  
servare mentem, non secus in bonis  
ab insolenti temperatam  
laetitia, moriture Delli.

**503–4. Turno ... Pallanta:** the two crucial names enclose the sentence (cf. App. C).

**tempus erit ... cum optaverit:** modelled on the Iliadic prophecy *ἔσσειται ἡμαρ ὅτ’ ἂν ποτ’ ὀλώλη Ἴλιος ἰρή* (*Il.* 4. 164, 6. 448), and foreshadowing the end of the poem. For the elision of the monosyllable *cum* cf. 19 n.

**magno ... emptum:** the commercial metaphor suggests the ransomings of the Homeric world (*Il.* 21. 42 ff.) and picks up *meruit* (492) and (especially) *haud illi stabunt ... parvo* (494): Turnus’ future fate is characterized by the language of his own vicious taunts.

**505–6.** A traditional scene of epic mourning: cf. 841–2 ‘at Lausum socii exanimem super arma ferebant/flentes’ (yet another link between the deaths of Pallas and Lausus, cf. 438, 491–500 n.), *Il.* 24. 786 *καὶ τότε ἄρ’ ἐξέφερον θρασὺν Ἑκτορα δάκρυ χέοντες*.

**lacrimisque:** the tetrasyllabic word finishing with *-que* at line-end echoes Ennius, who ends *Ann.* 284 Skutsch with *hominumque*.

**impositum scuto:** so Lausus is carried *super arma* (841). The oblong Roman *scutum* is more appropriate than the round heroic *clipeus* for this purpose (cf. Heinze 203; on shield-types in the *Aeneid* cf. 242–3 n.). Corpses are not carried on shields in Homer; the practice was associated with Sparta (Dioscorides, *AP* 7. 229. 1–2, Plut. *Lac. Ap.* 241<sup>a</sup> ff.).

**frequentes:** so the Greeks crowd around the recently rescued body of Patroclus (*Il.* 18. 233–4).

**507. o dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti:** the poet apostrophizes, emotionally (cf. 139 n.). Pallas is a grief to Evander for his death (508) but a glory for his achievements (509). *dolor* and *decus* are used concretely like their Greek equivalents ἄχος and κῦδος (Soph. *OT* 1355, *Il.* 9. 673), while *rediture* anticipates the return home of Pallas' corpse and Evander's reaction at 11. 139–81.

**508. haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert:** note the elision after the fifth foot, unusual with this shape of line-ending (cf. Austin on l. 99, Norden, *Aen.* 6, Anh. 9. 4a). The personification of a crucial day in battle is an epic τόπος (cf. *Il.* 8. 541 (= 13. 828), Enn. *Ann.* 258 Skutsch).

**509. cum tamen:** concessive (cf. 9. 513); *tamen* adds a consolatory note, cf. 829, 11. 688, *Ecl.* 10. 31, Austin on 4. 329.

**ingentis Rutulorum linquis acervos:** echoes Cymodocea's prophecy at 244–5 'crastina lux, mea si non inrita dicta putaris, / ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos': the reminiscence suggests that the prophecy has been fulfilled (for similar fulfilment-echoes cf. Moskalew 114–16), but at the price of Pallas' death (*linquis* = 'leave behind in death', cf. *TLL* vii/2. 1461. 6 ff.).

**510–605.** Aeneas, enraged by Pallas' death, launches a furious offensive, matching that of Achilles after the death of Patroclus (*Il.* 21); he takes prisoners for human sacrifice at his friend's pyre and refuses mercy with bitter words to the suppliants Magus, Tarquitus, and Liger. This episode leads to the prime military objective of relieving the camp (605) and to Juno's removal of Turnus from the battle (606–88); it also shows that Aeneas is susceptible to an excess of vengeful anger. This anger is necessary for Aeneas' victory and crucial to the last scene of the poem; like his other failings, it makes Aeneas a credible character rather than a pale paragon. On this ἀριστεία of Aeneas cf. Quinn 223–7.

**510. mali tanti:** the death of Pallas; so the death of Patroclus is κακὸν τόσον for Achilles (*Il.* 17. 41).

**certior auctor:** presumably a messenger, like Antilochus, who informs Achilles of the death of Patroclus in the *Iliad* (18. 1 ff.).

**511–12. tenui discrimine/leti esse suos:** cf. 3. 685 'utrimque viam leti discrimine parvo', where the ablative is similarly descriptive: both phrases derive from Ap. Rh. 4. 832 τυτθῆ γε παραίβασις ἔσσει' ἄλέθρου. For *letum* cf. 418 n.

**tempus versis succurrere Teucris:** preferable to the variant order *versis tempus* since the emphatic *tempus* (sc. *esse*) should clearly

head its clause as at 441 ‘tempus desistere pugnae’. *vertere*, ‘rout’, echoes the Homeric *τρέπειν* (*Il.* 15. 261), while *succurrere* is a standard term for military aid (Caes. *Gall.* 5. 44. 9, Sall. *Cat.* 60. 4).

**513–14. proxima quaeque metit gladio:** *meto*, ‘harvest’, occurs only here in the *Aeneid*: its metaphorical use (cf. Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2. 2. 178–9) follows that of ἀμάω in Ap. Rh., appropriately enough of slaying ‘Sown Men’ (3. 1187, 1381–2), and the comparison of mass slaying to reaping is an epic τόπος (*Il.* 11. 67 ff., *Cat.* 64. 353–5). Lyne, *WP* 154–6 regards the metaphor as troubling, but it is rather *proxima quaeque* which expresses the lack of discrimination in Aeneas’ passion for revenge.

**latumque per agmen/ardens limitem agit ferro:** though *agmen* is closer, *latum* goes with *limitem* as at 9. 323. *limitem agit* suggests cutting a path through a corn-field and coheres with the agricultural metaphor of *metit*, recalling Homer’s ὄγμον ἐλαύνειν in the similar simile of *Il.* 11. 68. The elision of *limitem* (cretic or dactyl in fifth foot) is unusual: cf. Austin on 4. 684. Soubiran 218 ff.

**514–15. te, Turne, superbum/caede nova quaerens:** the apostrophe is emphatic: Aeneas seeks only Turnus (cf. 12. 466–7) as Hector seeks only Patroclus after the death of Sarpedon and Achilles only Hector after the death of Patroclus (*Il.* 16. 731–2, 20. 75–8). For *superbus* of Turnus cf. 445–6 n., for the following ablative 5. 268 and 8. 202; *caede nova* suggests not only ‘recent killing’ but also ‘fresh blood’ (*caedes* here and at 9. 818 echoes φόνος in the sense of ‘gore’, *Il.* 24. 610).

**515–16. Euander:** only here in V., who usually has *Evandrus*, conjectured here by Bentley, but for a similar variation cf. 153–4 n.

**in ipsis/omnia sunt oculis:** cf. Eur. *Or.* 785 πάντα ταῦτ’ ἐν ὄμμασιν, similarly suggesting a vivid mental vision.

**516–17. mensae, quas advena primas/tunc adiit:** cf. 460 ‘mensas quas advena adisti’. *primas* stresses the generosity of Evander in book 8 as the first to entertain Aeneas in Italy, while *tunc* is emphatic, ‘on that well-known occasion’.

**dextraeque datae:** sign of alliance and good faith (cf. 3. 610–11, 7. 366, *TLL* v/1. 927. 65 ff., *Il.* 6. 233), here recalling 8. 169 (Evander to Aeneas) ‘ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedera dextra’).

**517–20.** This remarkable episode, where Aeneas takes prisoners for human sacrifice, imitates the parallel point in the *Iliad* where Achilles captures twelve young Trojans, later slain by him on the pyre of Patroclus (*Il.* 21. 26–33, 23. 175–83). Vergil does not go as far as Homer in depicting the sacrifice itself, though the victims are sent off to death at 11. 81–2, but the intention is what counts: in his rage at the death of Pallas Aeneas matches the worse excesses

of the Homeric Achilles in his vengeance for Patroclus (cf. Williams, *TI* 115–16). Though human sacrifice had been known at Rome, the attitude of Romans by the first century BC is wholly condemnatory (Cic. *Font.* 31, Livy 22. 57. 6), cf. F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* (Giessen, 1915), 140–96, P. Fabre, *REA* 42 (1940), 419–24.

Attempts have been made since Heinze (210 n. 2; cf. recently S. Farron, *A. Class.* 28 (1985), 21–33) to see Aeneas' act, through the Aeneas–Augustus parallel (261–2 n.), as an allusion to a supposed atrocity of Octavian's during the civil wars. Unfavourable sources report a story that Octavian performed human sacrifice to Divus Julius at the capture of Perusia in 41 BC, killing thus 300 senators and knights (Suet. *Div. Aug.* 15, Dio 48. 14. 4, cf. Sen. *Clem.* 1. 11. 1). The story is almost certainly false (Syme, *RR* 212), and even if it were true an allusion to it in a poem which otherwise lauds the *princeps* seems fundamentally unlikely.\*

**517–19. Sulmone creatos/quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens,/viventis rapit:** imitating the parallel act of Achilles at *Il.* 21. 27–8 ζῶους ... δωδέκα λέξατο κούρους/ποιήν Πατρόκλιο Μενoitιάδαο θανόντος. As *totidem* stresses, there are clearly eight sons of two fathers in this line, not four of one, a misunderstanding which derives from taking *Sulmo* as the Paelignian town, birthplace of Ovid (*Tr.* 4. 10. 3), and *creatus* as referring to geographical origin. *Sulmo* is a man (as at 9. 412, a Rutulian), the geographical name being used for a hero like *Ufens* (warrior here and at 7. 744 ff., river at 7. 802) and often in Vergil (cf. Holland, *passim*), while *creatus* indicates parentage as usual in Vergil (cf. 551, 12. 271, *G.* 1. 279). *totidem quos educat Ufens:* for the postponement of the relative cf. 531–2 n.; *educat* (a verb poetic before Vergil) is the Graecizing 'registering' present, common with verbs of engendering and others indicating a permanent state of affairs, cf. Austin on 2. 663, Eden and Fordyce on 8. 141, Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*, 73–4, LHS ii. 306.

**inferias quos immolet umbris:** echoed when these same victims reappear at 11. 81–2 'quos mitteret umbris/inferias'. *inferias:* offerings to the dead (*inferi*), found in poetry before Vergil (cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 6. 569, Beringer, *Kultwörter*, 137–8); *immolare* is another sacral term, again poetic before Vergil, deriving from the *molae* or barley-meal used at sacrifices and then used for the act of sacrificing itself (cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 4. 11, Beringer, *Kultwörter*, 67–8). *umbris:* poetic plural, evidently referring to the singular ghost of Pallas (cf. Austin 6. 510).

**520. captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammis:** again echoed in the victims' reappearance (11. 82 'caeso sparsurus sanguine

flammas'). *captivo* ... *sanguine*: adjective for genitive (156–7 n.) on the Greek model (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 215 *παρθενίου ... αἵματος*). *perfundat sanguine*: a phrase poetic before Vergil (cf. *Cat.* 64. 399). The variant *perfundant* gives an unacceptably brusque change of subject after *immolet* (it is wrongly supported by T. Crane, *CW* 67 (1973), 176–7).

**521–36.** This episode of Magus' death corresponds structurally and in a number of details to Achilles' killing of Lycaon in *Il.* 21. 34 ff. Both are the first duels described in detail after the re-entry of the main hero (Achilles ~ Aeneas) into battle in vengeance for the death of his friend (Patroclus ~ Pallas), and both involve the slaying of a suppliant. Some other details are taken from the unsuccessful supplications of Agamemnon by Adrestus and of Odysseus by Dolon (*Il.* 6. 37 ff., 10. 376 ff.).

The killing of suppliants is regular in the *Iliad* (Fenik 83, C. W. Macleod, *Iliad Book XXIV* (Cambridge, 1982), 15–16), but has not yet appeared in the fighting of the *Aeneid*: in his rage of 510–605 Aeneas dispatches no fewer than three, anticipating his killing of the suppliant Turnus at the end of the poem, and disturbing the reader in departing from the Roman ideal of *parcere subiectis* (6. 853).

**521. inde Mago procul infensam contenderat hastam:** for the phrasing cf. 402, for *inde* 315 n. *Mago*: the name *Magus* is not found elsewhere but means 'magician, charlatan' (*μάγος*), perhaps relevant here to the guile shown in ducking under Aeneas' spear. *infensam* ... *hastam*: there is a well-supported variant *infestam*, and these two adjs. of very similar meaning are frequently confused in MSS (*TLL* vii/1. 1366. 17–18), and found in similar contexts in Vergil (cf. 877, 9. 793); here *infensam* might be preferred for euphony before *contenderat*. *contenderat*: so three times in Vergil of throwing weapons; the variant *contorserat* is more frequently used in this context (six times in Vergil) and is therefore likely to be a scribal slip here for the rarer verb.

**522. ille astu subit, at tremibunda supervolat hasta:** closely modelled on Lycaon's tactic at *Il.* 21. 68–70 *ὁ δ' ὑπέδραμε καὶ λάβει γούνων/κύψας· ἐγχείη δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ νότου ἐνὶ γαίῃ/ἔστη*: *ille* echoes *ὁ δ'*, *subit* *ὑπέδραμε*. *astu*: adverbial ablative of *astus*, 'cunning', twice in Vergil and an archaism in the Augustan poets (Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 7. 419, Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*, 38–9). *at* is clearly the right reading (there are several variants), matching the *δ' ἄρ'* of the Homeric model. *supervolat hasta* imitates the Homeric *τὸ δ' ὑπέρπτατο χάλκεον ἔγχος* (*Il.* 13. 408, 22. 275, not in the Lycaon-scene), the verb occurring here for the first time in Latin (for new *super-* compounds in Vergil cf. 384 n.). *tremibunda*: correctly formed from *tremere*; the anomalous spelling *tremebundus* is also found (for

the evidence and the poetic register of this word cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 4. 133, Lyne on *Ciris* 256, Langlois, art. cit. (341 n.), 119).

**523. *genua amplectens*:** echoes *λάβε γούνων* in Lycaon's supplication of Achilles (above); it is the classic suppliant posture (cf. J. Gould, *JHS* 93 (1973), 76).

***effatur talia supplex*:** speech-formula (246–7 n.; for *effatur* cf. 256–7 n.), with *supplex* used quasi-adverbially (cf. 4. 424, 9. 624).

**524–5. *per patrios manis et spes surgentis Iuli/te precor*:** cf. 6. 364 (Palinurus to Aeneas) 'per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli' and similar Homeric adjurations by the addressee's family (*Il.* 24. 466–7, *Od.* 11. 66 ff.). *patrios manis* is adjective for genitive (156–7 n.), while *manis* refers to an individual shade (cf. Bailey, *RV* 256–62 *TLL* viii. 297. 46 ff.). *surgentis Iuli*: *surgentis* (again of Iulus at 4. 274 and 6. 364) is a metaphor from the growth of plants (*OLD* s.v. 8), recalling the Homeric comparison of young children to shoots or saplings (e.g. *Il.* 18. 56–7, 438–9). *te precor*: entreaty-formula (cf. 461). This is a powerful appeal for the family-minded Romans and particularly for Aeneas, paragon of *pietas*, and his rejection of it is disturbing.

***hanc animam serves gnatoque patrique*:** *hanc* is deictic as at 598 (a similar appeal). The plea for life occurs in Homer (*Il.* 6. 46); with *gnatoque patrique* (for the high-style *gnatus* and *-que ... -que* cf. 469–70 n. and 91 n.) Magus hopes to win over Aeneas by comparing Iulus and Anchises with his own son and father.

**526–8.** The stress on the ability to pay ransom in a suppliant's unsuccessful request for life has three Homeric models: Adrestus at *Il.* 6. 47–8 *πολλὰ δ' ἐν ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς κειμήλια κείται, χαλκὸς τε χρυσὸς τε πολύκμητός τε σίδηρος*, largely repeated by Peisandrus and Hippolochus at *Il.* 11. 132–3, and Dolon at *Il.* 10. 378–9: *ἔστι γὰρ ἔνδον/χαλκὸς τε χρυσὸς τε πολύκμητός τε σίδηρος*.

***domus alta*:** again at 101, and here persuasively suggesting a wealthy home as in Adrestus' *ἐν ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς* (sc. *δόμῳ*).

***iacent penitus defossa talenta/caelati argenti*:** *iacent penitus* picks up Adrestus' *κείται*, *penitus* Dolon's *ἔνδον*; *talentum* as at 5. 112 corresponds to the Homeric *τάλαντον* (*Il.* 9. 122 etc.), a large unit of weight.

***sunt auri pondera facti/infectique mihi*:** *pondera* like *talenta* here refers specifically to a unit of weight, the Roman *libra* or twelve-ounce pound (*OLD* s.v. *pondus* 3c), while *factus* and *infectus* are the normal terms for wrought and unwrought metal (Cic. *Verr.* 4. 39, Livy 34. 10. 4, 43. 5. 8): the polarity 'both *X* and non-*X*' is a common rhetorical one (cf. Kemmer, 96 ff.).

**528–9.** The metaphor of these lines seems to be taken from a pair of scales, following the familiar 'scales of war' (12. 725–7, *Il.* 22.

209 ff.). *vertitur* sees Magus' life as a pivot, while *dabit discrimina* suggests tipping the balance, compare Lucan's imitation of Vergil (3. 337–8): 'non pondera rerum/nec momenta sumus'.

**hic:** for *in hoc* (i.e. *in me*), the normal construction after *vertitur*; for this use of adverbial *hic* cf. *TLL* vi. 2755. 40 ff.

**discrimina tanta:** poetic plural, *metri causa*: for *discrimina dare* cf. 382–3, 393, and for the line-ending cf. 97 n.

**530. dixerat:** speech-formula: cf. 246–7 n.

**talìa reddit:** again 2. 323, and an appropriate formula for Aeneas' answer here, which 'gives back' to Magus both his proffered gifts and the very words with which he offered them, 'argenti ... talenta' summarizing 526–8, 'gnatis parce tuis' inverting and answering 525 'serves gnato patrique': Magus' wealth but not his life will be spared for his sons.

**531. memoras quae:** for *memoro* cf. 149 n.; the relative *quae* is postponed, not a neoteric mannerism but a general poetic convenience perhaps found as early as Ennius (*Ann.* 469 Skutsch), cf. Williams on 5. 22, Norden on 6. 792 ff., and the full lists of this phenomenon in Latin poets in E. Schünke, *De traiectione conjunctionum et pronominis relativi apud poetas Latinos* (Diss. Kiel, 1906).

**532. gnatis parce tuis:** *parcere* with acc. (*talenta*) is an archaism (Ernout–Robin on *Lucr.* 2. 1163), while the plural *gnatis* rhetorically caps Magus' singular *gnato* at 525, perhaps suggesting future generations of sons who will enjoy the family wealth.

**532–3.** The model is the speech of Achilles to Lycaon at *Il.* 21. 99 ff., a parallel scene (521–36 n.):

νήπιε, μή μοι ἄποινα πιφάυσκεο μηδ' ἀγόρευε·  
 πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πάτροκλον ἐπισπεῖν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ,  
 τόφρα τί μοι πεφιδέσθαι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φίλτερον ἦεν  
 Τρώων, καὶ πολλοὺς ζωοὺς ἔλον ἠδὲ πέρασα·  
 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς τις θάνατον φύγη, ὃν κε θεός γε  
 Ἰλίου προπάροιθεν ἐμήσ ἐν χερσὶ βάλῃσιν. ...

**belli commercia:** a striking juxtaposition, very likely echoing *cauponantes bellum* in the famous speech given by Ennius to Pyrrhus (*Ann.* 184 Skutsch).

**sustulit ista prior:** *prior* goes adverbially with *sustulit*: compare the use of *πρότερος* at *Il.* 3. 351 ὁ με πρότερος κάκ' ἔοργε.

**iam tum Pallante perempto:** for *perimere* cf. 315 n.

**534. hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus:** *sentit* has its legalistic sense of 'judges' or 'approves' (*OLD* s.v. 6): Aeneas claims with bitter sarcasm that the *sententia* of Anchises and Iulus is for the death-blow indicated by *hoc*.

535–6. The description of the death of Magus recalls that of Priam at the hands of Pyrrhus (2. 552–3), a disturbing parallel (cf. 510–605 n.):

implicuitque comam laeva, dextraque coruscum  
extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem.

**sic fatus:** speech-formula (cf. 246–7 n.), imitating Homeric ὡς φάμενος (*Il.* 5. 290 etc.).

**atque reflexa/cervice orantis:** Vergil's practice shows that *orantis* is superior to the variant *oranti*, corrupted by *cervice*: cf. similarly 554 'caput orantis' and the examples given at 323 n. *reflexa/cervice*: cf. 8. 633 'tereti cervice reflexa', Cic. *Arat.* 9. 5 Traglia 'caput ... tereti cervice reflexum'.

**capulo tenus:** recalls the Homeric model of the death of Lycaon (521–36 n.), cf. *Il.* 21. 117–18 πᾶν δέ οἱ εἴσω/δὲ ξίφος ἀμφηκες. *tenus* follows its noun as always in Vergil (209–11 n.); for *capulus*, 'hilt', rare before Vergil in poetry or prose, cf. *TLL* iii. 382. 66 ff.

**applicat ensem:** the basic notion of the verb is 'bring into contact with' (cf. 12. 303 and *OLD* s.v.).

537. **nec procul Haemonides:** sc. *erat*; *Haemonides* is the patronymic of two minor characters in Homer (*Il.* 4. 394, 17. 467), but is here used as a simple proper name.

**Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos:** again at 6. 35 (of the Sybil). For *Trivia* (= 'Ἐνοδία'), 'lady of the crossroads', a title of Artemis/Diana in her aspect of Hecate, cf. Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 1. 141, T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg, 1960), 77–83. Diana was commonly joined with her divine brother in cult, prominently so in Augustus' Palatine temple at Rome: cf. Austin on 6. 69–70, Prop. 2. 31. 15–16, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C* 1. 31. 1. *sacerdos*: the warrior who is also a priest or seer is a common epic figure: cf. 6. 484, 9. 327, 11. 768, and 175 n.

538. **infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta:** the *infula* was a woollen headband worn by both priests and sacrificial victims to indicate consecration to a god (cf. 2. 430, *G.* 3. 487), the *vittae* (here *vitta* is singular for plural) its tying-ribbons, which hung down on either side, cf. Austin on 2. 133. *vitta* occurs first in poetry here (the only occasion in Vergil, cf. Beringer *Kultwörter*, 53–6), while *infula* and *redimio* are found in Lucretius (1. 87, 5. 1399).

Vergil here exploits the ambiguity of the identical trappings of priest and sacrificial victim: the priest Haemonides, normally the sacrificer, is here ironically presented as the sacrifice (cf. 541 'immolat'), a motif repeated in the story of Laocoon (Austin on 2. 223–4) and at Petron. 89. 51 'iacet sacerdos inter aras victima'.

**539. totus conlucens veste atque insignibus albis:** the majority reading is *armis*. Servius records both readings, saying that Probus and Asper supported *albis* and *armis* respectively (cf. Introd. 2(ii)). Though *armis* has been defended by E. Courtney (*BICS* 28 (1981), 25), *albis* is clearly right (cf. Timpanaro, *Storia*, 90–4, Delvigo 62–8). *armis* is the easier error given *insignibus armis* at line-end in 170, while *veste atque insignibus albis* is superior in style and sense; substantive *insignia* is standard Latin for the badges of priesthood (Livy 10. 7. 9, Delvigo 67), and *albis* would be neatly ἀπὸ κοινῶ with both nouns, referring to the white insignia and dress of priests at Rome (cf. Gellius 10. 15. 32, Ov. *Am.* 3. 13. 27, *Fasti* 4. 619, Stat. *Theb.* 6. 324, Delvigo 67).

**540. quem congressus agit campo:** *congregior* with accusative is found only here in Vergil and before him only twice in Plautus (*TLL* iv. 286. 39 ff.). *campo* is the so-called ablative of ‘extension’ or ‘area over which’, common with this type of noun: cf. 763 ‘turbidus ingreditur campo’, 5. 456, 12. 450, 501–2 and the full treatment by S. Malosti in *Studi sulla lingua poetica latina* (Rome, 1967), 19–101.

**lapsumque superstans:** *supersto* is found only here in Vergil, who introduces it to poetry (for his fondness for *super-* compounds cf. 384 n.).

**541. ingentique umbra tegit:** editors since Servius have varied between two interpretations here: ‘aut magnitudine corporis sui aut clipei obumbrat eius cadaver, aut ... morte tegit’. The imitations of the Silver poets make it clear that they took the first view (cf. P. Venini, *Ath.* 61 (1983), 266–9), perhaps supported by G. 2. 489 ‘ingenti ramorum protegat umbra’. This gives something of a ὕστερον πρότερον (cf. 140 n.), since Aeneas’ overshadowing of Haemonides should more naturally precede the death-blow of *immolat* than succeed it, but seems better than the second interpretation, which requires too much of *umbra*: similar Homeric phrases speak of the covering ‘murky night’ or ‘dark cloud’ of death, not merely of its ‘shadow’ (cf. *Il.* 13. 425, 20. 417–18).

**Serestus:** the lesser hero carries spoils for the greater, a Homeric pattern (cf. 12. 297, *Il.* 16. 664–5). The appearance here of Serestus, one of the more prominent Trojans of the *Aeneid*, seems to be an inconsistency, for in book 9 (171, 779) he is one of the commanders of the Trojan camp, which is only relieved at 604–5, and should not therefore be with the returning Aeneas. The origin of his name is unknown (cf. *RE* iiA. 1683. 30 ff.); it may have been invented as a doublet for Sergestus, with whom Serestus twice appears (4. 288, 12. 561).

**542. tibi, rex Gradive, tropaeum:** cf. 11. 7-8 'tibi magne, tropaeum,/bellipotens', again a trophy to Mars, the natural dedicatee of war-spoils. *rex Gradive* (again 3. 35) addresses Mars by his title of *Gradivus*, derived by Varro (*LL* 5. 85) from *gradior* with reference to the dance-steps of the *Salii*, but most likely to be a foreign word (cf. Ogilvie on *Livy* 1. 20. 4, Bömer on *Ov. Fasti* 5. 556, Boehm in *RE* vii. 1688. 22 ff.). *tropaeum* = τροπαῖον, plausibly derived in antiquity from τρέπεσθαι (the rout of the enemy; cf. Servius on 775, Varro, *Men.* 61): for such trophies of piled arms, not in Homer but common thereafter, cf. Lammert in *RE* viiA. 663. 68 ff. and esp. G. C. Picard, *Les Trophées romains* (BÉFAR 187; Paris, 1957); *pius Aeneas* dutifully offers his spoils to the gods (unlike Turnus, cf. 501-5 n.).

**543-4. instaurant acies:** this verb, introduced by Vergil to poetry, is properly used of renewing a ritual and thence of renewing such things as war which (at least initially) have a ceremonial aspect: cf. Austin on 2. 451 and 669. Here *Caeculus* and *Umbro*, both recognized heroes prominent in the Latin Catalogue of book 7, reinforce the Italians against *Aeneas*, just as the first-class heroes *Clausus*, *Halaesus*, and *Messapus* provide similar aid at 345 ff.

**Volcani stirpe creatus/Caeculus:** *Caeculus* is *Vulcan's* son (7. 678), a rationalization (perhaps derived from *Cato*, *Rehm* 93) of the primitive tale that *Caeculus's* mother was impregnated by a spark from the fire (*Servius* on 7. 678); there is another version where *Caeculus* is simply found by the hearth (*Cato* and *Varro* in *Scholiam Veronensiam* on 7. 678, *Solinus* 2. 9). This pedigree links him with *Cacus*, another son of *Vulcan* (cf. 8. 198), as does the similarity of name. Two historical roles were attached to him: that of founder of *Praeneste*, adopted by *Vergil* (7. 678), and that of gentile hero of the great *Caecilii* (*Paul. exc. Fest.*, p. 38. 23 *Lindsay*; cf. further *W. F. Otto, RhM*, ns 64 (1909), 453 ff., *J. van Ooteghem, Les Caecilii Metelli de la République* (Paris, 1967), 14 ff.). For a good account of the *Caeculus* myths cf. *Horsfall* in *J. M. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall, Roman Myth and Mythography (BICS Suppl. 52; London, 1987)*, 49-62.

**et veniens Marsorum montibus Umbro:** unlike *Caeculus*, *Umbro* is invented by *Vergil*, the name being taken from an Etruscan river (modern *Ombrone*), cf. *Holland* 203. Like *Caeculus*, he does not appear again after this (though his death at *Trojan* hands is predicted at 7. 756); his re-entry here echoes the catalogue-language of his introduction at 7. 750 'Marruvia venit de gente', the mention of the brave *Marsi*, popularly connected with *Mars* (*G.* 2. 16, *Nisbet-Hubbard* on *Hor. C.* 1. 2. 39), perhaps stressing his valour.

**545–6. Dardanides contra furit:** cf. *Il.* 1. 247 Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐμήνιε. The patronymic *Dardanides* (again 12. 775) stresses Aeneas' descent from Dardanus, and his rights in Italy (4 n.); for *furit* (Homeric battle-madness) cf. 385–7 n. Note the dramatic diaeresis after the third foot, a rare pause which in Vergil occurs only after a dactyl (Winbolt, *LHV* 37–9, J. Soubiran, *Pallas*, 16 (1969), 107–57).

**Anxuris ense sinistram/et totum clipei terrae deiecerat orbem:** all MSS read *ferro* for *terrae* here, but this text is deeply problematic. *ense* and *ferro* cannot stand in the same sentence if both describe Aeneas' sword, and neither can refer to anything else; consequently, one of the two must be corrupt. Axt proposed *ecce* for *ense*, which has been powerfully supported by Timpanaro, *MD* 21 (1988), 108–18, but seems difficult with the pluperfect *deiecerat*: this type of interjected *ecce* should refer dramatically to an action occurring at that instant, as at 219, 570, 12. 319 and 12. 650, all in battle-narrative, and *deiecerat* must give at least some notion of anterior occurrence; there is no other example of a pluperfect after *ecce* in Vergil. For *ferro* Mackail proposed *ferri* (to be taken with *orbem*), which gives two genitive nouns in inelegant succession. Jasper's *terrae* for *ferro*, on the other hand, seems to be very likely what Vergil originally wrote here. The change is slight, the sense is excellent (cf. 555 'deturbat terrae', far enough away for the similarity not to disturb), and an extra point is added through the contrast with *caelo* (548): Anxur's ambitions for heaven fall with his shield to earth.

**Anxuris:** like that of Umbro and other Vergilian heroes (166 n.), Anxur's name is geographical, taken from a city in Latium called Tarracina by the Romans but earlier known by this Volscian name, adopted by dactylic poets *metri causa* (Fordyce on 7. 799, Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 152).

**clipei ... orbem:** again at 2. 227 (cf. Austin's note).

**547–8. dixerat ille aliquid magnum:** *magna dicere* is common in poetry of rash or boastful utterance (*TLL* viii. 136. 1 ff.), rendering μέγα λέγειν (*Od.* 22. 288, Jebb on Soph. *El.* 830). The figure of the boaster brought down is common in Vergil (cf. Numanus Remulus and Heinze 207), especially in this book; so Pharus at 322 ff., Liger at 581 ff.

**vimque adfore verbo/crediderat:** Anxur wrongly believes that his deeds will match his boastful words. The contrast between words and deeds is a theme of epic (cf. 11. 378–9, *Il.* 16. 630–1, *Ov. Met.* 8. 438–9).

**caeloque animum fortasse ferebat:** *caelo*, like *terrae* at 555, is dative of motion, common in poetry (cf. Williams on 5. 451);

here it suggests arrogant hopes for heroic apotheosis (for *caelum* in this sense cf. *G.* 4. 325, Goodyear on *Tac. Ann.* 1. 73. 3). *fortasse*: this prosaic word occurs only here in Vergil, who otherwise prefers the more poetic forms *fors*, *forte*, *forsan*, and *forsitan*; cf. Brink on *Hor. AP* 19, Axelson, *UW* 32.

**549. canitiemque sibi longosque promiserat annos:** for *canities* cf. 30 n. *sibi ... promiserat* again suggests a hubristic attitude: only the gods can give long life.

**550. Tarquitus:** the name, Etruscan in origin (Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 96), recalls the city of Tarquinii and Tarquin kings of Rome.

**exsultans contra fulgentibus armis:** cf. 11. 663 'exsultant lunatis ... peltis' and the Homeric *σθένει βλεμείνων* (*Il.* 8. 337); *fulgentibus armis* (for 'fulgens' cf. 414-5 n.) recalls the Homeric *τεύχεα παμφανόωντα* (*Il.* 5. 295), and is common at line-end (six times in *Aeneid*).

**551. silvicolae Fauno Dryope quem nympa creatat:** cf. 12. 271-2 'quos fida creatat/una tot Arcadio coniunx Tyrrhena Gy-lippo', a similar sympathetic 'obituary' before death. 'silvicola', found in poetry before Vergil (Macr. *Sat.* 6. 5. 9), might render *ἰλονόμος*, found in a Hellenistic epigram (*AP* 6. 217. 7, cf. Page, *FGE* 281). *Fauno*: Faunus is an Italian deity, made by Vergil the father of Latinus (7. 47 ff.); Tarquitus is thus Latinus' half-brother, and a worthy opponent for Aeneas. Associated with the country (hence *silvicolae*) and with oracles (7. 81 ff., Bömer on *Ov. Fasti* 4. 650), Faunus was commonly identified with Pan by the Augustan period; see Bömer on *Ov. Fasti* 2. 271, E. C. H. Smits, *Faunus* (Diss. Leiden, 1946). *Dryope*: the name of a well-known mythological heroine, daughter of the Thracian king Dryops (Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 9. 324-93): the derivation of her name from *δρῦς*, 'oak-tree' makes her an appropriate bride for *silvicola Faunus*. *creatat*: for the contracted form cf. 417 and 244 n.

