

P. VERGILI MARONIS

# AENEIDOS

LIBER PRIMVS

WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

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## PREFACE

THIS is the first detailed English commentary on the First Book of the *Aeneid* since R. S. Conway's edition, published posthumously in 1935. I have tried to make it suit the needs of varying types of student. The more I read Virgil, the more uncertain I am of this or that interpretation, but I hope that my commentary will throw some light at least on points that have not received attention previously.

I am grateful to many friends, especially to Dr. William Barr of Liverpool University, who saved me many journeys to a distant library, and to Mr. R. T. Williams of Durham University, whose knowledge of Greek art and of coins has enabled me to appear at home in an unfamiliar field. Professor Gordon Williams knows my debt to him: his penetrating criticism and comforting encouragement have given me incalculable help. I should not care to reveal the number of inaccuracies (and worse) from which Professor W. S. Watt, *uir Argo oculatior*, has mercifully delivered me. Finally, the Press readers, as always, deserve warm thanks for their vigilance.

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*February, 1971*



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## INTRODUCTION

THE First Book of the *Aeneid*, unlike some of the books, has no single dominant subject. With subtle *oeconomia*, through many changes of tempo and tone and style, it prepares the reader for the great issues of the epic: the processes of Fate, the conflicting wills of the high gods, the responsibilities and the hardships of *pietas*, the impact of human passion, the imperial destiny of Rome. It moves swiftly and with mounting tension to an emotive climax, in which the presence of Dido is felt to have crucial significance. There is a confused and confusing tradition that it was not the original opening book in Virgil's plan, but followed what is now the third book.<sup>1</sup> This might be true, in view of what we know to have been Virgil's method of composition: 'Aeneida . . . particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil in ordinem arripiens' (Donatus, *vita* 23). But the poet must have quickly seen how much power his epic would gain from an opening in its present form, which has resulted in a superbly satisfying prelude.

The exordium vigorously sets out the purpose of the poem. Virgil will tell of an exile from Troy, famed for his *pietas*, whose destiny was to found in Italy a race from which Rome would one day arise. But this Trojan would endure much tribulation through the enmity of Iuno, the protectress of Carthage, a rich and warlike city, confronting Italy across the sea: for (so she had heard) Carthage was fated to be destroyed by an imperial people of Trojan stock. So, at the outset, Virgil has linked the living history of Rome with the distant myth of Troy.<sup>2</sup> In *tantae molis*

<sup>1</sup> Donatus, *vita* 42; Servius, *praef.* p. 4 (ed. Harv.): see R. D. Williams, *Aeneid* 3 (Oxford, 1962), pp. 2 f.; M. M. Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1920), pp. 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the legends of Aeneas and his wanderings see Nettleship, in

*erat Romanam condere gentem* (33) there is more than the immediate allusion to the Trojan task: to Virgil's contemporaries the crisis of the Punic Wars was still no remote memory, with its challenge which had taxed Rome's strength to the full before her power could be firmly set by victory.

Neither Livy (I. 1 ff.) nor Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* I. 46 ff.) mentions that Aeneas came to Carthage in his wanderings, and we do not know when or where such a legend arose. It is probable, but not established by firm evidence, that Naevius referred to it in his *Bellum Punicum*. We know that his first book contained an episode in which the Trojans were storm-bound (so that a landing at Carthage might have followed), as well as a scene in which Venus pleaded for them with Iuppiter, who comforted her with promises.<sup>1</sup> Virgil must have taken note of these passages; but when Macrobius states 'totus hic locus a Naeuio sumptus est', he employs a formula which it would be absurd to accept literally:<sup>2</sup> what Virgil found in Naevius he certainly transformed into his own mould, with his characteristically creative technique. We know also that Naevius (as would be natural in the context of the early history of Carthage) named both Dido and her sister Anna.<sup>3</sup> But in the extant fragments there is no clear proof that he described any meeting between Dido and Aeneas, although many scholars hold that there is such an allusion in fr. 23 (Morel) 'blande et docte percontat, Aenea quo pacto / Troiam urbem liquerit'—this is necessarily a surmise only, and many reject

vol. ii of Conington's *Virgil*, fourth edition (1884), pp. xlv ff.; A. S. Pease, *Aeneid* 4 (Harvard, 1935), pp. 14 f.; R. M. Ogilvie, *Livy 1-5* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 33 ff.

<sup>1</sup> DServius on 198 (see on 198 ff.); Macrobius, *Sat.* 6. 2. 31 (see on 229).

<sup>2</sup> We need only remember Servius' statement on *Aen.* 4 (init.), 'Apollonius Argonautica scripsit et in tertio inducit amantem Medeam; inde totus hic liber translatus est'; and cf. note on 140.

<sup>3</sup> DServius on 4. 9 'cuius filiae fuerint Anna et Dido Naeuius dicit'.



it.<sup>1</sup> The first definite connection of Aeneas with Carthage is a curious statement attributed to Varro, that Anna killed herself on a pyre for love of Aeneas;<sup>2</sup> this might, of course, have been derived from Naevius. But whatever Naevius did write, it is certain that he would not have introduced a love-affair as an integral and crucial part of his narrative: such an emotional incursion into epic belongs to a far more sophisticated age, influenced by Hellenistic poetry and interests.

Virgil's sensitive imagination and his deep dramatic instinct showed him the full possibilities that a mythical confrontation with Carthage would have for an epic of imperial Rome. He boldly changed tradition, in order to connect the legendary founder of the Roman race with the foundress of Carthage,<sup>3</sup> and to make the Carthage-theme, which so arrestingly meets us at the opening of the *Aeneid*, not only a theme for the Roman State but a personal theme also for Aeneas. For the story of Dido, as Virgil found it, had no involvement with Aeneas: it was to avoid being forced to marry an African prince, Iarbas, that she killed herself upon a pyre.<sup>4</sup> Virgil, aware of the legend recorded by Varro, aware too of whatever treatment Naevius had given to Dido and Anna, saw what could be done and what must be done with such material: not Anna but Dido must be made to love Aeneas; Dido must perish, not to escape marriage with Iarbas, but to end her shame at being abandoned by Aeneas in obedience to his destiny; and so

<sup>1</sup> For arguments on both sides, with bibliography, see Pease, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff.; for later discussions see V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg, 1963), pp. 33 ff., with F. Klingner, *Virgil* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1967), pp. 369, 381 f.

<sup>2</sup> DServius on 4. 682, with Servius on 5. 4; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, p. 115 n. 1; Buchheit, *op. cit.*, p. 40 n. 129; Klingner, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

<sup>3</sup> For the chronological difficulties involved see Pease, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 f.

<sup>4</sup> Timaeus, *FGrH* 566 F 82; DServius on 1. 340; Justin 18. 4-6: see on 341 ff.

eternal enmity should come between the Carthaginian and the Roman peoples. The tale of Dido, in the form which has stirred the human heart to pity for nearly two thousand years, was Virgil's own creation in a moment of intense poetic vision. This is implicit in a comment of Macrobius (*Sat.* 5. 17. 5), comparing Virgil's treatment of Dido with the Medea of Apollonius: 'quod ita elegantius auctore digessit, ut fabula lasciuientis Didonis, quam falsam nouit uniuersitas, per tot tamen saecula speciem ueritatis obtineat et ita pro uero per ora omnium uolitet ut pictores fictoresque . . . hac materia uel maxime in effigiandis simulacris tamquam unico argumento decoris utantur.'<sup>1</sup> And an anonymous epigram in the Planudean appendix to the Greek Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* 16. 151)<sup>2</sup> specifically names Virgil as the inventor of Dido's story in the form that we know:

ἀρχέτυπον Διδούσ ἐρικυδέος, ὦ ξένε, λεύσσεις,  
 εἰκόνα θεσπεσίῳ κάλλει λαμπομένην.  
 τοίη καὶ γενόμεν, ἀλλ' οὐ νόον, οἶον ἀκούεις,  
 ἔσχον, ἐπ' εὐφήμοις δόξαν ἐνεγκαμένη.  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ Αἰνεΐαν ποτ' ἐσέδρακον, οὐδὲ χρόνοισι  
 Τροίης περθομένης ἤλυθον ἐς Λιβύην·  
 ἀλλὰ βίας φεύγουσα Ἰαρβαίων ὑμεναίων  
 πῆξα κατὰ κραδίης φάσγανον ἀμφίτομον.  
 Πιερίδες, τί μοι ἄγνόν ἐφωπλίσσασθε Μάρωνα;  
 οἶα καθ' ἡμετέρης ψεύσατο σωφροσύνης.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. St. Augustine, *Conf.* 1. 13. 22 'non clament aduersus me uenditores grammaticae uel emptores, quia, si proponam eis interrogans utrum uerum sit quod Aenean aliquando Karthaginem uenisse poeta dicit, indoctiores nescire se respondebunt, doctiores autem etiam negabunt uerum esse'; for some other references see Pease, *op. cit.*, p. 65 n. 497.

<sup>2</sup> For a Latin version, once attributed to Ausonius, see F. Munari, *Epigrammata Bobiensia* (Rome, 1955), ii, p. 103; W. Speyer, *Epigrammata Bobiensia* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1963), p. 55. This poem was freely translated by Sir W. Raleigh in his *History of the World* (1614), with an interwoven passage from Dido's speech upon her pyre (4. 655 ff.); for an imitation by Wyatt see K. Muir, *Unpublished Poems by Sir Thomas Wyatt and His Circle* (Liverpool U.P., 1960), p. 29.

It is obvious that the introduction of Dido may be thought of as a counterpart to the role of Calypso in the *Odyssey*. The parallel is evident, but it is superficial. For Calypso, the immortal, brings only an irksome entanglement to Odysseus, which leaves no mark upon him other than his grief at the delay to his homecoming, and we may reasonably suppose that she soon dried her tears when she had let him go:<sup>1</sup> Dido, the mortal, brings a deep and searing experience to Aeneas, and their tragic involvement with each other has bitter consequences for future generations of Romans. This is Virgil's way with Homer; what in Homer is episodic or incidental becomes integral in Virgil, and the distinction between oral and literary epic is clearly shown. This book especially, which contains many passages with a Homeric background,<sup>2</sup> shows how beneath apparent resemblances there is a wholly different treatment and purpose. In language alone, where it was once customary to speak of Virgil as 'copying' Homer, some tone or detail is usually discernible that removes such a passage far from its Homeric precursor.<sup>3</sup> In subject-matter, this book offers some striking examples; these are discussed in the Commentary, but a few illustrations may be given here. The storm that overwhelmed Odysseus after his escape from Calypso's island (*Od.* 5. 291 ff.) is just another of the many calamities that he endured: the storm that shatters Aeneas' ships (81 ff.) is fateful both for him and for Dido. The mist with which Athena conceals Odysseus on his way to Alcinous' palace (*Od.* 7. 14 ff.) serves an immediate and limited purpose only: Virgil sees in the device (411, 516) a means for giving Aeneas time to watch and think and draw comfort from Dido's presence before she can see him, while his dramatic appearance on the parting of the mist deepens Dido's first impression of the man who has been a hero to her since her girlhood. Odysseus introduces himself to Alcinous (*Od.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Klingner, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> See G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen, 1964), pp. 148 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, on 198 ff., 498 ff., 589 ff.

9. 19 f.) with conscious pride, and with a desire to show the king with what manner of man he has to deal: Aeneas' self-introduction to the disguised Venus (378 ff.) is a sad protest and a reproach to the mother whom he does not yet recognize. The disguise-device itself can be paralleled from *Od.* 7. 19 ff. (Odysseus encountering Athena); but Virgil uses it to develop his plot and action, by making Venus recount Dido's history. Similarly, where literary epic itself offered Virgil a motif, he has transformed its significance: a piece of decorative magic in Apollonius becomes a shattering psychological weapon (see on 657 ff.); and Dido's suggestion that the Trojans might, perhaps, like to settle in Carthage (572) has a depth and pathos of implication that is entirely lacking in Hypsipyle's similar invitation to Jason.<sup>1</sup>

The action of the book ranges with unobtrusively balanced technique between the divine and the human plane. The intervention of the gods, whose decisions lie behind human action, was traditional in epic poetry;<sup>2</sup> and Virgil's gods are characterized with much subtlety. At the beginning we see Iuno, implacable, seething with jealousy and frustration, the ultimate cause of all the Trojan suffering. In a brief encounter we are shown Neptune, quick to seize a chance of outwitting her, an autocrat who gives short shrift to a jumped-up minor deity, Aeolus, temporarily suborned by Iuno for her own malevolent purposes. Venus in her plea to Iuppiter is a shrewd and spirited speaker, possessive of her son and a fierce fighter for his interests (and later seen as completely callous to any misery that she may bring to Dido). Iuppiter is all-seeing, all-caring, a calm disposer of Trojan (and Roman) destiny, yet neither able nor even prepared to prevent the many ills that Aeneas must endure

<sup>1</sup> Apoll. Rhod. 1. 827 ff. εἰ δέ κεν αὖθι / ναιετάειν ἐθέλοις, καί τοι ἄδοι, ἦ τ' ἂν ἔπειτα / πατρὸς ἐμείο Θόαντος ἔχοις γέρας. An outstanding example of such transformation is Virgil's use of Apollonius' simile (4. 1479 f.) in 6. 453 f.

<sup>2</sup> See W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1969), ch. 5; and cf. G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), p. 376.

before Iuno can be placated and the decrees of Fate fulfilled. His reply to Venus (257 ff.) is a skilful instrument on Virgil's part for an exposition of the purpose of the *Aeneid*—the imperial mission of Rome, expressed in a noble prophecy so devised that it still leaves room for Anchises' pageant of Romans in the sixth book, and rising to a culmination in the foreshadowing of an Augustan age of peace. Virgil's gods are serious beings, deeply concerned (one way or the other) with the fortunes of the Trojans as the forebears of Rome; they are not frivolous or frail or amusing, as Homer's gods often are: in this first book the reader sees plainly how Virgil conceived them, and so may conjecture their part in the books to come.

By an ingenious piece of technique, the background to Aeneas' exile from Troy is shown in the painted murals on Iuno's temple at Carthage, which depict in summary form the swaying fortunes of the Trojan War. The sight of these paintings is a turning-point for Aeneas. On his first appearance (92) he is frightened and bewildered, a man who cannot comprehend why he could not have been allowed to die at Troy like other foremost leaders. When he returns from reconnoitring after his ships have made land, he comforts his men in a brave speech that conceals his own sad apprehensions. His dejection and frustrated despair are again apparent in his words to the 'Tyrian girl'. Yet at that moment his divine mother is showing him the way to a means of hope, and on her instruction he comes to the grove where Iuno's temple is being built: *hoc primum in luco noua res oblata timorem leniit* (450 f.)—the sight of the murals, so unexpected, so filled with sad memories, yet tells him that he has reached a land where sorrow is understood and honour has its due.<sup>1</sup> From that moment, though still anxious, he is

<sup>1</sup> See on 461 f.; Klingner (op. cit., p. 399) interestingly compares Cic. *de rep.* 1. 29 (of Plato, stranded by a storm on an unknown shore) 'quem . . . timentibus ceteris . . . animaduertisse dicunt in arena geometricas formas quasdam esse descriptas; quas ut uidisset, exclamauisse ut bono essent animo; uidere enim se hominum uestigia; quae uidelicet ille . . . ex doctrinae indiciis interpretabatur'.

resilient. His speech of gratitude to Dido shows a new confidence; he still speaks of the sufferings of the Trojans, but he can now look beyond personal preoccupations, and recognizes that others have overcome calamity and gained greatness through trouble. He responds with warmth and sincerity to the manifestations of Dido's *pietas*: he has suddenly grown in stature. Happiness has come to him, through Dido.