**552-3. obuius ardenti sese obtulit:** note the emphatic repetition of the prefix *ob-* (cf. similarly 734 'obuius ... occurrit', 11. 498-9, *Lucr.* 3. 1041, 4. 1150).

**reducta ... hasta:** i.e. for the throw (cf. 12. 306-7, 5. 478-9): the impact is not related but understood by its result in *impedit*.

**loricam clipeique ingens onus impedit:** a compressed use of *impedit*: Aeneas' spear pins Tarquitus' shield against his cuirass, impeding him from defending himself. This is ironic, since Tarquitus' vaunted armour (550) should have defended him, not rendered him helpless.

**554-5.** Based on the similar death of the suppliant Dolon at *Il.* 10. 454-7:

ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν μιν ἔμελλε γενείου χειρὶ παχείῃ  
 ἀμάμενος λίσσεσθαι, ὁ δ' αὐχένα μέσσον ἔλασσε  
 φασγάνῳ αἴξας, ἀπὸ δ' ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε·  
 φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη.

**caput orantis:** so *cervice orantis* at 536: *orantis* matches Homer's φθεγγομένου.

**nequiquam:** archaic/poetic (121–2 n.).

**multa parantis/dicere:** cf. 4. 390–1 'multa parantem/dicere', picking up Homer's ἔμελλε ... λίσσεσθαι.

**deturbat terrae:** vivid alliteration marking violent decapitation: *deturbo*, 'send flying', occurs in poetry before Vergil (Lucr. 5. 401), while *terrae*, like *caelo* (548 n.), is a dative of motion as at 546. **555–6. truncumque tepentem/provolvens:** based on two occasions in the *Iliad* where a headless corpse is sent rolling by the victor (11. 145–7, 13. 202–4); for the still-warm corpse cf. 12. 287. *truncus* of a human trunk is poetic before Vergil (Lucr. 3. 404).

**super haec inimico pectore fatur:** again 11. 685; *super* is adverb as at 384 and 488. As a taunt-formula the phrase recalls the Homeric καὶ οἱ ἐπευχόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευεν (*Il.* 21. 121, introducing the lines which are the main model for 557–60, below), while the personification of *inimico pectore* reflects Greek poetic usage (cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 309 ἐχθρὰ γλώσσα).

**557–60.** As editors have noted, this passage derives a number of details from similar Homeric taunts to dead adversaries, particularly that of Achilles to Lycaon, an episode clearly in Vergil's mind here, at *Il.* 21. 122–5:

ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν κείσο μετ' ἰχθύσιν, οἳ σ' ὠπειλήν  
 αἶμ' ἀπολιχμήσονται ἀκηδέες· οὐδέ σε μήτηρ  
 ἐνθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται, ἀλλὰ Σκάμανδρος  
 οἴσει δινήεις εἴσω ἄλός εὐρέα κόλπον.

Also used are the words of Achilles to Hector (*Il.* 22. 352–4) and of Odysseus to Socus (*Il.* 14. 452–4), but the main point of this close imitation is to stress that Aeneas is here playing the role of the vengeful Achilles (510–605 n.). However, there is a difference; Aeneas, unlike Achilles, does not drag his victim's body to the river, or accomplish his other threats of deprivation of burial. As in his echo of Achilles' human sacrifice (cf. 517–20 n.), Vergil will go only so far in attributing Homeric brutalities to *pius Aeneas*.

**557–8. istic nunc, metuende, iace:** echoing Achilles' ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν κείσο to Lycaon (above): the ironic *metuende* is taken from yet another Homeric taunt to the dead, again by Achilles (to Iphition

at *Il.* 20. 389) κείσαι ... πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν. *istic* (*TLL* vii/2. 514. 59 ff.) occurs only here in Vergil.

**non te optima mater/condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulchro:** recalling not only Achilles' words to Lycaon (above) οὐδέ σε μήτηρ/ἐνθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται, but also Enn. *Ann.* 126 Skutsch 'heu quam crudeli condebat membra sepulchro'. *optima mater* echoes the Homeric πότνια μήτηρ, found in the similar taunt of Achilles to Hector (*Il.* 22. 352); *optima* is conventionally used of virtuous women, especially in sepulchral inscriptions, cf. *Lucr.* 3. 895, *TLL* ii. 2081. 19 ff., viii. 436. 62 ff. *condet humi:* the variant ablative *humo* seems attractive given 904 *humo* ... *tegi:* the locative *humi* tends to be used in a distinguishable sense of 'on (to) the ground', like Homeric χαμαί (cf. 697 'sternit humi', 5. 78 'fudit humi', *OLD* s.v. *humus* 1b), but is possible here, cf. *Sall. Cat.* 55. 3 'locus ... humi depressus'. *patrioque* ... *sepulchro:* 'ancestral tomb' as usually in this phrase (cf. *Cic. S. Rosc.* 24, *Leg. Ag.* 3. 37, *Hor. S.* 2. 3. 196); family burial-places were a Roman tradition (and not Homeric), cf. Marquardt, *Privatleben*, 364–5, J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (London, 1971) 74–9, 103–13. *onerabit* refers to the τόπος of the bones of the dead being weighed down by a tomb, cf. 11. 212 'ossa ... tepido ... onerabant aggere terrae', *Lucr.* 3. 893, *Lattimore* 65–74.

**559–60. alitibus linquere feris:** echoing the words of Odysseus to Socus at *Il.* 11. 453–4 οἰωνοὶ/ἄμησταί ἐρύουσι. *linquere:* this form of the future passive is preferred by Vergil to *-eris* for the open vowel convenient in dactylic verse, cf. Neue–Wagener iii. 202–10 (esp. 206–7); *linquere* is commonly used like the Homeric λείπειν of abandoning bodies without burial, cf. 11. 866, *Il.* 21. 201, Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 28. 33.

**aut gurgite mersum/unda feret piscesque impasti vulnera lambent:** close to Achilles' words to Lycaon (above, 557–60 n.) μετ' ἰχθύσιν, οἳ σ' ὠτειλὴν/αἶμ' ἀπολιχμήσονται ἀκηδέες ... Σκάμανδρος/οἴσει δινῆεις. *gurgites*, originally meaning 'whirlpool', here refers to the eddy which pulls the body down (cf. Homer's δινῆεις), while *unda feret*, matching Homer's Σκάμανδρος οἴσει, indicates the current which carries the body along. *impasti* echoes the οἰωνοὶ/ἄμησταί of Odysseus' taunt at *Il.* 11. 453–4 and is more colourful than ἀκηδέες in Achilles' words (above).

**561. protinus Antaeum et Lucam:** for *protinus* cf. 339–40 n. The names seem Italian: *Antaeus* in this context is probably a by-form of Anteus (Ἄντρείας), founder of Antium (*Dion. Hal. Ant.* 1. 72. 5), while *Luca* is probably to be connected with Lucania, cf. *Holland* 208–9.

**prima agmina Turni:** so *prima acies* of a few warriors at 125 (for the hyperbole of *agmina* cf. 318). The front rank is a suitable position for these important eponyms on their only appearance in the *Aeneid*.

**562. persequitur:** implies pursuit to the end (Hor. *C.* 3. 2. 14, *OLD* s.v. 2. 1*b*), implying that the pair, like the following Numa and Camers, are killed by Aeneas (for the non-narrated deaths cf. 388–9 n.).

**fortemque Numam fulvumque Camertem:** Homeric phrasing (cf. *Il.* 9. 169 *Αἴας τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*); *fortem* and *fulvum* both recall Homeric epithets for heroes, *ἄκκιμος* (*Il.* 6. 437 etc.) and *ξανθός* (*Il.* 2. 642 etc.). The names are again Italian: *Numa* is of course that of the second king of Rome, used for another Rutulian killed by Nisus and Euryalus (9. 454), and is Etruscan in origin (Ogilvie on Livy 1. 18. 1), while *Camers* (reused for a Rutulian at 12. 224), is the ethnic adjective of Camerium in Umbria (cf. Holland 212, Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 539).

**563–4. magnanimo Volcente satum:** a typical formula of heroic pedigree (cf. 7. 656 ‘satus Hercule pulchro’), echoing *Il.* 5. 25 *μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱός* (for *magnanimus* = *μεγάθυμος* cf. 139 n.). *satus* of descent occurs first in Vergil (*OLD* s.v.), but may well be an older poetic usage. Another Volcens is killed by Nisus at 9. 439, and the name looks genuinely Italian, perhaps linked with the Etruscan city of Vulci or Volci (Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 377–8), or with *Volsci*, since Amunclae, the city of Vergil’s Volcens, is in Volscian territory.

**ditissimus agri/qui fuit Ausonidum:** cf. 7. 536–7 ‘iustissimus unus/qui fuit Ausoniisque olim ditissimus arvis’, *Il.* 20. 220 *ὄς δὴ ἀφνειότατος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων*; *dives* can take either genitive or ablative of sphere of wealth, cf. 201. The rich father is a traditional feature of the epic obituary (*Il.* 5. 152 ff., 544 ff.), another hint that Camers is killed here. *Ausonidum* seems to be invented by Vergil as a patronymic by-form of *Ausonii*, perhaps thinking of the eponymous Auson, claimed as son of Odysseus and Calypso (cf. 53–4 n.).

**et tacitis regnavit Amyclis:** Italian Amyclae was situated between Caieta and Terracina in Volscian territory and was supposed to be a homonymous colony (cf. 179) of Amyclae in Sparta. However, the town’s real name was Amunclae (Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 59, 8. 104, Solinus 2. 32, Tac. *Ann.* 4. 59. 1), and the assimilation with Spartan Amyclae looks like an invention. The silence of Amyclae is proverbial (Otto, *Sprichwörter*, 24), and three explanations of the epithet are offered by the ancient commentators here: (i) the town was silent because desolate by Vergil’s own day, the inhabitants

having been driven out by snakes, (ii) its inhabitants as Pythagoreans practised a code of silence, (iii) after frequent false alarms, its inhabitants were forbidden to give warning of any enemy attack—hence the town was surprised and taken.

Of these three views, (i) is supported by Pliny (*Nat.* 3. 59, 8. 104) and the earlier Greek paradoxographer Isigonus of Nicaea (*PGR* 327), but *tacitis* seems oddly specific for ‘abandoned’, while (ii) is not found elsewhere and looks like a particularly rank guess based on the Pythagorean presence in the more southern parts of Italy; (iii) seems to be a story about Spartan Amyclae transferred to its supposed colony (cf. Rehm 35–6), but nevertheless appears to underlie most of the allusions to ‘silent Amyclae’ in Latin (Afranius, *Com.* 274–5, Lucilius fr. 957–8 Marx, Silius 8. 528, *Pervigilium Veneris* 92, Ausonius 5. 15. 6, 18. 29. 26 Prete, Sidonius, *Ep.* 8. 6. 9), and is most likely to be behind Vergil’s use of the epithet here.

**565–70.** Aeneas is here compared to the hundred-handed giant Aegaeon, twice mentioned in early epic as a helper of the gods (*Il.* 1. 401–6, Hes. *Th.* 617 ff.), but here pictured fighting against them (567) as in the Cyclic *Titanomachy* (cf. M. Davies, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol, 1989), 15). The poet’s choice here of this unfavourable version of Aegaeon has often been taken as criticizing Aeneas, particularly as it matches the comparison of the impious Mezentius to the giant Orion (763 ff.). Though Gordon Williams’s observation (*TI* 180) that the simile is negative since it observes Aeneas from the Latin point of view is highly relevant (compare the similarly subjective simile for Aeneas at 272 ff.), it is difficult to avoid the notion that the equivalence of Aeneas and Aegaeon is somehow disturbing. It is normally the opponents of Aeneas who are associated with Gigantic opposition to Jupiter (cf. Hardie 84–156), and the choice of a theomachic giant as a comparison for *pious Aeneas* seems darkly appropriate at a point where he is behaving most brutally (cf. 510–605 n.).

**565–6. centum cui bracchia dicunt/centenasque manus:** sc. *fuisse*; for *centum ... centenas*, elegant variation of cardinal and distributive, cf. 328–30 n. *centum ... bracchia* matches Homer’s ἑκατόγχερος of Aegaeon at *Il.* 1. 402, while *dicunt*, Homeric φασί (*Il.* 5. 638), reports a distant story (on such reporting devices cf. 189 n.). Arms and hands are mentioned separately here since they respectively carry the shields and swords of 568; as Servius notes, the stress on the multiplicity of Aegaeon’s limbs and arms suggests the terrified Italians’ view of the rampaging Aeneas.

**566–7. quinquaginta oribus ignem/pectoribusque arsisse:** fire-breathing is a characteristic of malevolent monsters; so the Chimaera (7. 786) and Cacus (8. 252–3, 259, 267).

**Iovis cum fulmina contra:** the thunderbolt is of course the characteristic weapon of Zeus/Jupiter in myth, art and literature (Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 11 ff., 722 ff.). *contra:* postponed, common with disyllabic prepositions and at line-end in the hexameter, cf. Norden on 6. 329, Housman on Man. 1. 245, Neue–Wagener ii. 942 ff.

**568. paribus streperet clipeis:** i.e. tried to match the noise of Jupiter's thunderbolts by clashing his shields together: the emulation of Jupiter's characteristic thunder is hubristic (Austin on 6. 585 ff.) and therefore appropriate in a theomachy. *paribus* again suggests Aeneas' appearance to the Latins: he seems to have fifty identical shields, as invulnerable in defence as his fifty swords ('tot stringeret ensis') are irresistible in attack.

**569. desaevit:** *valde saevit* (D. Servius), a verb (again 4. 52) first found in the Augustan period (*TLL* v/i. 640. 69 ff.); for the intensive prefix *de-* cf. LHS ii. 263–4.

**570–1. ut semel intepuit mucro:** i.e. with blood: cf. *Il.* 16. 333 (= 20. 476) *πᾶν δ' ὑπεθερμάνθη ξίφος αἵματι*. *intepuit* (the prefix is inceptive) occurs first here in extant Latin. *mucro*, strictly 'sword-point', here 'sword', a poetic synecdoche (cf. 484 *cuspis*) found since Ennius (op. inc. fr. 11 Skutsch; cf. *TLL* viii. 1556. 34 ff.).

**quin ecce:** lively particles (23 n., 133 n.).

**quadriugis:** third-declension acc. pl. Elsewhere Vergil has only second-declension forms of this adjective (12. 162, *G.* 3. 18); for the variation cf. 395–6 n. Four-horse chariots appear twice in Homer (*Il.* 8. 185, 11. 699), for whom the two-horse version is standard.

**adversaque pectora:** seems to envisage the frontal view of a *quadriga* as often represented in Greek and Roman art, cf. *Dict. ant.* i. 1637–8, figs. 2209–10, A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1973), 18.

**572–3. atque illi longe gradientem et dira frementem/ut videre:** cf. *Il.* 3. 21 ff. *τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησεν ... | ... μακρὰ βιβάντα* (= *longe gradientem*). *atque:* introducing a dramatic new turn of events (219–20 n.). *dira frementem:* cf. 12. 398 'acerba fremens', a similar cognate accusative; both resemble the Homeric *σμερδαλέα ἰάχων* (*Il.* 5. 302). The participial jingle *gradientem ... frementem* is a musical effect familiar in Vergil, cf. 193, 797, 2. 771, 5. 181, 12. 299, 903, Austin on 4. 55, Fordyce on 7. 491. *ut videre:* conjunction and verb are postponed to emphasize what is seen, a Vergilian mannerism: cf. 364–5, 2. 518–19, 7. 86–7, 11. 39–40.

**metu versi retroque ruentes:** so the Trojan horses retreat before the sight of Patroclus at *Il.* 16. 375–6 *τανύοντο δὲ μώνυχες ἵπποι/ἄμφορον*.

**574. effunduntque ducem:** the verb is standard for throwing a rider (cf. 893, *OLD* s.v. 12), while *dux* in the sense of 'charioteer' is first found in Vergil (*TLL* v/i. 2324. 75 ff.), probably following ἡγεμών in the same sense at Soph. *OT* 804 (so Campbell there, *contra* Jebb).

**rapiuntque ad litora currus:** *currus rapere* is poetic before Vergil (Inc. *Trag.* 196, cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2. 205). Note the jingle of *effunduntque* and *rapiuntque*, perhaps suggesting a gallop here. *currus* is poetic plural as often (cf. 592, *TLL* iv. 1519. 84 ff.), following the similar Homeric ὄχεια and ἄρματα (*Il.* 4. 419 etc., 4. 226 etc.); the variant *currum* is an unwanted 'normalization'.

**575-6. interea:** not 'meanwhile' but 'next', cf. 1 n.

**biugis infert se Lucagus albis:** *biugis* seems better than the variant contraction *bigis* (cf. 12. 164 'bigis it Turnus in albis') given *biugos* in 486 (for *biugi* cf. 399-400 n.). *Lucagus'* name (he appears only here) may mean 'white chief' (λευκός ἀγός) as Henry suggests, a pun on *albis*: the white chief has an appropriately white team.

**fraterque Liger:** *Liger* is the Roman name for the river Loire (Caes. *Gall.* 7. 5. 4), but as a hero-name is perhaps connected with *Ligus/Liguria*; the root seems Italian, cf. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 191, 359. For warrior brothers in the *Aeneid* cf. 125-6 n.; this particular pair are modelled on Isos and Antiphos, killed by Agamemnon at *Il.* 11. 101 ff.: both pairs similarly ride in one chariot (cf. 596), dividing the roles of driver and fighter (cf. 576-7).

**576-7. sed frater habenis/flectit equos, strictum rotat acer Lucagus ensem:** cf. *Il.* 11. 103-4 (cf. previous note): ὁ μὲν νόθος ἠνιόχευεν, Ἀντιφῶς αὐτὸν παρέβασκε περικλυτός. *sed* here does not introduce a contrast, but adds a further detail (cf. Fordyce on 7. 731, *KS* ii. 77), while *flectit equos* clearly derives from the Homeric ἵππους στρέψαι (*Il.* 8. 168). *strictum rotat . . . ensem:* cf. 9. 441-2 'rotat ensem/fulmineum'. Such whirling of swords does not occur in Homer; the image is that of the sabre-toting cavalryman. *acer Lucagus:* completing a chiasmic pattern of naming in 575-7: 'Lucagus ... fraterque Liger ... frater ... Lucagus'. For *acer* of heroes cf. 308-9 n.

**578. haud tulit:** a common formula for heroic impatience of the success or arrogance of others, cf. 2. 407, 8. 256, 9. 622, 12. 371, and Quinn 11-12.

**579. ingens apparuit:** closely together: Aeneas is a mighty apparition. Note the jingle of *irruit* and *apparuit*.

**580. cui Liger:** for the brachylogy and omitted verb, appropriate in the heat of battle-narrative, cf. 611 'cui Iuno summissa', 2. 547 'cui Pyrrhus'. This single dactyl is the shortest type of 'half-line' found in the *Aeneid* (cf. 3. 640, 11. 375) and is of a common type

before a speech, probably indicating an insertion, cf. 490 n. On Vergil's 'half-lines' in general cf. 16–17 n.

**581–2. non Diomedis equos nec currum cernis Achilles/aut Phrygiae campos:**

the reference is to the failed attempts of Diomedes and Achilles to kill Aeneas during the Trojan War (*Il.* 5. 297 ff., 20. 273 ff.); Liger hopes to surpass these great heroes in destroying Aeneas (cf. similarly Turnus at 9. 154–5 and Numanus Remulus at 9. 602). *Achillis*: for this genitive form, perhaps a Vergilian innovation, cf. Austin on 2. 275, M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* (Zurich–Stuttgart, 1959), 108 ff., esp. 117. *Phrygiae campos*: cf. 335 'Iliacis campis' and Catullus 46. 4 'Phrygii ... campi'; the plains of the Troad were its most prominent feature in antiquity as now, cf. W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge, 1923), 173–6.

Liger is well acquainted with the events of the *Iliad*, as is Turnus at 12. 52–3; such dramatically convenient knowledge is common in epic, so the Phaeacians know of the Trojan War and Odysseus' role in it (*Odyssey* 8. 73 ff.), and in the *Aeneid* Dido and Latinus both know of Aeneas' deeds and travels (1. 565 ff., 7. 195 ff.).

**582–3. nunc belli finis et aevi/his dabitur terris:** *belli finis* is common (*TLL* vi. 791. 43 ff.), while *finis aevi* recalls the Homeric βίῳτοιο τελευτή (*Il.* 7. 104 etc.); for the elevated *aevum* cf. 52–3 n. *finem dare* is poetic before Vergil, cf. *TLL* vi. 796. 65 ff.

**583–4. vesano talia late/dicta volant Ligeri:** for the dative *Ligeri* cf. similarly 11. 381 '[verba] quae tuto tibi magna volant'. *vesano*: of battle-madness, picking up *furentis* at 578. *vesanus* (= *insanus*) is found in Vergil elsewhere only in the phrase *vesana fames* (723–4 n.), but is poetic before him; for *late* cf. 362–3 n.

**584–5. sed non et Troius heros/dicta parat contra:** Aeneas does not follow his boastful opponent in replying with words (*dicta* picking up the *dicta* of Liger), but acts instead as befits a true hero (cf. 547–8 n.). *Troius heros*: so four times of Aeneas at line-end (cf. 886, Moskalew 82), following similar line-end formulae in Homer, cf. *Il.* 2. 844 Πείροος ἦρωσ, 6. 35, 12. 95.

**iaculum nam torquet in hostis:** for *torquere* cf. 333–4 n.; *nam* is postponed (here to emphasize *iaculum*), a neoteric trait imitating enclitic γάρ and occurring with *namque* and other connective particles, cf. Fordyce on Cat. 23. 7, Norden *Aen.* 6, Anh. 3. B. 3, Ross, *Style and Tradition*, 67–9. *in hostis*: the singular variant *in hostem* makes equally good sense: Aeneas' spear-throw answers Liger's boast, but it is aimed at the chariot containing both brothers, and in fact hits Lucagus.

**586–7. Lucagus ut pronus pendens in verbera telo/admonuit biiugos:** Lucagus leans forward to whip up his horses (cf. 5. 147 'pronique in verbera pendent'). *in*: expressing purpose, a Graeciz-

ing poetical use; cf. Fordyce on 7. 445, Gow on Theocr. 5. 98, KS i. 566–7. *telo admonuit*: cf. *Il.* 24. 326 *μάστιγι κέλευε*: *telo* is the flat of Lucagus' sword (Odysseus uses his bow for the same purpose at *Il.* 10. 513–14).

**588–9. aptat se pugnae**: cf. 259 n.

**subit oras hasta per imas/fulgentis clipei**: cf. 477 '[hasta] viam clipei molita per oras', where *oras* is similarly poetic plural (see n.): *oras ... imas* here recalls the *ἀντιξ ... πυμάτη* of *Il.* 6. 118, the shield's weakest point (477 n.). *fulgentis clipei* recalls the Homeric *φαεινὴν ἀσπίδα* (*Il.* 5. 437).

**tum laevum perforat inguen**: the spear hits the inside of Lucagus' left leg, which is thrust forward (587). For wounds in the groin cf. 785–6, *Il.* 5. 65 ff., 13. 568; *inguen*, though unmentioned by Adams in his discussion of anatomical terms in Latin epic (art. cit. 347–8 n., esp. 51–3), is clearly an unacceptable term for the groin area in high poetry (*Ecl.* 6. 75, *Cat.* 60. 2, *Tib.* 2. 4. 58, *Ov. Met.* 8. 400 with Bömer's note). For the vivid metaphor of *perforare* cf. 485 n.

**590–1.** Closely modelled on Patroclus' killing and taunting of Cebriones at *Il.* 16. 743–4:

κάππεσ' ἅπ' εὐεργέος δίφρου, λίπε δ' ὄστέα θυμός,  
τὸν δ' ἐπικερτομέων προσέφησ, Πατρόκλεες ἵππευ ...

**excussus**: the verb is common for being thrown from a horse or chariot, cf. Austin on 6. 79, *TLL* v/2. 1310. 58 ff.

**moribundus volvitur arvis**: for *moribundus* cf. 341 n. and for the deponent *volvitur* 402–3 n.

**pius Aeneas**: frequent in the *Aeneid* (20 times): the epithet covers loyalty to family, friends, state, gods, and ideals. Here Aeneas is certainly true to his heroic duty in avenging Pallas, but the pointed use of the epithet in a context where he rejects appeals to the *pietas* of family feeling (524 ff., 597 ff.) suggests that one form of *pietas* may conflict with another. For the vast subject of *pius* and *pietas* in Vergil cf. Pease and Austin on 4. 393, Fordyce on 7. 5, and Suerbaum 168–70.

**dictis adfatur amaris**: speech-formula: cf. 466 'dictis adfatur amicis', *ἐπικερτομέων προσέφησ* in the model at *Il.* 16. 744 (above), and (more closely) *Il.* 4. 6 *κερτομίους ἐπέεσσι ... ἀγορεύων*.

**592. fuga segnīs**: again 308, here referring contemptuously to the flight of Niphaeus' horses (572–3).

**currus**: poetic plural: cf. 574 n.

**593. aut vanae vertere ex hostibus umbrae**: again a scornfully exaggerated allusion to the events of 572–3.

**594. ipse rotis saliens iuga deseris:** drawing a taunting contrast with Niphaeus: Lucagus was not thrown but jumped. Note how *deseris* continues the military terminology of *fuga* and *prodidit*. The taunt echoes that of Patroclus to Cebriones at *Il.* 16. 745 (the line following the model for 590–1): ἦ μάλλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὡς βεῖα κυβιστᾶ (saliens recalls κυβιστᾶ). *rotis* ... *iuga*: the chariot is elegantly described by two nouns, *rotae* referring by a part-whole synecdoche first found in Augustan poetry (*OLD* s.v. 1c) to the car, *iuga* by a similar synecdoche to the yoked team (*OLD* s.v. 3a).

**haec ita fatus:** speech-formula (again *Il.* 822), echoing Homeric ὡς φάμενος (*Il.* 5. 290), cf. 246–7 n.

**595–6. frater tendebat inertis/infelix palmas:** both *inertis* and the variant *inermis* are appropriate and paralleled in similar phrases (*Il.* 414, 672), and the same choice occurs at *Il.* 311; here *inertis* seems marginally better, making the extra point that Liger cannot now perform the deed he promised at 582–3. *tendebat* ... *palmas*: a gesture of the powerless suppliant, already found in Homer (*Il.* 4. 523 with Kirk's note, 21. 115–16); for Vergil's use of it cf. F. A. Sullivan, *CJ* 63 (1967), 358–62. *infelix*, cf. 324–5 n.

**597. per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes:** the omission of both introductory speech-formula (cf. 278) and verb of entreaty (369 n.) marks the drama of the moment. *per te*: cf. 369 'per vos' with n. *per qui te talem genuere parentes*: cf. *Il.* 606 'qui tanti talem genuere parentes' with Austin's note. The appeal to his parents should have some effect on *pius Aeneas*, but Vergil makes him follow the Iliadic Achilles in ignoring it in his passion for revenge (cf. *Il.* 22. 338); cf. 510–605 n.

**598. vir Troiane:** flatteringly honorific, as at *Il.* 125; *vir* = 'hero' as often (cf. Austin on 2. 280).

**sine hanc animam et miserere precantis:** *sinere* here as at 427 = ἐᾶν, 'leave alone' (cf. *Il.* 16. 731), while the deictic *hanc animam* recalls the similar entreaty of Magus at 525.

**599–600. pluribus oranti Aeneas:** again as at 597 an excited double ellipse (here of *verbis* (16–17 n.) and a verb of speech).

**haud talia dudum/dicta dabas:** i.e. at 581–3. The colloquial *dudum* occurs in the *Aeneid* only four times, all in direct speech; Vergil like other poets prefers the combination *iamdudum* (cf. the table at *TLL* v/1. 2175. 5 ff.). *dicta dare* is poetic before Vergil, cf. *TLL* v/1. 993. 77 ff.

**morere et fratrem ne desere frater:** brutal words (cf. 743 'nunc morere'); as at 597 such scorn of family values ill befits *pius Aeneas*.

**601. latebras animae:** in apposition with *pectus* but preceding it (a Vergilian technique, cf. Williams, *TORP* 728). The poetic plural

*latebrae* is found since Ennius (*Ann.* 580 Skutsch), perhaps echoing the Homeric *κευθμῶνες* (*Od.* 10. 283, 13. 367).

**pectus mucrone recludit:** cf. 4. 63 and Hor. *Epod.* 17. 71 ‘ense pectus Norico recludere’, which might suggest that the phrase occurred in earlier poetry; for *mucro* = ‘sword’ cf. 570–1 n.

**602–3. edebat funera:** cf. 9. 526–7, Livy 9. 22. 5; it varies the commoner *funera dare* (cf. 8. 570–1, 11. 646, 12. 383, A. Fridh, *Eranos*, 73 (1975), 112–15). Such uses of *edere* probably belong to old Latin epic; cf. Lindsay on Plaut. *Capt.* 585, Ribbeck on *Com.* 63.

**ductor/Dardanius:** cf. 814 ‘Dardanio ... ductori’ (for *ductor* cf. 185–6 n.).

**603–4. torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri/more furens:** modelled on *Il.* 5. 87–8 (the battle-rage of Diomedes) *θύνε γὰρ ἄμ πεδίων ποταμῷ πλήθοντι ἔοικῶς/χειμάρρῳ; ἄμ πεδίων* has already been picked up by *per campos* (602). *turbinis atri/more furens:* cf. 12. 923 ‘volat atri turbinis instar’ and the Homeric *ἴσος ἀέλλη* (*Il.* 11. 297, 12. 40); *turbo* is poetic since Ennius (*Ann.* 578 Skutsch), *ater* means ‘dark and destructive’ (77 n.), and *furens* is common of battle-rage, cf. 545, 578, and 385–7 n.

**tandem erumpunt:** *erumpere* is the standard military term for making a sortie (*TLL* v/2. 837. 18 ff.).

**605. nequiquam obsessa iuventus:** for the archaic and poetic *nequiquam* cf. 121–2 n.; *iuventus*, used collectively of an army, like ἦβη (*Aesch. Ag.* 109), is Ennian (*Ann.* 499 Skutsch ‘Romana iuventus’).

Lines 602–5 (note the summarizing *talia*, 602) conclude Aeneas’ *ἀριστεία* after the death of Pallas with its military result of the relief of the Trojan camp, an important objective.

**606–88.** The scene now switches in the manner of the *Iliad* from the battle on earth to reaction in heaven. Jupiter, ironically suggesting that Venus is responsible for Aeneas’ successes, permits Juno to remove the doomed Turnus temporarily from the battle. Using a phantom image of Aeneas, Juno lures Turnus on to a ship, and carries him back to Ardea despite his efforts to escape.

The main point of this episode is to remove Turnus for a time from the path of the furious Aeneas, allowing him to be replaced as chief opponent by Mezentius, who dominates the rest of the book (689 ff.). The final meeting between Aeneas and Turnus is thus postponed; in this respect this episode corresponds to Apollo’s rescue of Hector from Achilles at *Il.* 20. 443 ff., and the motif of the phantom image is also Homeric; cf. *Il.* 5. 449 ff., where Apollo removes Aeneas

from the battle by using a phantom image of him to distract Diomedes. Vergil's episode also provides some relief from the continuous fighting of 310–605 and 689–908, and adds to the characterization of Turnus and the gods: Turnus is shown as humiliated and deceived as well as being ultimately doomed, regaining some of the sympathy he forfeited in the killing of Pallas, while Jupiter's ironic teasing of his consort (based on a similar scene at *Il.* 4. 5 ff.) and Juno's matching deviousness are highly revealing. On this episode see further Pöschl 140–1, Otis 358, Quinn 227–8, Gransden 145–51, Schenk 106–116, Kühn 147–50.

**606. *interea*:** 'then' (1 n.), not 'meanwhile': the scene in heaven clearly follows the relief of the camp.

***compellat ... ultro*:** again 2. 279, 372, 4. 304, 6. 499; *compellare* is Ennian (*Ann.* 43, 286 Skutsch).

**607. *o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx*:** ironic formality. *germana*: spoken with mocking affection as at 12. 830 (for the word cf. 125–6 n.). *atque eadem* is a formally full expression (cf. KS i. 627), *gratissima coniunx* (first found in Vergil and much imitated, cf. Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 4. 669) a highly ironic compliment: Juno's recent actions in starting the war are hardly pleasing to Jupiter (cf. 6–15).

**608. *ut rebare*:** *reor* has an archaic colour (cf. Fordyce on 7. 437).

***nec te sententia fallit*:** a poetic version of the common *me animus fallit* (*TLL* vi. 186. 27 ff.).

Jupiter is surely being ironic in these lines; even the prejudiced Juno can see that the Trojans' own efforts under the returned Aeneas have brought them success, as Jupiter implies in 609–10, and Venus' one minor intervention at 331–2 (balanced in any case by that of Juturna at 439–40) hardly constitutes decisive support (*sustentare*).

**609–10. *Troianas ... opes*:** again 2. 4 and a poetic phrase, cf. Acc. *Trag.* 124 'opes Troiae'.

***non vivida bello/dextra viris*:** cf. 5. 754 'bello vivida virtus', 6. 878–8 'invictaque bello/dextera'; *vividus*, cognate with *vis*, is poetic before Vergil, cf. Lucr. 1. 72 'vivida vis animi'.

***animusque ferox patiensque pericli*:** *ferocia* here is a positive and Roman military virtue (cf. Livy 9. 6. 13 'Romanam virtutem ferociamque'), as is *patientia pericli* (cf. Velleius 2. 41. 1, 79. 1 with Woodman's notes). In this line *-que ... -que* are not co-ordinate; the first joins the clause to what precedes (cf. 541 and 5. 508).

**611–12. *cui Iuno summissa*:** sc. *dixit*; cf. 580 n. Iuno's meekness (*summissa*) is politic, and her reply is as oblique and subtle as Jupiter's address is ironic.

**quid ... sollicitas:** 'torment' rather than 'provoke': Juno's ploy is to play the helpless victim (cf. *aegram* and *timentem*).

**o pulcherrime coniunx:** the compliment is delivered with the same elaborate irony as Jupiter's *gratissima coniunx*.

**613-14. si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quamque esse decebat, vis in amore foret:** cf. 5. 397-8 'si mihi quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste/exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas': the pluperfect of *fuerat* expresses the state of affairs before things changed (cf. 853, Fordyce on 8. 358 and Catullus 64. 158). Juno's complaint is the familiar 'if you really loved me ...'.

**non hoc mihi namque negares:** *namque* (postponed, cf. 401, 815 and 584-5 n.) here has its archaic asseverative sense of 'indeed' (*OLD* s.v. 1, KS ii. 114, LHS ii. 507; so *enim* at 874).

**615-16. omnipotens:** cf. 100 n.; here the epithet is suasive, implying that Jupiter can grant Juno's request.

**pugnae subducere:** echoed from 50: Juno makes the same request for Turnus as Venus had made (albeit rhetorically) for Ascanius.

**Dauno ... incolumem servare parenti:** Daunus is dragged in for extra pathos (cf. 12. 934). He is a shadowy character who never appears in person in the *Aeneid* (he is mentioned at 688, 12. 22, 90), and only in Vergil is he the father of Turnus and a Latin; the traditional version makes him an Illyrian immigrant to Apulia, called *Daunia* after him, and associates him with Diomedes (Timaeus, *FGrH* 566 F 53-6, Fest., p. 60. 15 ff. Lindsay), cf. Holland 206-8, Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 4. 76.

**617. nunc pereat ...:** *nunc* carries on the argument: 'now, as it is' (i.e. 'since you no longer love me'). Juno presents the opposite of her real request to spare Turnus, for indignant rhetorical effect.

**pio det sanguine poenas:** cf. Enn. *Ann.* 95 Skutsch 'calido dabis sanguine poenas'; *pio* indicates Juno's real feelings, anticipates the arguments of 618-20, and deliberately applies the prime quality of Aeneas (590-1 n.) to his enemy Turnus.

**618. ille tamen nostra deducit origine nomen:** cf. *G.* 3. 122 'Neptunique ipsa deducit origine gentem'. *tamen* points the counter-argument to 617, while *nomen* means 'family name', here 'lineage' (cf. *OLD* s.v. 18), and *nostra* appeals to Turnus' divine descent.

**619. Pilumnusque illi quartus pater:** sc. *est*; *quartus pater* (cf. Hdt. 1. 91. 1 *πέμπτου γονέος*) is more poetic than the technical *abavus* and more persuasive, *pater* suggesting a closer relationship. Juno makes once more the point of 76 (for Pilumnus and Turnus' genealogy cf. 76 n.).

**et tua larga/saepe manu multisque oneravit limina donis:** *larga*, *saepe*, *multis*, and *oneravit* all stress the scale of Turnus'

offerings, while *limina* indicates the threshold or steps of a temple (cf. 2. 567, 8. 720). This argument that men deserve consideration from the gods because of constant offerings is common in the *Iliad* (4. 48 ff., 8. 203 ff., 20. 297 ff., 24. 33 ff.).

**621. rex aetherii ... Olympi:** cf. 5. 533 'rex magnus Olympi', 8. 319 'aetherio Olympo'; *aetherius* is poetic before Vergil (*TLL* i. 1152. 68 ff.), like the similar *αιθέριος* (Aesch. *Sept.* 81).

**breuiter sic fatur:** better than the variant *fatus*, since *sic fatus* is always a concluding speech-formula in Vergil (535-6 n.), *sic fatur* always introductory (cf. 5. 547, 6. 1, 8. 115) as required here. *breuiter*: Jupiter's calm brevity (cf. 16-17 n.) contrasts with the voluble passion of Juno.

**622-3. si ... oratur:** i.e. 'if I rightly interpret you as requesting': Jupiter speaks with a legal caution and formality (note the distant passive).

**tempusque caduco ... iuveni:** pathetic: as a young man Turnus should not face imminent death. *caducus* here means 'about to fall', but 'fallen' at 6. 481; the same ambiguity is found in Greek *πρωτός* (LSJ s.v.).

**meque hoc ita ponere sentis:** again a lawyer's caution: *ponere* is used in its legal sense of laying down rules or conditions (*OLD* s.v. 17), while *hoc ita* is a limiting formula of the law ('on these terms', *Voc. iur. Rom.* iii. 1266. 11 ff.).

The legalistic language—cf. App. A(iv)—has dramatic point here. As Servius notes, Jupiter's careful exposition of the conditions is necessary, for Juno, once given some licence to act, will do all she can for Turnus.

**625. hactenus:** common of legal limitation (*Voc. iur. Rom.* iii. 68. 8 ff.), like *hoc ita* (623); it does not occur in poetry before Vergil (who has it three times).

**indulsisse vacat:** for the perfect infinitive after an impersonal verb cf. 14 n.: *indulgere* here characterizes the condescension of the celestial patriarch to his consort.

**625-6. sin altior istis/sub precibus venia ulla latet:** *sin* (32-3 n.) indicates that Jupiter thinks this alternative is likely, *altior ... latet* that he sees through Juno's deviousness.

**626-7. moveri/mutarive:** a common alliterative combination, the latter verb being strictly the frequentative form of the former (Bartelink 93, Ernout-Meillet 755-6). The destined outcome of the whole war would change if Turnus were not to be killed by Aeneas, but is not materially affected by his temporary absence, a good example of the 'soft' determinism of the *Aeneid*.

**spes pascis inanis:** a terse and pointed conclusion, which modifies the traditional image of 'feeding on hope' (Fraenkel on

Aesch. *Ag.* 1668, Radt on Soph. fr. 948) to that of ‘feeding hope’, similar to the common *spem fovere* (*TLL* vi. 1223. 34 ff.).

**628–9. at Iuno adlacrims:** *at* seems preferable to the transmitted *et*. Juno expresses opposition to Jupiter, and the adversative *at*, the easiest of changes, gives much better sense here than the associative *et*. The phrase, a speech-formula with verb omitted (for similar formulae cf. 9. 303 and 11. 29), recalls the Homeric ὡς φάτο δακρυχέων (*Il.* 1. 357); *adlacrimate* occurs only here and at Apul. *Met.* 10. 37 in classical Latin, and is likely to be a Vergilian coinage.

**quid si, quae voce gravaris,/mente dares:** the colloquial *quid si* occurs in high poetry first in the Augustan period (*OLD* s.v. *quis* 13a), while *voce ... mente* presents the common contrast between speech and thought (cf. e.g. *Il.* 9. 313, Eur. *Hipp.* 612). *gravaris*: ‘refuse’, a sense found only here in Vergil and colloquial like *quid si* (*TLL* vi. 2314, 7 ff.).

**rata ... maneret:** *rata* suggests the granting or fulfilling of a prayer (Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3. 341), picking up the suggestion of prayer-language in *dares*.

**630–1. nunc manet:** answers the vain hope of *maneret* with grim reality.

**insontem:** this word (7 times in *Aen.*) is an archaism by Vergil’s time (*TLL* vii/1. 1942, 3 ff.). Juno’s assertion of Turnus’ innocence seems barely credible after his brutal treatment of Pallas.

**gravis exitus:** found before Vergil in Cicero (*TLL* vi. 2289. 35 ff.), and perhaps deriving from earlier poetry.

**aut ego veri vana feror:** a common rhetorical use of *aut*, supporting an assertion by the unlikely alternative of the speaker’s incapacity (‘or I’m a fool’), cf. Brink on Hor. *AP* 42, *TLL* vi. 184. 16 ff. and the similar ‘or I am no prophet’ (244 n.). *veri ... vana*: cf. 7. 440 ‘veri effeta’ with Fordyce’s note: the alliterative combination of *verus* and *vanus* is common (Wölfflin, *AS* 277–8), while the genitive after *vanus*, first found in Vergil, may be a Graecism, following the construction of κενός (cf. *LSJ* s.v. II. 1).

**631–2. quod ut:** *quod* is colloquially used as a loose connective (‘well’, ‘but’, cf. Austin on 2. 141), while *ut* introduces a wish (intensified by *o*), an archaic usage picked up by the poets (*OLD* s.v. 42, *KS* i. 183, ii. 321–2).

**falsa formidine/ludar:** cf. 7. 442 (= 453) ‘falsa formidine ludit’: *formido* is archaic and poetic (Pac. *Trag.* 52), while *ludere* is a frequent poetic *simplex* (34–5 n.) for *deludere* (Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3. 403, *TLL* vii/2. 1779. 53 ff.).

**in melius ... reflectas:** *in melius* (again 1. 281) perhaps imitates ἐπι τὸ βέλτιον (Thuc. 7. 50. 3 etc.).

**qui potes:** suasive prayer-language (81 n.).

**orsa:** not ‘words’ (as at 7. 435 and 11. 124) but ‘enterprises’, as in *exorsa* (111); for this rare substantive, occurring first in Vergil, cf. *TLL* ix/2. 950. 46 ff.

**633–4. haec ubi dicta dedit:** a speech-formula, found eight times in the *Aeneid*; for *dicta dare* cf. 599–600 n.

**caelo se protinus alto/misit:** cf. 9. 644–5 ‘ab alto/aethere se mittit’ (for *protinus* cf. 339–40 n.). Juno here as at 7. 620 ff. acts exceptionally in person rather than through an agent, showing her real concern for Turnus.

**agens hiemem ... per auras:** for *agens hiemem* cf. *G.* 3. 470; such stormy descents of divinities suggest their power over the weather, cf. 11. 595–6 (the nymph Opis). *per auras* is used formulaically in the *Aeneid* (18 times, all at line-end); compare Homer’s similarly formulaic  $\delta\iota' \alpha\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (*Il.* 2. 458 etc.).

**nimbo succincta:** *nimbus* suggests a storm-cloud (*OLD* s.v. 1). The phrase recalls Homeric passages describing gods (*Il.* 5. 186  $\nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$   $\epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , 15. 308  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu$   $\nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\nu$ ), and mist or cloud is a frequent divine attribute, especially in a spectacular descent to earth, cf. *Hor. C.* 1. 2. 31 with Nisbet–Hubbard ad loc., Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 2. 790.

**635. Iliacamque aciem et Laurentia castra petivit:** note the symmetrical placing of the opposing proper names (cf. App. C). *Laurens* refers strictly only to the *ager Laurens*, but is used interchangeably with *Latinus* and *Rutulus* by Vergil, following Homer’s similarly loose use of ethnic names for the Greeks in the *Iliad*. (cf. Fordyce on 7. 47). For *Iliacus* cf. 61–2 n.

**636–40.** The making of the phantom Aeneas is modelled on Apollo’s construction of a similar phantom Aeneas in *Iliad* 5; Apollo’s phantom saves Aeneas, Juno’s Aeneas’ opponent, a characteristic modification of the Homeric model. These lines imitate and expand *Il.* 5. 449–50:

$\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\xi}'$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$   $\text{\AA}\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$   
 $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$   $\tau'$   $\text{\AA}\iota\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$   $\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\epsilon\upsilon\chi\epsilon\sigma\iota$   $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ .

The particular detail of manufacturing a phantom from the air is taken from Eur. *Helen* 34:

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\nu\omicron\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$   $\xi\nu\nu\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma'$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ .

**636. nube cava:** ablative of material with *umbram* and a poetic phrase before Vergil (*TLL* iii. 716. 49 ff.).

**tenuem sine viribus umbram:** suggests the shades of the Underworld (called ‘umbrae ... tenues’ at *G.* 4. 472); *sine viribus* renders the Homeric ghost-epithet  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (*Od.* 10. 521). This spectral language anticipates the ghost-simile of 641–2.

**637-8. in faciem Aeneae:** matches Homer's ἀντῶ τ' Αἰνεία ἴκελον (above).

**(visu mirabile monstrum):** cf. 7. 78 'visu mirabile' and the Homeric θαύμα ἰδέσθαι (*Il.* 5. 725); this supine construction is found as early as Plautus and Ennius (cf. Wackernagel, *Vorl.* i. 280 ff., KS i. 724-5, LHS ii. 382-3). This kind of phrase often marks a supernatural event in Vergil (cf. Austin on 1. 111, 2. 174), and is sometimes placed in a 'marvelling' parenthesis as here (cf. Kroll, *Studien*, 54, M. von Albrecht, *Die Parenthese in Ovids Metamorphosen* (Hildesheim, 1964), 120-1).

**Dardaniis ornat telis:** cf. Homer's τεύχεσι τοίων (above); *ornare* of equipping with weapons is Ennian (*Ann.* 171 Skutsch).

**638-9. clipeumque iubasque:** *iubae* are helmet-crests of horse-hair, deriving from *iuba*, 'mane' (Servius and Austin on 2. 412), here mentioned like the shield as marks of identification in epic (cf. Wickert 293, 299).

**divini ... capitis:** *caput* is used by synecdoche for the whole person, following the Greek use of κάρα and κεφαλή (cf. Pease on 4. 357, Austin on 4. 354, *TLL* iii. 404. 4 ff.), while *divini* echoes the Homeric δῖος or ἀντίθεος of heroes.

**639-40. dat inania verba:** better than the variant *inania membra*: the phantom has passed basic construction and is now receiving the final deceptive touches. For *inania verba* cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 8. 134-5.

**gressumque effingit euntis:** *gressumque* seems stylistically preferable to the variant *gressusque*. *euntis* must be gen. sing. not acc. pl. (cf. 8. 558 and 323 n.), so the acc. sing. *gressum* is grammatically possible and more appropriate, giving the more general sense of 'gait' and matching the singular *sonus* as at 5. 649 'vocisque sonus vel gressus'.

**641. morte obita qualis fama est volitare figuras:** strongly echoing the style of Lucretius, who begins a line with *morte obita* at 1. 135 and closes one with *volitare figura* at 2. 380. *fama est*: a 'reporting' device (189 n.), here carefully not vouching for events beyond the grave. *volitare figuras*: both words used of ghosts in another passage of Lucretius (4. 38, 42), very likely in the poet's mind here.

**642. sopitos ... deludunt sensus:** compare the Homeric φρένας ἠπεροπενέει (*Od.* 15. 421); the notion of deception interacts with the context, where Turnus is shortly to be deceived by the phantom, cf. Lyne, *WP* 132-5, who also argues that *deludo* has a colloquial colour.

The Lucretian echoes in 641 (above) have been noted since Macrobius (*Sat.* 6. 1. 48; cf. Lyne, *WP* 110-11). The double simile

of 641–2 is also highly Lucretian in content, conjoining two elements often paired in Lucretius, the apparent but untrue perception of ghosts (note Vergil's sceptical *fama est*) and the deceptive nature of dreams (Lucr. 1. 133–5, 4. 37–41).

**643. primas ... ante acies:** the place where a taunt will be most effective: so Numanus Remulus stands *primam ante aciem* for his taunt at 9. 595.

**644. inritaque virum telis et voce lacessit:** for the double provocation cf. 716 'missilibus longe et vasto clamore lacessunt'.

**645–6. stridentemque eminus hastam/conicit:** cf. 776–7 'stridentemque eminus hastam/iecit', with the verb of throwing similarly emphatically isolated in enjambment before a sense-pause (cf. 5. 619, 7. 347, 9. 411 and 336–7 n.). For 'stridentem ... hastam' cf. Enn. *Ann.* 355 Skutsch 'ferri stridit acumen', 356 'striderat hasta'; for *eminus* cf. 345–6 n.

**illa dato vertit vestigia tergo:** for *tergum dare* cf. 365 n.; *vestigia* here = 'feet', a use poetic before Vergil (Cat. 64. 162) and probably following the similar ἄχος, cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1. 536, Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 1134.

**647–8. tum vero:** dramatizes the crucial moment, as often in Vergil: cf. Fordyce on 7. 519.

**Aenean ... Turnus:** note the neat balance of opponents' names at the end of each line-half ('opposition by position', cf. App. C).

**cedere ... /credidit:** a musical paronomasia, appearing again in St Augustine (*Civ. Dei* 14. 14 'Deo, cui vel crederetur vel cederetur').

**animo ... hausit:** again 12. 26, an expression first found in Vergil; compare the similar use of *bibere* (cf. Austin on 1. 749, *OLD* s.v. 10).

**turbidus:** of mental agitation (so again 763, 9. 57, 12. 10), a weather-metaphor (cf. *turbo*).

**spem ... inanem:** pointedly picks up *spes ... inanis* at 626: Turnus' hopes of victory are as vain as Juno's hopes of rescuing him.

**649. quo fugis, Aenea?:** the sarcastic question recalls Homeric rebukes of the speaker's own side: cf. *Il.* 8. 94 πῆ φεύγεις; 16. 422 πόσε φεύγετε;

**thalamos ne desere pactos:** *thalamos* here means 'marriage' (388–9 n.), while *pactos* is sarcastic: Turnus and his side claim that Lavinia is promised to him and not to Aeneas (cf. 79 n.).

**650. hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas:** the gift of *dabitur* is of course ironic: Turnus promises Aeneas the proverbial six feet of earth; compare the similar taunt of 12. 359–60 'en agros, et quam bello, Troiane, petisti/Hesperiam metire iacens', and Jebb

on Soph. *OC* 790–1 for further examples (adding Aeschylus *Septem* 731–3).

**651–2. talia vociferans:** speech-formula, again at 2. 679: *vociferor*, poetic before Vergil, appropriately suggests excited shouting (cf. 7. 390, 9. 596, 12. 95).

**sequitur strictumque coruscat/mucronem:** *coruscare* is poetic before Vergil in its original intransitive sense of ‘glitter’ or ‘quiver’ (*OLD* s.v.); this transitive sense (‘cause to flash or quiver’) is first found in Vergil. For *mucro* = ‘sword’ cf. 570–1 n.

**nec ferre videt sua gaudia ventos:** this destructive role of the winds is a cliché (cf. 11. 794–5, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 26. 2, Otto, *Sprichwörter*, 364–5), but is ironically pointed here: Turnus’ hopes will indeed be spoiled by the winds, which will bear him away from the battle (cf. 665).

**653–4. forte:** formulaically introducing an ἔκφρασις (so 3. 22, 12. 766).

**ratis celsi coniuncta crepidine saxi:** for the poetic *ratis* and *celsus* cf. 165 n. and 261–2 n. *coniuncta*, a poetic description of mooring, is followed by simple abl. as at Lucr. 2. 743; *crepido* strictly means a raised platform or base (cf. Greek κρηπίς), but in the poets can indicate any eminence or projection, esp. of rock (cf. Paul. exc. Fest., p. 48. 9 Lindsay, *OLD* s.v., *f*).

**expositis stabat scalis et ponte parato:** *scalae* are landing-ladders (κλίμακες, cf. Casson 251 n. 104), *pons* a gang-plank (ἀποβάθρα, cf. 288–9 n.), both still at the ready after the landing of the crew (287 ff.).

**655. qua rex Clusinis advectus Osinius oris:** sc. *erat* (for the ellipse cf. 106 n.). *rex* creates a problem noticed since antiquity (cf. Servius here, Macr. *Sat.* 5. 15. 7). Massicus was the leader of the contingent from Clusium in the Etruscan Catalogue (166), but Osinius was not mentioned there. Either Osinius is a minor king under Massicus, or (as is more likely) the poet is simply inconsistent. Osinius occurs only here in literature, but his name may be genuinely Etruscan if Vergil has shortened the initial vowel (cf. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 131). *Clusinis ... oris* (periphrasis, cf. 198) goes with *advectus*; Clusium is land-locked, as the poet seems to recall in pairing it with the maritime Cosa in the Etruscan Catalogue (163–214 n.), and Osinius could not have sailed all the way from there in this ship, but this may have slipped his mind here (cf. the impossible voyage of the Mantuan contingent implied at 205–6).

**656–7. huc:** picks up the narrative after the ἔκφρασις of *forte ... stabat*, a poetical technique as old as Homer: cf. Austin on 1. 12, Fordyce on 7. 563 ff.

**sese ... /conicit in latebras:** the preposition expresses purpose (586–7 n.); for *latebrae* cf. 601 n.

**nec ... segnior:** a favourite Vergilian litotes (cf. Pease on 4. 149).

**658. exsuperatque moras:** *moras* suggests the concrete hindrance (cf. 485) of the *pons* (cf. 654) as well as the heroic impatience of delay (cf. 12. 699 ‘praecipitatque moras’, 12. 431).

**659. vix proram attigerat, rumpit Saturnia funem:** the historic present *rumpit* has more dramatic impact than the variant perfect *rupit*; for the pluperfect with *vix* and following asyndeton cf. Page here and Austin on 2. 172. *Saturnia*: patronymic in *-ius* (123 n.), used substantivally of Juno since Ennius (cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 53).

**660. avulsamque rapit ... navem:** *avulsam* and *rapit* match *rumpit* in speed and violence, and noun and epithet enclose the line, a neoteric trait (484 n.). Juno pushes Turnus away from the battle on a ship, an elegant contrast with the divine push of Cymodocea which sent Aeneas’ ship *towards* the battle at 246–8. The rhyme *funem/navem* stresses a crucial point in the narrative.

**revoluta per aequora:** Juno appears to use her divine powers to create an ebb tide (so Tiberinus aids Aeneas by reversing his current, 8. 57–8, 87–9).

**661–5.** The order of these lines in the capital MSS presents some considerable difficulties: the *tum* of 663 has little point after 662, while the *interea* of 665 is illogical after 664. In P and R a solution has been attempted by reading *ille autem Aeneas* in 661, making Turnus the subject of 661–2, but this view, known to Servius and supported according to him by the critic Urbanus (cf. Timpanaro, *Storia*, 133–4), leads only to the absurdity of attributing large-scale slaughter to Turnus in his ship-bound solitude. The best solution, adopted by most modern editors, is to transpose 661–2 to a position between 664 and 665: *tum* in 663 then follows naturally on 660, and *interea* in 665 appropriately switches back from Aeneas on the battlefield to Turnus on the ship. This transposition is already found as a correction in some post-Carolingian MSS; it was restored to the modern text of Vergil by R. F. P. Brunck in his edition of 1785. A similar transposition seems necessary at 714–18, and more have been proposed in the text of the *Aeneid*, cf. E. Courtney, *BICS* 28 (1981), 16–20.

**663–4. tum:** making excellent sense after 660: Juno’s success in setting Turnus adrift is naturally followed by the instant disappearance of the phantom, no longer needed.

**levis haud ultra latebras iam quaerit imago:** specifically reverses 656–7 ‘sese imago/conicit in latebras’: the deception need

go on no longer. For *levis* of ghosts and phantoms (cf. Greek *κοῦφος*) see Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 10. 14, *TLL* vii/2. 1204. 49 ff.

**sublime:** neuter singular as adverb, as usual with this word in poetry (avoiding the prosaic *sublimiter*); cf. Richmond on *Ps.-Ov. Hal.* 69.

**nubi se immiscuit atrae:** cf. 4. 570 ‘nocti se immiscuit atrae’; *ater* is a conventional epithet of clouds (264, Pease on 4. 248, cf. *Il.* 16. 66 *νέφος ... κύνειον*). In dissolving into a cloud the phantom appropriately returns to its constituent element (cf. 636 *nube cava*).

**661. illum autem ... absentem:** τὸν δ’ ἀπόντα, *ille* standing as often for the Greek definite article in its epic use as a demonstrative (Wagner, *QV* 21. 7, *LHS* ii. 191–2). ‘The absentee’ is easily understood as Turnus here.

**in proelia ... poscit:** again 8. 614; cf. *Il.* 7. 218 *προκαλέσσατο χάρμη*. *in* is purposive (586–7 n.).

**662. multa virum ... corpora:** poetic periphrasis for *multos viros* (430 n.), but also suggesting a vivid picture of lifeless corpses.

**demitit ... morti:** cf. 319–20 n.

**665. cum ... interea:** a strong indication that this line should follow 662 rather than 664, suggesting a link between two simultaneous continuing actions (Aeneas’ series of killings and Turnus’ drifting out to sea) rather than between one instant action and another continuing one (the disappearance of the phantom and Turnus’ drifting).

**medio ... aequare:** ablative of ‘extension’ (540 n.).

**fert ... turbo:** the whirlwind used by Juno here to speed Turnus along echoes her stormy descent at 633–4.

**666. ingratusque salutis:** *ingratus*, otherwise followed by the genitive only in much later Latin (cf. *TLL* vii/1. 1563. 70 ff.), uses the construction of *ignarus* here (note the sound-play of the two adjectives).

**667. et duplicis cum voce manus ad sidera tendit:** cf. 3. 176–7 ‘tendoque supinas/ad caelum cum voce manus’ (for *tendere manus* cf. 595–6 n.). *tendere*, ‘stretch’, seems to be in zeugma rather than syllepsis, being appropriate to *manus* (cf. 595) but not to *vocem*. *duplicis*: not ‘double’ but ‘two, forming a pair’, cf. Austin on 1. 93, *TLL* v/1. 2269. 11 ff.

**668–79.** Turnus’ speech is highly excited, launching abruptly into rhetorical questions and concluding with almost hysterical wishes for his own destruction. It shows some resemblance to the complaint-monologues of disturbed or abandoned heroines such as Medea or Ariadne, a literary colour which tends to present Turnus as vulnerable and sympathetic. Turnus’ sister Juturna is given a similar pathetic complaint at 12. 872–84.

**668-9. omnipotens genitor:** Jupiter (cf. 1 n.). Turnus assumes that he is being punished by Jupiter; he is in fact being rescued by Juno.

**tanton me crimine dignum/duxisti:** *tanton* = *tantone* as at 12. 503, a colloquial shortening (cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 609, Austin on 6. 779).

**et talis voluisti expendere poenas?:** *poenas expendere* (again 11. 258) is poetic before Vergil (Acc. *Trag.* 536).

Turnus views his absence from the fighting, the field of honour, as a disgrace (*crimine*), and the likely disapproval of his comrades (679) as a punishment (*poenas*); these are the values of the heroic 'shame-culture' of Homer (cf. Schenk 112-14).

**670-1. quo feror? unde abii?:** a rhetorical expression of confusion, matched by that of the bewildered heroine Europa (Hor. *C.* 3. 27. 37): 'unde quo veni?'

**quae me fuga ... reducet?:** *reducet* seems preferable to the variant *reducit* here. Decision between the two has been complicated by doubt about the verb's meaning: some take it to mean 'take away', others 'bring back', but the former sense is not found in Vergil and the latter seems correct. Given this, *fuga* will refer to a possible escape from the ship back to the battle, a logical prelude to his thoughts of future return in 671; this seems to require the future *reducet*, balancing *videbo* in 671.

**quemve:** *qui* is here (as Servius notes) equivalent to *qualis*, a common usage in poetry (*OLD* s.v. 2); Turnus is worried about how to get back and in what state he will be (i.e. a proven coward) if he returns.

**Laurentis ... muros ... castra:** the city of Latinus (87 n.) and the Latin camp before it (635).

**672-5.** As a good commander (277 n.) Turnus is concerned for the men he has left behind; as a traditional hero he also fears their censure for his apparent desertion. For a similar mixture of emotions cf. 12. 638 ff.

**672. quid manus illa virum:** *quid* means 'what of', with ellipse of a verb (here probably one of opinion: Turnus is worried about what his men will think of him), a colloquial use, cf. similarly 77 and Fordyce on 7. 365, LHS ii. 424-5, *OLD* s.v. *quis* 12.

**qui me meaque arma secuti:** cf. 3. 156 'nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti'. The expression fittingly recalls the Roman military oath, a promise to follow the commander and standards in all circumstances (cf. Walbank on Polyb. 6. 21. 1-3).

**673. quosne (nefas) omnis infanda in morte reliqui:** there are variants *quosve* and *quosque* for *quosne*, read only by the ancient critic Asper according to D. Servius but likely to be a genuine survival. Whichever of these is read, it must stress that the persons of 672

are those of 673: Turnus here laments that the same men have loyally followed him but have been repaid by his own desertion, a neat rhetorical contrast. *quosve* is thus discounted, for it wrongly implies that 672 and 673 describe different groups of men; *quosque* would provide an appropriate link and is printed by Mynors, but *quosne* seems preferable, not only because *-ne* is a colloquial connective idiom with pronouns found elsewhere in Vergil (cf. Austin on 4. 538, LHS ii. 461), but also as an appropriate reminiscence of the complaint of the abandoned Ariadne (cf. 668–79 n.) at Cat. 64. 180 ‘an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui ...?’ (Vergil echoes both *-ne* and *reliqui*); cf. Zetzel 67–8, Timpanaro, *Storia*, 135–6. *nefas*: parenthetical exclamation (cf. 7. 73, 8. 688); *infanda*, emotional language (Pease on 4. 85, Austin on 2. 3), is poetic before Vergil (Acc. *Trag.* 131).

**675–6. quid ago?:** ‘what am I to do?’, vivid indicative for deliberative subjunctive (Page on 11. 389, Fordyce on 7. 359), as in Turnus’ similar speech at 12. 637 ‘nam quid ago? aut quae iam spondet Fortuna salutem?’ and 4. 534 (Dido) ‘en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores/ingrediar?’

**aut quae satis ima dehiscat/terra mihi?:** *aut* adds another question, a lively colloquial device found in poetry since Ennius, cf. Austin on 2. 520, *TLL* ii. 1565. 38 ff. For *ima* cf. 464–5 n. The wish that the earth might open and swallow up the speaker is a standard rhetorical expression of shame or despair, similarly expressed by Turnus’ own sister Juturna at 12. 883–4: ‘o quae satis ima dehiscat/terra mihi’, and a τόπος since Homer, cf. *Il.* 4. 182 τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεία χθών (Homer’s χάνοι suggests Vergil’s *dehiscat*) and Pease on *Aen.* 4. 24.

**vos o potius miserescite, venti:** the offering of prayers to the winds is not only an epic motif (*Il.* 23. 194 ff.) but a practice of Roman cult (cf. 5. 772 with Williams’s note, Pease on Cic. *Nat.* 3. 51).

**677–8. in rupes, in saxa ... ferte ratem:** the anaphora of the preposition and asyndeton mark breathless excitement (cf. Austin on 2. 358), and also echoes Homeric diction (cf. *Il.* 10. 298 ἄμ φόνον, ἄν νέκυσας).

**volens vos Turnus adoro:** *volens* is used adverbially like (ἐ)θέλων (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 1343 συγχώρει θέλων), and is a formula of Roman prayer, cf. Eden on 8. 275. Turnus’ use of his own name in this context of prayer is solemn (73 n.), while *adoro* in this sense of ‘beseech’ is a poetic archaism (cf. Fedeli on Prop. 1. 4. 27).

**vadis . . . syrtis:** for *vada* = ‘sandback’ cf. 303; *Syrtis*, strictly the name of two notorious sandbanks off North Africa (cf. Pease on 4.

41), is here as elsewhere generalized to refer to any sandbank (cf. Austin on l. 111).

**679. nec ... Rutuli nec conscia fama sequatur:** Turnus imagines first the rebukes of his comrades and then the general shame of ill-fame, both of which would be removed by death. *sequatur* echoes *secuti* in 672.

**680. haec memorans:** speech-formula (cf. 246-7 n.), three times in the *Aeneid*; for *memoro* cf. 149 n.

**animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc:** cf. 8. 19-20 'animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc'. *fluctuare* is used for indecision from the time of Plautus (*Merc.* 890); here it is followed by the archaic/poetic *an ... an* (Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 10. 254-5, LHS ii. 546). Note how the water-metaphor neatly coheres with Turnus' physical surroundings (cf. 683 *fluctibus*).

**681-2. an sese mucroni ... /induat:** *mucroni* seems much preferable to *mucrone* here; *se induere* followed by dative is common for impaling oneself on weapons or other objects (Caes. *Gall.* 7. 73. 4, Livy 44. 41. 9, *Ov. Met.* 12. 340, *TLL* vii/1. 1269. 39 ff.), the sense of 'put oneself on' developing from that of 'put on oneself' (Ernout-Meillet 207). For *mucro* = 'sword' cf. 570-1 n.