Virgil shaped the book to lead to Dido, planning it to make Aeneas' fortunes seen as affected by hers, and hers in turn as involved with his. The first mention of her (299), like the first mention of Aeneas, is deceptively casual: when Iuppiter has unequivocally told Venus that Aeneas shall reach his promised land in spite of Iuno's opposition, he at once sends Mercury to Carthage to ensure safety for the Trojans, *ne fati nescia Dido finibus arceret*: her significance for Aeneas is already within Iuppiter's planning control. Venus then deliberately contrives a meeting with her son ('*media sese tulit obuia silua*', 314), and with apparent objectiveness tells him Dido's past history and present circumstances; she purposely (401) sends him forward to an encounter with Dido. The scenes that follow are designed to draw him towards her with increasing interest, and as he stands before the temple he already feels that she is in some way the moving spirit behind the unexpected evidences of humanity in a strange land: he stands there *reginam opperiens* (454). When at last she comes, every impression strengthens his new feeling of comfort; hidden from her, he sees her busy and businesslike, a maker of laws and dispenser of justice; he hears her speech to Ilioneus, ending with the wish that she could see him. When she does see him, Venus has made him young and beautiful; and Dido in her turn is thrilled and awed. Yet Venus is still anxious for her son's safety, nagged by distrust of Punic faith and by fear of Iuno's guile. She plots with Cupid to fire Dido with love. Dido is now helpless; her emotions have quickly passed beyond her own control. Her love will do what Venus

wants, for Aeneas will be safe; but it will also do what Iuno wants, for Aeneas will be kept from Italy, and in this way it will conflict with his destiny as proclaimed and upheld by Iuppiter: an explosive situation is already in the making, though distant as yet. Of Aeneas' emotions we are told nothing explicit; it is significant that it is not he who is to be fired with love through Venus' plotting. His dilemma, in remaining at Carthage, has not yet begun. Dido's dilemma, in forsaking her dead husband's memory and bond, is already beginning. Of the final tragedy there is no hint; for at this stage the repeated epithet *infelix*, used of Dido (712, 749), implies, or need imply, no more than the suffering that love may bring. The book ends with a scene of gaiety and rejoicing and hope.

It is often held that in creating Dido Virgil meant his contemporaries to think of Cleopatra. If so, he went a strange way about it. For in this book she is fine and noble, with no weakness or fault, and Virgil draws all our sympathies to her. She is an exile, in a dangerous country, driven there by her own brother's monstrous crime against the husband whom she had married in full solemnity of ritual (345), a husband whom she had deeply loved and who had fondly cherished her.<sup>1</sup> It is plain that of her own will she cannot forget him or betray his trust; Cupid's first task is *paulatim abolere Sychaeum* (720). Her quality as a brave leader of men was established when she founded her city of Carthage, in full personal command of a perilous enterprise, *dux femina facti*. Her control of the city and its citizens is authoritative and just. When Ilioneus asks for help, her reply (573 f.) is impulsive and unselfish and magnificent: *urbem quam statuo, uestra est; subducite nauis; Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur*. In welcoming Aeneas, she tells him *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* (630): words of deep humanity, a manifestation of

<sup>1</sup> Virgil ignores the tradition that Sychaeus was her own uncle (Justin 18. 4. 5): a repugnant detail, and alien to his conception of Dido's youthful innocence.

true *pietas*, simple, direct, humble. There is nothing here of deviousness or self-seeking or seductive wiles. Dido is a woman whose highmindedness and honour match the most exacting Roman ideal of conduct and person: a woman worthy of Aeneas.

In fact, too little account has generally been taken of this book in considering the problems implicit in Virgil's creation of Dido;<sup>1</sup> yet the book is responsible for much of their complexity. Before the intervention of Venus she is all goodness; in the fourth book she is so transformed by passion that those who look for faults in her will find them. Still, the sympathy that Virgil has won for her deepens continually, until grief for her end dominates all else, for the poet as well as for his readers; and that sympathy has its roots in the first book, and in the way in which Virgil has firmly founded and developed her character. Why did he take such pains to draw her so? Why did he invent that startling offer of common citizenship between Carthage and the Trojans? So improbable, so impossible; but only a cynic could regard it as a mere rhetorical artifice, designed simply to balance and highlight the terrible final curse in 4. 624 ff.: for it is a poet's vision, a deliberately chosen and serious expression of Dido's own disinterested idealism. Why did he represent Dido's words and actions in such a way that their cumulative effect accentuates the ultimate dilemma of Aeneas in his conduct towards her? Why did Aeneas himself have to aggravate that dilemma by his own solemn and moving promise to bless and honour her name for ever? It is as if Virgil planned these things to make as sharp as possible the sting of suffering for them both, to show the intensity of Aeneas' personal sacrifice in obeying the will of the gods, and the hideous cruelty of its cost to Dido, whose nobility availed her nothing. *Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?* These are some of the questions that the first book of the *Aeneid* raises.

<sup>1</sup> But see Bowra, *From Virgil to Milton* (London, 1945), pp. 53 f.



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I have consulted these commentaries on the *Aeneid*: Conington-Nettleship; Forbiger; Henry; Heyne-Wagner; Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke-Jahn; Mackail; Page; Papillon; Sabbadini; Sidgwick.

### *Abbreviations*

References to periodicals follow the system of *L'Année philologique*.

- ALL*      *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie.*  
*Heinze*    Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik.*  
*K-S*      Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*<sup>2</sup>, Hanover, 1912-14.  
*LHS*      Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, Munich, 1965.  
*Thes. L.L.* *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.*



## NOTE ON THE TEXT

I am grateful to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press and to Sir Roger Mynors for permission to use the plates of the Oxford Classical Text (1969); in my commentary I have ventured to record a different preference on the punctuation of 380 and on the text of 636.

## SIGLA CODICVM

<i>B</i>	fragmentum Mediolanense	saec. v/vi
<i>F</i>	Vaticanus lat. 3225	saec. iv
<i>G</i>	Sangallensis 1394	saec. v
<i>M</i>	Florentinus Laur. xxxix. i	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>p</i>	Parisinus lat. 7906	saec. viii ex.
<i>M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>R<sup>2</sup></i>	corrector aliquis antiquus	

### *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>t</i>	Parisinus lat. 13043
<i>u</i>	Parisinus lat. 13044
$\omega$	consensus horum uel omnium uel quotquot non separatim nominantur
$\gamma$	Guelferbytanus Gudianus lat. 2°. 70
<i>def.</i>	deficit (uel mutilus est uel legi non potest)
<i>recc.</i>	codices saec. nono recentiores

P. VERGILI MARONIS

AENEIDOS

LIBER I

ARMA uirumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris  
Italiam fato profugus Lauiniaque uenit  
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto  
ui superum, saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram,  
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem 5  
inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum  
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.  
Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso  
quidue dolens regina deum tot uoluere casus  
insignem pietate uirum, tot adire labores 10  
impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?  
Vrbs antiqua fuit (Tyrii tenuere coloni)  
Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe  
ostia, diues opum studiisque asperrima belli,  
quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam 15  
posthabita coluisse Samo. hic illius arma,  
hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,  
si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fouetque.  
progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci  
audierat Tyrias olim quae uerteret arces; 20  
hinc populum late regem belloque superbum  
uenturum excidio Libyae; sic uoluere Parcas.  
id metuens ueterisque memor Saturnia belli,  
prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis—

1-24 *MγRVp* 2 Lauiniaque *M<sup>1</sup>Vp*, *Gell.* x 16. 6  
(cf. *A.* iv 236), *Tib.*: Lauinaque *γRω*, *Macrob.* v 2. 8, *tegula Italicae*  
*inuenta* (*C.I.L.* ii 4967. 31), *probat Seru.* (*utrumque Gramm.*): Lauinia  
*M<sup>2</sup>* 15 una *M<sup>1</sup>* 18 sinunt *M<sup>1</sup>* 21-22 'in Probi  
*adpuncti sunt*' *editione, teste D.Seru.*

necdum etiam causae irarum saeuique dolores 25  
 exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum  
 iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae  
 et genus inuisum et rapti Ganymedis honores:  
 his accensa super iactatos aequore toto  
 Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli, 30  
 arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos  
 errabant acti fati maria omnia circum.  
 tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

Vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum  
 uela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant, 35  
 cum Iuno aeternum seruans sub pectore uulnus  
 haec secum: 'mene incepto desistere uictam  
 nec posse Italia Teucrorum auertere regem!  
 quippe uetor fati. Pallasne exurere classem  
 Argium atque ipsos potuit sommergere ponto 40  
 unius ob noxam et furias Aiakis Oilei?

ipsa Iouis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem  
 disiecitque rates euertitque aequora uentis,  
 illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammam  
 turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto; 45  
 ast ego, quae diuum incedo regina Iouisque  
 et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos  
 bella gero. et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat  
 praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?'

Talia flammato secum dea corde uolutans 50  
 nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,  
 Aeoliam uenit. hic uasto rex Aeolus antro  
 luctantis uentos tempestatesque sonoras  
 imperio premit ac uinclis et carcere frenat.  
 illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis 55

25-6 *Mγ RVp*; 27-55 *Mγ Rp*  
*γR<sup>1</sup>s* 44 pectore] tempore *Probus aliique, teste DSeru.*  
*Cornutus ap. DSeru. (cf. A. x 303)*  
*Seru. ad G. iv 502, A. ii 79, xii 11*  
*Tib.: -nat recc.*

25 causa *p<sup>2</sup>c* 38 Italiam  
 45 infixit  
 48 adoret *Quint. ix 2. 10,*  
 49 inponet *MRpd?*: -nit *γω,*



circum claustra fremunt ; celsa sedet Aeolus arce  
 sceptrata tenens mollitque animos et temperat iras.  
 ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum  
 quippe ferant rapidi secum uerrantque per auras ;  
 sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris 60  
 hoc metuens molemque et montis insuper altos  
 imposuit, regemque dedit qui foedere certo  
 et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas.  
 ad quem tum Iuno supplex his uocibus usa est : 64

‘Aeole (namque tibi diuum pater atque hominum rex  
 et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere uento),  
 gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum nauigat aequor  
 Ilium in Italiam portans uictosque penatis:  
 incute uim uentis submersasque obrue puppis,  
 aut age diuersos et dissice corpora ponto. 70  
 sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae,  
 quarum quae forma pulcherrima Deiopea,  
 conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo,  
 omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos  
 exigat et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.’ 75

Aeolus haec contra: ‘tuus, o regina, quid optes  
 explorare labor ; mihi iussa capessere fas est.  
 tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptrata Iouemque  
 concilias, tu das epulis accumbere diuum  
 nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem.’ 80

Haec ubi dicta, cauum conuersa cuspide montem  
 impulit in latus ; ac uenti uelut agmine facto,  
 qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant.  
 incubuere mari totumque a sedibus imis  
 una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis 85  
 Africus, et uastos uoluunt ad litora fluctus.  
 insequitur clamorque uirum stridorque rudentum ;  
 eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque  
 Teucrorum ex oculis ; ponto nox incubat atra ;  
 intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether 90

praesentemque uiris intentant omnia mortem.  
 extemplo Aeneae soluuntur frigore membra;  
 ingemit et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas  
 talia uoce refert: 'o terque quaterque beati,  
 quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis 95  
 contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis  
 Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis  
 non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,  
 saeuus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens  
 Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis 100  
 scuta uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uoluit!'

Talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella  
 uelum aduersa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit.  
 franguntur remi, tum prora auertit et undis  
 dat latus, insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons. 105  
 hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens  
 terram inter fluctus aperit, furit aestus harenis.  
 tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet  
 (saxa uocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras,  
 dorsum immane mari summo), tris Eurys ab alto 110  
 in breuia et syrtis urget, miserabile uisu,  
 inliditque uadis atque aggere cingit harenae.  
 unam, quae Lycios fidumque uehebat Oronten,  
 ipsius ante oculos ingens a uertice pontus  
 in puppim ferit: excutitur pronusque magister 115  
 uoluitur in caput, ast illam ter fluctus ibidem  
 torquet agens circum et rapidus uorat aequore uertex.  
 apparent rari nantes in gurgite uasto,  
 arma uirum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas.  
 iam ualidam Ilionei nauem, iam fortis Achatae, 120  
 et qua uectus Abas, et qua grandaeus Aletes,  
 uicit hiems; laxis laterum compagibus omnes

91-122 *MyRp*  
*Seru.*

100 undas (*A.* viii 538) *p*, *agnoscit*  
 103 fluctusque *M<sup>2</sup>Rbefv*: -tumque *M<sup>1</sup>ypacdhrt*  
 104 prora *pω*, *Porph. ad Hor. serm.* i 3. 55, 'alii' *ap. Seru.*: proram  
*MyR, Tib.* 109 mediis quae *Rbdfrt, Quint.* viii 2. 14: mediisque  
*Myaceh(aegre legitur p)* 110 maris summi *Char.* 275. 20

accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt.

Interea magno misceri murmure pontum  
emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et imis 125

stagna refusa uadis, grauiter commotus, et alto  
prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda.

disiectam Aeneae toto uidet aequore classem,  
fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina;  
nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae. 130

Eurum ad se Zephyrumque uocat, dehinc talia fatur:

‘Tantane uos generis tenuit fiducia uestri?  
iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, uenti,  
miscere et tantas audetis tollere moles?  
quos ego—sed motos praestat componere fluctus. 135

post mihi non simili poena commissa luetis.  
maturate fugam regique haec dicite uestro:  
non illi imperium pelagi saeuumque tridentem,  
sed mihi sorte datum. tenet ille immania saxa,  
uestras, Eure, domos; illa se iactet in aula 140  
Aeolus et clauso uentorum carcere regnet.’

Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida aequora placat  
collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit.  
Cymothoe simul et Triton adnixus acuto  
detrudunt nauis scopulo; leuat ipse tridenti 145  
et uastas aperit syrtae et temperat aequor  
atque rotis summas leuibus perlabitur undas.

ac ueluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est  
seditio saeuitque animis ignobile uulgus  
iamque faces et saxa uolant, furor arma ministrat; 150  
tum, pietate grauem ac meritis si forte uirum quem  
conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus astant;  
ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet:  
sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam  
prospiciens genitor caeloque inuectus aperto 155

123–28 *MγRp*; 129–55 *MγR*  
i 324: *ruinam γRad*  
*inuenisse se dicunt* *DSeru.*

129 *ruina Mω, Seru. ad G.*  
150 ‘*multi non uolant sed uolunt*

flectit equos curruque uolans dat lora secundo.

Defessi Aeneadae quae proxima litora cursu  
contendunt petere, et Libyae uertuntur ad oras.  
est in secessu longo locus: insula portum  
efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto 160

frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.  
hinc atque hinc uastae rupes geminique minantur  
in caelum scopuli, quorum sub uertice late  
aequora tuta silent; tum siluis scaena coruscis  
desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra. 165

fronte sub aduersa scopulis pendentibus antrum;  
intus aquae dulces uiuoque sedilia saxo,  
Nympharum domus. hic fessas non uincula nauis  
ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.  
huc septem Aeneas collectis nauibus omni 170  
ex numero subit, ac magno telluris amore  
egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena  
et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt.

ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates  
succepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum 175  
nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.  
tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma  
expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas  
et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.

Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit, et omnem 180  
prospectum late pelago petit, Anthea si quem  
iactatum uento uideat Phrygiasque biremis  
aut Capyn aut celsis in puppibus arma Caici.  
nauem in conspectu nullam, tris litore ceruos  
prospicit errantis; hos tota armenta sequuntur 185

a tergo et longum per uallis pascitur agmen.  
constitit hic arcumque manu celerisque sagittas  
corripuit fidus quae tela gerebat Achates,

156-84 *MγR*; 185-8 *FMγR* 169 *ante u.* 168 *collocat*, 170 *om.*  
*M*<sup>1</sup> 174 *silicis ω(praeter afhr)* 175 *succepit γω(praeter at)*  
181 *quem] qua γ, Char. 218. 32, agnoscit D Seru.*

ductoresque ipsos primum capita alta ferentis  
 cornibus arboreis sternit, tum uulgus et omnem 190  
 miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam;  
 nec prius absistit quam septem ingentia uictor  
 corpora fundat humi et numerum cum nauibus aequet;  
 hinc portum petit et socios partitur in omnis.  
 uina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes 195  
 litore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros  
 diuidit, et dictis maerentia pectora mulcet:

'O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum),  
 o passi grauiora, dabit deus his quoque finem.  
 uos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis 200  
 accessis scopulos, uos et Cyclopia saxa  
 experti: reuocate animos maestumque timorem  
 mittite; forsan et haec olim meminisse iuuabit.  
 per uarios casus, per tot discrimina rerum  
 tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas 205  
 ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.  
 durate, et uosmet rebus seruate secundis.'

Talia uoce refert curisque ingentibus aeger  
 spem uultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.  
 illi se praedae accingunt dapibusque futuris: 210  
 tergora diripiunt costis et uiscera nudant;  
 pars in frustra secant ueribusque trementia figunt,  
 litore aëna locant alii flammisque ministrant.  
 tum uictu reuocant uiris, fusique per herbam  
 implentur ueteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae. 215  
 postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae,  
 amissos longo socios sermone requirunt,  
 spemque metumque inter dubii, seu uiuere credant  
 siue extrema pati nec iam exaudire uocatos.  
 praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti, 220

189-220 *FMγR* 193 humi *dftv*, *Seru.* (*cf. A. v 78, vi*  
 423, xi 665): humo *ceteri*, *Non.* 312. 32, *Sac.* 460. 7 (*G. ii 460;*  
*cf. Val. Flacc. i 710*) 209 uultu *F<sup>2</sup>MRω*: uultus *F<sup>1</sup>γacr* alto *d*  
 212 frustra *F<sup>1</sup>MR<sup>1</sup>bcdev*

nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum  
fata Lyci fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.

Et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo  
despiciens mare ueliuolum terrasque iacentis  
litoraue et latos populos, sic uertice caeli 225  
constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis.  
atque illum talis iactantem pectore curas  
tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis  
adloquitur Venus: 'o qui res hominumque deumque  
aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terres, 230  
quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,  
quid Troes potuere, quibus tot funera passis  
cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis?  
certe hinc Romanos olim uoluentibus annis,  
hinc fore ductores, reuocato a sanguine Teucris, 235  
qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent,  
pollicitus—quae te, genitor, sententia uertit?  
hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas  
solabar fatis contraria fata rependens;  
nunc eadem fortuna uiros tot casibus actos 240  
insequitur. quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?  
Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achiuis  
Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus  
regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timaii,  
unde per ora nouem uasto cum murmure montis 245  
it mare proruptum et pelago premit arua sonanti.  
hic tamen ille urbem Pataui sedesque locauit  
Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit  
Troia, nunc placida compostus pace quiescit:  
nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus adnuis arcem, 250  
nauibus (infandum!) amissis unius ob iram  
prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.

221-34 *FMγR*; 235-52 *FMγRV* 229 deorumque (*ut A. ii 745*)  
*Bentley ad Hor. carm. i 12. 14 (cf. u. 332)* 235 a om. γ  
236 omnis (-nes) *FVc*: omni *MγRω*, 'melius' iudice *Seru.*, *Tib.*  
246 proruptum *F<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>RV<sup>1</sup>ω*, 'melius' iudice *Seru.*: praeruptum  
*F<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>γV<sup>2</sup>adv.*, *Sen. quaest. nat. iii 1. 1, Tib.*

hic pietatis honos? sic nos in sceptris reponis?’

Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum  
uultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat, 255

oscula libauit natae, dehinc talia fatur:

‘parce metu, Cytherea, manent immota tuorum

fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lauini

moenia, sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli

magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia uertit. 260

hic tibi (fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,

longius, et uoluens fatorum arcana mouebo)

bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis

contundet moresque uiris et moenia ponet,

tertia dum Latio regnantem uiderit aestas 265

ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.

at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo

additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),

triginta magnos uoluendis mensibus orbis

imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lauini 270

transferet, et Longam multa ui muniet Albam.

hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos

gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos

Marte grauis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.

inde lupae fuluo nutricis tegmine laetus 275

Romulus excipiet gentem et Mauortia condet

moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.

his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:

imperium sine fine dedi. quin aspera Iuno,

quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat, 280

consilia in melius referet, mecumque fouebit

Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam.

sic placitum. ueniet lustris labentibus aetas

cum domus Assaraci Pthiam clarasque Mycenae

seruitio premet ac uictis dominabitur Argis. 285

253-60 *FMγRV*; 261-8 *FMγR*; 269-76 *MγR*; 277-85 *MPR*  
258 et om. *V* ‘sicut multi’ ap. *Seru.* 270 ab] a *cdev* 272 hinc  
*cev*; et hic et hinc agnoscit *Seru.*

nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,  
imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,  
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.

hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum  
accipies segura; uocabitur hic quoque uotis. 290

aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis:  
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus  
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis  
claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus  
saeua sedens super arma et centum uinctus aënis 295  
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.'

Haec ait et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,  
ut terrae utque nouae pateant Karthaginis arces  
hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido  
finibus arceret. uolat ille per aëra magnum 300  
remigio alarum ac Libyae citus astitit oris.  
et iam iussa facit, ponuntque ferocia Poeni  
corda uolente deo; in primis regina quietum  
accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam.

At pius Aeneas per noctem plurima uoluens, 305  
ut primum lux alma data est, exire locosque  
explorare nouos, quas uento accesserit oras,  
qui teneant (nam inculta uidet), hominesne feraene,  
quaerere constituit sociisque exacta referre.

classem in conuexo nemorum sub rupe cauata 310  
arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris  
occultit; ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate  
bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.

cui mater media sese tulit obuia silua  
uirginis os habitumque gerens et uirginis arma 315  
Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat  
Harpalyce uolucrumque fuga praeuertitur Hebrum.

286-317 MPR 288 dimissum *cd*, *Seru. ad A. iv 234*  
289 onustum] 'alii honestum legunt' *DSeru.* 297 dimittit *Pedr*  
298 terra *P<sup>i</sup>* 310 conuexu *acr* 317 Hebrum *codd.*, *Prisc.*  
*viii 35, Non. 307. 27 et 362. 19, Seru., Tib., imitatur Sil. Ital. ii 73-5:*  
*Eurum Rutgers ad Hor. carm. i 25. 20, alii*



namque umeris de moreabilem suspenderat arcum  
 uenatrix dederatque comam diffundere uentis,  
 nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis. 320

ac prior 'heus,' inquit, 'iuuenes, monstrate, mearum  
 uidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum  
 succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,  
 aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.'

Sic Venus et Veneris contra sic filius orsus: 325  
 'nulla tuarum audita mihi neque uisa sororum,  
 o quam te memorem, uirgo? namque haud tibi uultus  
 mortalis, nec uox hominem sonat; o, dea certe  
 (an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?),  
 sis felix nostrumque leues, quaecumque, laborem 330  
 et quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris  
 iactemur doceas: ignari hominumque locorumque  
 erramus uento huc uastis et fluctibus acti.  
 multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra.'

Tum Venus: 'haud equidem tali me dignor honore; 335  
 uirginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram  
 purpureoque alte suras uincire coturno.  
 Punica regna uides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem;  
 sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello.  
 imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta, 340  
 germanum fugiens. longa est iniuria, longae  
 ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.  
 huic coniunx Sychaeus erat, ditissimus auri  
 Phoenicum, et magno miserae dilectus amore,  
 cui pater intactam dederat primisque iugarat 345  
 ominibus. sed regna Tyri germanus habebat  
 Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnis.  
 quos inter medius uenit furor. ille Sychaeum  
 impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore

318-49 *MPR* 323 pharetram 'sed melius in quibusdam  
*codd.*' pharetra 'inuenitur' *Prisc.* xvii 101 323 tegmina  $\gamma$ (*def. P*)  
 328 hominum *abhrt* 333 uastis et  $M^2P\omega$ : et uastis  $M^1Rr$ , *Tib.*  
 343 auri *Huet* (*Huetiana*, ed. 1722, p. 144): agri (*A. x* 563) *codd.*  
 348 medios *M*, *Seru.*

clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum 350  
 germanae; factumque diu celauit et aegram  
 multa malus simulans uana spe lusit amantem.  
 ipsa sed in somnis inhumati uenit imago  
 coniugis ora modis attollens pallida miris;  
 crudelis aras traiectaque pectora ferro 355  
 nudauit, caecumque domus scelus omne retexit.  
 tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere suadet  
 auxiliumque uiae ueteres tellure recludit  
 thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri.  
 his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat. 360  
 conueniunt quibus aut odium crudele tyranni  
 aut metus acer erat; nauis, quae forte paratae,  
 corripunt onerantque auro. portantur auari  
 Pygmalionis opes pelago; dux femina facti.  
 deuenere locos ubi nunc ingentia cernes 365  
 moenia surgentemque nouae Karthaginis arcem,  
 mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,  
 taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.  
 sed uos qui tandem? quibus aut uenistis ab oris?  
 quoue tenetis iter? quaerenti talibus ille 370  
 suspirans imoque trahens a pectore uocem:  
 'O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam  
 et uacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum,  
 ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo.  
 nos Troia antiqua, si uestras forte per auris 375  
 Troiae nomen iit, diuersa per aequora uectos  
 forte sua Libycis tempestas appulit oris.  
 sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste penatis  
 classe ueho mecum, fama super aethera notus;  
 Italiam quaero patriam, et genus ab Ioue summo. 380  
 bis denis Phrygium conscendi nauibus aequor,

350-80 *MPR*; 381 *GMPR*      365 cernes *PR* $\omega$ : cernis *Mce, Tib.*  
 369 aut (aud *M*<sup>1</sup>) uenistis *M*<sup>2</sup>*P* $\omega$ , *DSeru. ad A. iii 337 (?)*: aduenistis  
*Rb*?      374 componet *MP*<sup>2</sup> $\omega$ , *Tib.*: componat *P*<sup>1</sup>*R*      380 summo  
 (*A. vi 123*)] magno *R*

matre dea monstrante uiam data fata secutus;  
 uix septem conuulsae undis Euroque supersunt.  
 ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro,  
 Europa atque Asia pulsus.' nec plura querentem 385  
 passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est:

'Quisquis es, haud, credo, inuisus caelestibus auras  
 uitalis carpis, Tyriam qui adueneris urbem;  
 perge modo atque hinc te reginae ad limina perfer.  
 namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam 390  
 nuntio et in tutum uersis Aquilonibus actam,  
 ni frustra augurium uani docuere parentes.  
 aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cyncos,  
 aetheria quos lapsa plaga Iouis ales aperto  
 turbabat caelo; nunc terras ordine longo 395  
 aut capere aut captas iam despectare uidentur:  
 ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis  
 et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere,  
 haud aliter puppesque tuae pubesque tuorum  
 aut portum tenet aut pleno subit ostia uelo. 400  
 perge modo et, qua te ducit uia, derige gressum.'

Dixit et auertens rosea ceruice refulsit,  
 ambrosiaeque comae diuinum uertice odorem  
 spirauere; pedes uestis defluxit ad imos,  
 et uera incessu patuit dea. ille ubi matrem 405  
 agnouit tali fugientem est uoce secutus:  
 'quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis  
 ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram  
 non datur ac ueras audire et reddere uoces?'  
 talibus incusat gressumque ad moenia tendit. 410  
 at Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit,  
 et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,  
 cernere ne quis eos neu quis contingere posset

382-413 *GMPR*                      396 captus (captos *P*<sup>2</sup>) iam respectare *P*  
 401 derige *GPR*<sup>1</sup>: dirige *MR*<sup>2</sup> $\omega$ , *Aug. contra Acad.* i 5. 14  
 412 multum . . . amictum *Gb*, *Isid.* i 37. 19    nebulae multo *aeu*  
 413 posset *MP*<sup>2</sup>*e*: possit *GP*<sup>1</sup>*R* $\omega$

moliriue moram aut ueniendi poscere causas.  
 ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque reuisit 415  
 laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo  
 ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.

Corripuere uiam interea, qua semita monstrat,  
 iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi  
 imminet aduersasque aspectat desuper arces. 420

miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,  
 miratur portas strepitumque et strata uiarum.  
 instant ardentes Tyrii: pars ducere muros  
 molirique arcem et manibus subuoluere saxa,  
 pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco; 425  
 iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.

hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatri  
 fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas  
 rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora apta futuris:  
 qualis apes aestate noua per florea rura 430  
 exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos

educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella  
 stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,  
 aut onera accipiunt uenientum, aut agmine facto  
 ignauum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent; 435  
 feruet opus redolentque thymo fraglantia mella.