**ob tantum dedecus amens:** *ob* is literary and poetic, the synonymous *propter* common language (Vergil has 18 and 3 instances respectively), cf. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, ii. 291, LHS ii. 246-7; *dedecus* (again in Vergil only 11. 789 and 12. 641) is an emotional word of archaic colour (*OLD* s.v.), here expressing heroic shame like Homeric *αἰσχος* and *αἰσχρόν*. *amens:* poetic before Vergil (*OLD* s.v.), possibly rendering the poetic *ἄνους* (*Il.* 21. 441, Soph. *Ant.* 99).

**et crudum per costas exigit ensem:** the variant *durum* is clearly a simplification; *crudum ... ensem* is found again at 12. 507-8. Servius glosses *crudum* with *crudelem, cruentem*; like its equivalent *ἄμῶς* this adj. means 'raw' and then 'cruel'. It is probably connected etymologically with *cruor* (Ernout-Meillet 152). Suicide for heroic shame with one's own sword is a motif from Greek tragedy (e.g. Sophocles' *Ajax*).

**683-4. fluctibus an iaciat mediis:** supply *sese* from 681. The variant *iactet* is incorrect and reflects the late Latinity of a scribe, since in the Latin of Vergil's time *se iactare* always means 'boast' and is not found of physical self-projection until the fourth century AD (*TLL* vii/1. 49. 22 ff.).

**et litora nando/curva petat:** *litora ... curva* is conventional in poetry before Vergil (Acc. *Trag.* 570, Cat. 64. 74). Turnus has already made one escape by swimming at the end of book 9.

**Teucrumque iterum se reddat in arma:** *se reddere* first occurs in Augustan Latin (cf. 9. 122, Livy 23. 9. 13), and derives both sense and construction from *se dare* (cf. 12. 633 ‘teque haec in bella dedisti’). Note the ascending tricolon of these lines, with successive clauses containing four, five, and six words respectively.

**685–6. ter ... ter:** the number and anaphora are traditional in epic contexts of attempt and failure; cf. 885–6, 2. 792–3, 4. 690–1, 6. 700–1, 8. 230–2 (all *ter ... ter*), *Il.* 5. 436–7, 18. 155–7, 20. 445–6, 21. 176–7, *Od.* 11. 206–7, 21. 125–6, Ap. Rh. 3. 654 (all *τρίς ... τρίς*). The fourth attempt, when made, is usually successful. Cf. further Pease on 4. 690, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 2. 270.

**conatus utramque viam:** *est* omitted as often in perfects passive and deponent, cf. similarly 2. 792, 6. 700 and 106 n.

**maxima Iuno/continuit:** *maxima Iuno* occurs again at 4. 371 and 8. 84: for the title cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3. 263; the Greek Hera has no such epithet. *continuit:* again of Venus restraining Aeneas from killing Helen at 2. 593; such physical restraint of an impassioned hero by a deity recalls *Il.* 1. 188 ff., where Athene prevents Achilles from killing Agamemnon.

**iuvenemque:** sympathetically suggests Turnus’ youth—cf. 445–6 n.

**animi miserata:** *animi* is not a locative but a genitive of reference or sphere, common with this noun after adjectives (here after a participle), cf. Austin on 2. 61, Löfstedt, *Syntactica.* i. 172–4 (for the opposing view that it is a locative cf. KS i. 446–7). The phrase echoes *Il.* 1. 196 *θυμῶ φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε*, clearly in the poet’s mind as its context provides a model for Juno’s restraint of Turnus here (see above).

**687. labitur alta secans fluctuque aestuque secundo:** Turnus the passenger is described as if he were the ship itself, a device used again of Aulestes at 207–8. *labitur* of ships and *altum* of the sea are both old poeticisms in Latin (*TLL* vii/2. 786. 19 ff., i. 782. 9 ff.), while *secans* recalls the Homeric metaphor of ploughing the sea (222 n.). These favourable sea-conditions, like the ebb tide of 660, are created by Juno to speed Turnus’ voyage.

**688. patris antiquam Dauni ... urbem:** i.e. Ardea (for Vergil’s alterations of Daunus’ locality and legend cf. 615–16 n.). *patris* is emphatic: Turnus will be safe in the city of his father, doubly so because it was also a sanctuary of Juno herself (Pliny, *Nat.* 35. 115, Wissowa, *RuK* 187). *antiquam ... urbem:* Ardea is ‘ancient’ because traditionally founded by the Argive heroine Danae, daughter of Acrisius and mother of Perseus (cf. 7. 409–11, Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 56, Solinus 2. 5; for its other foundation-legends cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1.

72. 5, Ov. *Met.* 14. 574–80). In fact it was no older than Rome (Fordyce on 7. 412).

**689–768.** Mezentius replaces Turnus at the forefront of the Latins and has a successful *ἀπιστεία* before meeting Aeneas at 769. On his previous appearances in the *Aeneid* Mezentius has been seen as an impious and brutal tyrant (7. 647 ff., 8. 481 ff.) but also as an effective warrior (9. 521–2, 586–9). Here he is at once characterized by a series of recognizably Homeric warrior-similes (693–6, 707–18, 723–9, cf. Knauer 307 n. 3), and this together with implicit comparisons with Hector and Achilles (739–46 n., 743–4 n.) establish him as a mighty hero of the traditional Homeric type and a fit opponent for Aeneas; his affection for his son, crucial to his transformation at the end of the book, is implicitly stressed at 700–1 (cf. also 775–6). As the inevitable clash with Aeneas approaches, his character of a vicious *contemptor divum* is reasserted in the Orion-simile (763–8) and in the impious speech of 773 ff., an evident dramatic contrast with his opponent's *pietas*. However, when he is wounded and loses his son, he becomes more sympathetic and admirable; his tragic lament and 'conversion-monologue' (846–56) show the full pathos of a bereaved father, while his speech to his horse (860–66), recalling those of Achilles to Xanthus and of the blinded Polyphemus to his ram, strikes a heroic note sustained in the nobility and courage with which he meets his end; there are no pleas for mercy here. This development, indeed transformation, of Mezentius in *Aeneid* 10. 689–908 is a memorable and moving piece of Vergilian characterization. On the presentation of Mezentius cf. Heinze 213–15, Thome *passim*, J. Glenn, *AJP* 92 (1971), 129–55, P. F. Burke, *CJ* 69 (1974), 202–9, A. La Penna, *Maia*, ns 32 (1980), 3–30, and especially H. C. Gotoff, *TAPA* 114 (1984), 191–218; further bibl. in Suerbaum 160–1.

**689–90. at Iovis interea monitis:** both *at* (cf. 362, 474) and *interea* (118 n.) are transition-formulae marking the switch of the narrative to Mezentius. *Iovis ... monitis:* again at 4. 331: despite his assertions of neutrality in the divine council (107 ff.), Jupiter controls the battle, stimulating Mezentius to advance just as he has allowed Turnus' withdrawal (cf. Kühn, 149 ff.), pushing him towards death for his impiety (Thome, 51–2). The Homeric model is *Il.* 15. 592 ff., where the Trojans attack under the encouragement of Zeus, a link confirmed by the use at 693 ff. of the rock-simile from the same Iliadic context.

**Mezentius ardens/succedit pugnae:** for *ardens* of heroic battle-rage cf. 514. *succedit pugnae;* again 11. 826, and military in

tone: cf. Livy 6. 4. 10 ‘cum exercitus Romanus ... succederet proelio’.

**Teucrosque invadit ovantis:** for *invadere* with acc. cf. 310–11 n. *ovantis* stresses the success of the Trojans, now to be temporarily reversed by Mezentius’ ἀριστεία.

**691–2. omnibus uni,/uni:** the shared hatred of the Etruscans is directed at the single figure of their ex-king; for the emphatic epanalepsis of *uni* over a line-break cf. 180–1 and 821–2.

**odiisque viro telisque frequentibus instant:** a classic combination of abstract and concrete nouns with the verb in syllepsis (cf. 2. 378, 5. 508; on syllepsis cf. Kenney on Lucretius 3. 614, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. C. 1. 15. 12, Leo, op. cit. (106 n.), 197–200, LHS ii. 832–4). *telis frequentibus* recalls the Homeric πυκνοῖσι ... βελέεσσι. (*Il.* 11. 576).

**693–6.** This simile for a warrior unperturbed by the assaults of the enemy is modelled on *Il.* 15. 618 ff.:

ἴσχον γὰρ πυργηδὸν ἀρρηρότες, ἧῦτε πέτρῃ  
ἠλίβατος μεγάλη, πολιῆς ἀλὸς ἐγγὺς ἐούσα,  
ἧ τε μένει λιγέων ἀνέμων λαυψῆρὰ κέλευθα  
κύματά τε τροφόντα, τὰ τε προσερεύγεται αὐτήν·  
ὡς Δαναοὶ Τρώας μένον ἔμπεδον οὐδὲ φέβοντο.

Vergil has already used much the same simile already at 7. 586–90 for the short-lived resistance of Latinus to the war-party in Latium; the two comparisons begin similarly (693 ‘ille velut rupes ...’ = 7. 586 ‘ille velut pelago rupes ...’), but otherwise avoid exact linguistic repetition, and Mezentius differs crucially from Latinus in remaining unmoved. For further discussion of this simile cf. Thome 54–6, and for heroic rock-similes in general cf. Fordyce on 7. 586 ff., Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 9. 40–1, and Boyle on Sen. *Phaedra* 580.

**693. ille:** Homeric δ δέ, switching back to Mezentius.

**vastum ... in aequor:** for *vastus* of the formidable expanse of the sea cf. 57, for *aequor* 233–4 n.

**694. obvia ventorum furiis expostaque ponto:** cf. Homer’s ἧ τε μένει λιγέων ἀνέμων λαυψῆρὰ κέλευθα/κύματά τε τροφόντα (above). *furiis:* for *furere* of winds cf. 37–8 n. *exposta* (= *exposita*) is a syncopated form for metrical convenience, favoured by Vergil (cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 24). Note the marked and forceful alliteration here (‘*obvia ventorum*’, ‘*expostaque ponto*’).

**695. vim cunctam atque minas perfert caelique marisque:** cf. 6. 113 ‘omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat’. *vim cunctam* corresponds appropriately to Mezentius’ situation of one against many, while *perfert* suggests his capacity to weather the storm. *minas:* the threatening of the elements (a common metaphor, cf.

*TLL* viii. 993. 39 ff.) suggests the more literal threats of the angry Etruscans. *caelique marisque* ends a line again at 5. 802 and 7. 301, recalling the Homeric line-ending οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα (*Od.* 12. 404, 14. 302).

**696–7. ipsa immota manens:** *ipsa* expresses contrast with the surrounding elements, while *immota manens* recalls Homer's μένον ἔμπεδον (above). *manens* seems stylistically preferable to the variant *manet*, providing a 'tacked-on' participial clause in the Greek manner rather than an abrupt asyndeton.

**sternit humi:** the verb of action drawing a comparison with an immovable rock is surprising, but the point seems clear: the resistance of Mezentius to his attackers, like that of the cliff to the high waves, consists precisely in breaking their power and 'laying them low'. For *sternere* cf. 119 n., for *humi* 557–8 n.

**prolem Dolichaonis:** a lofty phrase: cf. 353 'Neptunia proles' with n. Saunders 552 suggests that *Dolichaeon* transliterates δολιχαίων, 'long-lived', appropriate for a father; if this is so, the name should probably be spelt *Dolichaeon*.

**Hebrum:** the name of a river of Thrace (1. 317); Vergil often uses river-names for heroes, cf. Umbro (544), and Saunders 544–5.

**cum quo Latagum Palmumque fugacem:** a pair of names not found elsewhere: for a somewhat fanciful derivation of *Latagus* from λάταγες, 'drops of wine', cf. Saunders 552.

**698. saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis:** again 9. 569; for *ingenti fragmine* cf. 128 'haud partem exiguum montis' with n., for *fragmen* 306 n.

**699–700. occupat os/faciemque adversam:** the pair of synonymous nouns balance 'saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis'; *occupat* as often signifies getting in the first blow (384 n.), and the part of the body hit takes the 'Greek' accusative of respect (cf. App. D) as often (cf. 12. 275, *Il.* 7. 14–16, Chantraine, *GH* ii. 42).

**poplite Palmum / succiso volvi segnem sinit:** *poplite ... succiso* (again 9. 762) is a Homeric injury (*Il.* 13. 212), and indicates that Palmus is a fleeing coward (*fugacem*, 697), hamstrung from behind as he runs (cf. similarly Hor. *C.* 3. 2. 14–16) and undeserving of the *coup de grâce* (*volvi segnem sinit*).

**700–1. armaque Lauso/donat habere umeris:** cf. *Il.* 16. 799–800 τότε δὲ Ζεὺς Ἔκτορι δῶκεν/ἧ κεφαλῇ φορέειν. Mezentius gives his spoils to Lausus to wear instead of dedicating them to a divinity (423 n.), a sign of his characteristic indifference towards the gods (743–4 n.): cf. further 774–6. The wearing of such spoils is likely to bring bad luck in the *Aeneid*, cf. Hornsby, art. cit. (501–5 n.), and Lausus will soon be dead.

**et vertice figere cristas:** the plural *cristae* perhaps suggests the feathers of Roman crests (187 n.) rather than the horse-hair of Homer (e.g. *Il.* 3. 337; on crests in the *Aeneid* cf. Wickert 292–4).

**702–3. nec non:** cf. 27 n.; here as at 9. 334 the phrase continues a slaying-catalogue with ellipse of verb.

**Euanthen Phrygium:** Euanthes, here a Trojan, bears the name of a Thracian from the *Odyssey* (9. 197). The name means ‘fair-flowering’ (εὐανθής), appropriate for a warrior cut down in his prime.

**Paridisque Mimanta/aequalem comitemque:** Mimas is the name of a giant at Ap. Rh. 3. 1227, found in the same accusative form and final position (*Μίμαντα*). Here he is a minor Trojan, made the coeval and heroic companion of Paris and glorified by this glamorous association (cf. similar heroic links at 125–6, 317–18).

**703–5.** There is a fundamental difficulty in the MSS text of these lines: the lack of a proper subject for *occurbat* in 706, which apparently has to take Paris as its subject from the previous sentence where Paris is object, a highly questionable procedure. There is also a problem with the two verbs of the sentence: the ‘registering’ present *creat* does not go well with the perfect *dedit*, especially when the point of the context is that both actions are simultaneous. The only conjecture to solve both problems is Bentley’s *Parim*; *Paris*, proposed in his note on Hor. *Epod.* 5. 28 and rightly printed by most editors. The corruption to *Parim creat* is easily explicable (*Paris* drops out as a repeated proper name, *creat* replaces it as the apparently missing verb), and together with Bentley’s desirable correction of *genitori* to *genitore* in 704 the conjecture provides a syntax which is not only plausible but positively elegant and Vergilian: *Parim*; *Paris* is itself an effective variation of case, while *in lucem dedit* is then ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *Theano* and *Cisseis regina*, and the references to the two individuals enclosing the first clause (*quem ... Parim*) are matched by the similar enclosing of the second clause (*Paris ... Mimanta*): for such ‘enclosing’ names in Vergil cf. App. C.

**703. comitemque, una ... nocte:** recalling the Homeric Polydamas (*Il.* 18. 251): Ἐκτορι δ’ ἦεν ἑταῖρος, ἣν δ’ ἐνὶ νυκτὶ γέγοντο.

**Theano:** the name of Antenor’s wife in the *Iliad* (5. 70); Vergil here marries her to another Trojan.

**704–5. in lucem ... dedit:** clearly a poetic *simplex* of *in lucem edere*, common of giving birth (*TLL* v/2. 82. 60 ff., 83. 29 ff.).

**genitore Amyco:** so Bentley for the MSS *genitori*. This removes a real difficulty, for both *genitori* and *in lucem* would otherwise be complements of *dedit*, undesirable when juxtaposed in the same

sentence, while the simple ablative absolute is idiomatic in describing paternity, cf. 3. 614 'genitore Adamasto'. Unlike his wife, Amycus derives his name (given to two other Trojans in the *Aeneid*, cf. 1. 221, 9. 772, 12. 509) not from the *Iliad* but from the royal pugilist of Bebrycia in the Argonaut saga (5. 373, Ap. Rh. 2. 4).

**face praegnas/Cisseis regina:** cf. 7. 319–20 'nec face tantum/Cisseis praegnas': the reference is to the story that before the birth of Paris Hecuba dreamed of giving birth to a torch (Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 42, E. Wüst in *RE* xviiiB. 1489 ff.). *praegnas*: for the tone of this word (prosaic), cf. Lyne 59–60. *Cisseis regina*: Hecuba: her patronymic here (= *Κισσηίς*) belongs to her in Euripides (*Hec.* 3) but not in the *Iliad*, where she is the daughter of Dymas (*Il.* 16. 718) and *Κισσηίς* belongs to Theano, wife of Antenor (*Il.* 6. 299), who thus in this same passage of Vergil gives her name to Mimas' mother and her patronymic to Hecuba.

**705–6. Paris urbe paterna/occurbat, ignarum Laurens habet ora Mimanta:** note the elegant antithesis and *asyndeton aduersativum* (cf. 80). *urbe paterna occurbat*: this use of *occurbare* for prostration in death is first found in Vergil and Livy (cf. *TLL* ix/2. 360. 63 ff.). Paris was traditionally killed at Troy by the rescued Philoctetes, an event narrated in the Cyclic *Ilias Parva* (cf. Proclus, *Chrest.* 213–14 ed. Severyns, Apollod. *Epit.* 5. 81). *ignarum ... Mimanta*: the (pathetic) point is that unlike Paris, buried in Troy, Mimas is a stranger to the land of his burial in Italy, and *ignarus* is therefore active in sense (cf. 25). The motif of 'death in an unknown land' is common in the *Aeneid* as in the *Iliad*: cf. 782, 5. 871, 11. 866, Griffin, *Life and Death*, 106 ff. *habet*: this verb, like *ἐχει*, is common of sepulchral containment, cf. Henry and Pease on 4. 633, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 28. 9.

**707–18.** In this long simile Scaliger's transposition of 717–18 to follow 713 is rightly adopted by Mynors (cf. 717–18 n.). The boar-simile, though located in Italy (708–9 n.), is Homeric in tone, taking substantial elements from three similes in the *Iliad* (11. 414–20, 13. 471–6, 17. 61–9); here, as in each of them (and the similar lion-simile for Turnus at 9. 792–6), the resistance of a major hero at bay is described by comparison with a powerful animal. The strict point of comparison is the dismay of the pursuers (712–13, 715–16), but the simile concentrates largely on the boar, reflecting the central dramatic importance of the corresponding figure of Mezentius. On this simile cf. further Thome 63–4 and P. F. Burke, *CJ* 69 (1974), 206.

**707–8. ac velut ille .../... aper:** for *ac velut* introducing a simile cf. 405 n. The deictic *ille* draws attention to the boar, a device often used by Vergil in similes and descriptions (11. 809–11 'ac velut ille

... lupus', 12. 4-6 'qualis ... ille ... leo', 901-2 'ille ... heros', *G.* 4. 457-8 'illa ... moritura puella'); cf. further F. Glöckner, *ALL* 14 (1905), 186, C. Otto, *De epexegeseos in Latinorum scriptis usu* (Diss. Münster, 1912), 18-27.

**canum morsu de montibus altis/actus:** the pursuit by hounds is found in all three Homeric models mentioned above; the mountain location is taken from the boar-simile at *Il.* 13. 471, but also suits the area of the Mons Vesulus (708). *montibus altis* is a conventional hexameter-ending, found in Lucretius before Vergil and likely to belong to earlier Latin epic (cf. Schumann, *Hexameter-Lexicon* iii. 411-12).

**708-9. Vesulus:** the modern Monte Viso (3,841 m.), the highest peak of the Cottian Alps; in antiquity it was considered a part of Liguria, the highest Alpine peak, and the source of the Po (Servius here, Pliny, *Nat.* 3. 117, Solinus 2. 25, E. Meyer in *RE* viiiA. 1798). As a Ligurian mountain it is roughly Etruscan in Vergil's terms (cf. 185 ff.), and therefore provides an appropriate location for a simile for the Etruscan Mezentius (as Servius notes).

**pinifer:** this poetic compound (on the *-fer* suffix cf. 169-70 n.) is not found before Vergil (Cordier, *Études*, 46), but may well be older.

**709-10. multosque palus Laurentia:** *annos* is understood from the previous clause. The effect of *-que* is disjunctive (cf. 111-12 n.): there are two different boars envisaged here (mountain-defended or reed-fed). The *palus Laurentia*, the modern Pantano di Lauro, is a marshy area which in antiquity stretched from the Tiber to Ardea, precisely the area where the current battle is being fought and therefore a relevant and pointed detail in this comparison; it was well-known for its reed-eating boars, cf. Bentley on Hor. *Epod.* 5. 28, Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 2. 231. *Laurentius* (a by-form of the common *Laurens*) is first found here, the only instance in Vergil.

**silva/pascit harundinea:** *pascit* is Bentley's conjecture (on Hor. *Epod.* 5. 28) for the MSS *pastus*, which has caused difficulty since antiquity (see Servius' note here). *pastus*, participle, gives the appropriate sense 'fed on reedy growth' (cf. *G.* 3. 231 'carice pastus acuta'), but would have to be taken as outside the relative clause, parallel with *actus* and thus common to both boars in the simile, unacceptable since only the Laurentian boar will have fed on the unusual diet of reeds (above). Bentley's *pascit*, an easy change, removes the difficulty and restores elegance of thought and style, balancing the earlier present *defendit*. *silva* can refer to any thick growth (cf. *G.* 1. 76 'silvamque sonantem' (of lupins), *OLD* s.v. 2b), while *harundineus* is first found in Vergil (here and *G.* 4. 265; for such *-eus* adjectives cf. 3 n.).

**inter retia:** for the use of nets in ancient boar-hunting to trap the quarry, cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 1. 28 and J. Aymard, *Essai sur les Chasses romaines* (BÉFAR 171; Paris, 1951), 297–329.

**ventum est:** this particular impersonal passive (cf. 355–6 n.) is a hardy survivor from early Latin (Fraenkel, *Horace* 115 n.1), and Vergil likes the archaic flavour of the usage in general (Austin on 1. 272, 6. 45).

**711. substitit infremuitque ferox et inhorruit armos:** two of the three verbs correspond to those of the model at *Il.* 13. 472–3 (*substitit*/μένει, *inhorruit*/φρίσσει). *infremuit:* for *fremere* of bestial noise cf. 98–9 n.; the compound occurs only here before Lucan, and is probably a Vergilian innovation. *ferox:* as suits a *fera*; the emphasis on the fighting spirit of the boar recalls ἀλκὴ πεποιθώς in two of the Homeric models (*Il.* 13. 473, 17. 61; for the boar as a type of *ferocia* and *ira* cf. Sen. *Dial.* 3. 1. 5–6, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 7. 545). *inhorruit armos:* Homer’s φρίσσει δέ τε νῶτον ὑπερθεν (*Il.* 13. 473); *inhorrescere* is poetic before Vergil (Acc. *Trag.* 411), while *armus* is the normal term for the forequarter of an animal, sometimes replacing *umerus* for the human shoulder in poetry, cf. Pease and Austin on 4. 11. *armos* is of course the ‘Greek’ accusative of respect, cf. 699 and App D.

**712–13.** Closely modelled on *Il.* 17. 66–7 πολλά μάλ’ ὑζουσι ἀπὸ προθεν, οὐδ’ ἐθέλουσι/ἀντίον ἐλθέμεναι.

**nec cuiquam ... virtus:** sc. *est*; for the ‘prolative’ infinitive after the noun *virtus* cf. 715 n.

**irasci:** significantly picked up by *irae* in 714: Mezentius’s opponents cannot match his boar-like ferocity.

**propiusque accedere:** better than the variant *propiusve*, since closer approach here seems to be a consequence of rather than an alternative to anger, and is supported by Silius’ imitation of Vergil (5. 442–3): ‘aspirare viro propioremque addere Martem/haud ausum cuiquam’.

**iaculis tutisque procul clamoribus instant:** *tutisque procul* is a significant juxtaposition (‘safe because distant’; *procul* contrasts with *propiusque*).

**717–18.** The transposition of these lines to follow 713 was first suggested by J. J. Scaliger, *Prolegomena in M. Manilium*, 8, in the second edition of his *Manilius* (Leiden, 1600) with the remark ‘hoc ita esse nemo dubitabit, nisi qui Latine nescit, aut communi sensu caret’; some editors have nevertheless kept the order of the capital MSS, and it has recently been defended by J. W. Jones, *Vergilius*, 23 (1972), 50–4 and Thome 349–50. However, Scaliger seems to be right: *dentibus infrendens* and *tergo decutit hastas* in 718 should refer to the boar in the simile and not directly to Mezentius (see below),

and 717–18 should therefore precede 714. The difficulties of the traditional order were already appreciated in the Carolingian period: a number of ninth-century MSS transpose 716–18 to follow 713, rightly referring 717–18 to the boar but wrongly juxtaposing 713 and 716. For these and further arguments for Scaliger's view cf. E. Courtney, *BICS* 28 (1981), 18; for a similar transposition cf. 661–5 n.

**717. ille autum impavidus:** *ille* = ὁ δέ, changing the subject to the boar as in the Homeric model at *Il.* 11. 415 (another argument for Scaliger's transposition). *impavidus* occurs first in Vergil and Horace, probably as a rendering of the similarly poetic ἀφοβος (*Soph. OC* 1325), cf. Ernout–Meillet 489, *TLL* vii/1. 527. 21.

**partis cunctatur in omnis:** a delaying-tactic rather than indecision: for *partis ... in omnis* cf. 4. 630.

**718. dentibus infrendens:** a phrase used elsewhere in Vergil of the violent teeth-grinding of Polyphemus and Hercules (3. 664, 8. 230), but here surely echoing the boar's tusk-grinding prominent in two of the Homeric models for the simile: *Il.* 11. 416–18 θήγων λευκὸν ὀδόντα μετὰ γναμπτήσι γένυσσι/... ὑπαὶ δέ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων/γίγνεται, 13. 474–5 αὐτὰρ ὀδόντας/θήγει. For *dentes* of boar-tusks (= Homeric ὀδόντες) cf. *G.* 3. 255, *TLL* v/1. 538. 19 ff.; *infrendere* is first found in Vergil, a poetic variation on the usual *dentibus frendere*.

**et tergo decutit hastas:** in the order of the capital MSS this has to mean 'and shakes off spears from his shield'. *tergum* = 'shield' (material metonymy) is found only once in classical Latin (*Sall. Hist.* 4. 75 Maur., cited by Servius on 11. 619), and would here be unnatural when the poet could have used *scuto*. Scaliger's transposition makes Vergil's phrase much more appropriate as a description of a boar shaking out spears from its thick hide, a phenomenon not found in Homer but occurring at *Ov. Met.* 10. 713. This interpretation is confirmed by Lucan 6. 205–7, which in a similar simile for a warrior warding off missiles describes an elephant doing much the same thing in language clearly derived from Vergil:

sic Libycus densis elephans oppressus ab armis  
omne repercussum squalenti missile tergo  
frangit et haerentes mota cute discutit hastas.

**714. haud aliter:** a frequent simile-formula: 360–1 n.

**iustae quibus est Mezentius irae:** *iustae ... irae* is predicative dative, despite the objections of R. G. Nisbet (*AJP* 47 (1926), 259–71). He argues that it must be genitive of quality since predicative datives cannot take qualitative adjectives, but Vergil has no other genitive of quality, and such conventions need not apply to

innovative poets (cf. also Cic. *Fam.* 2. 7. 1 ‘sempiternae laudi esse’, surely a little qualitative). For the background to the Etruscans’ just anger cf. 8. 481–95.

**715–16.** The close parallels of phrasing between these lines and 712–13 stress the central point of comparison between the boar’s pursuers and Mezentius’ attackers: *non ulli est animus* corresponds to *nec cuiquam virtus* [est], *stricto concurrere ferro* to *propiusque accedere*, while 716 and 713 are highly similar in form and thought.

**non ulli est animus:** the prolative infinitive after *animus* (90 n.) matches that after *virtus* (712); cf. similarly Alcaeus fr. 308b LP 1–2 σὲ γὰρ μοι/θύμος ὕμνην (sc. ἐστί), where ὕμνην is infinitive. Note the *asyndeton adversativum* between 715 and 716.

**missilibus longe ... lacesunt:** cf. 801–2 ‘perturbantque eminus hostem/missilibus’: *missile* is first used as a noun in Vergil (cf. ‘telum missile’ 421 n.), while *longe* corresponds to *procul* in 713 and ἀπόπροθεν in *Il.* 17. 66 (cf. 712–13 n.).

**vasto clamore:** a phrase first found in Vergil (*TLL* iii. 1258. 39 ff.), similar to the Homeric βοή ἄσβεστος or ἤχη θεσπεσίη (*Il.* 11. 50, 8. 159). There is an ironic contrast between the terrible shouts of the Etruscans and their lack of courage for action. For the dual provocation of shouting and projectiles cf. 644.

**719. venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acron:** the phrasing recalls the introduction of a new character in a catalogue (cf. 544 ‘veniens Marsorum montibus Umbro’ with n.), and the postponement of the name to last place in its clause is also common in introducing characters in poetry, cf. T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ*, ns 18 (1968), 338–40. There has been some controversy about the identity of Corythus: it is usually identified with Cortona, a city of inland Etruria near Lake Trasimene, but N. M. Horsfall (*JRS* 63 (1973), 68–79) has recently suggested an identity with the coastal Tarquinii (see also the objections of E. L. Harrison, *CQ*, ns 26 (1976), 293–5 and Horsfall’s rejoinder, *ibid.* 296–7). *antiquis ... finibus* here might provide some help: the assertion of antiquity might as at 184 ‘Pyrgi veteres’ point to a ‘Pelasgian’ (i.e. pre-Etruscan Greek) foundation, suggesting Cortona, associated with the Greeks and particularly Odysseus (Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1. 20. 4, 26. 1, Lycophron, *Alex.* 805), as Horsfall (*JRS* 69 n.1) recognizes. Acron’s Greek name tells us little, for it seems to be taken from the leader of the Latin Caeninenses famously killed by Romulus in winning the first *spolia opima* (Livy 1. 9. 8, Prop. 4. 10. 9, cf. Saunders 544).

**720. Graius homo:** Ennius’ phrase for Pyrrhus (Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 165), taken up by Lucretius for Epicurus (Lucr. 1. 66). *Graius* is the more poetic word for ‘Greek’, *Graecus* (never used by Vergil)

the more prosaic (cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 357, Axelson, *UW* 51–2), cf. similarly his exclusion of *Thrax* (350–1 n.).

**infectos linquens profugus hymenaeos:** pathetic details, recalling the Homeric description of Protesilaus (*Il.* 2. 700–1): τού δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλοχος Φυλάκη ἐλέλειπτο (cf. *linquens*)/καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής (cf. *infectos*); Vergil adds the further pain of exile. For the theme ‘warrior dies before consummating marriage’ in a similar epic obituary cf. *Il.* 11. 242–3. The line-ending *profugus hymenaeos* contains two licences—the lengthening of the last syllable of *profugus* before the caesura (394 n.) and a tetrasyllabic final word (cf. Austin on 4. 97)—frequently occurring together, cf. Fordyce on 7. 398 and on *Cat.* 64. 20.

**721. hunc ubi miscentem longe media agmina vidit:** modelled on *Il.* 5. 166 τὸν δ’ ἶδεν Αἰνείας ἀλαπάζοντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν: *longe* adds a significant detail: Acron can be seen from afar because of his conspicuous dress (cf. 722). *miscentem*: for this verb of throwing troops into confusion cf. *Livy* 30. 34. 8.

**722. purpureum pennis:** the feathers are those of the crest (187 n.). For the colour-word *purpureus* cf. Austin on 1. 591, André 90–102; here it indicates rich clothes, and editors have also suggested that it is the colour of love (cf. Ovid’s *purpureus* ... *Amor* (*Am.* 2. 1. 38 = 2. 9. 34)), appropriate in this context of marital affection.

**pactae coniugis ostro:** the wearing of a garment (here a purple cloak) made or given by a loved one is a pathetic detail elsewhere, cf. 818 n. *ostrum* (= ὄστρεον, cf. in general Pease on 4. 134) is used by Vergil only in the dative and ablative, forms in which *purpura* is intractable in hexameters.

**723–9.** This simile of a ravening lion, like that of the boar (707–18), is Homeric in tone: Vergil here takes details from five Homeric lion-similes for aggressive actions of heroes (*Il.* 3. 23–8, 12. 299 ff., 17. 61 ff., *Od.* 6. 130 ff., 22. 402 ff.), a careful blend which yields a highly appropriate simile with multiple correspondences (cf. 724–5 n.). It is the second in the series of three similes (cf. 707–18, 763–8) which build up Mezentius before his meeting with Aeneas at 769 ff.