'o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!  
 Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis.  
 infert se saeptus nebula (mirabile dictu)  
 per medios, miscetque uiris neque cernitur ulli. 440

Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,  
 quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni  
 effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno

414-18 *GMPR*; 419-43 *FMPR* 420 spectant *F*<sup>1</sup>, adspectant  
*F*<sup>2</sup> 425 aptare *R*<sup>1</sup> 427 hic (20)] hinc *Non.* 340. 22 alta]  
 lata *F* theatri *FP*<sup>1</sup>*Rabcv*: theatri *MP*<sup>2</sup>*defhrt*, *Non.*, *Seru.*, *Tib.*  
 428 locant (*A.* iv 266)] petunt *F*<sup>1</sup> 429 apta *Bentley*: alta (*A.* ii  
 448) *codd.* (*nisi potius u.* 427 lata legendum) 433 dulcis *P*<sup>1</sup>  
 436 fraglantia *Pabehv*, *Aug. ep.* 41. 1: flagrantia *FMRCdfvt* (*cf.* *G.* iv  
 169) 441 umbrae *F*<sup>1</sup>, *Probus ap. Seru.*: umbra *F*<sup>2</sup>*MPRw*, *Tib.*

monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello  
 egregiam et facilem uictu per saecula gentem. 445  
 hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido  
 condebat, donis opulentum et numine diuae,  
 aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque  
 aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis.  
 hoc primum in luco noua res oblata timorem 450  
 leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem  
 ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus.  
 namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo  
 reginam opperiens, dum quae fortuna sit urbi  
 artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem 455  
 miratur, uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnas  
 bellaque iam fama totum uulgata per orbem,  
 Atridas Priamumque et saeuum ambobus Achillem.  
 constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus,' inquit, 'Achate,  
 quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?' 460  
 en Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi,  
 sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.  
 solue metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.'  
 sic ait atque animum pictura pascit inani  
 multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine uultum. 465  
 namque uidebat uti bellantes Pergama circum  
 hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuuentus;  
 hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.  
 nec procul hinc Rhesi niueis tentoria uelis  
 agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno 470  
 Tydides multa uastabat caede cruentus,  
 ardentisque auertit equos in castra prius quam  
 pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.  
 parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,

444-74 *FMPR*      444 monstrabat *F<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>a*      sic nam *F<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>Rω*:  
 signam *F<sup>1</sup>M<sup>1</sup>P<sup>2</sup>a* (signa *P<sup>1</sup>*): signum *br*      448 nexaeque *F<sup>2</sup>M<sup>2</sup>PRω*,  
*Tib.*, imitari uidetur *Claudianus rapt. Pros.* i 239: nixaeque *F<sup>1</sup>ab*,  
 'multi' *ap. DSeru.* (cf. *Hom. Od.* vii 89)      -que *om. γ*      455 intra *c*  
 458 Atriden *Sen. ep.* 104. 31      469 nec] et *F<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>* (haut *P<sup>2</sup>*)

infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli, 475  
 fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,  
 lora tenens tamen; huic ceruixque comaeque trahuntur  
 per terram, et uersa puluis inscribitur hasta.  
 interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant  
 crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant 480  
 suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;  
 diua solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat.  
 ter circum Iliacos raptauerat Hectora muros  
 exanimumque auro corpus uendebat Achilles.  
 tum uero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo, 485  
 ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici  
 tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.  
 se quoque principibus permixtum agnouit Achiuis,  
 Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.  
 ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis 490  
 Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,  
 aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae  
 bellatrix, audetque uiris concurrere uirgo.  
 Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda uidentur,  
 dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno, 495  
 regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,  
 incessit magna iuuenum stipante caterua.  
 qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi  
 exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae  
 hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram 500  
 fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis  
 (Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus):  
 talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat  
 per medios instans operi regnisque futuris.  
 tum foribus diuae, media testudine templi, 505  
 saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.  
 iura dabat legesque uiris, operumque laborem

475-507 *FMPR*      488 a(d)gnouit *MPω, Tib.*: a(d)gnoscit *FRc*  
 497 stipante] comitante (*A. ii 40*) *R*      501 deas *Fω, Macrob.*  
 v 4. 9, 13. 8: dea *MPR, Tib.*

partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat:  
 cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno  
 Anthea Sergestumque uidet fortemque Cloanthum 510  
 Teucrorumque alios, ater quos aequore turbo  
 dispulerat penitusque alias auexerat oras.  
 obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achates  
 laetitiaque metuque; auidi coniungere dextras  
 ardebant, sed res animos incognita turbat. 515  
 dissimulant et nube caua speculantur amicti  
 quae fortuna uiris, classem quo litore linqunt,  
 quid ueniant; cunctis nam lecti nauibus ibant  
 orantes ueniam et templum clamore petebant.  
 Postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi, 520  
 maximus Ilioneus placido sic pectore coepit:  
 'o regina, nouam cui condere Iuppiter urbem  
 iustitiaque dedit gentis frenare superbas,  
 Troes te miseri, uentis maria omnia uecti,  
 oramus: prohibe infandos a nauibus ignis, 525  
 parce pio generi et propius res aspice nostras.  
 non nos aut ferro Libycos populare penatis  
 uenimus, aut raptas ad litora uertere praedas;  
 non ea uis animo nec tanta superbia uictis.  
 est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt, 530  
 terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae;  
 Oenotri coluere uiri; nunc fama minores  
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.  
 hic cursus fuit,  
 cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion 535  
 in uada caeca tulit penitusque procacibus Austris  
 perque undas superante salo perque inuia saxa  
 dispulit; huc pauci uestris ad nauimus oris.

508-21 *FMPR*; 522-38 *MPR*

512 auerterat *FPa?*

513 percussus *FP<sup>1</sup>Rb*: -culsus *MP<sup>2</sup>ω*, *Tib.* (cf. *G.* ii 476, *A.* viii 121)

518 cunctis *P<sup>1</sup>cdfhv*: cuncti *FMP<sup>2</sup>Rabert*, *Seru.*, *Tib.* lectis *P<sup>2</sup>R<sup>2</sup>*  
 (letis *R<sup>1</sup>*), agnoscit *Seru.* 526 proprius *MPac*, *Seru. ad A.*

viii 78

quod genus hoc hominum? quaeue hunc tam barbara morem  
 permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenae; 540  
 bella cient primaque uetant consistere terra.  
 si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,  
 at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi.  
 rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter  
 nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis. 545  
 quem si fata uirum seruant, si uescitur aura  
 aetheria neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris,  
 non metus, officio nec te certasse priorem  
 paeniteat. sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes  
 armaque Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes. 550  
 quassatam uentis liceat subducere classem  
 et siluis aptare trabes et stringere remos,  
 si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto  
 tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus;  
 sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum, 555  
 pontus habet Libyae nec spes iam restat Iuli,  
 at freta Sicaniae saltem sedesque paratas,  
 unde huc aduecti, regemque petamus Acesten.  
 talibus Ilioneus; cuncti simul ore fremebant  
 Dardanidae. 560

Tum breuiter Dido uultum demissa profatur:  
 'soluite corde metum, Teucrici, secludite curas.  
 res dura et regni nouitas me talia cogunt  
 moliri et late finis custode tueri.  
 quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem, 565  
 uirtutesque uirosque aut tanti incendia belli?  
 non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,  
 nec tam auersus equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe.  
 seu uos Hesperiam magnam Saturniaque arua  
 siue Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten, 570  
 auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuuabo.

539-71 MPR

548 officio] omnino Char. 268. 4

541 considerare *DSeru. ad G. i 12*552 aptare] 'legitur et optare' *DSeru.*550 aruaque *M, DSeru. (def. P)*



uultis et his mecum pariter considerare regnis?  
 urbem quam statuo, uestra est; subducite nauis;  
 Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.  
 atque utinam rex ipse Noto compulsus eodem 575  
 adforet Aeneas! equidem per litora certos  
 dimittam et Libyae lustrare extrema iubebo,  
 si quibus eiectus siluis aut urbibus errat.'

His animum arrecti dictis et fortis Achates  
 et pater Aeneas iamdudum erumpere nubem 580  
 ardebant. prior Aenean compellat Achates:  
 'nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?  
 omnia tuta uides, classem sociosque receptos.  
 unus abest, medio in fluctu quem uidimus ipsi  
 submersum; dictis respondent cetera matris.' 585

uix ea fatus erat cum circumfusa repente  
 scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.  
 restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit  
 os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram  
 caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuuentae 590

purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores:  
 quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flauo  
 argentum Pariusue lapis circumdatur auro.  
 tum sic reginam adloquitur cunctisque repente  
 improuisus ait: 'coram, quem quaeritis, adsum, 595  
 Troius Aeneas, Libycis ereptus ab undis.

o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores,  
 quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque  
 omnibus exhaustos iam casibus, omnium egenos,  
 urbe, domo socias, grates persoluere dignas 600  
 non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique est  
 gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem.  
 di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid

572-85 MPR; 586-603 FMPR  
 572 pariter mecum P<sup>1</sup>  
 574 agetur] habetur Non. 282. 26 590 numenque F<sup>1</sup> iuuenta  
 P 591 adflauit P<sup>1</sup> 593 Pariusque P, ps. Acro ad Hor.  
 carm. i 19. 6 599 exhaustos BF<sup>2</sup>MPRω, D Seru. ad A. iv 75, Tib.  
 (cf. G. iv 248): exhaustis F<sup>1</sup>, D Seru. ad loc. (cf. A. iv 14, x 57)

usquam iustitiae est et mens sibi conscia recti,  
 praemia digna ferant. quae te tam laeta tulerunt 605  
 saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?  
 in freta dum fluuii current, dum montibus umbrae  
 lustrabunt conuexa, polus dum sidera pascet,  
 semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,  
 quae me cumque uocant terrae.' sic fatus amicum 610  
 Ilionea petit dextra laeuaque Serestum,  
 post alios, fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.

Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido,  
 casu deinde uiri tanto, et sic ore locuta est:  
 'quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus 615  
 insequitur? quae uis immanibus applicat oris?  
 tune ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae  
 alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?  
 atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire  
 finibus expulsum patriis, noua regna petentem 620  
 auxilio Beli; genitor tum Belus opimam  
 uastabat Cyprum et uictor dicione tenebat.  
 tempore iam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis  
 Troianae nomenque tuum regesque Pelasgi.  
 ipse hostis Teucros insigni laude ferebat 625  
 seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stirpe uolebat.  
 quare agite, o tectis, iuuenes, succedite nostris.  
 me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores  
 iactatam hac demum uoluit consistere terra;  
 non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.' 630  
 sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit  
 tecta, simul diuum templis indicit honorem.  
 nec minus interea sociis ad litora mittit  
 uiginti tauros, magnorum horrentia centum  
 terga suum, pinguis centum cum matribus agnos, 635

604-11 *FMPR*; 612-35 *MPR*

*Colt., Tib.*: iustitia *M<sup>1</sup>ab<sup>2</sup>hrv*

pascit *M*

ab *M<sup>2</sup>bcdt*

620 patris *P<sup>1</sup>c*

629 considerare *P*

604 iustitiae *BFM<sup>2</sup>PRcdefst, P.*

607 currunt *B*

608 poscet *F*:

625 insignis *P<sup>1</sup>, D<sup>1</sup>Seru.*

626 a]

(*cf. u. 541*)

munera laetitiamque dii.

at domus interior regali splendida luxu  
instruitur, mediisque parant conuiuia tectis:  
arte laboratae uestes ostroque superbo,  
ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro  
fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum  
per tot ducta uiros antiqua ab origine gentis.

640

Aeneas (neque enim patrius consistere mentem  
passus amor) rapidum ad nauis praemittit Achaten,  
Ascanio ferat haec ipsumque ad moenia ducat;

645

omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.  
munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis  
ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem  
et circumtextum croceo uelamen acantho,  
ornatus Argiuae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis,  
Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,  
extulerat, matris Ledaе mirabile donum;  
praeterea sceptrum, Ilione quod gesserat olim,  
maxima natarum Priami, colloque monile  
bacatum, et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam.  
haec celerans iter ad nauis tendebat Achates.

650

655

At Cytherea nouas artis, noua pectore uersat  
consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido  
pro dulci Ascanio ueniat, donisque furentem  
incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem.  
quippe domum timet ambiguum Tyriosque bilinguis;  
urit atrox Iuno et sub noctem cura recursat.  
ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem:  
'nate, meae uires, mea magna potentia, solus  
nate patris summi qui tela Typhoëa temnis,  
ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco.  
frater ut Aeneas pelago tuus omnia circum

660

665

636-53 MPR; 654-67 FMPR  
pro diei), 'nonnulli' ap. DSeru.: die 'id est diei' (ut G. i 208) 'multi'  
ap. Seru.: dei codd., Tib., 'imperitiores' ap. Gellium (Liberum patrem  
interpretatur Seru., cf. u. 734)  
MP<sup>2</sup>aeh, Tib.

636 dii Gell. ix 14. 8 (ut sit  
642 antiqua P<sup>1</sup>Rω: antiquae

litora iactetur odiis Iunonis acerbae,  
 nota tibi, et nostro doluisti saepe dolore.  
 nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur 670  
 uocibus, et uereor quo se Iunonia uertant  
 hospitia: haud tanto cessabit cardine rerum.  
 quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma  
 reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,  
 sed magno Aeneae mecum teneatur amore. 675  
 qua facere id possis nostram nunc accipe mentem:  
 regius accitu cari genitoris ad urbem  
 Sidoniam puer ire parat, mea maxima cura,  
 dona ferens pelago et flammis restantia Troiae;  
 hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera 680  
 aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam,  
 ne qua scire dolos mediusue occurrere possit.  
 tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam  
 falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue uultus,  
 ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido 685  
 regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,  
 cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,  
 occultum inspires ignem fallasque ueneno.  
 paret Amor dictis carae genetricis, et alas  
 exuit et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli. 690  
 at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem  
 inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos  
 Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum  
 floribus et dulci aspirans complectitur umbra.  
 Iamque ibat dicto parens et dona Cupido 695  
 regia portabat Tyriis duce laetus Achate.  
 cum uenit, aulaeis iam se regina superbis  
 aurea composuit sponda mediamque locauit,  
 iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana iuuentus

668–80 *FMPR*; 681–84 *MPR*; 685–99 *GMPR* 668 iactetur  
*F*<sup>1</sup>, -tetur *a* (*an h, non liquet*): iacteturque *BF*<sup>2</sup>*Mγ*(*def. P*)*Rω*, *Non.*  
 328. 5, *Tib.*; 'uacat -que' *Seru.* (*cf. A. vi 254*) acerbae *BF*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>1</sup>*aehrv*:  
 iniquae (*A. viii 292*) *F*<sup>2</sup>*MP*<sup>2</sup>*Rbcdft, Tib.* 670 nunc *F*<sup>1</sup>: hunc  
*F*<sup>2</sup>*Mγ*(*def. P*)*Rω* 672 haud] aut *MR*<sup>1</sup>(*def. P*)

conueniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro. 700  
 dant manibus famuli lymphas Cereremque canistris  
 expediunt tonsisque ferunt mantelia uillis.  
 quinquaginta intus famulae, quibus ordine longam  
 cura penum struere et flammis adolere penatis;  
 centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri, 705  
 qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant.  
 nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes  
 conuenere; toris iussi discumbere pictis  
 mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum,  
 flagrantisque dei uultus simulataque uerba, 710  
 pallamque et pictum croceo uelamen acantho.  
 praecipue infelix, pesti deuota futurae,  
 expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo  
 Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque mouetur.  
 ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit 715  
 et magnum falsi impleuit genitoris amorem,  
 reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto  
 haeret et interdum gremio fouet inscia Dido  
 insidat quantus miserae deus. at memor ille  
 matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum 720  
 incipit et uiuo temptat praeuertere amore  
 iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda.

Postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae,  
 crateras magnos statuunt et uina coronant.  
 fit strepitus tectis uocemque per ampla uolutant 725  
 atria; dependent lychni laquearibus aureis  
 incensi et noctem flammis funalia uincunt.  
 hic regina grauem gemmis auroque poposcit

700-22 GM<sup>PR</sup>; 723-8 M<sup>PR</sup>      700 post hunc u. collocat 709-16 M  
 701 manibus famuli GR<sup>chr</sup>, Seru., Tib.: man. famulae MP: famuli  
 manibus B<sup>ω</sup>, Auson. cento 15, Prisc. fig. num. 407. 5      703 longam  
 Char. 74. 30, imitatur Auson. iii 1. 28: longo (u. 395) codd. (def. GP),  
 Non. 247. 37, Tib., Seru.; 'utrumque legi solitum' testatur Gell. iv 1. 15  
 706 onerant BGR<sup>cev</sup>      ponunt BGR      719 insidat Mr: -deat  
 GR<sup>ω</sup>: -diat γ(def. P)bet?      ac GP<sup>2</sup>(ad P<sup>1</sup>)      724 magnos] laeti (A.  
 vii 147) Non. 545. 26      725 fit MR<sup>ω</sup>, Tib.: id γ(def. P): et fit et it  
 (A. ix 664) agnoscunt Seru., Tib. (unde it b<sup>2</sup>)

impleuitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes  
a Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis: 730  
‘Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur,  
hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis  
esse uelis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.  
adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator et bona Iuno;  
et uos o coetum, Tyrii, celebrate fauentes.’ 735  
dixit et in mensam laticum libauit honorem  
primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore;  
tum Bitiae dedit increpitans; ille impiger hausit  
spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro;  
post alii proceres. cithara crinitus Iopas 740  
personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.  
hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,  
unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,  
Arcturum pluuiasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,  
quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles 745  
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet;  
ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur.  
nec non et uario noctem sermone trahebat  
infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem,  
multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa; 750  
nunc quibus Aurorae uenisset filius armis,  
nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles.  
‘immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis  
insidias’ inquit ‘Danaum casusque tuorum  
erroresque tuos; nam te iam septima portat 755  
omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.’