**723–4. impastus stabula alta leo ceu saepe peragrans/(suadet enim vesana fames):** cf. the closely similar comparison at 9. 339–40 ‘impastus ceu plena leo per ovilia turbans/(suadet enim vesana fames)’. For *ceu* cf. 97 n. (it is postponed here as at 357, 9. 339); *ceu saepe* = *ceu*, *ut saepe fit* (cf. Austin on 1. 148, Costa on *Lucr.* 5. 1231–2). *impastus* echoes *πεινάων* and *ὄς τ’ ἐπιδευῆς/δηρὸν ἔη κρειῶν* in two of the Homeric models (*Il.* 3. 25, 12. 299–300). *stabula alta*: not the ‘high folds’ of farm buildings as at 9. 388, but the ‘deep lairs’ of wild animals (the wild goat and stag of 725) as

at 6. 179. *peragrans*: poetic before Vergil (*OLD* s.v.), who always uses it of traversing wild country (1. 384, 4. 72, *G.* 4. 53). *suadet enim vesana fames*: echoing *κέλεται δέ ἐ γαστήρ* in one of the Homeric models (above) at *Od.* 6. 133; *vesana fames* also renders Homer's *γαστέρι μάργη* (*Od.* 18. 2). For *vesanus* cf. 583–4 n. Note how Vergil replaces 'belly' with 'hunger', perhaps avoiding the direct translation *venter* for reasons of propriety, cf. Adams, art. cit. (347–8 n.), 54.

**724–5. si forte ... conspexit:** *si forte* = *εἴ ποῦ*, 'if by any chance', cf. Austin on 2. 81; it occurs again in a simile with the same verb at 1. 151–2. Here *conspexit* corresponds to *vidit* at 721; both Mezentius and the lion spot their prey some way off.

**fugacem ... capream/aut surgentem in cornua cervum:** the pair of victims is taken from the model at *Il.* 3. 24 ἢ ἐλαφον κερᾶν ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα; Vergil keeps the horns of the stag but turns the goat into a nervous roe-deer, introducing an elegant contrast between pride and timidity. Ovid's imitation of this line (*Met.* 10. 538 'aut pronos lepores aut celsum in cornua cervum') suggests that *surgentem in cornua* means 'rising to [the full height of] his antlers', recalling the Homeric *ὑψικέρωσ*, found of a stag at *Od.* 9. 158.

**726–7. gaudet hians immane:** the joy of the lion (cf. the similar 12. 6) is taken from the model at *Il.* 3. 23 ὥστε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλη ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας, his gape from a lion at *Il.* 20. 168 ἐάλη τε χάνων. Adverbial *immane*, resembling the Homeric *μέγα*, is first found in Vergil, cf. *TLL* vii/1. 441. 58 ff.

**comasque arrexit:** elsewhere in Vergil a symptom of fear or excitement in humans (cf. Pease on 4. 280); here it refers to the raising of the mane, (for *comae* in this sense cf. *TLL* iii. 1747. 72 ff.), a similar sign for lions, cf. Servius here and Eur. *Phoen.* 1120–1 λέοντος .../χαίτη πεφρικός.

**et haeret/visceribus super incumbens:** recalls *Il.* 17. 64–5 (one of the model similes) αἶμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει/δηῶν. *viscera*, 'vitals', is poetic before Vergil and clearly acceptable in terms of epic propriety because anatomically vague, cf. Adams, art. cit. (347–8 n.), 53. *super incumbens*: the variant *accumbens* has received considerable support owing to its usual sense of 'recline to eat' (cf. 1. 79 'epulis accumbere divum', *TLL* i. 340. 26 ff.). However, lions do not recline at table, and *incumbens* should be read for further reasons of sense: here as at 5. 858 *super incumbens* would mean 'coming down hard from above', a notion required in this context since otherwise we pass straight from the lion's spotting of his victim to its consumption without allusion to the predator's spring, highly unlikely in this simile, which specifically

compares Mezentius' movement (cf. 729 *sic ruit*) with that of the lion.

**727–8.** The gory image of these lines derives something from a lion-simile at *Od.* 22. 404–5: *παρήϊά τ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν/αἵματόεντα πέλει.*

**lavit:** better than the variant *lavat* here. *lavere* was originally transitive, *lavare* intransitive, but the two swiftly become interchangeable (Sommer 507); Vergil always uses the third-conjugation form in the third person singular present indicative and the first-conjugation otherwise, cf. Neue–Wagener iii. 258–60.

**improba ... ora:** *ora* though pl. means 'mouth' rather than 'face' (cf. 12. 373); *improbis* is used, as often, of the cruelty and greed of predators, cf. 9. 62, 12. 250, *TLL* vii/1. 691. 72.

**taeter ... cruor:** *taeter*, poetic since Ennius (cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 225), occurs in Vergil only here and at 3. 228 (of the rotting stink of the Harpies). For the jingle *ora cruor* and the use of *cruor* for fresh-spilt blood cf. 348–9 n.

The 'half-line' (cf. 16–17 n.) of 728 is one of 13 (out of 58) ending after the first syllable of the second foot; the end of a simile, like the beginning or end of a speech (cf. 17, 284, 580, Sparrow 37–41), seems an obvious place for a break in composition, the simile being worked up and inserted later. For further instances cf. Berres 85–109.

**729. sic ruit:** *sic* = Homeric *ὡς*, marking *ruit* as the point of comparison (cf. 1. 154, 5. 459).

**alacer Mezentius:** cf. 12. 337 'alacer ... Turnus'; the epithet expresses keenness for battle (Caes. *Gall.* 7. 76. 5, Livy 44. 3. 9).

**730–1. sternitur infelix Acron:** the verb suggests an ironic play on the name: the lofty Acron (*ἄκρος*, 'highest') is laid low (for *sternere* cf. 119 n.); cf. the similar play at 737.

**et calcibus atram/tundit humum expirans:** Homeric death-throes: cf. 404 n.; for *atram ... humum* cf. *Il.* 2. 699 *γαῖα μέλαινα*). *expirare* in the absolute sense of 'breathe out one's life' is found before Vergil only once each in Sallust and Horace (*TLL* v/2. 1902. 75 ff.).

**infractaque tela cruentat:** the prefix of *infracta* is not negative; *tela* is poetic plural, the reference being to Mezentius' spear transfixing his victim and probably broken in the latter's fall. The phrase is clearly modelled on Lucr. 5. 1327 (of boars) 'tela infracta suo tingentes sanguine saevi'; *cruentare* is poetic since Ennius (cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 228).

**732–3. fugientem haud est dignatus Oroden/sternere:** Mezentius applies the proud ideals of heroism, as 735 confirms; the fleeing Orodes would be an unworthy prey from the rear. *Oroden:* Saunders 553 notes that this was the name of the Parthian king whose army

annihilated the Crassi at Carrhae in 53 BC (Dio 40. 12. 1), but the name seems chosen for the pun at 737.

**nec iacta caecum dare cuspidē vulnus:** for *cuspidis* cf. 484 n., and for the ‘causative’ use of *dare* cf. Fordyce on 8. 570 ff. *caecum* ... *vulnus*: so of the ‘unseen wound’ of love at Lucr. 4. 1120; here the wound is unseen since the back is turned in flight.

**734–5. obuius aduersoque occurrit:** the repeated prefix (*occurrit* = *ob-currit*) stresses the purpose of obstruction, cf. 552–3 n.

**seque viro vir/contulit:** *se conferre*, here only in Vergil and unprecedented in this sense of ‘meet’, takes the dative usual with the similar *manum conferre* (cf. 12. 678); for the history of the poetic variation of case *viro vir* cf. 360–1 n. Note the dramatic isolation of the verb of effort by enjambment in an initial dactyl (336–7 n.).

**haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis:** an expression of the heroic ethic: cf. *Il.* 7. 243–4 (Hector) ἄλλ’ οὐ γὰρ σ’ ἐθέλω βαλέειν τοιοῦτον ἔοντα/λάθρη ὀπίπτευσας, ἄλλ’ ἀμφθαδόν, εἴ κε τύχοιμι and Ps.-Eur. *Rh.* 510–11 οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ εὐψυχος ἀξιοὶ λάθρα/κτείνει τὸν ἔχθρὸν, ἄλλ’ ἰὼν κατὰ στόμα (perhaps a model: *dignatus* (732) = ἀξιοῖ, *furto* = λάθρα). Such values were also preached at Rome: cf. Livy 1. 53. 4 ‘minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo, adgressus est’ with Weissenborn–Müller’s note, Tac. *Ann.* 2. 88. 1 ‘non fraude neque occultis, sed palam et armatum populum Romanum hostes suos ulcisci’. *furto* ... *fortibus* provides an effective jingle between polar opposites, a technique found in poetry and artistic prose (cf. Ogilvie on Livy 1. 58. 8).

**736. super abiectum positō pede nixus et hasta:** *nixus* is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both *pede* and *hasta*, and the foot on the body is the pose of the triumphant Homeric hero (495–6 n.). The verb of speech is omitted as at 490 ‘quem Turnus super adsistens’. For the prosody of ‘abiectum’ cf. 377 n.

**737.** Modelled on Achilles’ triumphant cry to his comrades at *Il.* 22. 393 ἡράμεθα μέγα κῦδος. ἐπέφνομεν Ἐκτορα δῖον.

**pars belli haud temnenda:** cf. 427 ‘pars ingens belli’ with n.; *haud temnenda* is a familiar type of litotes (cf. 3. 170 ‘haud dubitanda’, 11. 106 ‘haud aspernanda’), *temno* being the poetic *simplex* of the usual *contemno* (cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 620, Austin on 1. 542).

**virī:** better than the variant *viris* (cf. similarly 280) which clearly derives from a desire to have the standard dative after a gerundive and is inferior in style and sense to the interjected *virī*, addressing comrades as at 2. 373, 4. 573, 11. 14 (cf. Homer’s similar φίλοι at *Il.* 16. 544).

**iacet altus Orodes:** the antithesis between *iacet*, ‘lies low’ (i.e. in death) and *altus*, ‘lofty’ (common of heroes, cf. 875–6 n.) is

deliberate and ironic, and augmented by the punning juxtaposition *altus Orodes*; the proper name can mean 'mountainous' (ὄρώδης) in Greek (cf. Saunders 533). For this type of etymological play between noun and epithet cf. 184 n.

**738. conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti:** cf. 6. 657 'laetumque ... paeana canentes' (for *paeana* = Homeric *παιήων* in Latin cf. Fedeli on Prop. 3. 15. 42); the detail of singing the paean of celebration comes like 737 from Achilles' speech to his comrades after the death of Hector (*Il.* 22. 391): *νῦν δ' ἄγ' αἰείδοντες παιήονα ... conclamant* (somewhat unusually) must be transitive, governing *paeana* (cf. 3. 523 'Italiam conclamat Achates'), while *secuti* is used absolutely, 'following his lead' (cf. 1. 747 'ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur').

**739-46.** The speech of the dying Orodes and Mezentius' reply are based on two famous death-scenes in the *Iliad*: that of Patroclus at the hands of Hector (16. 843 ff.) and that of Hector at the hands of Achilles (22. 337 ff.), in both of which the death of the slayer is similarly foretold by the victim. Mezentius is thus implicitly compared with the greatest fighters of the *Iliad*, and his words at 743-4 are to be taken as echoing Achilles rather than showing contempt for the gods. There is no particular cruelty in this scene (*pace* Heinze 214), and Aeneas says and does much worse things in 510-605.

**739. ille autem exspirans:** sc. *dixit*; cf. *Il.* 22. 337 τὸν δ' ὀλιγοδρανέων προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ.

**me ... inuito:** abl. abs., surrounding *quicumque es* in an unusual hyperbaton and going adverbially with *laetabere*; the litotes of *non ... inulto* recalls *Il.* 13. 414 οὐ μὲν αὐτ' ἄτιτος κείτ' Ἄσιος.

**quicumque es:** again at 8. 122, in both cases a formula addressing strangers: Orodes does not know Mezentius and is therefore not an Etruscan.

**740-1. nec longum laetabere; te quoque fata/prospectant paria atque eadem mox arva tenebis:** cf. *Il.* 16. 852-3 (the dying Patroclus to Hector)

οὐ θην οὐδ' αὐτὸς δηρὸν βέη, ἀλλὰ τοι ἦδη  
ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.

*prospectant* (poetic before Vergil, Cat. 64. 52) is a bold personification: Mezentius is contemplated by his own end, near at hand; cf. similarly Soph. *OC* 1370 τοιγάρ σ' ὁ δαίμων εἰσορᾷ. *arva tenebis*: the eternal occupation of land in death: cf. Wilamowitz on Eur. *Heracles* 1016.

**742. ad quem subridens mixta Mezentius ira:** yet again no verb of speech in this excited context (cf. 737, 739). Mezentius' smile is

one of (misplaced) heroic confidence (so Turnus at 9. 740, Ajax at *Il.* 7. 212), his anger a reaction to the unwelcome prophecy of death.

**743–4. nunc morere. ast de me divum pater atque hominum rex/viderit:** cf. *Il.* 22. 365–6 (Achilles to Hector) *τέθναθι· κῆρα δ' ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι, ὅπποτε κεν δῆ' Ζεὺς ἐθέλη τελέσαι*. *nunc morere*: curt and angry (cf. 600), matching Achilles' *τέθναθι*. *ast de me ... viderit*: for *ast* cf. 173 n.; *de me* answers Orodes' *te quoque*, while *viderit* is a future perfect postponing consideration of the question, a colloquial usage, cf. Cic. *De Or.* 2. 33 'de me videro', Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 2. 782, KS i. 148–9. *divum pater atque hominum rex*: Ennian and Homeric (cf. 2 n.). The dignified description of Jupiter is not ironic or contemptuous, as many since Servius have thought; Mezentius' gesture to heaven at 845 shows that his characterization as *contemptor divum* is not continuous or consistent, and his speech echoes the words of Achilles (above) in recognizing the disposing will of Jupiter (cf. similarly Soph. *Phil.* 843 *τάδε μὲν θεὸς ὄψεται*). Any irony here is dramatic, for Jupiter is indeed 'seeing to' Mezentius by bringing him to fight Aeneas and die (689–90 n.). It should be remembered in general that Mezentius is not a sceptical atheist, but a proud man who defies and disobeys the gods; see Henry's notes here and on 8. 7, J. Glenn, *AJPh* 92 (1971), 136–8 and Thome 79 n. 180.

**hoc dicens eduxit corpore telum:** cf. *Il.* 16. 862–3 (Hector over Patroclus) *ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας δόρυ χάλκεον ἐξ ὠτειλῆς/εἴρυσσε*, 22. 367 (Achilles over Hector) *ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐκ νεκροῖο ἐρύσσατο χάλκεον ἔγχος*. The speech-formula (246–7 n.) *hoc dicens* occurs again at 856, 2. 550, and 12. 950, all in contexts of slaying.

**745–6.** This pair of lines is repeated with only one change (*conduntur* for *clauduntur*) at 12. 309–10, and conflates a number of Homeric death-descriptions: *τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν* (11 times in *Iliad*), the striking *κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον* (only *Il.* 11. 241) and *τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν* (three times in *Iliad*).

**olli:** *olle*, an archaic doublet of *ille* and poetic since Ennius, is used by Vergil only in the forms *olli* and *ollis*, usually emphatically placed as an initial spondee (116–7 n.); cf. further Fordyce on 7. 458, Austin on 1. 254, 6. 321, Skutsch, *Annales*, pp. 64–6.

**dura quies ... ferreus .../somnus:** both strikingly oxymoronic noun–adjective pairings: *ferreus somnus* modifies the Homeric *χάλκεος ὕπνος* (above), changing bronze for iron, perhaps to echo the metaphor 'cruel as iron' common to both Latin and Greek (Macleod on *Il.* 24. 205, *TLL* vi/1. 574. 31 ff.). For the 'sleep of death' in general cf. Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 63 and Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 24. 5.

**in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem:** *lumina noctem* (another oxymoron) surely recalls the well-known Cat. 51. 11-12 'gemina teguntur/lumina nocte', where *lumina* similarly means 'eyes' (446-7 n.). The eternal night of death is a frequent τόπος (cf. Asclepiades AP 12. 50. 8 (Gow-Page HE 887), Moschus 3. 104, Cat. 5. 6, Hor. C. 4. 9. 28, Ov. Ep. 10. 112).

**747-54.** As has often been pointed out since Turnebus (*Adversaria* (Paris, 1564), 29. 24), the nationality of the warriors killed in the following lines is indicated by their names, which are Greek for Trojans and Arcadians, Latin for Italians (cf. further M. M. Willcock, *PCPhS*, ns 29 (1983), 96-7). Such long lists of killers and victims are common in the *Iliad*, but Vergil has only a few examples in his more economical and artistic battle-narrative (Heinze 195); other instances are 9. 569-76 and 12. 458-60. Here, as several times in the *Iliad* (cf. Fenik 10), one side predominates in the killings to indicate the tide of battle: the Latins regain the ascendancy under the inspiration of Mezentius, but this is followed by the equal balance of 752 ff. The list is artistically leavened by the end-rhyme of 747, 748 and 749.

**747. Caedicus:** the name is clearly Italian (the Caedici were a central Italian tribe, and several Caedicii occur in the early books of Livy, cf. Ogilvie on Livy 2. 52. 6, Schulze, *Eigennamen* 522 n. 3), and it is given to another Italian at 9. 362; it may also be chosen here as appropriate to a slayer (*caedere*; so Willcock, art. cit. (747-54 n.) 97) especially with *Sacrator* in the same line.

**Alcathoum:** the name of a Trojan slain in Homer (*Il.* 13. 428), and clearly another Trojan here.

**obtruncat:** originally 'decapitate', then generally used in the sense of 'slaughter', a colourful archaism by the Augustan period (cf. *TLL* ix/2. 295. 28 ff.). Note that this verb governs six accusatives to 751; so in a similar passage *sternit* governs twelve accusatives at 9. 569-76, a Vergilian (and un-Homeric) economy of style.

**Sacrator:** a Latin gentile name *Sacratorius* is attested; Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 322 suggests that both this and Vergil's *Sacrator* derive from the function of *sacrator* or public sacrificer, appropriate to Vergil's dispatching warrior (cf. Caedicus above).

**Hydaspen:** *Hydaspes* is the name of an Indian river (the modern Jhelum, a tributary of the Indus) mentioned at *G.* 4. 211; its use here demonstrates two aspects of Vergil's creative nomenclature, the use of river-names for heroes (Saunders 544-5), and that of Orientally flavoured Greek names as appropriate for the Oriental Trojans; cf. Orodes (732).

**748. Partheniumque Rapo:** *Parthenius* suggests the Arcadian mountain of that name (*Ecl.* 10. 57), indicating that an Arcadian is

meant here (for mountain-names used of heroes cf. 166 n.); *Rapo*, known as a cognomen from Picenum (Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 319), is clearly intended to denote an Italian.

**praedurum viribus Orsen:** *Orses*, like *Hydaspes*, looks like an Eastern name appropriate for a Trojan: Saunders 546 sees an allusion to the Indian Orsaei (Pliny *Nat.* 6. 78), and there were two Eastern cities named Orsa (Pliny, *Nat.* 6. 150, Ptolemy 6. 2. 20). *praedurus*, ‘mightily tough’, is first attested in Vergil (here and at *G.* 2. 531), along with the similar *praecelsus* (3. 245), *praedives* (11. 213), *praepinguis* (3. 698), and *praevalidus* (*G.* 2. 190). On the intensive adjective-prefix *prae-* in general cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 3. 32, 12. 349, J. André, *REL* 29 (1951), 121–54.

**749. Messapus Cloniumque:** Messapus (353–4 n.) is the first major hero to appear in this list; his first victim Clonius bears the name of a Boeotian in the *Iliad* (2. 495), but is here on the Trojan side, like the Clonius killed by Turnus at 9. 574. Paul. exc. Fest., p. 48. 14 Lindsay mentions a Trojan Clonius, ‘companion of Aeneas’, as founder of the *gens Cloelia*, a story possibly known to Vergil.

**Lycaoniumque Erichaeten:** *Lycaonius* is clearly a patronymic (cf. 123 n.), but the ancestor could be either the Trojan Lycaon famously killed by Achilles (*Il.* 21. 34 ff.; other sons of youngish Iliadic victims appear at 5. 564 and 12. 346) or the impious (*Ov. Met.* 1. 198 ff.) Lycaon of Arcadia (so *Lycaonius* at Cat. 66. 66), for both Trojans and Arcadians are found elsewhere in this list. *Erichaetes* does not help the dilemma, for it seems to suggest ἐριχαιτήεις, ‘much-haired’, referring to the traditional heroic attribute of long hair (cf. 1. 590, *Il.* 2. 323).

**750–1. illum infrenis equi lapsu tellure iacentem, / hunc peditem:** such distinctions between a pair of victims are found again at 394–6 and 9. 572, creating elegant variation in the carnage of battle. *infrenis equi*: third-declension *infrenis* is found here and at Gellius 1. 15. 17; second-declension *infrenus* is found at 4. 41, Columella 10. 215, and Stat. *Theb.* 2. 180 (for similar variation between second- and third-declension forms cf. 395–6 n.), and both probably imitate ἀχάλωτος (Eur. *Bacch.* 386, *Heraclēs* 382). The reference here is not to the bare-back riding-style attributed to Africans and Orientals (cf. Austin on 4. 41), but to a loss of the bridle which leads to the fall of the rider. *lapsu*: better than the variant *lapsum*, which leaves *infrenis equi* without a complement and an awkward asyndeton with *iacentem*. For the poetical *tellus* cf. 101–2 n., and for *peditem* = πεζόν cf. 453–4 n. A colon after *peditem* seems the best punctuation here, preserving the two balanced clauses *illum ... iacentem* and *hunc peditem* and passing elegantly to

the following clause with a variation of case *peditem*: *pedes*: cf. similarly Bentley's *Parim*; *Paris* at 705.

**Lycius ... Agis**: the Trojans have Lycian allies in Italy as they had at Troy (cf. 125–6 n.), while *Agis* is the name of several Spartan kings of the Agiad dynasty (cf. Hdt. 7. 204).

**752. haud expers Valerius virtutis avitae**: *Valerius*, an Italian name, must here suggest the great *gens Valeria*; *virtutis avitae* suggests the traditional derivation of *Valerius* from *valere* (Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 102). Such a compliment to the *gens Valeria* could be directed at a contemporary of the poet, perhaps the great M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, patron of poets (for a similar possible compliment to a contemporary cf. 345–6 n.).

**753. deicit**: follows Homeric *καταβάλλειν* for felling a warrior (*Il.* 2. 692); the verb of effort is emphatically isolated by enjambment in an initial dactyl as often, cf. 336 n.

**at Thronium Salius Saliumque Nealces**: *at* marks a change in the direction of the battle: here for the first time an Italian—*Salius*, whose name is Italian (Schulze, *Eigennamen*, 224) and must recall the *Salii*—is killed, albeit immediately after dispatching a victim. *Thronium*: *Θρόνιος* in the *Iliad* (2. 533) is a town of Locris; this character must be a Trojan or Acadian, but Vergil, like Nonnus (*Dion.* 32. 188), may simply have converted a convenient Homeric town into a hero. Note the elegant variation of case *Salius Saliumque*; the double naming of the same hero as both killer and victim suggests the alternate slayings of the Homeric *σταδίη* or standing battle, as opposed to the *φόβος* or rout suggested by the Latin predominance in 747–52. *Nealces*: not found in Homer, but a typical heroic name (*νέα ἀλκή* ‘new might’, cf. *Νεοπτόλεμος*, ‘new warrior’).

**754. insignis iaculo et longe fallente sagitta**: *insignis* is certainly to be preferred to the variant *insidiūs*, for the reasons given by R. D. Williams: (i) Nealces is unlikely to have killed Salius with both javelin and arrow, (ii) *iaculo et ... sagitta* cannot mean simply ‘by the shooting of an arrow’ as Servius argues, and (iii) archery and javelin-throwing are similarly paired elsewhere as elements of heroic prowess, cf. 5. 68 ‘iaculo ... melior levibusque sagittis’, 9. 178 ‘iaculo celerem ... levibusque sagittis’. One might add that Vergil favours a pair of ablatives after *insignis*: cf. 7. 745 ‘insignem fama et felicibus armis’, 4. 134, 5. 295, 6. 403, 11. 291, *G.* 3. 56.

**755–61**. The battle moves towards a stalemate, halting the rapid pace of action since 689 and slowing down the narrative, cf. similarly 354–61. The Homeric model is the scene at *Il.* 11. 70–83, where the Greeks and Trojans are locked in equal combat: Eris (Strife) rages in the midst of the battle, while the gods remain on

Olympus and Zeus watches the conflict. Of particular interest is the difference in attitude between the Homeric and Vergilian gods: Homer's Zeus watches the battle serenely and his Olympians are sulking at his treatment of them, both parties showing characteristic disregard for human suffering, (Griffin, *Life and Death*, 180–1), while the gods of Vergil feel pity for the sufferings of all the combatants, an indication of the broader *humanitas* of the *Aeneid*.

**755. Mavors:** an archaic (and perhaps original) version of the name *Mars* used by poets since Ennius (*Ann.* 99 Skutsch), cf. further Pease on Cic. *Div.* 2. 67, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 6. 71, Wissowa, *RuK* 142 n.

The intervention of Mars (cf. 9. 717–18) appears to be figurative: in the *Aeneid*, unlike the *Iliad*, Mars does not fight in person but is said to influence the battle in the semi-abstract form of the spirit of war. For this use of *Mars* and its development from the Homeric anthropomorphic Ares cf. Bailey, *RV* 109–15, R. Häussler, *Das historische Epos der Griechen und Römer bis Vergil.* (Heidelberg, 1976), 288–99.

**756–7.** Modelled on *Il.* 11. 70–1 (a context operative here and at 359–61, see n., cf. 755–61 n.):

ὡς Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες  
δήουν, οὐδ' ἔτεροι μνώοντ' ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο.

**pariter pariterque:** elegant repetition in a chiasmic frame (cf. 8. 545 'Euandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus'), supporting the other antithetical balances of the line.

**ruebant:** 'fall' as at 338, not 'charge' as at 385, balancing *victi* as *caedebant* balances *victores*.

**victores victique:** cf. ὀλλύντας τ' ὀλλυμένους τε, from the same Homeric context as above (*Il.* 11. 83).

**758–9. di Iovis in tectis:** varying the Homeric model, where the gods sit οἶσαν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι (*Il.* 11. 76).

**iram miserantur inanem/amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores:** for the change of construction after *miserari* (acc. to acc. inf.) cf. similarly 8. 92–3 (with *mirari*). *inanem* and *mortalibus* stress the futility in divine eyes of the strivings of mortals.

**760. hinc Venus, hinc contra spectat Saturnia Iuno:** something is owed to *Il.* 4. 439 ὄρσε δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἄρης, τοὺς δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. As *hinc ... hinc* suggests (433–4 n.), the two goddesses support their own sides like Ares and Athene in the *Iliad*, but watch with concern rather than intervening, prevented by Jupiter (cf. 104–13). *Saturnia Iuno* (659 n.) appropriately stresses Juno's links with Italy as she supports the Latins.

**761. pallida Tisiphone:** again at *G.* 3. 552; *pallida* suggests the pale world of the shades (cf. Pease on 4. 644, Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 4. 13), the usual home of Tisiphone (6. 555, 571). Tisiphone, like her sisters Allecto and Megaera (cf. 41 n.), is not named as an individual Fury before the Roman period (first in Lucilius fr. 169 Marx, cf. Höfer in Roscher, *Lexikon*, i. 1327–8); she is significantly named after one of the chief functions of the Furies ('avenger of slaughter'; cf. esp. Euripides *Or.* 321–4 *μελαγχρώτες Εὐμνίδες ... τινύμεναι φόνον/καδικετεύομαι*). Here her involvement in the battle parallels that of Eris in the Homeric model (*Il.* 11. 73–4); in this role of promoter of war she matches the intervention of her sister Allecto in book 7.

**media inter milia saevit:** *saevire* is similarly used of Tisiphone as the spirit of death in Vergil's Noric Plague (*G.* 3. 551), and is common of raging in battle (so Mars, 8. 700, *G.* 1. 511).

**762–3. ingentem quatians ... hastam/turbidus ingreditur campo:** modelled on *Il.* 7. 213 (Ajax) *ἦϊε μακρὰ βιβάς, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος*; the storm-image of *turbidus* (cf. 648) recalls an equally Homeric image for Hector as he approaches battle, *ὑπεραἴϊσος ἀέλλη*, (*Il.* 11. 297). *ingreditur*: suggests mighty steps as at 767, following Homer's *μακρὰ βιβάς*; *campo* is the so-called ablative of extension (540 n.).

**763–8.** This comparison with the giant Orion is the fourth and last simile for Mezentius in his *ἀριστεία* of 689–768. This series of comparisons builds him up for the final duel with Aeneas, and the Orion-simile clearly parallels the Aegaeon-simile earlier used for Aeneas: both heroes are seen as giants by their opponents. Unlike the other similes in the series, it has no direct Homeric model, but nevertheless takes its starting-point from Homer: Orion is seen by Odysseus in the Underworld in his more familiar role as the mighty hunter (*Od.* 11. 572–5), and the idea that he is a giant may go back to the epithet *πελώριος* used of him in that passage. Orion's wading across the sea is explained by Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 4. 3, who relates that Orion was given this power by his father Poseidon.

Poseidon as father is one of a number of characteristics that Vergil's Orion shares with the Cyclops Polyphemus, at least as the latter is described by Vergil in the *Aeneid* (the similarities are well set out by Glenn, art. cit. (below) and Hardie 266–7). Both are giants, both were famously blinded (on the blinding of Orion see Apollod. loc. cit.), both wade through the sea (for Polyphemus cf. 3. 664–5 'graditurque per aequor/iam medium'), and both wield tree-trunks as clubs (766, 3. 659).

All this makes Orion a highly appropriate comparison for Mezentius, whose characterization in this book clearly contains ele-

ments of Polyphemos (cf. 858–66 n.); another element which links Orion, Mezentius, and Polyphemos is that they are all *contemptores deorum*. For the myths concerning Orion see J. Fontenrose, *Orion: The Myth of the Hunter and the Huntress* (Univ. Cal. Class. Stud. 23; Berkeley, 1981), 5–32, and for further discussion of this simile cf. J. Glenn, *AJPh* 92 (1971), 148–9, E. W. Leach, *Arethusa*, 4 (1971), 83–9, Thome 83–9.

**763. quam magnus Orion:** sc. *est*; compare the similar simile-formula *quam multi* (5. 458, 6. 309, 311, 7. 718, *G.* 4. 473).

**764–5. cum pedes incedit:** the adjective (cf. 453–4 n.) stresses the unusual feat, while *incedit* matches the earlier *ingreditur* in referring to ample or stately motion (Austin on l. 46 and 4. 141).

**medii per maxima Nerei/stagna:** *stagna* refers as often in poetry to any kind of water, a use found before Vergil (cf. Austin on l. 126, *OLD* s.v. 2b), while *Nereus*, like *Neptunus* (*G.* 4. 29; for the synzesis *Nerei* cf. 116 n.) indicates the sea by the common metonymy ‘gods for things’ (407–8 n.), as at Apollonides *AP* 9. 296. 2 (= Gow–Page, *GP* 1262) *Νηρήος λαθρίοισιν ὑποπλεύσας τε-νάγεσσιν*, probably later than Vergil (see Gow–Page ad loc.).

**viam scindens:** recalling the ploughing metaphor traditional for sailing: cf. *G.* 1. 50 ‘scindimus aequor’ and 222 n. The vast Orion is appropriately described like a large ship.

**supereminet:** a verb not found before Vergil (Austin on l. 501), possibly a Vergilian coinage like other *super-* compounds, cf. 384 n.

**766. aut summis referens annosam montibus ornum:** Homer describes Orion as a mountain hunter and carrier of a brazen club (*Od.* 11. 573–5), but Vergil’s language also recalls Polyphemos, who wields a pine-tree as a stick (3. 659) and haunts the mountains traditional for the Cyclopes (3. 655, *Od.* 9. 113); on the Orion–Polyphemos–Mezentius connection cf. 763–8 n. *annosam ... ornum:* the *ornus* or manna-ash (*Fraxinus ornus*), here associated with its normal mountain habitat but a common poetical tree, cf. Austin on 2. 626, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 9. 12, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 10. 101; *annosus* may be either colloquial or poetic (cf. 141 n. and Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 26), but the aged tree is a poetical *τόπος*, cf. Pease on 4. 441.

**767. ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit:** the line recurs of Fama at 4. 177, and is similar to the description of the Cyclopes at 3. 678 ‘Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentes’ (yet another link with Polyphemos). The model is *Il.* 4. 443 (of Eris) *οὐρανῶ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει*, and the point is not only great size but superhuman nature (cf. Pease on 4. 177, Hopkinson on Callim. *H.* 6. 57 ff.). *ingrediturque solo* draws a specific contrast

with the previous sea-walking of Orion, but also corresponds to Mezentius' *ingreditur campo* (763).

**768. talis:** Homeric *τοῖος*, drawing the comparison (so six times in *Aeneid*).

**vastis ... armis:** *vastus*, 'huge and terrifying' (270–1 n.), is twice associated with Polyphemos in Vergil (3. 617, 656), yet another link between this giant and Mezentius (858–66 n.); these 'vast weapons' echo the mention of Mezentius' *ingentem ... hastam* at 762 and correspond to the tree-trunk club of the simile (766).

**769–832.** Aeneas now comes to meet Mezentius, and in the ensuing fight the latter is wounded but saved by his son Lausus, who himself then faces Aeneas. Aeneas kills Lausus, but immediately shows sympathy and pity for his victim, who has died protecting his father.

**769. hunc contra:** *hunc* is the best reading here, providing an object for the nearer *speculatus: obuius ire* needs no complement (cf. 11. 504), and *contra* is adverbial (cf. 545).

**speculatus:** of marking out a victim as at 11. 853, and requiring an object (*hunc*).

**in agmine longe:** *longe* is preferable to the variant *longo* (cf. Madvig, *Adv. Crit.* ii. 44): the point is not that the press of battle is extensive or distant, but rather that Aeneas sees Mezentius from afar (*longe* goes closely with *speculatus*, cf. 721 'longe ... vidit'). *longo* is the easiest of corruptions, to agree with the adjacent noun.

**770. manet imperterritus ille:** recalls the Homeric *μένον ἔμπεδον, οὐδὲ φέβοντο* (*Il.* 5. 527, 15. 622). *imperterritus*: rare and first found in Vergil (only here), perhaps echoing the Homeric *ἀτάρβητος* (*Il.* 3. 63) and a favourite Vergilian adjective-type (430 n.).

**771. hostem magnanimum opperiens:** for *magnanimus* (= Homeric *μεγάθυμος*) cf. 139 n. *opperiens*: the verb is archaic/colloquial, appearing only twice in Vergil and rare in poetry, cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 9. 96.

**et mole sua stat:** cf. 2. 639 'solidaeque suo stant robore vires', and later imitations (*Ov. Fasti* 6. 299, *Lucan* 1. 139). *moles*, poetic before Vergil, is common of vast or heroic bulk and weight (Henry on 3. 656–8, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 9. 197) and is also used of Polyphemos at 3. 656, another link (cf. 858–66 n.). Page aptly remarks that the archaic monosyllabic ending (cf. 2 n.) and final rhythm suggests 'rugged strength': for similarly expressive final monosyllables cf. 1. 105 'praeuptus aquae mons' with Austin ad loc., 5. 481 'procumbit humi bos' with Williams.

**772. oculis spatium emensus:** cf. similarly 12. 920 'sortitus fortunam oculis'; *emetior* is first found in high poetry in Vergil, possibly imitating ἐκμετρέω, poetic in Greek (Soph. *OT* 795).

**quantum satis hastae:** sc. *sit*; cf. *Il.* 21. 259 (cf. 23. 529) ὄσον τ' ἐπὶ δουρὸς ἐρώῃ (*hasta* clearly means 'spear-throw' rather than 'spear'). For the rare line-ending of three disyllables cf. 301-2 n. Note yet again the excited omission of the verb of speech.

**773-4. dextra mihi deus et telum .../nunc adsint:** Mezentius uses prayer-language (for *adsint* cf. 254-5 n.) in invoking the aid of his own hand and spear, perverting the common prayer to a divinity before a spear-throw (419-20 n.; for 'quod missile libro' cf. 421 n.). Calling one's own spear a god is a traditional form of blasphemy attributed to the Parthenopaeus of Aeschylus' *Septem* (529-30) and the Idas of Apollonius' *Argonautica* (1. 466-8); for these models cf. Thome 97-100, 330-1. Such impiety commonly leads to death, as with Parthenopaeus, struck down by a thunderbolt from Zeus on the walls of Thebes, and Caeneus, who made his spear into a god and was destroyed by Zeus (Acusilaus, *FGrH* 2 F 22), and Mezentius will die soon enough. The motif of addressing one's spear is found once more at 12. 95-100, where Turnus (like Mezentius here) faces a duel with Aeneas. Like the Orion-simile, this speech serves to stress the impious side of Mezentius' character, played down during his heroic ἀριστεία, cf. 689-768 n.

**774. voveo:** again a perversion of a religious formula, this time of the vow of dedication (for the first-person *voveo* in this context cf. 11. 557-8, Livy 5. 21. 2 with Ogilvie).

**praedonis corpore:** Aeneas is several times called a *praedo* by his enemies (7. 362, 11. 484), but is no bandit in the *Aeneid* (as distinct from other versions), cf. 78 n.; *praedo* is derogatory, being used in servile insults in Plautus and by Cicero in invective, cf. Opelt, *Schimpfwörter*, 81-3, 133-4.

**775. indutum spoliis:** again 12. 947; Vergil uses a considerable variety of constructions with this verb (Fordyce on 7. 640).

**ipsum:** points to Mezentius' perversion of the traditional vow of dedication here: the armour of Aeneas is not to be dedicated to the gods as a normal trophy (cf. 423, 541-2), but to be given to Lausus, who will himself become a 'living trophy' by wearing the arms (cf. 700), something which in Vergil leads to disaster (501-5 n.).

**776-7. dixit, stridentemque eminus hastam/iecit:** cf. 645-6 'stridentemque eminus hastam/conicit' (both verbs of effort similarly isolated in enjambment, cf. 336-7 n.); for the speech-formula *dixit* cf. 867.

**at illa volans clipeo est excussa:** cf. 336, 476, and *Il.* 22. 291 τῆλε δ' ἀπεπλάγχθη σάκεος δόρυ. Aeneas' divine shield, like Achilles' in the Homeric model, naturally repels spears, cf. 330-1 n.

**proculque:** picks up Homer's τῆλε (above).

**778. egregium Antoren:** for *egregius* cf. 435-6 n. Antores' name seems unknown outside Vergil, and his status as comrade of Hercules is likely to be invented for dignity and pathos by the poet (cf. Melampus at 320-2).

**latus inter et ilia figit:** a precise wound-location in Homeric manner (382-3 n.). For *latus*, 'flank', cf. 313-14 n., and for the postponement of *inter* 237 n.; *ilia* (three times in Vergil) is clearly a vague enough term for a sensitive area to satisfy epic propriety (cf. Adams, art. cit. (347-8 n.), who does not mention it); for a wound in the groin region cf. *Il.* 4. 492. For *figit* (= *transfigit*) cf. 343-4 n.

**779-80. Herculis Antoren comitem:** the epanalepsis of *Antoren* is pathetic, and here as often given to a character of fine physique (cf. 181 n.).

**missus ab Argis:** catalogue-language, with the city presented as sender (cf. 7. 744, 762); Antores as comrade of Hercules naturally comes from Argos, Hercules' birthplace.

**haeserat Euandro:** this sense of *haerere* is a poetic *simplex* (34-5 n.) for the usual *adhaerere* (*OLD* s.v. 5). Antores is imagined as settling with Evander after Hercules' visit to Pallanteum (8. 185 ff.).

**781-2. sternitur infelix:** cf. 730 n.

**alieno vulnere:** for this Homeric motif of a spear intended for one hero striking another cf. 343-4 n.

**caelumque/aspicit:** the detail is pathetic, for the dying man gazes on the sky he is about to lose, cf. 899-900, Henry and Pease on 4. 692 and Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 484. For the hypermetric elided *-que* cf. 895 n.

**et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos:** *dulcis* is common of one's homeland (*TLL* v/1. 2194. 15 ff.); cf. *Od.* 9. 34 οὐδὲν γλυκίον ἤς πατρίδος. The line contains a double pathos: thoughts of home at death (cf. *Stat. Theb.* 8. 436-7, imitating Vergil), and dying in a strange land (cf. 705-6 n.).

**783-5. pius Aeneas:** cf. 591 n.; the epithet is particularly apt in this duel with the impious Mezentius.

**hastam iacit:** note the dramatic break after the verb at the bucolic diaeresis (cf. 786), mirroring the explosive effort of the throw (cf. 777).

**illa per orbem/aere cavum triplici, per linea terga tribusque/transiit intextum tauris opus:** a modification of *Il.* 3.

357-8 (= 7. 251-2) *διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε φαεινῆς ὄβριμον ἔγχος, / καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαίδαλου ἠρήρειστο*, with the anaphora of both *per* and *διὰ* stressing penetration (cf. 313-14): for the multiple layers of the shield cf. similarly 482-3. *orbem/aere cavum triplici*: the ablative is material (cf. Fordyce on 7. 639-40, Austin on 2. 765), while *cavum* stresses the shield's concavity (cf. 3. 286 'aere cavo clipeum'). *linea terga*: these central layers (*terga*, cf. 482) of linen are Roman rather than Homeric (cf. Wickert 296). *tribusque ... intextum tauris opus*: *taurus* = 'ox-hide' by whole-for-part synecdoche, just as *ovis* can mean 'fleece' (Tib. 2. 4. 28, *TLL* ix/2. 1195. 48 ff.); *opus* is concrete, 'product of labour', so used first in poetry in Vergil (*TLL* ix/2. 845. 18 ff.). *transiit* of a transfixing weapon is Ennian (*Ann.* 356 Skutsch 'missaque per pectus dum transit striderat hasta').

**785-6. imaque sedit/inguine**: the spear, unexpectedly low (*ima*: for this word cf. 464-5 n.), pierces not the chest but the groin after penetrating the shield: for *sedere* of weapons lodging in wounds cf. Williams on Stat. *Theb.* 10. 656, *OLD* s.v. 9b, and for wounds in the *inguen* cf. 588-9 n.

**sed viris haud pertulit**: cf. 12. 907 'neque pertulit ictum'.

**786-8. ocius ensem/Aeneas .../eripit a femine**: cf. *Il.* 21. 173 *Πηλείδης δ' ἄορ ὄξ' ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ* (similarly *Il.* 1. 199, 16. 473); *ensem eripere* occurs first in Vergil (again 896 and 4. 579). *ocius*: comparative used with force of positive adverb; the strict positive *ociter* does not appear before Apuleius (cf. *TLL* ix/2. 414. 80 ff.), and Paul. exc. Fest., p. 193. 5 Lindsay, states 'ocius et ocissime positivum Latinum non habent'. The use of comparative for positive has been seen as colloquial (Eden on 8. 101, LHS ii. 168-9), but J. Kvičala, *Neue Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aeneis* (Prague, 1881), 99-100 pointed out that *ocius* echoes the similar positive use of the comparative *θάσσον* in Greek poets, cf. *Il.* 2. 440, LSJ s.v. *ταχύς* C. I. 2. *a femine*: this ablative form is the usual one in Augustan poets (Neue-Wagener i. 834-6), though Tibullus (1. 8. 26) has the dative *femori*; the variant *femore* probably reflects the wishful thinking of analogizing grammarians.

**viso Tyrrheni sanguine laetus**: a Homeric touch: so the Trojans are encouraged by the sight of Odysseus' blood at *Il.* 11. 459-60.

**et trepidanti fervidus instat**: cf. 12. 748 'insequitur trepidique pedem pede fervidus urget'; *fervidus*, like *ardens* (514), is common in Vergil of the 'burning rage' of heroes in battle.

**789-832. Lausus now intervenes** to save his father from Aeneas, thereby sacrificing his own life. This episode clearly reflects the similar self-sacrifice of Antilochus in saving his father Nestor from Memnon, a story related in the (lost) Cyclic *Aethiopsis* and in Pindar

(*Pyth.* 6. 28 ff.); Eduard Fraenkel (*KB* ii. 173–9) argues convincingly that Vergil used the *Aethiopsis* as well as Pindar (*contra* Heinze 213–14). This element of *pietas* and self-sacrifice is introduced by Vergil to the story of Lausus, who is made an ideal youth (cf. Fraenkel 178–9); commentators since Servius (on 800) have also claimed that Vergil's scene is modelled on an event of Roman history, the future Scipio Africanus' rescue of his father at the battle of Ticinus in 218 BC (Livy 21. 46. 7 ff., Polybius 10. 3. 2 with Walbank's note), and although Scipio survived (unlike Lausus and Antilochus), there are some interesting similarities in the two stories, cf. Thome 116–17.

**789–90. ingemuit ... graviter:** cf. the Homeric *βαρέα στενάχειν* (*Il.* 8. 334); *ingemo* is not found in poetry before Vergil; a glossary (*Corp. Gloss.* ii. 311. 11) compares *ἐπιστενάζω* (Aesch. *Pers.* 727).

**cari ... genitoris amore:** *cari ... genitoris* recalls the Homeric *φίλου πατρός*; for the jingle *-oris amore* at line-end cf. 348–9 n.

**ut vidit, Lausus:** *ut vidit* is placed in the middle of the sentence in imitation of Homeric syntax: cf. *Il.* 16. 427 *Πάτροκλος δ' ἐτέρωθεν, ἐπει ἴδεν, ἔκθορε δίφρου*; the name *Lausus* is held back to the end of the clause for emphasis (cf. 719 n.) as he is re-introduced to the narrative (he has been unmentioned since 439).

**lacrimaeque per ora volutae:** cf. *Il.* 23. 385 *τοῖο δ' ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν χύτο δάκρυα χωμόμενοιο* (*volvi* is used like the Greek middle as often, cf. 403–4 n.). For heroic tears cf. 464–5.

**791–3.** Here the poet intervenes *in propria persona* to apostrophize the doomed Lausus, as he had sympathetically praised Pallas (507 ff.) and Nisus and Euryalus (9. 446–9). The intervention comes before rather than after Lausus' death (*contra* Pallas and Nisus and Euryalus), since the poet will depict Aeneas' own tribute to Lausus at that stage (821–33).

**791. mortis durae casum:** *casum* means 'evil chance', cf. 4. 560, 9. 211. Lausus' death is harsh (*durae*) not because of the cruelty of Aeneas but because he is young; cf. *mors acerba*, often used of premature death (Austin on 6. 429, *TLL* i. 368. 17 ff.).

**792. si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas:** a line long found difficult by editors (see Henry here). *si qua* (= *εἴ τις*) expresses pathetic hope as often (458 n.), *fidem ferre* is a poetic *simplex* (34–5 n.) for *fidem adferre alicui*, 'lend credibility to something' (Cic. *Or.* 120, Pliny, *Nat.* 9. 84), *tanto ... operi* is the great exploit (cf. *OLD* s.v. *opus*, 8) of Lausus' self-sacrifice, picking up *optima facta* and very likely echoing Pindar's *ἔργον πελώριον* of the similar act of Antilochus (*Pyth.* 6. 41, cf. 789–832 n.), and the whole line embodies the *τόπος* that antiquity confers credence on extraordinary events. For *vetustas* in this context cf. *Ov. Met.* 1. 400 'quis hoc

credat, nisi sit pro teste vetustas?' *Fasti* 4. 203-4 'pro magno teste vetustas/creditur'; Vergil himself implies something similar at 9. 79 'prisca fides facta, sed fama perennis' (see Page's note). Vergil's appeal to antiquity is as false as Ovid's, for it looks as if this episode of Lausus' self-sacrifice is not at all ancient but a Vergilian invention (789-832 n.).

**793. non equidem nec te, iuuenis memorande, silebo:** for the panegyric litotes *nec ... silebo* cf. 185-6 n.; *memorande* has a similar flavour, cf. *G.* 3. 1-2 'et te memorande canemus/pastor ab Amphryso', *TLL* viii. 692. 66 ff. *iuuenis* is pathetic, stressing Lausus' youth as he dies (cf. 791 n.), as with Pallas at 445.

**794. inutilis inque ligatus:** *inutilis* in such contexts echoes ἀχρεῖος, 'useless, unfit for fighting' (LSJ s.v. I. 2.); cf. Juvenal 15. 126 'imbelle et inutile vulgus', *TLL* vii/2. 277. 62 ff. *inque ligatus* = *illigatusque* (*illigatus* first appears in this sense of 'hampered' in the Augustan period, *TLL* vii/1. 379. 29 ff.); the tmesis is paralleled at 9. 287-8 'hanc ... ignaram . . . /inque salutatam linquo'. Tmesis, found in earlier Latin epic (Skutsch, *Annales* p. 66, Munro on Lucr. 1. 252), is sparingly used by Vergil, either for its poetic and archaic flavour or in order to include a metrically intractable word (here *illigatus*); the device fades out in the Silver poets, cf. E. Bernard, *Die Tmesis der Präposition im lateinischen Verbalkompositum* (Winterthur, 1960), esp. 78-91 on Vergil, Wackernagel, *Vorl.* ii. 170-7.

**795. inimicum hastile:** *inimicum* is adjective for genitive (156-7 n.) in the Greek manner (cf. Aesch. *Septem* 216 πολέμιον δόρυ), but also suggests the active malevolence of the spear (cf. 521, 877) in hindering Mezentius' retreat. *hastile*: originally 'spear-shaft' and then 'spear' by synecdoche, a use found already in Ennius (*Ann.* 392 Skutsch): cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 7. 676.

**796. proripuit iuuenis:** better than the variant *prorupit*, which is never used absolutely in Vergil (cf. 379, 7. 32).

**seseque immiscuit armis:** cf. 11. 815 (= *G.* 4. 245) 'se immiscuit armis', echoing the Homeric *μυγήμεναι ἐν δαί λυγρή* (*Il.* 13. 286).

**797-9. adsurgentis dextra plagamque ferentis:** the variants *dextrae* and *dextram* are unacceptable. *dextram* absurdly makes *adsurgentis* transitive and may be influenced by *plagam*; *dextrae*, probably corrupted to genitive after *adsurgentis*, can only be construed as a nonsensical dative of direction, 'rising to his right arm'. The instrumental ablative *dextra* is right, cf. the similar 94-5 'quelis/haud iustis adsurgis'. *plagamque ferentis*: again in this sense at 12. 299, using *ferre* as *simplex pro composito* (34-5 n.) for *adferre* (792 n.). For the jingling rhyme between the two participles cf. 193 and 572-3 n.

**ipsumque morando/sustinuit:** *ipsum* draws a distinction between the hero himself and his sword, somewhat oddly. One might consider reading *ictumque*, which would pick up *plagam*; cf. Caes. *Civ.* 2. 11. 1 ‘ictum firmitas materiae sustinuit’. In either case *sustinere* has its military sense of ‘check, withstand’ (*OLD* s.v. 4b).

**socii magno clamore sequuntur:** cf. *Il.* 12. 251–2 τοῖ δ’ ἄμ’ ἔποντο/ἡχῆ θρασείῃ.

**800. genitor nati:** the same juxtaposition at 466 (see n.), here stressing Lausus’ *pietas* in saving his father.

**parma protectus:** military language (cf. Caes. *Gall.* 5. 44. 6 ‘hunc scutis protegunt’); the *parma* was a round shield about three feet in diameter, used by light-armed troops and cavalry in the Roman period, here projected back into the heroic age (Wickert 295).

**801–2. perturbantque eminus hostem/missilibus:** the military *perturbare* is found only here in Vergil, who normally prefers *turbare*, the more poetic *simplex*; *eminus* (345–6 n.) is similarly military in tone.

**furit Aeneas tectusque tenet se:** Aeneas is forced into frustrated defence: *tectus* implies the covering of a shield (cf. *Il.* 13. 405 κρύφθη γὰρ ὑπ’ ἀσπίδι), while *tenet se* means ‘holds his ground’ as at 7. 588–9. The archaic final monosyllable (cf. 2 n.) expresses Aeneas’ solidity; for a similar effect cf. 771.

**803–8.** This simile shows a creative use of traditional elements. The comparison of showers of missiles to snow, hail, or rain occurs in Homer and Ennius (for details see Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 266) as well as elsewhere in Vergil (12. 284 ‘ferreus ... imber’), while the *agricola*, *arator*, and *viator* are featured in other epic similes (cf. 804–5 n.). Note the correspondences between simile and context (Aeneas parallels the shelterers): *tectus* (802) is picked up by *tuta latet arce* (805) and *dum pluit* (807) by *dum detonet omnis* (809). An interesting ‘transfusion’ of metaphor also occurs between the weather-imagery of the simile and the language of line 809 (on ‘transfusion’ cf. D. A. West, *JRS* 59 (1969), 48). The main impact of the simile is the contrast between the mild dangers of country life and the mortal perils of the battlefield, often exploited in the similes of the *Iliad* (e.g. 16. 641 ff.); for a ‘dark’ view of this here, cf. Lyne, *WP* 143–6.

**803–4. ac velut effusa si quando grandine nimbi/praecipitant:** closely recalling *Il.* 15. 170 ὡς δ’ ὅταν ἐκ νεφέων πῆται νιφᾶς ἢ ἐχάλαζα. The intransitive use of *praecipitant* is found in poetry before Vergil in a possible model at Pac. *Trag.* 414 ‘grando mixta imbri largifico subita praecipitans cadit’.

**804–5. *omnis campis diffugit arator, / omnis et agricola*:** the elegant and emphatic anaphora of *omnis* (again 6. 787, 8. 706, *Ecl.* 3. 56) is a device found with *πᾶς* as early as the Homeric Hymn to Mercury (192 *πάσας θηλείας, πάσας κεράεσσιν ἐλικτάς*), and favoured by Callimachus (cf. Hopkinson on *H.* 6. 33–4). *diffugit*: another correspondence with the context: Aeneas has been forced to leave Mezentius just as the countrymen have left their work in the fields. *arator ... agricola*: ploughmen occur in a simile of Apollonius (1. 1172 ff.) and on Homer's shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18. 542), while the *agricola* occurs in other similes in Vergil (2. 628, 12. 453).

**et tuta latet arce viator:** *arce*, found only in a single Carolingian MS (where it may be scholarly conjecture or a genuine survival), is clearly right, *arte* (desperately defended by D. Servius 'quod scilicet se perite a tempestate defendunt') corrupt. *arce* anticipates the specific *ripis* and *fornice* with the more general 'refuge': cf. Livy 22. 22. 11 'arcem tutam perfugiumque'. *viator*: found again in Vergilian similes at 5. 275 and *G.* 4. 97, following the Homeric *ἄνθρωπος ὀδίτης*, found in a simile at *Il.* 16. 263. For the rhyme of *arator* and *viator* at successive line-ends cf. Mackail's edition of the *Aeneid*, p. lxxix. R. G. Austin, *CQ* 23 (1929), 46–55 N. I. Herescu, *La Poésie Latine* (Paris, 1960), 173–7.

**806. *amnis ripis*:** i.e. the overhanging banks which afford shelter when the river is dry.

**fornice:** the technical term for 'vault', again in Vergil at 6. 631 and poetic since Ennius (*Trag.* 319 Jocelyn).

**807. *dum pluit in terris*:** echoing Lucr. 6. 630 'cum pluit in terris'.

**possint:** the variant *possit* is an equally possible reading (the verb could agree with *arator*, *agricola*, and *viator*, or just with *viator*).

**sole reducto:** cf. 1. 143 (Neptune clears the storm) 'solemque reduct'.

**808. *exercere diem*:** *exercere* in such contexts means 'busily occupy' (*TLL* v/2. 1377. 50 ff.); cf. similarly 8. 94 'remigio noctemque diemque fatigant' with Eden's note.

**sic obrutus undique telis:** the metaphor (again at 2. 410–11 and 9. 807–8) continues the storm-imagery of the simile by 'transfusion' (803–8 n.), *obrutus* suggesting inundation by water (so 1. 69, 5. 692, 6. 336): cf. further Lyne, *WP* 95–6.

**809. *nubem belli*:** cf. the Homeric *πολέμοιο νέφος*, used of a single hero (*Il.* 17. 243) and the Hellenistic imitation of Homer (*Anth. Plan.* 26. 4 = Page, *FGE* 691) *τρηχείαν πολέμου δεξάμενοι νεφέλην*, used similarly of a shower of weapons (the parallel is noted by H. H. Huxley, *Vergilius*, 15 (1969), 32). *nubem* like *obrutus* is a 'transfusion' from the weather-imagery of the simile.

**dum detonet omnis:** *detonare* is first found in Vergil (the *de-* prefix here implies the completion of the action—cf. 370 and Austin on 6. 853). For the final and quasi-adverbial *omnis* (sc. *nubes*) cf. *G.* 2. 244 ‘aqua eluctabitur omnis’.

**810. et Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur:** the repetition of the name reproduces Aeneas’ insistent threats: cf. 442–3 ‘solus ego in *Pallanta* feror, soli mihi *Pallas*/debetur’. *increpitat*: ‘taunts’, not ‘rebukes’, as the conjunction with *minatur* makes clear; cf. 900 ‘hostis amare, quid increpitas mortemque minaris?’ The originally frequentative *increpitare* comes to mean the same as *increpare*, especially in hexameter poetry where its metrical form is useful (cf. E. Wölfflin, *ALL* 4 (1887), 197 ff.; Vergil has 12 instances of *increpo*, 5 of *increpito*).

**811–12. quo moriture ruis:** *quo ruis* or the like commonly questions the wisdom of impetuous action (2. 520, 5. 741, 12. 313). For *moriture* compare Opis’ taunt to Arruns at 11. 856 ‘huc moriture veni’.

**fallit te incautum pietas tua:** Aeneas’ words are a genuine warning to a younger and weaker opponent to abandon the duel, but are nevertheless uttered as a threat; they give voice to Aeneas’ inner conflict between heroic passion and generalship on the one hand (which leads to his killing of Lausus), and a more ‘enlightened’ recognition of *pietas* on the other (which leads to his subsequent lament for the young hero).

**812–13. nec minus ille/exsultat demens:** *exsultat* refers as often to a demeanour of confident aggression (550, 643), while *demens* suggests doomed folly like Homer’s *νήπιος* (*Il.* 20. 264 etc.).

**813–14. saevae iamque altius irae/Dardanio surgunt ductori:** Aeneas’ heroic anger is now roused to a fateful point, as at 12. 494 ‘tum vero adsurgunt irae’; the metaphor seems to be taken from the movement of water (so *surgere* at 6. 354 and 9. 30), which commonly suggests anger (Pease on 4. 532, Heinze on *Lucr.* 3. 298). *iamque* is postponed to second place as elsewhere in Vergil (cf. Fordyce on 7. 637). *Dardanio* ... *ductori*: a sonorous periphrasis, again 602–3; for *ductor* cf. 185–6 n.

**814–15. extremaque Lauso/Parcae lina legunt:** the choicer variant *lina* for *fila* is preferable here: it is a more select term, gives attractive alliteration (cf. Kvičala, op. cit. (786–8 n.), 404) and perhaps recalls Theocr. 1. 139–40 *τά γε μὰν λίνα πάντα λελοίπει/ἐκ Μοιρᾶν*, a likely model for the author of the *Eclogues*. *legunt* indicates winding threads of wool from the distaff for spinning; for the details of the spinning of life-thread by the Fates, a common poetical τόπος, cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 2. 3. 16, S. Eitrem in *RE* xv. 2479. 41 ff. and E. Steinbach, *Der Faden der Schicksalsgottheiten*

(Diss. Mittweida, 1931). The pathetic anticipation of the death of Lausus is in Vergil's manner (cf. 438, 471–2, 503–5).

**815–16. validum namque exigit ensem/per medium Aeneas iuvenem:** a stark picture: cf. 682 'crudum per costas exigit ensem' with n. (for the postponement of *namque* cf. 584–5 n.). For *validus* of heroic weapons cf. 401 n.; Aeneas' mighty sword contrasts with Lausus' light-armed vulnerability ('levia arma', below). *Aeneas iuvenem* juxtaposes the two opponents (cf. App. C), *iuvenem* pathetically suggesting Lausus' youth at the moment of the mortal wound (cf. 793).

**totumque recondit:** cf. 385–7 n. and 9. 347–8 'totum ... ensem/condidit'.

**817. transiit ... mucro:** 785 *transiit* supports the uncontracted form against *transit* here. *mucro* here may mean either 'sword' or 'sword-point' (cf. 570–1 n.).

**parmam ... levia arma minaci:** *minaci* is more attractive than the variant *minacis*: it would go closely with *levia* as the dative natural after *levis* as after its opposite *gravis* (*TLL* vi. 2275. 61 ff.). *minax* is poetic since Ennius (*Ann.* 620 Skutsch).

**818. molli ... auro:** 'gold thread' rather than 'pliable gold' as at 138, the reference being to 'cloth of gold', known in antiquity; cf. Blümner, *Technologie*, i. 168 ff.

**mater quam neverat:** Lausus' mother appears only here for a brief moment of pathos, suggesting the grief his death will cause. Other garments with pathetic associations appear in the *Aeneid*, e.g. the cloak made by Andromache for the dead Astyanax which she gives to Ascanius (3. 486–9) or the garments made by Dido for Aeneas which he lays on the body of Pallas (11. 72–7): cf. Susan Ford Wiltshire, *Public and Private in Vergil's Aeneid* (Amherst, 1989), 54–5.

**819–20. implevitque sinum sanguis:** cf. *Il.* 20. 470–1 ἀτὰρ μέλαν αἷμα κατ' αὐτοῦ/κόλπον ἐνέπλησεν; the singular κόλπον suggests that *sinum* is here better than the variant *sinus* (certainly possible, cf. 1. 320, 8. 712), cf. similarly 4. 30 'sinum lacrimis implevit'.

**tum vita per auras/concessit maesta ad Manis, corpusque reliquit:** recalls the lines used by Homer for the deaths of both Patroclus and Hector, also reworked by Vergil for the deaths of Camilla and Turnus (11. 831, 12. 952): *Il.* 16. 856–7 (= 22. 362–3) ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Αἰδῶσδε βέβηκεν/ὄν πότμον γόωσα. *vita per auras concessit:* cf. 4. 705 (the death of Dido) 'in ventos vita recessit'; for *concedere* = 'depart' cf. 215 n. The spirit vanishes appropriately into the element of air, cf. Pease on 4. 705. *per auras:* formulaic at line-end in Vergil (18 times) and Lucretius (14 times), and poetic since Ennius (*Ann.* 18 Skutsch).

821–2. **ora, /ora:** for the pathetic epanalepsis over a line-break cf. 180–1.

**modis ... pallentia miris:** taken from Lucretius' description of the dead, 'simulacra modis pallentia miris' (1. 123), an appropriate echo in this death-scene: *modis miris* seems to have been a cliché of familiar speech poeticized by Lucretius and Vergil, cf. Austin on 1. 354.

**Anchisiades:** as commentators have long pointed out, the patronymic recalls Aeneas' own *pietas* towards his father, analogous to that of Lausus towards Mezentius, a point made more explicit at 824; note how it is stressed by transposition from main to subordinate clause, a striking effect (cf. Williams, *TORP* 729–30). On the tone of this patronymic elsewhere in the *Aeneid* cf. E. A. Hahn, *CW* 14 (1920–1), 3–4 (not wholly convincing).

*at vero* and *ut vidit*, strong temporal markers reinforced by alliteration, stress a crucial change in Aeneas: he is here struck by the self-sacrificing *pietas* of Lausus, mirroring his own *pietas* (cf. 824), and turns from heroic battle-rage to more civilized thoughts of sympathy, pity, and regret. A similar switch occurs at 2. 560, where the death of Priam reminds the previously reckless Aeneas of his responsibilities towards his family. This change of attitude constitutes a prime difference between Aeneas' killing of Lausus and Turnus' killing of Pallas, cf. 491–500 n.

823. **ingemuit miserans graviter:** for the phrase and word-order cf. 789 'ingemuit cari graviter genitoris amore' with n. (the variant order *graviter miserans* is an inferior simplification). *miserans*, used absolutely, recalls the Homeric *δλοφνρόμενος* (*Il.* 5. 871 etc.). The echo of 789 seems significant: the *pietas*-connected lamentation at the beginning of Lausus' intervention is repeated at its tragic end.

**dextramque tetendit:** not the usual gesture of supplication (595–6 n.) but one of sympathy (cf. 11. 672).

824. **et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago:** cf. 9. 294 'et mentem patriae strinxit pietatis imago'. Here *patrius* must be objective, 'shown towards his own father', at 9. 294 subjective, 'shown by his own father', a typically Vergilian variation; both passages refer to the characteristic *pietas* of Aeneas towards Anchises.

825–6. Compare the words of Aletes to Nisus and Euryalus at 9. 252–3: *quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis/praemia posse rear solvi?*

**miserande puer:** the same pathetic address is used in apostrophizing the dead youths Marcellus and Pallas (6. 882, 11. 42), stressing their shared tragedy of premature death (cf. Gransden 105); for *miserandus* cf. 327.

**laudibus istis:** *laudes* means 'praiseworthy acts' (cf. 282).

**pius Aeneas:** cf. 590–1 n.; the epithet is particularly pointed here as Aeneas pays tribute to the *pietas* of Lausus, recognizing it as similar to his own. Aeneas' use of his own name has a grandiloquent pathos (73 n.).

**tanta dabit indole dignum:** *indoles* appears in poetry first in the Augustan period (here and once in Horace), and is often used as here in encomiastic contexts and laudatory epitaphs; cf. Hor. *C.* 4. 4. 25, Stat. *Silvae* 3. 3. 68, 4. 5. 44, *CIL* vi. 33829, 35622. Aeneas' desire to give Lausus a gift (*dabit*) contrasts strongly with Turnus' eager despoliation of Pallas (491–500 n.).

**827–8. arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua:** second-person *es* is more rarely omitted in the perfect passive or deponent than third-person *est* (for which cf. 106 n.): see Housman on Lucan 1. 441. *quibus laetatus* is a pathetic detail, showing Aeneas' sympathy, while *habe tua* varies the colloquial *habe tibi* (cf. Fordyce on Cat. 1. 8): Aeneas waives the normal heroic spoliation of the corpse, a 'civilized' act which like his picking-up of Lausus' corpse (830–2) echoes a piece of chivalry by the Homeric Achilles, cf. *Il.* 6. 416–17 *κατὰ δ' ἔκτανεν Ἡετίωνα, / οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάριξε, σεβάσασατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῶ.*

**teque parentum/manibus et cineri ... remitto:** the singular *cinis* is used collectively as elsewhere (cf. Pease on 4. 34); for the pairing of *manes* and the more physical *cinis* cf. 3. 303. *remitto* here contrasts sharply with Turnus' use of the verb in a similar context at 492, cf. 491–500 n.