729–56 MPR  
quae *bdv*, *praefert* Seru.

734 adsis ‘*alii*’ *ap.* Seru.

741 quem]

## COMMENTARY

I-II. *My song is of war, and of the man whose destiny brought him in exile from Troy to Italy, to found the race from which sprang Rome. Muse, tell me why he suffered so, through the enmity of the Queen of the Gods.*

I-7. The famous opening, *arma uirumque cano*, has suffered from an ancient controversy. Donatus (*uita* 42) and Servius (*praef.*, p. 2, ed. Harv.) record that Virgil's first editors deleted four preliminary lines:

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus auena  
carmen, et egressus siluis uicina coegi  
ut quamuis auido parerent arua colono,  
gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis . . .

These lines are not in the early manuscripts; their earliest witness is *cod. Bernensis* 172 (ninth century), where they are inserted marginally by a later hand. They have often been thought genuine. I have rejected their authenticity in *CQ* N.S. xviii (1968), 107 ff., for the following principal reasons: (a) they have no firm textual authority; they depend ultimately on Donatus' story that the *grammaticus* Nisus (first century) had heard from his 'seniores' of their excision by Varius; (b) they are inappropriate to an epic *prooemium*; (c) their style and expression, when closely examined, are unacceptable; (d) their presence ruins a noble period. It has been suggested that they were intended as an inscription beneath a portrait of Virgil, forming a frontispiece to a copy of the *Aeneid* (cf. Martial 14. 186): see E. Brandt, *Philologus* lxxxiii (1928), 331 ff. For another possibility see below, p. 27.

That the canonical opening was *arma uirumque cano* is clear, from the evidence of the capital manuscripts and from allusions in literature: it is implicit in Prop. 2.34. 63 f. 'qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitatur arma / iactaque Lauinis moenia litoribus', and explicit in Ovid, *Tr.* 2. 533 f. 'ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor / contulit in Tyrios arma uirumque toros', Persius 1. 96 '*arma uirum*: nonne hoc spumosum?', Martial 14. 185 'accipe facundi Culicem, studiose, Maronis / ne nucibus positus *arma uirumque* legas' (the *Aeneid* makes too serious reading for the Saturnalia; cf. id. 8. 55. 19), Seneca, *Epp.* 113. 25 (poking fun at the Stoics) 'prudens uersus bonum est, bonum autem omne animal est; uersus ergo

animal est. ita *arma uirumque cano* animal est, quod non possunt rotundum dicere cum sex pedes habeat'. The words occur in several Pompeian graffiti (one a parody, 'fullones ululamque cano, non arma uirumque', *Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 1936): see R. P. Hoogma, *Der Einfluß Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (Amsterdam, 1959), pp. 222 f.

Homer had set the pattern for an epic *prooemium* in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, invoking the goddess-Muse at the outset; for an ancient epic poet was the Muses' mouthpiece, not speaking for himself (as in didactic poetry) nor about himself (as in personal poetry). Virgil follows this at certain crucial points within the *Aeneid* where he needs strengthened inspiration (7. 641, 9. 525, 10. 163). But there was another type of opening, used in the 'epic cycle': so the *Ilias Parua* began Ἴλιον ἀεῖδω καὶ Δαρδανίην ἔπῳλον. Virgil blends this with the Homeric pattern at the pivotal moment of the *Aeneid* (7. 37 ff.), the exordium to the second half of his epic, where he first invokes the Muse and then continues (41 f.) 'dicam horrida bella, / dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges'. It is inconceivable that in his *prooemium* to the whole epic he should have violated ancient tradition by opening with four lines of personal introduction quite alien to the epic genre. Their removal shows the *prooemium* in a reverse pattern from that in 7. 37 ff.: first, the 'cyclic' opening *arma uirumque cano*, developed in a fine period, then (8 ff.) the invocation to the Muse.

This opening period has a noteworthy structure: ear and eye are led from the man of Troy to the climax in *altae moenia Romae*; the hero, his purpose, its significance, are succinctly clear (cf. Heinze, p. 437). It is carefully balanced: a statement in two lines, spilling over to a third (*arma . . . litora*), then a central *narratio* in just over three lines, cunningly made to look like a parenthesis (*multum . . . Latio*), then a conclusion in just under a line and a half (*genus . . . Romae*). The exordium to the *Iliad* also occupies seven lines: two set out the subject, three more give added detail, and there is a two-line conclusion; Achilles is named in the first, Agamemnon (Atrides) and Achilles in the last. Virgil has silently acknowledged Homer's precedent: if the apocryphal four lines are prefixed, this acknowledgement is blurred, while Troy and Rome no longer stand out clear, and the period becomes ungainly and burdensome to read.

The rhythmical art of the passage is deeply satisfying. Sense-pauses are skilfully varied, there is much enjambement, and a masterly closing cadence in the uninterrupted unit *Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae*; controlled



assonance and alliteration increase the effectiveness. Quintilian uses it (II. 3. 36 f.) to illustrate punctuation (*distinctio*) in reading (he takes for granted that the opening is *arma uirumque cano*). He postulates a light pause ('suspenditur') after *cano, oris, Italiam, profugus*, and a stop sufficient for taking breath after *litora*, 'quia inde alius incipit sensus'; he omits discussion of *multum . . . patres* (a pity), and ends 'cum illuc uenero *atque altae moenia Romae*, deponam et morabor' (the precise meaning of *deponam* is debatable, but plainly a full stop with a long pause is indicated; cf. C. P. Bill, *CP* xxvii, 1932, 170 f.).

It is hard now to understand how *arma uirumque* could ever have been thought to need some amplification to explain *arma*, and to balance the relative clause attached to *uirum*. But Servius states 'multi uarie disserunt cur ab armis Vergilius coeperit'; James Henry found *arma uirumque cano* marked by 'abruptness, turgidity, and ambiguity' (*Aeneidea* i. 6; he defends the apocryphal lines in 113 pages of fierce argument). Possibly the criticisms implied by Servius may explain the origin of 'ille ego', etc.: the question was asked, and the demand created the supply. His comment, however, well shows the startling impact of Virgil's opening words upon a Roman reader hearing them for the first time; they are so powerfully direct and resonant, and they are the words of a poet of peace, whose *Georgics* had shown him *studiis florentem ignobilis oti*, and whose *Eclogues* had been composed *patulae sub tegmine fagi*. No wonder that Propertius proclaimed (2. 34. 66) 'nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade'.

For discussion of the linguistic difficulties in the four 'ille ego' lines see *CQ*, l.c.; for the Servian tradition see H. T. Rowell in *The Classical Tradition: Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (ed. L. Wallach, Cornell, 1966), pp. 216 ff.; G. P. Goold, *HSCP* lxxiv (1970), 126 ff.

1. *arma uirumque*: for *arma* ('war') cf. 8. 114 'pacemne huc fertis an arma?'; *uirum* clearly points to *Od.* 1. 1 *ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον*, and Virgil's allusiveness is continued in *multum . . . alto, multa . . . passus*: while the structure of the *prooemium* recalls the *Iliad*, the language recalls the *Odyssey*. Homer soon names Odysseus (*Od.* 1. 21); Virgil does not identify his *uir* until line 92, and then almost casually, an approach much less direct than Homer's.

*Troiae qui*: the word-order removes the coincidence of metrical ictus and speech-accent in the fourth foot that 'qui Troiae' would have given. Virgil tends to avoid having a spondaic disyllable in the fourth foot, unless a preceding preposition coalesces structurally with it, e.g. *pro caris* (24),

*per uallis* (186), *per noctem* (305), *sub noctem* (662). He often does this by postponing a relative (as here) or a connective, e.g. *primo quae* (470), *magnum quae* (602), *talis nec* (4.551). When he does not avoid the pattern even where it could be avoided, there is often some obvious reason, such as emphasis (e.g. 565 'quis Troiae nesciat urbem?', 6. 22 'stat ductis sortibus urna') or euphony (e.g. 299 'ne fati nescia Dido', 5. 751 'animos nil magnae laudis egentis', where 'ne nescia', 'nil laudis' would have been uncomfortable to the ear). Sometimes metrical considerations prevent avoidance, e.g. 481, 489, where the connective *et* might have been postponed (see on 333) if metre had allowed. Since in a normal line ictus and accent must coincide in the last two feet (see on 105), a similar coincidence in the fourth foot also (e.g. 7, 24, 26, 29, 33) can produce monotony of rhythm if it is too frequent. Virgil constantly has this in mind, and his technique in this matter of the fourth foot differs markedly from that of Lucretius and Catullus: see Munro's introduction to his notes on Lucretius, 4th edn. (1886), p. 14; Bailey, *Lucretius, proleg.* pp. 112 f.; L. P. Wilkinson, *CQ* xxxiv (1940), 33; for a wider discussion see W. F. J. Knight, *Accentual Symmetry in Vergil* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1939), ch. 5; A. G. Harkness, *CP* iii (1908), 50 ff.; A. Woodward, *Philological Quarterly* xv (1936), 126 ff.

*primus*: Servius notes that some critics objected that Antenor had made a settlement in Italy before Aeneas reached Latium (see 242 ff.). This is pedantry; Antenor was not the founder of the Roman race, and Virgil justifiably ignores the tradition in the interests of his high theme.

2. *Italiam*: the first syllable is lengthened to suit the hexameter (so Callimachus, *h.* 3. 58; the reading *Italiae* in Lucr. 1. 721 is doubtful); less often Virgil has the metrically easier *Hesperia* (cf. 530), found in Ennius also (*Ann.* 23), or *Ausonia* (from the indigenous Ausones of Campania), which he is the first to employ. The adjective *Italus* is less intractable, but Virgil lengthens the first syllable if necessary (note *Itälā de gente*, 6. 757, but *Itälā regna*, 3. 185), as Catullus had done (1. 5) to bring *Italorum* into hendecasyllabics, probably influenced by Callimachus' precedent. Cf. Norden on 6. 61; Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 146 n. 3, and *Glotta* xix (1931), 249.

For the accusative without preposition after verbs of motion see LHS, pp. 49 f., and Landgraf's detailed study in *ALL* x. 391 ff.; with names of countries it is occasionally found in early Latin (Liv. Andr. fr. 13 M, *Graeciam redire*; Plaut. *Capt.* 573, *abiit Alidem*; *Curc.* 206, *parasitum misi*

*Cariam*). Virgil, following Homeric practice, much extended the use, applying it to names of peoples (*E.* 1. 64, *ibimus Afros*) and to nouns of place (365, *deuenere locos*; 3. 601, *quascumque abducite terras*; 6. 696, *limina tendere*). In prose there are few certain examples before Tacitus, who provides numerous instances.

**fato profugus**: Quintilian (11. 3. 37) took these words together, and this seems natural to the rhythm; but the force of *fato* extends to *uenit* also; Aeneas was destined to exile, and destined to reach Italy. *Profugus* is regularly used of Aeneas and the Trojan migration: Sallust, *Cat.* 6. 1 'Troiani . . . Aenea duce profugi'; Livy 1. 1. 8 'postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam . . . , cremata patria domo profugos . . .'; Ovid, *Ars* 3. 337 'profugum Aenean'; Silius 8. 52 f. 'corripit ensem / certa necis, profugi donum exitiale mariti' (of Dido).

**Lauiniaque uenit**: a more precise statement of the place to which Aeneas came, expressed paratactically in Virgil's manner. *Lauinia* here is trisyllabic, by synizesis ('Lāuinja'); cf. 6. 33, *omnia*, with Norden's detailed note, and 7. 237, *precantia*. The textual tradition varies between *Lauiniaque* and *Lauinaque*, with good authority for both: but the former would be the more liable to correction, by a scribe unfamiliar with such prosody. Cf. E. Bénoist, *Revue archéologique* xxxvii (1879), 115 ff.

The first syllable of the adjective *Lauinius* is long (4. 236; Lucan 9. 991; Silius 1. 44, 10. 438, 13. 64; cf. Prop. 2. 34. 64). The quantity varies in the nouns *Lauinium* and *Lauinia* (daughter of Latinus), according to metrical need and the position in the line: *Lāuini* (genitive), 1. 258, 270, 6. 84, Tibullus 2. 5. 49; *Lāuini*, Ovid, *Met.* 15. 728: *Lāuinia*, 6. 764, 7. 72, 314, 11. 479, 12. 17, 64, 80, 194, 605, 937, Ovid, *Met.* 14. 570, Stat. *S.* 1. 2. 244; *Lāuinia*, 7. 359, Ovid, *F.* 3. 629, 633, Silius 8. 176, 13. 806.

Lavinium was traditionally Aeneas' first foundation in Italy, and from there the Trojan *Penates* reached Rome: for a valuable discussion of its importance for the Trojan legend see R. M. Ogilvie on Livy 1. 1. 10; G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* (Princeton, 1969), ch. 4; for an account of two archaic inscriptions confirming the tradition, found on or near the site of Lavinium (the modern Pratica di Mare), see S. Weinstock, *JRS* 1 (1960), 112 ff.

3. *ille* : = ὁ γε. The reflection from the *Odyssey* continues (ὄς μάλα πολλὰ / πλάγχθη . . . / πολλὰ δ' ὁ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα). The pronoun is pleonastic, with resumptive force, adding a fresh point ('est autem archaismos', Servius); cf. 5. 456 f.

'Daren ardens agit aequore toto / nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra', 9. 478 ff. 'agmina cursu / prima petit, non illa uirum, non illa pericli / telorumque memor', Hor. C. 4. 9. 47 ff. 'qui deorum / muneribus sapienter uti / duramque callet pauperiem pati . . . / non ille pro caris amicis / aut patria timidus perire'.

**iactatus**: Virgil constantly has this verb to express the Trojans' 'buffetings': again in 29, 182, 332, 668, 3. 197, 4. 14, 6. 693; so of the Phoenicians, 442, and of Dido, 629.

4. **ui superum**: cf. 7. 432 'caelestum uis magna iubet', 12. 199 'uimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis'; in these passages *uis* comes close in meaning to *numen* (so Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4. 107 'multa prodigia uim eius [*sc.* Cereris] numenque declarant', *post red.* 25 'qui apud me deorum immortalium uim et numen tenetis'). The implication in *superum* is made more precise by *Iunonis ob iram*. The archaic genitive form is a mark of epic style; it survived in official formulae (e.g. *triumuirum, socium, liberum*); the form in *-orum* came by analogy with the first declension *-arum*.

**memorem . . . iram**: the words recall both *Il.* 1. 1 *μῆνιν ἄειδε* and *Od.* 1. 20 f. (of Poseidon) *ὁ δ' ἀσπερχές μενείαιεν / ἀντιθέω Ὀδυσῆϊ πάρος ἦν γαίαν ἰκέσθαι*. But Virgil's phrase is a striking personification, even more effective from the juxtaposition of *memorem* with *saevae*; Ovid borrows it, *Her.* 21. 9 'memori te uindicat ira', *Met.* 12. 583 'exercet memores plus quam ciuilitas iras', 14. 694 'memoremque time Rhamnusidis iram'; cf. Silius 13. 71 'pone, Anchisiade, memores irasque metusque'. Virgil may have thought of Aesch. *Ag.* 155 *μνάμων Μῆνις*; but the phrase might come from early Latin poetry, in view of Livy 9. 29. 11 'censorem etiam memori deum ira post aliquot annos luminibus captum', for Livy's first decade appeared before the publication of the *Aeneid*, and it is not safe to infer that he has used Virgil here: see S. G. Stacey, *ALL* x. 38 f., 50, and Ogilvie, *Livy* 1-5, p. 3 (cf. my note on 2. 486 ff.). For Iuno's implacability cf. 5. 781 ff. 'Iunonis grauis ira neque exsaturabile pectus', etc.