**si qua est ea cura:** sc. *tibi*; cf. 7. 4 'si qua est ea gloria', and for *si qua* = *εἴ τις* and its emotional tone cf. 458–9 n. Doubt about whether the dead are affected by the actions of the living is a common *τόπος* (cf. Ogilvie on Tac. *Agr.* 46. 1); as editors have noted, Vergil's version of it shares something with Soph. *El.* 355–6 *ὥστε τῷ τεθνηκότι/τιμὰς προσάπτειν, εἴ τις ἔστ' ἐκεῖ χάρις.*

**829. hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:** cf. similarly 191 'maestum Musa solatur amorem' with n.; *tamen* introduces a consolatory thought as at 509 (n.), while *infelix* is a common sympathetic epithet for victims in Vergil (324–5 n.). *miseram ... mortem:* an alliterative conjunction common before Vergil, though not in poetry (cf. *TLL* viii. 1104. 13 ff.).

**830–1. Aeneae magni dextra cadis:** cf. 11. 688–9 'nomen tamen haud leve patrum/manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae'; for further examples of this type of heroic consolation cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 5. 191 and 10. 80–1. Here the tone seems genuinely sympathetic, and *Aeneae magni* balances 826 *pius Aeneas* as a grandiloquent third person, the pairing stressing that Aeneas' greatness is both military and moral (cf. 6. 403 'Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis').

**increpat ultro/cunctantis socios:** Aeneas' spontaneous chivalry (*ultro*) extends to chiding Lausus' *socii*, naturally fearful (*cunctantis*), for not coming to fetch the body.

**et terra sublevat ipsum:** Aeneas' act here echoes that of Achilles, who picks up the corpse of Hector to aid the aged Priam (*Il.* 24. 589): *αὐτὸς τὸν γ' Ἀχιλεὺς λεχέων ἐπέθηκεν αἰείρας* (an important model not cited by Knauer). Thus here and at 827 Aeneas recalls the chivalrous side of the Homeric Achilles, as he had earlier echoed his merciless violence (510–605 n.). *ipsum* isolates the important individual as often (132 n.).

**832. sanguine turpantem:** the phrase is archaic and poetic, occurring in Ennius (*Trag.* 94 Jocelyn) and Lucretius (1. 85). The corpse is said by a pathetic conceit to defile its own beauty.

**comptos de more capillos:** the neat hair described by *comptus* is a mark of the attractive young man (cf. 137–8, Hor. *C.* 4. 9. 13, *Serm.* 2. 8. 70, Cic. *Pis.* 25); for *de more*, 'stylishly', cf. Prop. 2. 3. 13 'de more comae', *TLL* viii. 1527. 83 ff. *capillos*: only here in the *Aeneid* does Vergil use this, the normal word for 'hair' (again in Vergil only at *G.* 1. 405); he usually has the poetic *crinis* or *coma* (30 and 25 times in *Aen.* respectively). The effect here seems to be one of pathetic realism. On words for hair in Latin poetry cf. Axelson, *UW* 51 and Knox, *op. cit.* (104 n.), 33.

**833–908.** The recuperating Mezentius, learning of Lausus' death, laments his son and returns to the battle, where he dies bravely at the hand of Aeneas.

**833. interea genitor:** pathetically reintroducing Mezentius, now to be treated with sympathy, as the father of the recently dead Lausus.

**Tiberini ad fluminis undam:** cf. 6. 714 'Lethaei ad fluminis undam'; the phrase recalls the Homeric *κύμα ποταμοῖο* (*Il.* 21. 268, 326), while the riverside refuge for a wounded hero echoes *Il.* 14. 433–9, where Hector's companions revive him beside the Xanthus.

**834–5. vulnera siccat lymphis:** this phrase, an apparent oxymoron (literally 'drying with water', water stanching the flow of blood as at *Il.* 11. 848) was eagerly imitated and over-extended by Statius (*Theb.* 1. 527–8, 10. 715–16). *lympa* was wrongly regarded as cognate with *Nympha* (Varro, *LL* 7. 86, Paul. exc. Fest., p. 107. 17 Lindsay), and in its earliest occurrences in Latin means 'water-nymph', its meaning of 'water', often in the plural as here, being poetical; cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3. 451, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 2. 3. 12, Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2. 2. 146 and esp. Wackernagel, *ALL* 15 (1906), 218–20.

**corpusque levabat:** better than the majority reading *lavabat*, an unprepossessing anticlimax which unlike *levabat* adds little to the pointed *vulnera siccabat lymphis* and coheres ill with the following *arboris acclinis trunco*. *corpus levare* is found elsewhere in Augustan poetry of resting the body (*TLL* vii/2. 1230. 24 ff.).

**arboris acclinis trunco:** *acclinis* occurs first here and in Horace (*Serm.* 2. 1. 6), perhaps following the similar-sounding Homeric *κεκλιμένος* (*Il.* 3. 135 *ἀσπίσι κεκλιμένοι*); as editors note, the situation recalls *Il.* 5. 692–3, where Sarpedon's companions sit him against an oak-tree to tend his wounds.

**835–6. procul aerea ramis/dependet galea:** the poetic and better-attested plural *ramis* seems preferable to the variant *ramo*. *procul*: 'a little way off', not 'far away'; the emphasis of the word is on separation rather than distance (cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 10). *aerea ... galea*: cf. the Homeric *κυνέη ... χαλκήρεϊ* (*Il.* 3. 316=23. 861).

**et prato gravia arma quiescunt:** *gravia arma* (cf. 768 *vastis ... armis*, of these same weapons) contrasts strongly with the enclosing *prato ... quiescunt*. The restful picture of Mezentius in these lines recalls the traditional *locus amoenus*: the green meadow (cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 2. 3. 6), running water (eid. on 2. 3. 12), and the tree and its shade (eid. on 2. 3. 9–10 and 2. 11. 3) all belong to this *τόπος*, which here provides a pointed contrast with the surrounding sufferings of battle.

**837–8. stant lecti circum iuvenes, ipse ...:** modelled on *Il.* 4. 211–12 (Menelaus wounded) *περὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἀγγέραθ' ὄσσοι ἄριστοι/κυκλός', ὁ δ' ἐν μέσσοισι ... lecti ... iuvenes*: epic and heroic (213–14 n.), here picking up *ὄσσοι ἄριστοι*. *ipse*=*ὁ δέ* in the model, marking out the important individual (132 n.).

**aeger anhelans:** closely together; cf. 5. 432 'aeger anhelitus', *Stat. Theb.* 11. 546 'aeger anhelat', *Val. Flac.* 1. 778–9 'aeger anhelans'.

**colla fovet:** *fovere* is common of medicinal bathing (*12.* 420, *Cato Agr.* 157. 4, *Celsus* 4. 18. 3), while *colla* is metrically convenient poet. pl. as often (cf. Austin on 2. 721).

**fusus propexam ... barbam:** the accusative after *fusus* seems to be an imitation of a Greek middle (so *χέομαι* is used transitively in Homer: *Il.* 8. 159, 15. 590) rather than a 'retained' accusative or accusative of 'respect' (on all these types cf. App. D); cf. similarly *Val. Flacc.* 3. 314–15 'laceras super ora mariti/fusa comas ... vocat'. *propexus* (from *pro* and *pecto*) is first found for certain here (it is a likely conjecture at *Acc. Trag.* 255) and looks like an antique word revived by Vergil (for later uses cf. Heubner on *Tac. H.* 4. 61. 1).

**in pectora:** other readings offered by MSS here are *in pectore*, *in corpora*, or *in corpore*. Imitations of this passage (below) make it clear that some case of *pectus* is the right reading; *corpora* and *corpore* derive from the common substitution of one dactylic word for another (486–7 n.). The ablative *in pectore* would be better without the preposition in poetry; the accusative *in pectora* seems preferable, being supported not only by the variant *in corpora* but also by the occurrence of *pectora* with a preposition in imitations of this passage: cf. Silius 13. 310 ‘propexis in pectora barbis’, Ov. *Fasti* 1. 259 ‘mulcens propexam ad pectora barbam’. *pectora*, poetic plural as so often (150–2 n.), here balances the plural *colla*.

**839–40. multa ... rogitat:** the rhetorical polyptoton of *multa* and the following *multum*, together with the frequentative verb, stresses Mezentius’ concern; Henry aptly compares David’s concern for his son Absalom, also already dead (2 Sam. 18: 29) ‘and the king said, Is the young man Absalom safe?’ (cf. also 854 n.).

**super Lauso:** for this archaic use of the preposition *super* cf. 42 n.

**multumque remittit:** *multum* is neuter singular and adverbial (433–4 n.), only here in poetry in the sense of *saepe*, ‘many a time’ (so D. Servius; cf. *TLL* viii. 1617. 20 ff.); the variant *multosque* is clearly a simplification of this rare usage.

**ferant mandata ... parentis:** the phrase has a military tone: cf. Caes. *Gall.* 4. 27. 3 ‘cum ad eos ... Caesaris mandata deferret’.

**841–2. socii exanimem super arma ferebant/fientes:** *Laus* is carried back on his shield like *Pallas* (505–6), yet another parallel between their two ends (491–500 n.), though the plural *arma* might also suggest the body-armour left to him by *Aeneas* (827). For the forms *exanimis/exanimus* cf. 395–6 n. *fientes*: a dramatically isolated initial spondee: cf. the similar effects of enjambment in similar contexts at *Ecl.* 5. 20–1 ‘exstinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnin/flebant’ and *Il.* 13. 657–8 (the death of *Harpalion*): ἐξ δίφρον δ’ ἀνέσαντες ἄγον προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρήν/ἀχνύμενοι.

**ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum:** again 12. 640, recalling *Il.* 16. 776 κείτο μέγας μεγαλωστί. *vulnere victum*: the alliterative line-end echoes *Lucretius’ vulnere victos* (3. 1321).

**843. agnovit longe gemitum:** cf. 224 ‘agnoscunt longe regem’. In this context the phrase recalls *Hector’s* discovery of *Hector’s* death (*Il.* 22. 447): κωκυτοῦ δ’ ἤκουσε καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπὸ πύργου.

**praesaga mali mens:** suggests the language of Greek tragedy (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 10–11 κακόμαντις ... |θνυμός, Ag. 977 καρδίας τερασκόπου, Eur. *Andr.* 1072 πρόμαντις θυμός); *praesagus* occurs first in *Vergil* (only here and at 177). The monosyllabic line-ending

*mens* (again 2. 170; cf. in general 2 n.) is favoured by Lucretius (eight instances).

**844–5. *canitiem multo/ ... deformat pulvere***: cf. 12. 611 (Latinus) ‘*canitiem immundo perfusam pulvere turpans*’, Cat. 64. 224 (Aegeus) ‘*canitiem terra atque infuso pulvere foedans*’; the theme derives from *Il.* 18. 23–4 (Achilles’ lament for Patroclus) ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶν ἑλὼν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν/χεύατο κακ κεφαλῆς (= *Od.* 24. 316–17); for the symbolic act of mourning cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 8. 529, Lyne on *Ciris* 284. *canities* is poetic before Vergil and rare in prose (cf. *TLL* iii. 260. 2 ff.); for this type of noun in Vergil cf. 30 n.), while *deformat* is archaic and poetic in this sense of ‘defile’ (Enn. *Trag.* 86 Jocelyn, Acc. *Trag.* 606).

**et ambas/ad caelum tendit palmas**: cf. 1. 93 ‘*duplices tendens ad sidera palmas*’. The gesture is one of prayer (cf. 667), but here as at 1. 93 it also combines protest with helplessness (cf. 595–6 n.); even Mezentius can appeal to the gods (743–4 n.).

**corpore inhaeret**: for the (poetic) simple ablative cf. *Ov. Met.* 11. 403 ‘*inhaerentem ... cervicē*’ with Bömer’s note. This is the third in a swift series of mourning gestures, vividly showing Mezentius’ grief.

**846–56.** Mezentius’ speech of lamentation recalls those of other epic parents for their dead children, e.g. that of Euryalus’ mother (9. 481–97) or that of Priam for Hector (*Il.* 22. 431–6), but it is also strongly influenced by the language and tone of the passionate stage-laments of Greek tragedy (Thome 136–7): interestingly similar is *Soph. Ant.* 1261–76, where Creon laments over the body of his son Haemon and regrets his past errors.

**846. *tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas***: emotional alliteration (compare *vivendo ... voluptas* at *Lucr.* 3. 1081), while *nate* pathetically addresses Lausus’ corpse, as at 851.

**847. *hostili ... dextrae***: adjective for genitive (cf. 489 ‘*terram hostilem*’ and 156–7 n.) under Greek influence: cf. Euripides’ *πολεμία χεῖρ* (*Alc.* 506, *Med.* 1322, cf. *Rh.* 286).

**848–9. *tuane haec genitor per vulnera servor/morte tua vivens?*** the internal rhyme *genitor ... servor* (*genitor* picks up its cognate *genui*) adds stylistic weight at this emotional moment (45–6 n.). Note the emphatic repetition of *tua*, and how the paradox of ‘safety through wounds’ anticipates and builds up to that of ‘life through death’.

**heu, nunc misero mihi demum**: *heu* is a poetic archaism by the Augustan period (cf. Tränkle, *Sprachkunst*, 150, Fedeli on *Prop.* 1. 1. 38, *TLL* vi. 2671. 62 ff.); *misero mihi*, especially with *heu*, recalls the language of tragic complaint in this tragic scene (846–56 n.), cf. Enn. *Trag.* 180 Jocelyn ‘*heu me miseram*’, *Pac.*

*Trag.* 264 ‘heu miserum me’, *Acc. Trag.* 346 ‘heu me miserum’. *miserō mihi demum* presents the rare pattern of a double disyllable at line-end preceded by an anapaestic word, cf. 471 and 440 n.

**850. *exilium infelix*:** the variant *exitium* is clearly inferior. The same choice is to be made at 7. 129, and both passages are discussed by R. D. Williams (*CR* 11 (1961), 195–7), who argues for *exilium* in both places. Here he is undoubtedly right: only *exilium* explains *demum* (the loneliness and shame of Mezentius’ exile come home to him at last now that Lausus is dead), and it coheres well with the further mention of Mezentius’ exile at 852–3, while *exitium infelix* makes no sense here, for death is now a more rather than less attractive prospect for Mezentius, as 855–6 imply. Furthermore, *exilium* is confirmed by Statius’ imitation of this scene at *Theb.* 9. 52 ‘nunc exul ego aeternumque fugatus’, cf. M. Dewar, *CQ*, ns 38 (1988), 261–2.

**nunc alte vulnus adactum:** *adactum* (cf. 9. 431 ‘ensis adactus’) stresses that *vulnus* means ‘wounding weapon’ as often (cf. 140 n.), the reference being to Mezentius’ real wound and not to the metaphorical wound of exile, as some have thought. *alte*, common in Vergil, is poetic since Ennius (*Ann.* 319, 358 Skutsch).

**851. *idem ego*:** rhetorical and highly emphatic (Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 6. 693, *TLL* vii/1. 193. 43 ff.).

**nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen:** for *nate* cf. 846. *nomen* = ‘good name, fame’ (370 n.); *maculare* is often found in such contexts (cf. *Inc. Pall.* 54 ‘famam cur maculas tuam?’, *Cic. Sest.* 60, 108, *Har. Resp.* 27); for the metaphor cf. *μαίνειν κλέος* (Solon fr. 32. 3 West, *Eur. Helen* 999–1000). *crimine*: i.e. the shameful charge of being the son of such a villainous father (so Servius here).

**852. *pulsus ob invidiam*:** repeated at 11. 539 of the similar fate of Camilla’s father Metabus: *pulsus* is a poetic *simplex* (one would expect *expulsus* in prose); *ob* is also literary and poetic (681–2 n.).

**solio sceptrisque paternis:** the nouns, concrete for abstract, make a fitting pair, cf. *Lucr.* 5. 1137 ‘maiestas soliorum et sceptrā superba’ and Sophocles’ *σκήπτρα καὶ θρόνοι* (*OC* 425, 449, 1354). *pateris* is adjective for genitive (156–7 n.), deriving from Greek poetry; cf. *Eur. Phoen.* 80 *πατρῶν ἀπαιτεῖ σκήπτρα*.

**853. *debueram patriae poenas*:** the pluperfect (cf. 613–14 n.) gives the situation before Lausus’ death, only now fully understood by Mezentius.

**odiisque meorum:** so similarly 904–5 ‘acerba meorum/ ... odia’. *meorum* should naturally suggest ties of affection (cf. 12. 947), here perverted into hatred by Mezentius’ past crimes.

**854. *omnis per mortis*:** *omnis* = *παντοῖος*, ‘every kind of’ (cf. 5. 720, *OLD* s.v. 6).

**animam sontem ipse dedissem:** cf. 11. 163 (Evander in a similar lament; see below) ‘animam ipse dedissem’. *animam dare* is a poetic *simplex* for the usual *animam edere* (*TLL* ii. 70. 69 ff.), while *sons* (cf. *insons*, 630–1 n.), occurs only here and 6. 570 in Vergil and not in poetry before him. *ipse* indicates that Mezentius wishes he had died instead of Lausus, a τόπος of such laments for sons by fathers: cf. 11. 161–3 (Evander and Pallas), Eur. *Hipp.* 1410 (Theseus and Hippolytus), and 2 Sam. 18: 33 ‘Would God I had died for thee’ (David and Absalom, a biblical episode which provides another parallel at 839).

**855. nunc vivo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo:** The phrasing recalls three separate details of Achilles’ lament for Patroclus (*Il.* 18. 61 ζῶει καὶ ὄρᾳ φάος ἡελίοιο, 18. 91 οὐδ’ ἄνδρесси μετέμμεναι and 18. 11 λέύβειω φάος ἡελίοιο), a scene clearly in Vergil’s mind here.

**856–7. sed linquam:** abrupt and forceful, *linquam* reversing *neque ... relinquo*.

**simul hoc dicens:** *simul* goes with both the participle and the following main verb, following a feature of ἅμα; cf. 9. 644 ‘simul haec effatus ab alto/aethere se mittit’, Livy 8. 33. 23 ‘haec simul iurgans ... agebat’, Xen. *An.* 3. 1. 47 καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, *KG* ii. 82–3.

**attollit in aegrum/se femur:** *se attollere* is first found in Vergil, cf. *TLL* ii. 1152. 47 ff.

**et, quamquam vis alto vulnere tardat:** the intransitive use of *tardare* here is rare but not unparalleled (*OLD* s.v. 3). *vis* should refer not to the pain of the wound (as Servius and Ti. Donatus took it) but to the physical vigour of Mezentius (cf. 11. 373), slowed by his injury. *tardat* is governed by *vis* and makes good sense; the following causal ablative *alto vulnere* is paralleled by 2. 436 ‘Pelias ... vulnere tardus’.

**858. haud deiectus:** this metaphorical use of *deiectus* is first found in Vergil (*OLD* s.v. 2).

**equum duci iubet:** the passive infinitive after *iubeo* echoes clipped military style: cf. Caes. *Gall.* 4. 18. 12 ‘obsidesque ad se adduci iubet’, Livy 44. 32. 1 ‘obsides ad se duci iussit’.

**858–66** In these lines Mezentius is presented at his noblest and most sympathetic, which worried some ancient critics (cf. Servius on 861) but is clearly part of a coherent plan (cf. 689–746 n.). His speech to his horse Rhaebus echoes the conversation of Achilles with his horse Xanthus (*Il.* 19. 400 ff.); basic similarities are obvious (both conversations take place as the hero is about to return to battle, and anticipate his death), but Vergil differs from Homer in giving no words to the animal, partly for greater realism but also

because the address to a dumb beast was a common technique of rhetorical pathos (cf. *Macr. Sat.* 4. 6. 10). An equally important model is the speech of the blinded Cyclops Polyphemus to his favourite ram (*Od.* 9. 447 ff.). The parallels are again clear (cf. J. Glenn, *AJP* 92 (1971), 140-9): both are previously unsympathetic, even monstrous, characters seen on human levels of affection with animals following a tragic event. Vergil elsewhere suggests links between Mezentius and Polyphemus: both are *contemptores deorum* and both commit monstrous atrocities, while Mezentius is earlier compared to a gigantic Orion who resembles the Cyclops (763-8 n.); for further parallels between the two cf. 858-60 n., 880 n., and Glenn, art. cit. Relevant too as a model is the scene where Zeus addresses the horses of Achilles as they grieve for the fallen Patroclus (*Il.* 17. 437 ff.), whence two details are taken by Vergil (858-60 n., 865-6 n.). For a detailed discussion of this scene cf. Thome 139-51; the general effect of all this Homeric detail, even the links with Polyphemus, is to give Mezentius a sympathetic and heroic characterization as he approaches his end at the hands of Aeneas.

**858-60. hoc decus illi,/hoc solamen erat; bellis hoc victor abibat/omnibus:** the triple *hoc* may recall Homer's Polyphemus, who in a parallel scene (above) addresses his ram with an equally pathetic triple *πρώτος* (*Od.* 9. 448-51, cf. Glenn, art. cit. 144). *solamen:* possibly a Vergilian coinage (493-4 n.); its use of an animal here gives another link with Polyphemus and his ram, this time from within the *Aeneid*, for Vergil describes the Cyclops' sheep at 3. 660-1 with the words 'ea sola voluptas/solamenque mali'.

**adloquitur maerentem et talibus infit:** the double formula of address and speech is of Homeric type: cf. e.g. *Il.* 1. 201 *καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα. maerentem:* a poignant picture: Mezentius' faithful horse grieves with and for his master. So Pallas' charger sheds tears at his funeral (11. 89-90), and so the horses of Achilles mourn for Patroclus (*Il.* 17. 426 ff.); so too Polyphemus (another parallel, cf. 858-66 n.) thinks that his ram is grieving for his master's lost eye (*Od.* 9. 452-3, 456). The theme also appears outside poetry, cf. Pliny, *Nat.* 8. 157. Suet. *Div. Jul.* 81. 2. *talibus infit:* for *infit* cf. 101 n.

**861-2. Rhaebe:** as R. D. Williams points out, Mezentius' horse is named 'Bandylegs' (*ῥαιβός*); for other epic horses named from physical attributes compare Pallas' charger Aethon (*Αἴθων*, 'Tawny') at 11. 89 and the names of the horses of Achilles (*Il.* 16. 148 ff.) and Hector (*Il.* 8. 185).

**diu, res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est,/viximus:** the anaphora of *diu* is emphatic, *si qua* pathetic and pessimistic as often

(458 n.): Mezentius' words combine the two motifs of *cuncta mortalia incerta* (152–3 n.) and *vita brevis* (467–9) in a recognition of human frailty. *viximus*: emphasized by enjambment; Mezentius includes his faithful horse with the plural.

**862–3. aut hodie:** *hodie*, despite its position, applies to both *aut* clauses, which express the familiar disjunction 'death or glory'.

**spolia illa cruenta:** the variant *cruenti*, favoured by editors, presents two difficulties. First, as D. Servius saw, it would here have to mean 'bloodthirsty', a sense found in later authors but not in Vergil, where *cruentus* (cf. 340 n.) is always used of people or objects literally covered with gore. Second, although one might make sense of *cruenti* either as noun ('of the bloody man') or adjective, agreeing with *Aeneae* but standing in a different clause, *illa* here seems to demand further specification in the form of another epithet for *spolia*: cf. *G.* 2. 243 'ager ille malus'. This is provided by the reading *cruenta*, which seems better for that reason; furthermore, *spolia illa cruenta* would neatly imitate the Homeric line-ending *ἔναρα βροτόεντα* (*Il.* 6. 480 etc.), and, as at 462 'cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta' (a similarly vain hope), would refer to the bloodied spoils to be taken from a hero's corpse. A line-ending of three consecutive *-a* endings in agreement, one softened by elision, would be unexceptionable: cf. 6. 781 'illa incluta Roma' and 97 n.

**863–4. et caput Aeneae referes:** so Turnus carries severed heads on his chariot (12. 511–12). The threat of decapitation is similarly made by Achilles against Hector in promising revenge for Patroclus (*Il.* 18. 334–5).

**Lausique dolorum/ultor eris mecum:** so Polyphemus wishes that his ram could help him to take revenge on Odysseus (*Od.* 9. 456–60; cf. 858–66 n.).

**864–5. aut aperit si nulla viam vis:** *aperire viam* is found in poetry before Vergil (*TLL* ii. 219. 1 ff.); it has a military flavour (Livy 7. 33. 9, Tac. *Ann.* 2. 21. 1). The alliterative combination of *via* and *vis* (cf. Livy 4. 38. 4 and Ter. *HT* 101) gives an archaic flavour (Austin on 2. 494), especially with the monosyllable *vis* at line-end (2 n.).

**occumbes:** this verb is Ennian (*Ann.* 389 Skutsch), usually used of violent death, and takes several different constructions (here used absolutely as at 1. 97): cf. Austin on 2. 62.

**pariter:** claims the horse as Mezentius' comrade in death (cf. 862 *viximus*), a moving expression of heroic fellowship.

**865–6. fortissime:** the horse is again addressed as a hero rather than an animal; cf. 8. 154 (Evander to Aeneas) 'fortissime Teucrum'.

**iussa aliena pati:** just so the divine horses of Achilles are unwilling to endure a strange master (*Il.* 17. 76-8).

**dominos dignabere Teucros:** bitter and contemptuous alliteration for the hated enemy.

**867-8. exceptus tergo consueta locavit/membra:** *exceptus* contrasts with *non ... dignabere, consueta ... membra* with *iussa aliena*.

**manusque ambas iaculis oneravit acutis:** *iaculis ... acutis* recalls the Homeric *δξύν ἄκοντα* or *δξέα δοῦρα* (*Il.* 10. 335, 6. 104). This aggressive and determined use of both hands may be contrasted with the helpless gesture at 844-5 'ambas/ad caelum tendit palmas', mirroring the way in which Mezentius in the intervening lines has turned from despairing grief to heroic resolve.

**869. aere caput fulgens:** *caput* is 'Greek' accusative of respect as at 133; the phrase recalls the Homeric *κεκορυθμένος αἴθροπι χαλκῶ* (*Il.* 4. 495 etc.).

**cristaque hirsutus equina:** *hirsutus* is found only here in the *Aeneid* and first used by Vergil in poetry (cf. *TLL* vi. 2824. 71 ff.); in this context it suggests the Homeric *ἵπποδάσειος*, 'shaggy with horse-hair' (*Il.* 3. 369 etc.), similarly used of helmets, while *crista equina* echoes *ἵππειος λόφος* (*Il.* 15. 539).

**870. cursum ... dedit:** = *cucurrit*; Vergil is fond of such periphrases with *dare*, avoiding common verbs; cf. 384-5 'discrimina ... dabat' (cf. 393, 529) = *discernebat*, 488 'sonitum ... dedere' = *sonuere* and Fordyce on 8. 570 ff. For this poetic usage in general cf. Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 2. 165, *TLL* v. 1686. 33 ff.

**870-1.** The words *aestuat ... luctu* repeat 12. 666-7. In many Carolingian MSS a line identical with 12. 668 occurs here after 871, but since it gives bad sense and fails to occur in any of the capital MSS or ancient commentators it is rightly excluded by editors as an unwanted repetition from a similar passage. For a similar case cf. 276-8 n.

**aestuat:** for this metaphorical use cf. Vretska on *Sall. Cat.* 23. 6, *TLL* i. 1113. 77 ff.; the image is that of moving water, often used for the passions (esp. anger) in the poets, cf. 813-14 n.

**ingens/ ... pudor:** a 'mighty' emotion appropriate for a hero.

**uno in corde:** the single heart contrasts with the plurality of passions.

**mixtoque insania luctu:** rage at Aeneas, grief for Lausus; *insania* is used of anger like *furor*, on the lines of the common and particularly Stoic view that anger is madness (cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1. 2. 62, *Sen. De Ira* 1. 1. 1 and 62 n.).

**873. Aenean magna ter voce vocavit:** cf. 6. 506 'magna manis ter voce vocavi'; the *figura etymologica* 'voce vocare' is solemn and archaic in tone, cf. Austin on 6. 247, Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 43,

Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, ii. 185–6, and 115 n. *ter*: a ritual number, with many magic associations (cf. Murgatroyd on Tib. 1. 2. 54), but also a conventional plurality (Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 893 n.).

**874. Aeneas agnovit enim:** *enim* is here used in its original and archaic asseverative sense ('indeed'), stressing the verb; cf. Norden on 6. 28, Austin on 1. 19, Fordyce and Gransden on 8. 84, KS ii. 120–1, LHS ii. 508, and the similar use of *namque* at 614.

**laetusque precatur:** *laetus* as at 787 reflects Aeneas' heroic battle-joy and confidence; his prayer to the gods stresses his *pietas* in this combat with the *contemptor deorum* Mezentius.

**875. sic pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo:** a version of the Plautine formula 'ita faxit ille Iuppiter' (*Most.* 398, *Pseud.* 923); compare also the Homeric multiple invocation of *Il.* 2. 371 (= 16. 97) αἰ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλων. *ille* in such contexts was originally deictic ('Jupiter up there'), but is simply formulaic by Vergil's time, cf. 2. 779 'aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi' with Austin's note, Fordyce on 7. 110, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 2. 848, *TLL* vii/1. 357. 5 ff. *sic ... faciat*: i.e. bring about the duel Aeneas wants; the rhetorical anaphora of *sic* recurs at the same points of the line at *Ecl.* 1. 22, and the effect echoes a musical device of Callimachus with ὦς, cf. *H.* 6. 91 ὦς δὲ Μίμαντι χιῶν, ὦς ἀελίω ἐνὶ πλαγῶν, fr. 23. 5 Pf. ὦς ἄδικοι πατέρων υἱέες, ὦς σὺ λύρης. *altus Apollo*: again at 6. 9; Apollo features here as a deity favourable to Aeneas and Troy.

**876. incipias conferre manum:** *conferre manum*, 'come to grips', is a common military phrase (cf. Lyne, *WP* 111–12, *TLL* iv. 180. 55 ff.). This 'half-line' occurs like others at the end of a speech, an obvious place for a break in composition, cf. 284 n.

**877. tantum effatus:** for this formula cf. 256–7 n.

**infesta ... hasta:** cf. 521 'infensam ... hastam', where the hostility of the warrior is similarly transferred to the weapon.

**878–9. quid me erepto, saevissime, nato/terres?:** note how the epithet *saevissime* is neatly enclosed within *erepto ... nato*, its justification.

**880. nec mortem horremus:** the 'royal we' gives Mezentius grandeur and dignity here. *mortem horrere*, not found before this passage of Vergil (*TLL* vi. 2980. 35 ff.), may echo πεφρικένας τὸν θάνατον in the *De Morte* of the Epicurean Philodemus (*Pap. Herc.* 39. 7); this is of interest because of Vergil's probable youthful studies in Epicurean philosophy, possibly even with Philodemus himself (for the evidence cf. M. Gigante, *Virgilio e la Campania* (Naples, 1984), and M. Gigante and M. Capasso, *SIFC*, 3rd ser., 7 (1989), 3–6).

**nec divum parcimus ulli:** *parcimus* means 'spare' in the sense of 'have consideration for' (*OLD* s.v. 4). Mezentius' words recall

those of Polyphemus, similarly dismissing an invocation of divine power by the hero, at *Od.* 9. 275–6: οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν/οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων (for the Mezentius/Polyphemus parallel cf. 858–66 n.).

**881–2. desine:** ‘cease’ (absolute use) as at 12. 800; Mezentius with heroic brevity tells Aeneas to stop talking and start fighting (cf. *Il.* 20. 431 ff.).

**nam venio moriturus:** simply put; Thome (155 n. 397) points to a symmetrical correspondence with 811 (Aeneas to Lausus) ‘quo moriture ruis?’ Lausus was to die for his father, Mezentius is to die avenging his son.

**et haec tibi porto/dona prius:** i.e. the spears he carries; *prius* is used absolutely (= *antea*) like πρῶν in Homer (cf. 6. 136, *G.* 2. 274, *Il.* 24. 800).

**dixit, telumque intorsit in hostem:** formulaic: cf. 776–7 ‘dixit, stridentemque eminus hastam/iecit’, 12. 266 ‘dixit, et adversos telum contorsit in hostis’ (for *intorquere* cf. 323 n.).

**883. inde aliud super atque aliud:** still governed by *intorsit* not by *figitque volatque*; the sentence-structure is best indicated by a semicolon after the second *aliud*.

**figitque volatque:** *figitque* is to be preferred to the variant *fugitque*, which as a perfect tense is an unsuitable pairing for the present *volat*, and which fails to supply the suggestion of impact with Aeneas’ shield demanded by *sed sustinet aureus umbo*. An object for *figit* (*tela* or the like) is easily understood from the context.

**884. gyro:** the technical term for the circular ring used to train horses (*G.* 3. 191, *Cic. Off.* 1. 90), also used to mean ‘circle’ in general (a transference mirroring that of γύρος, cf. Polybius 29. 27. 5); cf. E. Bednara, *ALL* 14 (1906), 586, *TLL* vi. 2386. 43 ff. For the tactic of the chariot circling the man on foot cf. 11. 694–5.

**sed sustinet aureus umbo:** here as at 271 the variant *aereus umbo* is an easy slip: both passages refer pointedly to Aeneas’ golden and impenetrable divine shield (242–3 n.), and the slip here may derive from *aerato ... tegmine* of the same shield at 887 (both bronze and gold are used in its manufacture, cf. 8. 445). Here *umbo* is used by synecdoche for the whole shield, a usage first found in Vergil (Fordyce on 7. 633).