5. **urbem**: Lavinium. The subjunctive *conderet* marks the aim to which his wanderings and sufferings were directed (cf. 10. 800 'dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret').

6. **inferretque . . . Latio**: an extension of *conderet*; in founding Lavinium, Aeneas was to make it the home of the Penates of Troy; cf. 8. 10 ff. 'Latio consistere Teucros, / aduectum Aenean classi uictosque penatis / inferre'. For the Penates see F. Bömer, *Rom und Troia* (Baden-Baden, 1951), pp. 50 ff.

**genus unde Latinum**: *sc.* *ortum est*. The reference in *unde* could be to the whole process just described, but *uirum* is the

more natural antecedent; for this archaic use of *unde* with a personal reference see Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 102 n. 2, and Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 12. 17: Virgil likes it in a solemn context and in high style, 5. 122 f. 'Cloanthus / . . . genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti', 5. 568 'Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini', 6. 765 f. 'regem, regumque parentem, / unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba'; cf. Hor. *S.* 1. 6. 12 f. 'Laeuinum, Valeri genus, unde Superbus / Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit'.

7. This ringing line foreshadows the subsequent move from Lavinium to Alba (cf. 270 f.), and thence to Rome. *Albani patres* is a high allusion to a developed city with its ruling families forming a 'senate'. In *altae moenia Romae* Virgil sums up all his pride in the City of the Seven Hills; cf. *G.* 2. 534 f. 'rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma, / septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces', Prop. 3. 11. 57 'septem urbs alta iugis'; but *altae* possibly suggests highmindedness too (cf. *G.* 3. 42 'te sine nil altum mensincohat'). Virgil does not use *alta* elsewhere as an epithet of Rome; yet to limit its application by taking it simply as 'transferred' from *moenia* (so Mackail) is to miss much of its evocative power: Ovid understood something of Virgil's pride, in his periphrasis for the *Aeneid* (part of a reading-course with which a girl can impress a man), 'profugum Aenean, altae primordia Romae, / quo nullum Latio clarius exstat opus' (*Ars* 3. 337 f.). Silius has an imitation, 3. 182 'uictorem ante altae statuum te moenia Romae'.

- 8-11. The ritual invocation of the Muse now begins, in which the poet speaks as the instrument through whom the divine Muses make poetry known to men: so *Il.* 2. 484 ff.

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,  
 ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστε, πάρεστε τε, ἴστε τε πάντα,  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν,

Apollonius Rhodius 4. 1381 f.

Μουσάων ὄδε μῦθος· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπακουὸς αἰίδω  
 Πιερίδων, καὶ τήνδε πανατρεκὲς ἔκλυον ὀμφήν,

Callimachus, *h.* 3. 186

εἰπέ, θεή, σὺ μὲν ἄμμιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἑτέροισιν αἰίσω,

Theocritus 22. 116 f.

εἰπέ, θεά, σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα· ἐγὼ δ' ἑτέρων ὑποφήτης  
 φθέγξομαι ὅσσ' ἐθέλεις σὺ καὶ ὅπως τοι φίλον αὐτῇ.

This consciousness of complete subordination to the goddess-Muse is deep in the ethos of ancient epic; that is why Virgil (like Homer) asks the Muse's support at special moments;

e.g. 7. 37 ff. (where *maius opus moueo* explains his need), 7. 641 ff., before the Catalogue (where his prayer ends with words that recall *Il.* 2. 485 f., 'et meministis enim, diuae, et memorare potestis; / ad nos uix tenuis famae perlabitur aura'). See Norden on 6. 264 ff., and cf. Stat. *Th.* 1. 3, 8. 374, Silius 1. 3, 3. 222, 12. 390, Val. Flacc. 3. 213, 6. 34, 516; for a parody of the manner see Hor. *S.* 1. 5. 53 (Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. III n. 1).

In a mosaic portrait of Virgil (first or second century), found in 1896 at Sousse in Tunisia, the poet is seated with a Muse on either side; he holds a papyrus roll of the *Aeneid*, open at the words *Musa mihi causas memora*: see D. Compagetti, *Atene e Roma*, xvii (1914), cols. 66 ff., and Mackail's *Aeneid*, p. xlvii. Portraits of Virgil were prominent among those possessed by Silius in his various Campanian villas (Pliny, *Epp.* 3. 7. 8), and Martial lists among his *apophoreta* (14. 186) a miniature text of Virgil, with a portrait ('quam breuis inmensum cepit membrana Maronem! / ipsius et uultus prima tabella gerit'). The emperor Gaius planned to remove busts of Virgil (and Livy) from all libraries, since the poet was 'nullius ingenii minimaeque doctrinae' (Suetonius, *Gaius* 34. 2).

8. *quo numine laeso*: a difficult phrase, the meaning of which must be deduced from the uncomplicated *quidue dolens*. The interrogative *quo* is attached not to *numine* alone but to *numine laeso*, which forms a unit, so that *quo numine laeso* = *quam ob iniuriam numinis*, 'for what affront to her divinity'; for a simpler example of the form of interrogative in which an ablative absolute expresses ground for an action (an unusual type) cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3. 185 'tu uero quibus rebus gestis, quo hoste superato contionem donandi causa aduocare ausus es?' Some have equated *numen* here with *arbitrium* or *uoluntas*, adducing 2. 123 'quae sint ea numina diuum', 9. 661 'dictis ac numine Phoebi' (cf. Birt, *BPhW* 1918, 212 ff.), not sound parallels (since *diuum*, *Phoebi* make all the difference). For the expression cf. Ovid, *Her.* 20. 99 f. (of Diana) 'nihil est uiolentius illa, / cum sua, quod nolim, numina laesa uidet'.

The affront to Iuno's divine authority is explained in 19 ff. (her wish for Carthaginian supremacy thwarted by the Fates); and her resentment is further particularized by the personal *dolores* of 25 ff.

9. *deum*: for the genitive cf. *superum* (4, note).

*uoluere*: the infinitive after *impello* is not found before Virgil (again, 2. 520) and Horace (*C.* 3. 7. 14), and is infrequent later (Ovid, *Am.* 2. 12. 22; Livy 22. 6. 6; Tac. *H.* 3. 4).

*Voluere* suggests partly the passage of time (cf. *G.* 2. 295 'multa uirum uoluens durando saecula uincit'), partly the idea of unrolling a series of events (cf. 262), partly the picture of an activity that goes on and on, circle-wise (cf. 305): the full sense is something like 'to undergo so many endlessly recurring misfortunes' (cf. *io.* 61 f. 'iterumque reuoluere casus / da, pater, Iliacos Teucris').

10. *insignem pietate uirum*: so Virgil makes explicit from the start the essential characteristic of his hero, assigned by legend, and based ultimately on his deliverance of his father and the Trojan Penates from burning Troy; the frequent treatment of this act in art shows that the legend was known and honoured in Italy as early as the sixth century (see my note on 2. 708, with references). *Pietas* is a very Roman concept, embracing many aspects of man's relationship to the gods and to fellow men: duty, devoted service, responsibility, compassion, the full consciousness of what is due to others. It was not unilateral: it made equal demands upon those to whom it was given (cf. 253 'hic pietatis honos?'; Catullus 76. 26 'o di, reddite mi hoc pro pietate mea'). It was not smug; it could involve pain and self-sacrifice (cf. my note on 4. 393). It was a code of high conduct and an integral part of patriotism in the best sense. Cicero (*de inu.* 2. 65) includes it in *naturae ius*, implanted by an *innata uis*; he sums it up as 'quae erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conseruare moneat'.

See Henry's twelve-page comment here; Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1919), pp. 146 ff.; U. Knoche, *Festschrift Bruno Snell* (Munich, 1956), pp. 89 ff.; P. Grimal, *Pius Aeneas* (Virgil Soc. Lecture, 1959); K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960), pp. 39 f.; V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg, 1963), p. 19 n. 28; A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis* (Heidelberg, 1967), p. 24 n. 39; W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 24 f.; G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, ch. 1.

11. *impulerit*: the strong pause after a single word, run on from the previous line to end a period, is a favourite device of Virgil's. Such a pause, as here, is often the preliminary to a sharp, pregnant question or statement; so 241, 672, 2. 669 f. 'sinite instaurata reuisam / proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti', 4. 22 f. 'solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem / impulit. agnosco ueteris uestigia flammae', 4. 623 f. '. . . cinerique haec mittite nostro / munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt'. But often the word so carried over has special emphasis;

so 346 (*ominibus*), 549 (*paeniteat*), 2. 467 (*incidit*), 2. 529 (*saucius*), 4. 29 (*abstulit*), 4. 72 (*nescius*). Cf. Henry on 2. 247.

*tantaene . . . irae?* : for a similar summing-up line or phrase cf. 33, 8. 693, *G.* 3. 112, *G.* 4. 205; *Lucr.* 1. 101 'tantum religio potuit suadere malorum'. The plural *irae* is primarily necessitated by the metre (*tanta* could not stand); but Virgil often has the plural where the singular would be metrically possible, implying repeated feelings of anger, bursts of temper: see Landgraf, *ALL* xiv. 74, and my notes on 2. 381, 4. 197. Virgil has put in the forefront of the *Aeneid* the problem that constantly exercised him: the ways of god to man.

12-32. *The history of Iuno's enmity to the Trojans: her dear city, Carthage, was threatened by a decree of the Fates to be destroyed by a Trojan race; further, she had hated Troy's people ever since the insult set upon her by the judgement of Paris.*

Virgil now sets out, succinctly and forcefully, in a passage of intricate art, the main issue from which his epic tale springs. It corresponds to a *narratio* in a speech, such as 'plerique . . . uolunt esse lucidam, breuem, ueri similem' (*Quintilian* 4. 2. 31). But it is much more than a statement of facts: it makes clear the final power of Fate, against which even Iuno will be powerless in the end: Fate can be delayed, but it cannot be prevented; the foundation of the Roman race had a long and hard passage, but it was inevitable.

12. *urbs antiqua fuit* : for Virgil's opening cf. *Cic. Verr.* ii. 1. 63 'oppidum est in Hellesponto Lampsacum, iudices, in primis Asiae prouinciae clarum et nobile'. *Antiqua* implies not only age, but the honour due to age: cf. 6. 648 'genus antiquum Teucris, pulcherrima proles', *G.* 2. 174 'res antiquae laudis et artem'; so of Troy, 375, 2. 363 ('*urbs antiqua ruit*'), 4. 312; of trees, 2. 626, 714, 6. 179, *G.* 2. 209, *G.* 3. 332. In this way Virgil suggests to his contemporaries the respect due to an old and honourable foe. The nuance in *fuit* (cf. 2. 325 '*fuit Ilium*') can hardly be pressed.

In *urbs antiqua fuit* there is an epic stylistic feature which recurs in 159 'est in secessu longo locus', 441 'lucus in urbe fuit', 530 'est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt': such phrases mark an *ἐκφρασις* in which the poet digresses to describe for his readers a scene that is of importance to his narrative; the manner goes back to Homer (e.g. *Il.* 6. 152 *ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο*), and may be traced through Greek Tragedy and New Comedy to Hellenistic Epic, and thence to Roman Epic and Roman Comedy. The descriptive opening is picked up by some word that marks



the return to the narrative proper: here, *hic, hic, hoc regnum* (similarly *huc*, 170; *hic*, 534; *hoc in luco*, 450). English also uses the device, e.g. Tennyson's *Oenone*, 'There lies a vale in Ida . . . / Hither came at noon / Mournful Oenone'. See my notes on 2. 21, 4. 480 ff., 483, and the valuable discussion by G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 640 ff., 651 ff.

*Tyrri . . . coloni*: an important fact is put in a parenthesis, giving the illusion of casual narrative (see on 530). There may be a reminiscence of Ennius (*Ann.* 24 'quam prisca casci populi tenuere Latini').

13. *longe*: adjectival, with *ostia* ('the far-away Tiber mouth'), in the Greek manner; cf. 7. 727 f. 'Aurunci misere patres Sidicinae iuxta / aequora', Tac. *Agv.* 10. 2 'septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, uasto atque aperto mari pulsantur'. The geographical opposition suggests the historical conflict.
14. *diues opum*: again, 2. 22 (of Tenedos); cf. 9. 26 'diues equum, diues pictae uestis et auri', 11. 338 'largus opum'; the genitive is either one of content or of reference. Virgil's little vignette of Carthage, rich and pugnacious, is a notable expression of the qualities that made her so formidable to Rome.
15. *fertur*: this type of word generally shows that Virgil is following some antiquarian or literary tradition; cf. 532 (*fama*), 3. 416 (*ferunt*), 4. 179 (*ut perhibent*), 6. 14 (*ut fama est*), 7. 409 (*dicitur*): see Norden on 6. 14, an important note; Leo, *Ausg. kleine Schriften*, ii. 103 ff.; Heinze, pp. 240 ff. For the effective juxtaposition *omnibus unam* cf. Catullus 5. 3 'omnes unius aestimemus assis'.
16. *posthabita . . . Samo*: Iuno put even Samos second to Carthage; cf. Stat. *Th.* 12. 115 f. 'Cadmi / moenia posthabitis uelit incoluisse Mycenis'; *posthabere* does not occur in high poetry except in Virgil (again, *E.* 7. 17) and Statius. Hera's temple at Samos is said by Herodotus (3. 60) to be *νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν*, and (2. 148) as much *ἀξιόλογος* as the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The temple at Carthage was destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C.

There is hiatus between *Samo* and *hic*: so 5. 735 'concordia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla', 9. 291 'hanc sine me spem ferre tui, audentior ibo', 10. 141 'Maeonia generose domo; ubi pinguis culta', 12. 31 'promissam eripui genero, arma impia sumpsi'; so in the second foot, 3. 606, *G.* 1. 4; in the third, 4. 235, 7. 226, 11. 480, *E.* 3. 6, 63, 8. 41, 10. 13, *G.* 1. 341. Nine of these lines occur in speeches, and most show a pause at the hiatus, which Virgil probably introduces as a dramatic device, just as in Plautus hiatus often occurs

at a change of speaker or before a new point in the narrative (see Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse*, p. 240). See my note on 4. 235; W. R. Hardie, *Res Metrica*, pp. 45 ff.; F. W. Shipley, *TAPA* lv (1924), 140 ff. For other types of hiatus see on 405, 617.

**hic illius arma** : this and the two following clauses form a tricolon in crescendo pattern, with anaphora (for which see on 78 ff.): a marked feature of Virgilian style.

17. **currus** : see *Il.* 5. 720 ff.; cf. Ovid, *F.* 6. 45 f. 'paeniteat quod non foueo Carthaginis arces, / cum mea sint illo currus et arma loco'. Virgil means that there was an image of Iuno in her temple, armed and in her chariot.

**hoc** : attracted into the gender of the predicate *regnum*; cf. 6. 129 'hoc opus, hic labor est'; Cic. *Clu.* 146 'hoc enim uinculum est huius dignitatis qua fruimur in re publica, hoc fundamentum libertatis, hic fons aequitatis' (where *hoc . . . hoc . . . hic* pick up *leges*).

**dea** : this (for *illa*, picking up *illius*) stresses Iuno's divine authority; cf. 412, 692 (so *heros*, 196; *deus*, 5. 841).