**885–6. ter circum ... ter secum:** the rhyme stresses the parallelism (note how the two clauses of 885–7 are of equal length). Three is the traditional number for unsuccessful attempts in epic, cf. 685–6 n.

**laevos equitavit in orbis:** Mezentius is circling anticlockwise, keeping Aeneas on his shield-side. *orbis* is common of the circling

movements of horses (cf. 12. 481, 743, 763, *TLL* ix/2. 910. 38 ff.); for the preceding preposition *in* cf. 8. 673 and *G.* 1. 337.

**Troius heros:** lofty epic formula, always at line-end, cf. 584-5 n.

**887. immanem ... silvam:** both a visual analogy and an epic hyperbole for the wooden spear-shafts stuck fast into Aeneas' shield. The image is much imitated (cf. Lucan 6. 205, Stat. *Theb.* 5. 533, Silius 4. 619).

**aerato ... tegmine:** *aeratus* means 'fitted or covered with bronze' (cf. 223 and 7. 743), and Aeneas' golden divine shield has some bronze in it (cf. 8. 621). *tegmen* in the sense of 'shield' (again 9. 577) is Lucretian (3. 649).

**888-9. tot ... tot:** the rhetorical anaphora (again 568, 482-3) neatly balances *ter ... ter* in 885-6.

**traxisse moras ... spicula ... vellere:** the plural of *moras* matches that of *spicula*, the metaphor of *traxisse* the action of *vellere*: each pulling out of a spear drags out time for Aeneas. *spiculum*, literally 'little ear of corn' (*spica*), can refer in poetry to the similarly barbed head of an arrow or spear (cf. 12. 403) and then to the weapon itself (*OLD* s.v. 2). *vellere*: poetic *simplex* (34-5 n.) for the normal *evellere* (cf. Cic. *Fin.* 2. 97, Caes. *Gall.* 1. 25. 3).

**pugna ... congressus iniqua:** cf. 12. 465 'pede congressus aequo'. *iniqua*: the fight is unfair because Mezentius is mounted (as Servius notes).

**890. multa movens animo:** again 3. 34, modelled on *Od.* 1. 427 *πολλὰ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζων* (for *movere* of 'turning over' thoughts cf. *OLD* s.v. 19). Aeneas thinks out his tactics, showing the *consilium* of a good general.

**iam tandem erumpit:** cf. 12. 497 'iam tandem invadit'; for the military *erumpit* cf. 603-4 n.

**inter:** *inter* at line-end (three times in Vergil) recalls Ennian style, cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 105.

**891. bellatoris equi:** again 11. 89, not found before Vergil; Theocritus has *πολεμιστὰ ἵπποι* (*Id.* 15. 51), Callimachus *πολεμηῖος ἵππος* (*H.* 6. 109).

**cava tempora:** a vital spot (cf. 9. 633, 808); the phrase occurs before Vergil at Lucr. 6. 1194. For the head-wound to a horse cf. 11. 637 ff., *Il.* 8. 81 ff., and Livy 8. 7. 10.

**892-3. tollit se arrectum quadripes:** the line-opening *tollit se* is Lucretian (6. 689), while *quadripes*, 'four-footer', is found as a poetic kenning (cf. 177 n.) for 'horse' since Accius (*Trag.* 381; its sense at Enn. *Ann.* 236 Skutsch is more general, see Skutsch ad loc.), just as τὸ τετράπουν is similarly used in Greek (Ar. *Nub.* 659, Plato, *Phaedr.* 250 E).

**et calcibus auras/verberat:** *auras verberare* (again 5. 377) recalls the Homeric ἤερα τύπτειν (*Il.* 20. 446). For this rearing of a mortally wounded horse cf. *Il.* 638–9, *Livy* 8. 7. 10; this pose with flying hooves is perhaps more familiar as that of the spirited attack of the fighting horse in Greek art (Robertson, *HGA* pls. 32*b*, 121*c*).

**893. effusumque equitem:** for *effundere* cf. 574 n.

**894. eiectoque ... armo:** *eiectore* is a technical term for dislocating a limb (= ἐκβάλλειν; cf. *TLL* v/2. 310. 44 ff.), while *armus* is standard for the forequarter of an animal (711 n.).

**incumbit:** ‘comes down hard’ as at 727.

**cernuus:** only here in Vergil, before him in Lucilius (fr. 703 Marx) and Varro (see Servius here), an adjective meaning ‘headlong’. Vergil clearly uses it as an antique gloss-word, perhaps to recall κύμβαχος, a similarly rare adjective with the same sense and occurring in a comparable context at *Il.* 5. 585–6 ἔκπεσε δίφρου/κύμβαχος ἐν κούρησιν ἐπὶ βρεχμὸν τε καὶ ὤμους.

**895. clamore incendunt caelum:** cf. *Il.* 147 ‘clamore incendunt urbem’: sound is described in terms of bright heat, mixing the aural and visual senses, a device known as μετάληψις αἰσθήσεως or *synaesthesia* found in both Latin and Greek poetry; cf. Norden and Austin on 6. 256, Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. C.* 1. 14. 6, C. P. Segal, *ICS* 2 (1977), 88–96, M. Kaimio, *Characterization of Sound in Early Greek Literature* (Helsinki, 1977), 235 ff. Vergil is fond of this alliterative pairing of *clamor* and *caelum* (again 5. 451, 9. 504, 11. 192, 878, 12. 462).

**Troesque Latinique:** perhaps recalls the Homeric line-ending Ἀχαιοὶ τε Τρῶες τε (*Il.* 2. 123 etc.). The last *-que* is hypermetric, being elided before *advolat* in the next line, a feature not found in Homer and found in Greek literature only at Callim. *Ep.* 41. 1–2 οὐκ οἶδ’/εἶ, an example perhaps based on a mistaken belief that Homer permitted hypermetric elision of Ζῆνα (cf. West on *Hes. Th.* 884). Such elisions are found occasionally in pre-Vergilian hexameters, but Vergil makes extensive use of the device (15 examples in the *Aeneid*, 6 in the *Georgics*, compared to only one in Lucretius), mostly eliding final *-que* as here. For a list of examples in Latin poetry and a succinct discussion cf. Soubiran 466–8; on Vergil’s uses cf. further Norden and Austin on 6. 602, Pease and Austin on 4. 558, Williams on 5. 422, Austin on 1. 332, Fordyce on 7. 160.

**896. vaginaque eripit ensem:** again at 4. 579, both echoing *Il.* 12. 190 ἐκ κολεοῖο ἐρυσσάμενος ξίφος ὀξύ.

**897–8. et super haec:** *super* does not go with *haec* but is adverbial as in the similar context of 556, and the verb of speech is omitted at this dramatic point (cf. 490).

**ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa/effera vis animi?:** a Homeric taunt: cf. *Il.* 5. 472 Ἐκτωρ, πῆ δὴ τοι μένος οἴχεται, ὁ πρὶν ἔχεσκες; this rhetorical use of *ubi* [*est*]?, esp. with an accompanying *nunc* and/or *ille*, is common in Latin: cf. 5. 391–2 ‘ubi nunc nobis deus ille, magister/nequiquam memoratus, Eryx?’, Cic. *Phil.* 8. 23, Tac. *Ann.* 3. 35. 2, *OLD* s.v. *ubi* 2. *Mezentius acer:* for *acer* cf. 308–9 n. The third person, like *illa*, taunts Mezentius with his previous reputation. *effera vis animi:* *efferus*, poetic before Vergil, was used of Mezentius’ behaviour at 8. 483–4 ‘facta tyranni/effera’, while *vis animi* is taken from Lucretius, who has it nine times.

**898–9. contra Tyrrenus:** for *contra* = ‘in reply’ cf. 16–17 n.; note once more the excited omission of the verb of speech (cf. 897).

**ut ... hausit caelum mentemque recepit:** cf. *Il.* 22. 475 ἢ δ’ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἄμπνυτο καὶ ἐς φέρενα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη: *caelum* here must mean ‘air’ as Servius notes, which seems to be a usage of high style (Courtney on *Juv.* 3. 84–5, *OLD* s.v. 5), while *haurire* probably echoes the standard ἀέρα ἔλκειν (LSJ s.v. ἔλκω II. 4). *mentemque recepit* also recalls *Lucr.* 3. 505 ‘paulatim redit in sensus animanque receptat’.

**auras/suspiciens:** *auras*, suggesting moving air, would go better with *hausit*, *caelum* with *suspiciens*, but the poet has exchanged the two.

**900. quid increpitas mortemque minaris?:** the rhetorical question recalls that of 875–6 ‘quid me ... /terres?’: Mezentius continues to express the same defiance of Aeneas and resignation in the face of death. For the pairing of *increpitare* and *minari* cf. 810; the alliterative *mortem minari* is common (cf. 11. 348, 12. 760, *TLL* viii. 1028. 61 ff.).

**901. nullum in caede nefas nec sic ad proelia veni:** war for Mezentius is always a situation of ‘kill or be killed’; unlike Turnus, he does not ask to be spared, and has no wish to survive his son or undergo captivity.

**902. nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus:** i.e. there was no bargain that Lausus should die and Mezentius be spared: *meus* is moving affectionate (cf. Austin on 1. 231). Note the intricate word-order of the line, a series of enclosing pairs (*tecum ... pepigit, meus ... Lausus, haec ... foedera*).

**903–4. unum hoc ... oro:** followed by simple subj. as at 6. 106 ff.

**per si qua est victis venia hostibus:** cf. 2. 142–3 ‘per si qua est ... / ... fides’; the phrasing of the adjuration recalls the oaths of Greek tragedy, cf. *Soph. Phil.* 469 πρὸς τ’ εἴ τί σοι κατ’ οἴκόν ἐστι προσφιλές, *OC* 250 πρὸς σ’ ὃ τί σοι φίλον (Vergil’s *si quis* renders εἴ τις, cf. 458 n.).

**corpus humo patriare tegi:** for *humo tegere* of burial cf. *G.* 3. 558 and the similarly poetic *κρύπτειν χθονί* (*Soph. Ant.* 25, *Eur. Alc.* 467). Mezentius' request to Aeneas to ensure his burial, a benefit crucial for the ancients, recalls that of the dying Hector to Achilles to be ransomed back to his family for the same purpose (*Il.* 22. 338 ff.). Mezentius' request seems to be fulfilled in the general burial-amnesty of 11. 100 ff., though Aeneas does not here reply to it (cf. Williams, *TI* 114-15, H. C. Gotoff, *TAPA* 114 (1984), 206-7): the poet gives the dying Mezentius the last word.

**904-5. scio acerba meorum/circumstare odia:** For the rare elision of *scio* cf. Soubiran 210, and for *meorum odia* 853 n. The personification of *circumstare odia* is here particularly vivid since Mezentius can see about him the hostile Etruscans, who are watching the duel (895).

**hunc, oro, defende furorem:** *oro* is repeated after 903 for rhetorical emphasis. Mezentius fears the mutilation and exposure of his corpse; that the Etruscans do at least vent their hatred on it seems to be confirmed by the twelve perforations in his cuirass seen at 11. 9-10, cf. Lyne, *WP* 113.

**906. et me consortem nati concede sepulcro:** the desire for burial together with a loved one is a piece of pathos as old as Homer (cf. *Il.* 23. 91, Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 11. 706-7); funerary inscriptions and archaeology show that it was commonly fulfilled (Lattimore 247-50).

**907. iuguloque haud inscius accipit ensem:** Mezentius' end has a gladiatorial flavour: the severing of the *iugulum* is the classic method of dispatch in the arena (414-15 n.), while *accipit ensem* suggests the brave gladiator's resigned acceptance of the death-blow, cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 41 '[gladiatores] illi, qui bene instituti sunt, accipere plagam malunt, quam turpiter vitare'. For other gladiatorial allusions in the *Aeneid* cf. Hardie 152-3.

**908. undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore:** life/soul and blood are spilt together as often (cf. 2. 532, 9. 349); *animam diffundere* is Lucretian (3. 437, cf. 3. 1033). The gory wave-imagery of *undanti ... cruore* may be paralleled at 9. 700-1 'redit specus atri vulneris undam/spumantem', and is common in Silver epic (cf. Mulder on *Stat. Theb.* 2. 124) and Renaissance drama; cf. Shakespeare's 'sluic'd out his innocent soul through streams of blood' (*Richard II* 1. 1. 103).

The description of Mezentius' end spares the reader nothing and provides a stark conclusion to the book, which ends in a moment of death and of mixed emotions, anticipating the ending of the poem itself at the very instant when Turnus is killed. Mezentius has merited his death through his past behaviour, as he himself

admits (853–4), but his courage in facing it and his moving grief for Lausus attract the reader's sympathy. For his part, Aeneas, the hero of the poem, succeeds in overcoming one of his major adversaries, but yields the limelight to Mezentius who dominates the last lines of the book. This pattern is repeated at the end of book 12 in even greater complexity.

## APPENDIX

### Some Aspects of Vergilian Style

A FULL analysis of Vergilian style and vocabulary would require an entire volume, a volume yet to be written; frequent references are made in the Commentary to standard works and discussions,<sup>1</sup> and the notes which follow discuss a few features as yet insufficiently treated.\*

#### A. USE OF NON-EPIC STYLES

Vergil's ubiquitous use of Homer in the *Aeneid* is nowhere more evident than in his war-narrative, and the depth and frequency of his (largely Iliadic) allusions in book 10 may be followed in Knauer's index of parallels (to which this commentary adds not a few). Equally clear are imitations of the Roman Homer Ennius, not only in the constant use of Ennian epic language but also in allusions to particular fragments (cf. esp. Comm. on 1–8, 97–103, and 394–6), of Apollonius of Rhodes (cf. esp. Comm. on 209–12, and 246–7), and of the philosophical epic of Lucretius (cf. esp. Comm. on 98–9, 341, 395–6, 488, and 641–2).<sup>2</sup> Vergil's style, like his content, is thus largely and self-consciously epic; but his great achievement in broadening the subject-matter of the genre is matched by his frequent use in the *Aeneid* of style and vocabulary more immediately appropriate to other kinds of literature—the 'crossing of genres' long recognized in Latin poetry.<sup>3</sup> This can be well illustrated by a few of the more extensive examples in book 10.

(i) *History*. In addition to the use of Roman military terms (often

<sup>1</sup> Older works still useful are Wagner, *QV*, the appendices to Norden's *Aen. 6*, two works by the Czech scholar J. Kvičala (*Vergil-Studien* (Prague, 1878); *Neue Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aeneis* (Prague, 1881)) and Cordier, *Études*; amongst modern scholarship much is to be found in the Oxford commentaries of Austin, Williams, and Fordyce, in Williams, *TORP* 722–43, in Lyne *WP*, and in Worstbrock (the last unjustly neglected). For further bibl. cf. Suerbaum 179–202.

<sup>2</sup> On the *Aeneid* and Ennius cf. Skutsch, *Annales*, pp. 13–14, E. Norden, *EuV*, Wigodsky 40–79; on the *Aeneid* and Apollonius cf. F. Mehmel, *Vergil und Apollonius Rhodius* (Hamburg, 1940), M. Hügi, *Vergils Aeneis und die hellenistische Dichtung* (Berne, 1952), and W. W. Briggs in *ANRW* 31/2 (1981), 958–78; on the *Aeneid* and Lucretius cf. W. A. Merrill, *Univ. Cal. Publ. Class. Phil.* 3 (1918), 135–247, Hardie 157–240, Suerbaum 279–81.

<sup>3</sup> Kroll's 'Kreuzung der Gattungen' (Kroll, *Studien*, 202–24).

vaguely and/or anachronistically) in which he follows Ennius,<sup>4</sup> Vergil can be seen from time to time usurping the character of a narrative historian: compare his interest in a *causa belli* at 90, the use of the impersonal passive *certatur* at 355, and the use of *ibant* / *subsidio* at 213–14.

(ii) *Rhetoric*. Like Homer before him, Vergil was seen in antiquity as a fount and exemplar of rhetoric<sup>5</sup> but in the speeches of the divine council of *Aeneid* 10 a number of features and figures most familiar from formal oratory may be seen: *captatio benevolentiae* (18–19), *praeteritio* (36 ff.), *obtestatio* and *figura iurisiurandi* (45–6), the pathos of children (47) *concessio* (67–8), quotation of the opposing speaker (85–6), and *relatio criminis* (88 ff.), often linguistically close to passages of Cicero.<sup>6\*</sup>

(iii) *Tragedy*. Tragic influence has long been recognized as influential in the *Aeneid*, especially in the presentation of Dido;<sup>7</sup> in book 10 the lament of Mezentius is tragic in diction as well as general character (cf. Comm. on 846–56).

(iv) *Law*. Legalistic language is found appropriately in the mouth of Jupiter, lawgiver of gods and men, when addressing the divine council (cf. 11 *iustum tempus* and 13 *res rapuisse*) and especially when laying down the limits of the rules of destiny for Juno (cf. Comm. on 622–5).

(v) *Pastoral*. The themes and language of pastoral occur twice in *Aeneid* 10: first in the story of Cycnus in the Etruscan Catalogue (cf. Comm. on 190–1), and thereafter in the *locus amoenus* where Mezentius rests from the battle (cf. comm. on 835–6); in both cases the allusion provides variation and contrast with the world of epic.

## B. LEVELS OF VOCABULARY

The distinction between ‘poetic’ and ‘unpoetic’ words has been popular in recent criticism of Latin poetry; while it has some usefulness, the boundaries between the two categories are often far from solid, and it must always be remembered that we possess only a

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 292 (use of *legio* for non-Roman troops, cf. Vergil at 10. 120). Other military technical terms in *Aeneid* 10: *valli* (120), *turma* (239, 310), *signa sequi* (258), *dimittere* (366), *erumpere* (604).

<sup>5</sup> Homer and rhetoric: Quint. 10. 1. 46–50 and R. C. Jebb, *The Attic Orators* (2nd edn., London, 1893), vol. i, pp. cix–cx. Vergil and rhetoric: Macr. *Sat.* 5. 1. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the analyses of the council speeches by Highet 65–72 and M. L. Clarke, *G&R* 18 (1949), 14–27. Ciceronian links are recorded in the Commentary.

<sup>7</sup> On tragedy in the Dido-episode cf. Pease’s commentary on Book 4, pp. 5–11: on tragic elements in the *Aeneid* generally cf. Suerbaum 134–5, Quinn 324–49 and the extensive treatment of A. König, *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie* (Diss. Berlin, 1970), which concentrates on the influence of Euripides.

tiny portion of Roman literature in both prose and poetry to provide the evidence.<sup>8</sup> As in so many other ways, Vergil provides an exception to facile distinctions. The *Aeneid* in particular, achieving such instant success and authority, was both a melting-pot and a moment of casting for Latin poetic style; what was 'poetic' thereafter was what was canonized by Vergilian usage, but that usage itself refined and expanded the language of previous high poetry. Although Vergil's most noted development of poetic language consisted not in new words but daring new phrases constructed from known words,<sup>9</sup> often influenced by Greek syntax,<sup>10</sup> he nevertheless played a crucial role in the formation of the vocabulary of the high style. From his epic predecessors he inherited the notion that archaisms suited the genre;<sup>11</sup> to this inheritance he added his own poetic coinages on traditional models,<sup>12</sup> the enlistment of many 'neutral' words which may not have been used in poetry before him,<sup>13</sup> the use of other vocabularies as a sign of bringing in other (poetic and non-poetic) literary genres (see A above), and the lively colour of colloquialism.

This last category needs some qualification. The fact that many of Vergil's colloquialisms can be matched in the livelier passages of Plautus and Terence suggests that they have an archaic tinge, not inappropriate to the language of gods and men in an epic about Rome's heroic beginnings; these have been designated in the Commentary by the cautious term 'archaic and colloquial'. Colloquialisms in the *Aeneid* are not limited to speeches, though that is naturally where most are found; the poet colours his narrative with them (e.g. *optato* at 10. 405), and they make a vital contribution to the character of the *Aeneid* and thereby to subsequent poetic diction.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. B. Axelson, *Unpoetischer Wörter* (Lund, 1945) and the discussions of his views by Williams, *TORP* 743–50 and P. Watson, *CQ*, ns 35 (1985), 430–48.

<sup>9</sup> His supposed *κακοζηλία* (cf. *Vita Donati* 44 with the comments of H. D. Jocelyn, *PLLS* 2 (1974), 67–142); on Vergil's originality here cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *CQ*, ns 9 (1959), 181–92, Williams, *TORP* 738–40.

<sup>10</sup> On Vergil's Graecisms cf. A. Lohmann, *De Graecismorum usu Vergiliano quaestiones selectae* (Diss. Münster, 1915); a good example occurs at 10. 441 'desistere pugnae'.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Williams, *TORP* 737, Cordier *Études* 36–43 (lists of archaisms), and in general E. Fraenkel *RE Suppl.* v. 604–7.

<sup>12</sup> Listed in Cordier, *Études* 45–50, 182–7, 279–82. 'Coinage' is potentially misleading here, for many of the words now first found in Vergil doubtless occurred in earlier but lost poetic texts, but is used for convenience with this proviso.

<sup>13</sup> Many examples in Comm. The Oxford commentaries of Austin and Fordyce list other words brought into poetry by Vergil; the same proviso of course applies here as in n. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Williams, *TORP* 738. Examples in *Aeneid* 10: *ne* with imperative (11, 372, 600, 649), emphatic *quin* (23, 470), *sane* (48), *nosne* (88), *quandoquidem* (105), *surge age* (241), *aspice num* and *mage* (481), *istic* (557), *dudum* (599), *tanton* (668), *viderit* (744), all in direct speech. *haurire*, from *sermo castrensis*, occurs at 314, in the narrative.

## C. WORD-ORDER AND SENSE

Vergil's use of complex and intricate word-order is well known, but little has been made of the ways in which verbal contrasts and balances within the hexameter line reflect and enhance meaning in his poetry.<sup>15</sup> Most of those noted below, all examples taken from book 10, involve proper nouns, which naturally tend to bear stylistic emphasis in poetry.

(i) *Significant juxtaposition*. This is a familiar technique in Greek and Roman poets; in book 10 Vergil uses it most often to suggest the opposition between warring forces, natural enough in the confrontational rhetoric of the divine council and the situation of battle in Latium. Examples:

cum fera <i>Karthago Romanis</i> arcibus olim	
exitium magnum atque <i>Alpis</i> immittet apertas;	(12–13)
indignum est <i>Italos Troiam</i> circumdare flammis...?	(74)
nos, an miseros qui <i>Troas Achivis</i> / obiecit?	(89–90)
me duce <i>Dardanius Spartam</i> expugnavit adulter...?	(92)
sic ruit in densos alacer <i>Mezentius hostis</i> .	(729)
exigit ensem / per medium <i>Aeneas iuvenem</i>	(815–16)

Often cast in this form is the oxymoron, common in poetry since Homer:<sup>16</sup>

vulnera <i>siccabat lymphis</i>	(834)
<i>per vulnera servor</i> / <i>morte tua vivens</i> ?	(848–9)
[double oxymoron, emotional and rhetorical]	

Occasionally juxtaposition suggests not opposition but affinity or association between words. Two examples in book 10 both stress the closeness of father and son, a favourite theme of Vergil:<sup>17</sup>

tum <i>genitor natum</i> dictis adfatur amicis:	(466)
[Jupiter and Hercules]	
dum <i>genitor nati</i> parma protectus abiret.	(800)
[Mezentius and Lausus]	

Another similarly emphasizes the closeness of lovers:

namque ferunt luctu <i>Cycnum Phaethontis</i> amati	(189)
-----------------------------------------------------	-------

<sup>15</sup> On intricate word-order in Vergil see comm. on 133; on the relation between the placing of words and their sense, Worstbrock (165–6) is an unsung pioneer, giving some examples which cover one or two of the types listed below.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. C. W. Macleod on *Il.* 24. 262.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. M. Owen Lee, *Tum Genitor Natum: Fathers and Sons in Vergil's Aeneid* (Albany, NY, 1979).

(ii) 'Opposition by position'. This phenomenon involves a verbal antithesis or balance of two elements at the emphatic points of the line or clause. Again in book 10 its natural use is to characterize opposing parties in the battle. Examples:

(a) Opposing terms flanking central point of hexameter:

*castraque Dardanidum aspectat populosque Latinos.* (4)  
*et caput Aeneae referes Lausique dolorum*  
*ultor eris mecum* (863-4)

(b) Opposing terms at the end of each half of the hexameter:<sup>18</sup>

*abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris.* (8)  
*quid face Troianos atra vim ferre Latinis...?* (77)  
*tu potes Aenean manibus subducere Graium* (81)  
*quandoquidem Ausonios coniungi foedere Teucros*  
*haud licitum* (105-6)  
*haud aliter Troianae acies aciesque Latinae*  
*concurrunt* (360-1)  
*tum vero Aenean aversum ut cedere Turnus*  
*credidit* (647-8)

This arrangement too is occasionally used associatively:

*non ullum dextera frustra*  
*torsert in Rutulos, steterunt quae in corpore Graium* (333-9)  
 [associates Greeks and Italians as opponents of  
 Aeneas]

(c) Opposing elements at the beginning of each half of the hexameter:

*Dardanides contra furit; Anxuris ense sinistram*  
*et totum clipei ferrei deiecerat orbem.* (545-6)  
*Iliacamque aciem et Laurentia castra petivit.* (635)

(d) Opposing elements at either end of the hexameter:

*primus turmas invasit agrestis*  
*Aeneas, omen pugnae, stravitque Latinos* (310-11)  
*saevae iamque altius irae*  
*Dardanio surgunt ductori, extremaque Lauso*  
*Parcae lina legunt.* (813-15)

This technique is also used associatively:

*Caeculus et veniens Marsorum montibus Umbro.* (544)  
 [comrades on the Latin side]

<sup>18</sup> 'Half of the hexameter' is here used loosely; it includes units marked off by diaeresis as well as by caesura in the third or fourth foot.

(e) Opposing terms placed at either end of a couplet:

*Aenean* hominum quisquam divumque subegit  
bella sequi aut hostem regi se inferre *Latino?* (65–6)

*Arcadas* accensus monitu et praeclara tuentis  
facta viri mixtus dolor et pudor armat in *hostis*. (397–8)

(f) Opposing terms placed at either end of a clause:

*Turno* tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum  
intactum *Pallanta* (503–4)

This is also used associatively:

*Paris* urbe paterna  
occubat, ignarum Laurens habet ora *Mimanta*. (705–6)  
[Paris and his coeval comrade Mimas]

#### D. THE 'GREEK' ACCUSATIVE

The so-called 'Greek' accusative following a passive verb is a common phenomenon in Latin poetry, and particularly developed by Vergil as one of his adaptations of Greek syntax (cf. B above). Here I shall try to distinguish some categories in the hope of provisional schematization, using Vergilian examples.

(i) *Aen.* 1. 561 'vultum demissa', 228 'lacrimis oculos suffusa'. In this, the most common type, the direct object of the active form of the sentence (*vultum demittere*, *lacrimis oculos suffundere*) becomes the indirect object in a passive form of the sentence, but keeps its accusative case: cf. (iii) below.

(ii) *Aen.* 2. 273 'perque pedes traiectus lora', *G.* 3. 307 'vellera . . . Tyrios incocta rubores'. In this rare type the accusative after the passive verb replaces an instrumental ablative in the active form of the sentence: *traicere eum loris*, *incoquere vellera ruboribus* (for the latter cf. *G.* 4. 279).

(iii) *Aen.* 10. 156–7 'puppis / . . . Phrygios subiuncta leones', *Ecl.* 3. 106–7 'inscripti nomina regum / . . . flores' (the only examples of this type). Here the subject of the passive form is surprisingly the indirect object in the active form: *subiungere puppi leones*, *inscribere nomina floribus*; the direct object of the active form of the sentence is now indirect, but keeps its accusative case, cf. (i).

(iv) *Aen.* 2. 275 'exuvias indutus Achilli'. Superficially analogous to (i), such examples are in fact a special case. *induor* and similar verbs of clothing and unclothing contain a strong reflexive element and

imitate the middle voice and form of their Greek counterparts (cf. ἐνδύεσθαι, ἀμφιεννύναι): for further Vergilian examples cf. Austin on *Aen.* 4. 137, Fordyce on 7. 503. The accusative following such verbs, describing either the thing put on (or off) or the part of the body clothed (or unclothed)—cf. *Aen.* 2. 721–2 ‘umeros . . . / . . . insternor pelle leonis’—should therefore be regarded as the direct object of the passive behaving as a Greek middle. Other kinds of verb too may imitate the Greek middle: cf. *Aen.* 1. 713 ‘expleri mentem’ (πλήσασθαι θυμόν).

Amongst these types, (ii) and (iii) are clearly developments of (i): all three stress the notion of limiting fundamental to the accusative case, the scope of the verbal idea in the participle being defined and restricted by an accusative noun (‘I am struck—in the chest’). (iv) shares this notion, for the scope of the verb of clothing is limited or defined by an accusative of the article of clothing or of the part of the body. (i), (ii), and (iii) occur largely after the past participle (only three exceptions in the *Aeneid*, 1. 713, 8. 265, 9. 646), and (i) is commonly used of parts of the body or person (so in 38 of the 49 examples from the *Aeneid* cited by Page in his lists, see below). Both these factors suggest an analogy with the accusative of respect after an adjective of the *saucius pectus* type (cf. Austin on 1. 320), a common Greek construction introduced to Latin by the poets; no doubt the similarity of the participial form to a common construction after an adjective motivated the original use of the ‘Greek’ accusative after verbs in Latin.

As the name ‘Greek’ accusative implies, all four forms occur in Greek poetry: for (i) cf. *Od.* 19. 136 φίλον κατατήκομαι ἦτορ, for (ii) *Ar. Eccl.* 494 [ἡμᾶς] πώγωνας ἐξηρητημένας, for (iii) *Soph. Tr.* 157–8 δέλτον ἐγγεγραμμένην / ξυνθήματα, and for (iv) *Il.* 2. 578 ἐν δ’ αὐτὸς ἐδύσετο χαλκόν. In Latin (i) first occurs probably in Ennius and certainly in Lucretius (Skutsch on *Enn. Ann.* 310 and in *Glotta*, 55 (1977), 85–8), (ii) and (iii) are first found in Vergil, (iv) in Plautus (*Epid.* 223). These facts would seem to indicate that the construction is originally a poetic Graecism, and it is not found in the prose of Caesar and Cicero (though Thucydides has it, 1. 126).

For Vergilian examples of all types cf. Fordyce on 7. 503 (analytically unhelpful) and Page’s appendix to his *Aeneid* 1–6 and note on 9. 478. On the development of the construction in Latin cf. Eden on 8. 29, G. Landgraf, *ALL* 10 (1896–8), 209–24, C. F. W. Müller, *Syntax des Nominativus und Akkusativus im Lateinischen* (Leipzig–Berlin, 1908), 127–31, E. A. Hahn, *TAPA* 91 (1960), 221–38 (with copious bibl.), *KS* i. 288–92, *LHS* ii. 36–40.

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## ADDENDA

**Reviews.** Much valuable material will be found in the longer reviews of the 1991 edition: R. Thomas, *Vergilius* 38 (1992), 134–44; G. Korzeniewski, *Res Publica Litterarum XV* (1992), 206–11; G. B. Conte, *JRS* 83 (1993), 208–12; A. Traina, *Rivista di Filologia e Istruzione Classica*, 121 (1993), 367–8; and A. Perutelli, *Gnomon*, 67 (1995), 311–15.

**p. xxvi n. 16.** On narrative technique in *Aeneid* 10 see further M. Bonfanti, *Punto di vista e modi della narrazione nell'Eneide* (*Biblioteca di MD* 3; Pisa, 1984), 31–84, and on battle-narrative and sources in the book cf. now Nicholas Horsfall, *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (*Mnemosyne*, Suppl. 141; Leiden, 1995), 179–85.

**p. xxxii line 11.** On Aeneas in *Aeneid* 10 see C. J. Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas* (Edinburgh, 1988), 160–76.

**p. 95 line 5.** For further treatments of the word *ingens* cf. A. Grillo, *Enc. Virg.* 4. 968–9, A. Traina, *RFIC* 120 (1992), 114 n. 7.

**p. 118 line 16.** For etymological plays on names in Vergil see now the full treatment by J. J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor, 1996), esp. 222–9 on *Aeneid* 10. A forthcoming treatment of the same topic is promised from Professor Michael Paschalis.

**p. 119 line 2 up.** On the use of Phanocles here, and on the *Aeneid*'s use of Hellenistic poetry in general, see now A. S. Hollis, *HSCP* 94 (1992), 269–85.

**p. 120 line 3 up.** For these 'reporting' devices in Vergil see now N. M. Horsfall, *PLLS* 6 (1990), 49–63.

**p. 135 line 23.** For the alliterative pairing *ferro flammaque* see also E. Narducci, *MD* 7 (1982), 180–2.

**p. 146 line 15.** Dr G. Korzeniewski points out that *tristisque* is in fact read by two of the medieval manuscripts examined by James Henry (*Henry Aeneidea* vol. 4, p. 40; relevant manuscripts (saec. ix–xv) listed vol. 1, pp. lvii–lix), which may be a learned conjecture rather than a genuine survival.

**p. 152 line 11.** On *tonsa* = *remum* see now S. Timpanaro, *MD* 26 (1991), 147–64.

**p. 198 line 1 up.** The connection between the Danaid design on Pallas' baldric and the Danaid statues in the portico of Augustus'