18. **si qua fata sinant** : *si qua* = 'if by any means' (cf. 6. 882 'si qua fata aspera rumpas'); the subjunctive represents Iuno's thoughts. Her struggle against Fate is a basic motif of the *Aeneid* (cf. 7. 293 f. 'heu stirpem inuisam et fatis contraria nostris / fata Phrygum'); she may, and does, go to extreme lengths to gain her purpose; she fights to the last (cf. 12. 819 f. 'illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur, / pro Latio obtestor'), but the will of Iuppiter must prevail. For the relationship of the gods to Fate see C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford, 1935), ch. 9; W. A. Camps, *op. cit.*, ch. 5; Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 201 f.

**tenditque fouetque** : this correlating *-que . . . -que* is a feature of epic style, found already in Ennius, who took it over from the Homeric correlation  $\tau\epsilon . . . \tau\epsilon$ ; see Norden on 6. 336, and my note on 4. 83; Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 209 f.; H. Christensen, *ALL* xv. 165 ff. (an elaborate statistical study).

The words so linked are, normally, related concepts (so *caelumque diemque*, 88; *terque quaterque*, 94; *cerviisque comaeque*, 477). Here Virgil has used the device to produce a striking word-complex with remarkable elasticity of construction. The intransitive *tendit* is given an object-clause (an innovation which has no parallel), and *fouet* is linked with it as if a transitive verb with direct object had preceded: difficult and interesting. The sense is: 'that this city should have sovereignty over the nations, this was her aim from the start ('iam tum'), this her cherished plan'.

19. **sed enim** : 'but in fact' (so 2. 164, 5. 395, 6. 28); *enim* was originally asseverative ('indeed'), and Plautus regularly uses it so. *Sed enim* is listed by Quintilian (9. 3. 14) as a Virgilian archaism (Cato used it; see Gellius 6. 3. 16); Ovid and Silver Epic follow Virgil's revival of it. See LHS, p. 508; Norden on 6. 28. For the postponement of the connective see on 333.

**duci** : present, because the train of events was already in being.

20. **olim** : 'one day', of the future; cf. 203, 4. 627 'nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore uires'.

**uerteret** : cf. 2. 652 f. 'ne uertere secum / cuncta pater . . . uellet'; the simple verb is used for the compound *euertere* (poetic style, cf. Norden on 6. 620); so for *auertere*, 528. Virgil likes *arces* as a virtual synonym for *urbs*; cf. 4. 347 f. 'si te Karthaginis arces / Phoenissam Libycaequae aspectus detinet urbis', 10. 12 f. 'fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim / exitium magnum . . . immittet'.

21. **hinc** : i.e. *Troiano a sanguine*; this and the next line extend the matter of 19-20, more precisely defining it. Virgil thus represents the defeat and destruction of Carthage by Rome as predestined; the history of the Punic Wars darkens the whole background of this Book.

**late regem** : 'with widespread dominion'; cf. Hor. C. 3. 17. 9 'late tyrannus'; the verbal idea in *rex* makes the adverb less remarkable than the use of *longe* in 13.

**superbum** : 'arrogant', from Iuno's standpoint; from a different angle it was the Roman duty *debellare superbos* (6. 853).

22. **excidio** : 'predicative' dative of purpose; cf. Tac. H. 1. 80. 1 'orta seditio prope urbi excidio fuit'. *Esse* predominates with such datives; *uenire* occurs also with *auxilio* and *subsidio*: see H. J. Roby, *Latin Grammar* (London, 1889), ii, pp. xxv ff., a valuable study.

**sic uolueret Parcas** : this explains the authority of her information (20); *uolueret* may suggest the turning of the Fates' spindles, or simply the 'unrolling' of their plans; cf. 262, 3. 375 f. 'sic fata deum rex / sortitur uoluitque uices, is uertitur ordo'.

23. **ueteris . . . belli** : the Trojan war, now long past (cf. 31), of which Iuno's present hostility is a survival; *prima* (24) picks up *ueteris* (i.e. 'in the beginning', = *prius*).

24. **Argis** : this masculine plural form (for the Greek neuter *Ἄργος*) is regular in Virgil; cf. Varro, *LL* 9. 89 'dicimus hic Argus cum hominem dicimus, cum oppidum, Graece hoc Argos, cum Latine, Argi': cf. *Thes. L.L.*, s.v. *Argos*, for the practice of different authors.

Virgil now breaks off, to add a further cause for Iuno's resentment in an aside of studied casualness, as if the Muse were speaking informally to him and had suddenly remembered something fresh: this is a way of giving liveliness to a long exposition that might become tedious (cf. the elaborate opening of *G.* 1). After the parenthesis, again with deceptively casual art, he makes a new start on his main theme, in *his accensa* (29).

25. Iuno's bitter resentment (*dolores*) had a deep-seated personal origin, now to be explained.

26. The negative *necdum exciderant animo* is reinforced by the positive *manet alta mente repostum*; Iuno is represented as very feminine in her brooding jealousy.

*repostum*: see note on *compostus*, 249; but whereas *compositus* is equally possible in hexameters, the participle of *repono* (*rēpōsītus*) would be impossible unless in this syn-copated form.

27. *spretaeque . . . formae*: an explanatory variation of *iudicium Paridis*; the insult (*iniuria*) is defined by *spretae formae*, 'the scorning of her beauty' (cf. *numine laeso*, 8): so Velleius 1. 1. 1 'ob segnitiam non uindicatae fratris iniuriae' ('because of slowness in leaving unpunished the wrong done to his brother').

28. *genus inuisum*: 'the stock she abominated'; Dardanus, from whom the Trojans were descended, was an illegitimate son of Iuppiter (by Electra).

*rapti Ganymedis*: objective genitive. Ganymede too belonged to the *genus inuisum* (his father Tros was Dardanus' grandson); Homer (*Il.* 20. 234) says that the gods carried him off to be the cupbearer of Zeus; later versions made Zeus himself the abductor (*Hom. h.* 5. 202 ff.) by means of a storm-wind (*ἄελλα*), or employing his eagle (cf. 5. 254 f. 'quem praepes ab Ida / sublimem pedibus rapuit Iouis armiger uncis'), or disguised as his eagle (Ovid, *Met.* 10. 155 ff., where Ganymede serves nectar *inuita Iunone*, an idea embroidered by Statius, *S.* 3. 4. 15 'Iuno uidet refugitque manum nectarque recusat').

29. *his accensa super*: this picks up *id metuens* (23), resuming the narrative after the parenthesis, another touch designed to give an impression of informality. *Super* = *insuper*, as in 2. 71 f. 'et super ipsi / Dardanidae infensi', (i.e. 'all this besides inflamed her'). Some take *super* with *his* (for *de*, cf. 750), which seems unlikely: cf. J. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien* (Prague, 1878), p. 11, and Deuticke's note.

30. *Troas*: a Greek accusative. Virgil is sparing in his use of a spondaic disyllable in the first foot, which tends to slow

down the rhythm. In general, such words have a more or less close connection, either in grammar or sense, with what follows; Norden (*Aeneis VI*, Anh. viii) makes this classification: (a) a connective follows (cf. 433); (b) the word is a preposition (cf. 56), or a conjunction (cf. 723), or a form of *ille* (cf. 210, 254) or of *qui* (cf. 72); (c) a reflexive pronoun follows (cf. 439, 587), or there is a grammatical connection (cf. 602). Within these categories, special emphasis is often obtained, as in 33, 376, 423, 524. Here, *Troas* is closely connected with the limiting apposition *reliquias Danaum*. See also P. Maas, *ALL* xii. 515 n.; and cf. my note on 4. 453.

**reliquias Danaum**: 'the leavings of the Greeks', such survivors as the Greeks had left (again 598, 3. 87); cf. Cic. *de sen.* 19 'auī reliquias' (= 'what your grandfather left unfinished'); Silius 10. 416 'reliquias belli' (= 'whom war had left alive'), 15. 538 (of land untouched by war): contrast 5. 787 'reliquias Troiae' (= 'the remnants of Troy'). For the prosody *rēliquias* (necessary for the metre) cf. Lucr. 1. 1109, 3. 656, 6. 825; see Bailey, *Lucretius, proleg.* p. 132; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Gramm. d. lat. Spr.*, p. 938; Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 146 n. 3.

**Achilli**: for the form see Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 108 ff., 144; cf. my notes on 2. 7, 275.

31. **arcebat**: imperfect of constant action. Here now is the main verb of the sentence that began in 23; but the artfully contrived parenthesis, with the resumptive *his accensa*, prevents any straggling effect. The whole passage (12-33) is a notable example of Virgilian sustained composition.
32. **acti fatis**: cf. 2 'fato profugus'. It was because of Iuno's attempts to keep them from their goal that their wanderings continued *multos per annos*.
33. A line of extreme *gravitas*, slow and deliberate, with only one clash of ictus and word-accent (*erát*): Quintilian quotes it (8. 5. 11) to illustrate the figure *epiphonema*, 'rei narratae uel probatae summa acclamatio' (cf. Volkmann, *Rhetorik*, p. 455). Virgil has added a summarizing reflection to round off his narrative prelude, once more leading eye and ear and thought to Rome. Formally the reference is only to the founding of the city; but it inevitably brings to mind also the long, gradual, difficult but inexorable process by which Roman supremacy was established. It is worth remembering that for Virgil and his contemporaries the final destruction of Carthage in 146 was no remote event, but something that their own grandfathers could have seen happening in their lifetime.

34-49. *Iuno, seeing the Trojans cheerfully voyaging on from Sicily, soliloquizes angrily on her humiliating position.*

Virgil now 'in medias res non secus ac notas auditorem rapit' (Hor. *AP* 148 f.): he assumes knowledge of preceding events, later to be described in Aeneas' own narrative, and opens his tale with the Trojans setting sail from Sicily after the journeyings that followed Troy's fall. In this way he puts in the forefront of his epic the storm and shipwreck from which such momentous consequences came, making an immediate impact on the reader.

35. *laeti*: the Trojans' delight was the last straw for Iuno, and their happiness is charged with irony.

*spumas . . . ruebant*: 'they were churning the sea-foam with their bronze prows'; cf. 10. 214 'campos salis aere secabant'; Ennius, *Ann.* 385 'caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum'. The 'bronze' is strictly an anachronism; cf. F. H. Sandbach, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* v (1965-6), 26 ff. For *ruere* of violent driving motion cf. 85, *G.* 2. 308 f. 'ruit atram / ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem'; Lucr. 6. 726 'mare permotum uentis ruit intus harenam'.

36. *uulnus*: a 'hurt', physical or mental; cf. 4. 67 'tacitum uiuit sub pectore uulnus'; Lucr. 1. 34 'aeterno deuictus uulnere amoris', 2. 639 'aeternumque daret matri sub pectore uulnus'; Theocritus 11. 15 ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος.

37. *secum*: sc. *locuta est* (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4. 422 'nec tulit et secum', also introducing a soliloquy by Iuno); for this use of *secum* cf. 4. 533, 6. 158, 10. 285, *G.* 4. 465, and *mecum* in 2. 93.

This monologue has a notable and deliberate parallel in 7. 293 ff., where Iuno intervenes to bring strife and bloodshed for the frustration of Aeneas: see Fraenkel, *JRS* xxxv (1945), 3; cf. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius*, p. 6; Buchheit, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.; Wlosok, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f. It was this that formed a declamation-exercise for the child Augustine: *Conf.* 1. 17 'praemio laudis et dedecoris uel plagarum metu, ut dicerem uerba Iunonis irascentis et dolentis quod non possit Italia Teucrorum auertere regem, quae numquam Iunonem dixisse audieram, sed figmentorum poeticorum uestigia errantes sequi cogebamur, et tale aliquid dicere solutis uerbis quale poeta dixisset uersibus'. For a Silver Latin Iuno-monologue see Seneca, *HF* 1-124.

*mene*: *-ne* is attached to the emphatic word (cf. 97, 4. 314 'mene fugis?'): Iuno can scarcely credit that *she* should be baulked. Note the many hissing s-sounds in her soliloquy (especially 44 f.); cf. 4. 603 ff.

**desistere** : this exclamatory infinitive ('indignantis'), emotional but with no verb of feeling expressed, belongs to lively familiar style. Ennius used it in Tragedy (*Sc.* 62), and it is frequent in Comedy, especially with the introductory *-ne*: e.g. Plaut. *Asin.* 226 'haecine te esse oblitum in ludo qui fuisti tam diu!', Ter. *Andr.* 245 'adeon hominem esse inuenustum aut infelicem quemquam ut ego sum!'; so too in Cicero's letters (e.g. *ad Att.* 9. 13. 8 'mene haec posse ferre!') and sometimes in his speeches (e.g. *Rosc. Am.* 95 'tene . . . potissimum tibi partis istas depoposcisse!'). See LHS, p. 366; K-S i. 720; Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangsspr.*, pp. 49 f.; H. Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Properz (Hermes, Einzelschriften 15, 1960)*, p. 152.

39. **quippe** : indignantly ironical ('O yes, naturally—the Fates bar my way'). The tone of this explanatory particle, used much like *scilicet*, depends on its context; contrast 12. 421 f. 'omnis de corpore fugit / quippe dolor', *G.* 2. 49 'quippe solo natura subest': see LHS, p. 510; K-S i. 808; and cf. my note on 4. 218.

**Pallasne** : emphatic, picked up by *ipsa*, 42, and contrasted with *ast ego*, 46; cf. 7. 304 ff. 'Mars . . . ast ego'. For Pallas' anger and its consequences see *Od.* 1. 326.

40. **Argium** : genitive, like *Danaum* (30); see on *superum*, 4.

**ipsos** : the crews; cf. *Il.* 14. 47 πρὶν πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρῆσαι, κτεῖναι δὲ καὶ αὐτούς.

41. **unius** : explained in *Aiacis Oilei*; Pallas could revenge herself on a single individual, Iuno is powerless against a whole people who have wronged her (*una cum gente*, 47).

**furias** : 'mad lust'; cf. Stat. *Th.* 11. 637 f. (of Iocasta) 'multaque cum superis et diro questa cubili / et nati furiis': the violation of Cassandra by the Locrian Ajax, son of Oileus, at Athena's temple was a tradition of the epic cycle, and was the subject of many vase-paintings (see my note on 2. 403). For the (trisyllabic) genitive form *Oilei* cf. *Ilionei* (120), *Idomenei* (11. 265); see Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 124.

42. **ipsa** : as often, of the central personage, controlling events ('why, she . . .').

**Iouis . . . ignem** : an added grievance: Pallas could use Iuppiter's own thunderbolt (cf. Eur. *Tro.* 80 f. ἐμοὶ δὲ δώσειν φησὶ πῦρ κεραύνιον, / βάλλειν Ἀχαιοὺς ναῦς τε πιμπράναι πυρὶ).

43. **disiecitque . . . euertitque** : cf. note on 18. Pallas 'split their ships and upturned the sea with gales': the two actions are simultaneous, linked by the double *-que*, and there is no ὕστερον πρότερον (for which see on 526).

44. **illum** : emphatic, in adversative asyndeton: 'but as for him, with pierced breast he gasped out flame, as she whirled him

off in the spinning blast and impaled him upon a jagged crag'. Homer (*Od.* 4. 499 ff.) represents Ajax as drowned by Poseidon, with no mention of the thunderbolt; this, however, had evidently been in the tradition used before Virgil by Accius, for DServius quotes a line 'de Aiace' from Accius' play *Clytemestra*, 'in pectore / fulmen incohatum flammam ostentabat Iouis'. Virgil's restraint is well seen by comparing the horror versions of Seneca, *Agam.* 528 ff., and Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 530 ff. For the legend cf. Frazer's note on Apollodorus, *Epit.* 6. 6 (Loeb edn., p. 246); Pearson, *Fragments of Sophocles* i. 8 ff.

Virgil must have remembered Lucr. 6. 390 ff., the argument against Iuppiter's control of thunderbolts:

cur quibus incautum scelus auersabile cumquest  
non faciunt icti flammam ut fulguris halent.  
pectore prefixo, documen mortalibus acre,  
et potius nulla sibi turpi conscius in re  
uoluitur in flammis innoxius inque peditur  
turbine caelesti subito correptus et igni?

But such rationalizing was not in his line, as he often makes clear.

45. turbine: the wind-force of the thunderbolt; cf. 6. 594 'praecipitemque immani turbine adegit': so of an arrow's flight, 12. 320 'incertum qua pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta', and of a whirled stone, 12. 531 f. 'praecipitem scopulo atque ingentis turbine saxi / excutit effunditque solo'. Henry's fifteen-page note on *infixit* makes lively reading.

46. *ast ego*: see on 39. *Ast* is archaic; in early Latin it occurs in legal formulae (e.g. the Twelve Tables), and in sentences with a double protasis, e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 683 'si ego hic peribo, ast ille ut dixit non redit' (a parody of the legal manner); for other formulaic uses see Cic. *de leg.* 3. 10, Livy 10. 19. 17. In classical poetry it normally occurs only before a vowel, and most often with a pronoun following, as here, or before *ubi*, *ibi*; but note 10. 743 'ast de me diuum pater atque hominum rex', where the tone is solemn and has the ring of Old Latin (cf. Norden on 6. 316). See Leo, *Senecae tragoediae*, i. 214 ff.; Nettleship, *Contr. Lat. Lex.*, s.v.; and my note on 2. 467.

*dium regina*: so 7. 308 'ast ego, magna Iouis coniunx'. With *incedit* cf. 405 'uera incessu patuit dea'; Iuno 'walks in majesty': the verb is coloured by its context (cf. 497, of Dido the Queen); in 8. 722 'incedunt uictae longo ordine gentes', *uictae* supplies the picture of a slow, sad walk (Henry has a good note on the point).



47. **et soror et coniunx** : cf. *Il.* 16. 432 *κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε*; Hor. *C.* 3. 3. 64 'coniuge me Iouis et sorore'; Ovid, *Met.* 3. 265 f. 'si sum regina Iouisque / et soror et coniunx, certe soror'.
48. **et quisquam** : cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3. 8. 1 'et quisquam ingenuas etiam nunc suspicit artes?'; *et* marks a querulous or angry tone, as in 4. 215; cf. Cic. *de domo* 85 'et tu unus pestifer cuius eum restitutum negas esse ciuem?'

**Iunonis** : this device (the speaker's own name, instead of a pronoun or possessive adjective) is often used by Virgil, with varying nuances: e.g. 2. 79 (virtuous selfrighteousness, *Sinonem*), 2. 778 (affection, *Creusam*), 6. 510 (pity, *Deiphobo*), 7. 261 (honour, *Latino*), 8. 73 (reverence, *Aenean*), 11. 689 (pride, *Camillae*): see Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien*, pp. 17 ff., an interesting list of passages from Virgil and Homer.

**adorat** : Quintilian (9. 2. 10) quotes the line with *adoret*, and so too Servius (three times); but the indicative has more force—Iuno sees herself already being neglected in worship. The future *imponet* in 49 (for which there are variants *imponit*, *imponat*) adds further dramatic tone ('Does anyone now . . .? Will anyone after this . . .?').

49. **praeterea** : 'any more', as in *G.* 4. 500 f. 'neque illum / . . . praeterea uidit'.

**honorem** : i.e. sacrifice; cf. 3. 118 'meritos aris mactauit honores', 3. 264 'numina magna uocat meritosque indicit honores'.

50-64. *Iuno visits the cave of Aeolus, the Lord of the Winds.*

The passage forms a smooth and artistic transition, leading on to the storm and shipwreck, from which so much was to depend. Homer's account of Aeolus (*Od.* 10. 1 ff.) is only incidental to his tale of Odysseus' calamities: Virgil uses the detail to serve a basic theme of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' involvement with Dido and the tragedy of her death. Cf. also Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 466 ff.: on the relationship of the two passages see Heinze, pp. 74 ff.; Buchheit, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

50. **flammato** : this metaphorical use is not recorded earlier; it is imitated by Statius (*Th.* 1. 249 f. 'flammato uersans inopinum corde dolorem / talia Iuno refert') and Silius (15. 560).

**secum . . . uolutans** : a frequent turn: so 4. 533 'secumque ita corde uolutat', 6. 185 'haec ipse suo tristi cum corde uolutat', 12. 843 'aliud genitor secum ipse uolutat'; 6. 157 f. 'caecosque uolutat / euentus animo secum', 10. 159 f. 'secumque uolutat / euentus belli uarios'.

51. **patriam** : the winds have a settled homeland, with established traditions and loyalties: so the bees 'patriam solae et certos nouere penatis' (*G.* 4. 155).

**loca . . . Austris** : cf. 6. 265 'loca nocte tacentia late'; Ovid, *Met.* 14. 103 'loca feta palustribus undis'; *feta* suggests the large family of the winds (cf. Varro Atacinus, fr. 12 Morel, 'feta feris Libye'). Servius comments 'legerat apud Ennium [*Ann.* 594] *fuventibus uentis*, sed quasi asperum fugit et posuit *austris* pro "uentis"': Virgil could not treat final -s as Ennius and Lucretius did, but the particularizing is in any case characteristic of his manner. Cf. 12. 115 'lucemque elatis naribus efflant', where Servius notes 'Ennianus uersus est ordine commutato. ille enim ait [*Ann.* 600] "funduntque elatis naribus lucem"'.

52. **Aeoliam** : for the accusative see on 2. With the strong pause at the second-foot diaeresis cf. 168 'Nympharum domus. hic . . .': contrast 54, a like metrical pattern, where the absence of pause after *premit* makes a different rhythm. From 8. 417 it appears that Aeolia was identified with Lipara, off Sicily.

**hic** : this picks up the miniature *ἔκφρασις* of 51. Homer does not mention a cave; his Aeolus lives richly in a city, *δῶματα καλά* (*Od.* 10. 13). Virgil seems to have had in mind *Lucr.* 6. 189 ff., where the winds are pent in clouds like caged beasts:

contemplator enim, cum montibus assimilata  
nubila portabunt uenti transuersa per auras,  
aut ubi per magnos montis cumulata uidebis  
insuper esse aliis alia atque urgere superne  
in statione locata sepultis undique uentis.  
tum poteris magnas moles cognoscere eorum  
speluncasque uelut saxis pendentibu' structas  
cernere, quas uenti cum tempestate coorta  
complerunt, magno indignantur murmure clausi  
nubibus in caueisque ferarum more minantur;  
nunc hinc nunc illinc fremitus per nubila mittunt.

For other Aeolus-pictures cf. Val. Flacc. 1. 591 ff., Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 474 ff.

53. A fine line, showing metrically and linguistically the noise and straining of the imprisoned winds: the massive spondees (the maximum number possible), the struggle of ictus and word-accent, the huge stretch of *tempestatesque* from the third to the fifth foot, the highly charged epithet *sonoras* ending the line—all combine to form a memorable sound-picture.

54. **imperio . . . frenat** : Aeolus 'holds them down with his authority, curbing them with chains and prison-bars'; the force of *frenat* properly applies to *uinclis* only, and is then extended to *carcere*.

55. *illi* : the shift from object (*uentos*, 53) to subject is a characteristic Virgilian device, giving variety and emphasis together; cf. 2. 50 ff. (*hastam . . . illa*), 2. 460 ff. (*turrim . . . ea*): it occurs often in similes (cf. 153; 2. 628, where *illa* picks up *ornum*; 4. 445, where *ipsa* picks up *quercum*).

*cum* : 'to the accompaniment of'; cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 1. 49 'hunc . . . abstulit magno cum gemitu ciuitatis': *murmure* must be taken with *montis* (the *mons* is explained in 61), cf. 245. Again the line has much metrical weight and strain, with effective alliteration (note the clatter of repeated *c* in 56). The winds 'fume and fret ranged round their bars, while the mountain rumbles and roars'.

56. *arce* : deliberately ambiguous; it could mean an actual 'citadel', high above the winds' dungeon, or the ruler's headquarters, or simply a mountain-peak; Virgil imposingly shows the autocratic power of Aeolus over his prisoners. Cf. Ovid, *H.* 11. 65 'media sedet Aeolus aula'; Stat. *Th.* 8. 21 'sedens media regni infelicis in arce' (of Pluto).

57. *animos* : cf. G. 2. 441 'animosi Euri'. The word both implies the 'spirit' or 'temper' of the winds (cf. 10. 356 f. 'discordes aethere uenti / proelia ceu tollunt animis') and hints at their 'breath'; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2. 84 f. 'quadripedes animosos ignibus illis / quos in pectore habent, quos ore et naribus efflant', where *efflant* is carefully chosen to support *animosos*. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 19 'ipse autem animus ab anima dictus est; Zenoni Stoico animus ignis uidetur'; Lactantius, *de opificio dei* 17. 2 'alii sanguinem esse [sc. animam] dixerunt, alii ignem, alii uentum; unde anima, uel animus, nomen accepit, quod Graece uentus ἀνεμος dicitur': see Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basel, 1928), ii. 13 ff.

*temperat iras* : a variation on *mollit animos* (for *iras* see on 11).

58. *faciat* : the vivid present suggests that the catastrophe might happen at any minute, were it not for Aeolus; cf. 6. 292 ff., *ni . . . admoneat . . . inruat*; 11. 912 ff., *ineant pugnas . . . ni . . . Phoebus . . . tingat equos*. But the construction is metrically advantageous too: Virgil could have written *faceret*, following it up with *aufferrent*, but he could not have used *uerrent*, and he would have had no room for *quippe*; cf. Norden on 6. 3 ff., 293 f. For a more complicated example of this vivid use cf. 2. 599 f., with my note on 2. 600.

*maria . . . profundum* : the whole universe. Cf. *E.* 4. 51, G. 4. 222 'terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum'; see J. Sparrow, *Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 75 ff.

59. *quippe* : here simply explanatory, like the explanatory

*scilicet* (cf. 39 note); its postponed position enables emphasis to be put on *ferant*.

**rapidi** : cf. 117 'rapidus uorat aequore uertex', where the sense of *rapere* also appears in the adjective; so 2. 305, 4. 241. *Ferant rapidi uerrantque* is an elaboration of the use of *rapere* with *ferre* to mean 'plunder': if Aeolus did not keep watch, the winds would loot the universe.

60. **omnipotens** : Ennian (*Ann.* 458), = *παγκρατής*; see Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, pp. 207 ff., and on Aesch. *Agam.* 1648, for this and similarly formed compounds; cf. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 152.

**molemque . . . altos** : *et . . . altos* explains the *moles*: Iuppiter 'set a towering mountain-mass above them (*in-super*)'; *molemque . . . regemque* (62) link correlated aspects of control over the winds (cf. 18 note).

62. **foedere certo** : Aeolus had a fixed contract, to check or loose the winds on order (*iussus*): he was now to ignore this, by going beyond his proper powers at Iuno's request, to his own ultimate discomfiture (132 ff.).

64. **supplex** : cf. 666 (Venus to Cupid): both goddesses were wily.

65–80. *Iuno asks Aeolus to cause a storm, offering him a beautiful nymph as bride if he does her will. Immensely flattered, he agrees.*

Iuno's crafty speech combines flattery with business acumen. She conveniently ignores the fact that Aeolus is not in her employ, and he is too delighted and overawed to have any misgivings.

65. Iuno addresses Aeolus with formal ceremony. *Namque* is in the style of prayers, explaining why the functions of the divinity addressed are appropriate: so 731 'Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur', 6. 117 f. 'alma, precor, miserere (potes namque omnia, nec te / nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis)'; similarly 5. 533 f. (Aeneas to Acestes) 'sume, pater, nam te uoluit rex magnus Olympi / talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores', 6. 365 f. (Palinurus to Aeneas) 'aut tu mihi terram / inice, namque potes'; cf. Hor. C. 3. 11. 1 f. 'Mercuri, nam te docilis magistro / mouit Amphion lapides canendo'; *Il.* 24. 334 f. 'Ἑρμεία, σοὶ γάρ τε μάλιστά γε φίλτατόν ἐστιν / ἀνδρὶ ἑταιρίσσαι; Callimachus, *h.* 4. 226 ἀλλά, φίλη, δύνασαι γάρ, ἀμύνεο πότνια δούλους. See G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 ff.; Fraenkel, *JRS* xxxv (1945), 4 n.; Norden on 6. 117.

**diuum . . . rex** : a solemn and impressive formula (cf. 10. 2, 10. 743), going back to Ennius (*Ann.* 175, cf. 580, 581), and

ultimately to Homer's *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* (*Il.* I. 544, etc.); cf. 254 note.

For the monosyllabic ending *hominum rex* see on 105.

66. *mulcere . . . tollere*: this infinitive (cf. 319) after concessive or permissive *dare* is frequent in poetry from Lucretius (6. 1227) onwards; it is an extension of the special use of *dare* with *bibere* in early Latin (found also in Cicero and Livy), where the infinitive acts as a direct object; see LHS, p. 345. *Vento* belongs both to *mulcere* and to *tollere*; as a strong wind roughens the sea, so its withdrawal brings calm (cf. *E.* 2. 26 'cum placidum uentis staret mare', *G.* 4. 484 'Ixionii uento rota constitit orbis'). Henry has an entertaining note.
67. *nauigat aequor*: quoted as a Grecism by Quintilian (9. 3. 17); cf. 524 'maria omnia uecti', 5. 235 'quorum aequora curro', *G.* 3. 260 'natat . . . serus freta'; Ovid, *F.* 4. 573 'immensum est erratas dicere terras': this accusative of 'extent of space' after a normally intransitive verb is mainly poetic; for Cic. *de fin.* 2. 112 'si Xerxes . . . maria ambulauisset' see Reid ad loc. Cf. K-S i. 263 f.
68. *Ilium . . . portans*: cf. Ovid, *F.* 4. 251 'cum Troiam Aeneas Italos portaret in agros', Eur. *Orest.* 1365 Πάριον, ὃς ἄγαγ' Ἑλλάδ' εἰς Ἴλιον. Virgil always uses the Latin form *Ilium*, never *Ilion* or *Ilios* as Horace, Ovid, and others do, in spite of the harsh and unusual elision involved (cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. xi. 1. 8); see my note on 2. 625.
- uictosque penatis*: an expansion of *Ilium*; the Trojans 'carry Ilium to Italy' by bringing overseas the state gods, *Penates*, of Troy (cf. 8. 11 f. 'aduectum Aenean classi uictosque penatis / inferre'); so 2. 320, where the priest Panthus brings to Anchises' house 'sacra manu uictosque deos' (cf. 2. 717).
69. *incute uim uentis*: Iuno is brutally direct; D Servius quotes Ennius (*Ann.* 512) 'dictis Romanis incutit iram'.
- submersasque . . . puppis*: 'sink their ships without trace'; a frequent construction, by which the action of one verb is expressed by a participle in agreement with the object of another verb, instead of two finite verbs being linked by co-ordination or subordination.
70. *age diuersos*: sc. *Troas*: 'drive them in all directions'. This is then varied and extended in *dissice* (from *disicere*, cf. *Thes. L.L.*, s.v.) *corpora ponto*; *corpora* means the living Trojans, not corpses (cf. 10. 430 'uos, o Grai imperdita corpora, Teucri'), and is little more than a substitute for *eos*.
- 71 ff. Cf. Hera's promise to Hypnos, *Il.* 14. 267 f., that she will give him one of the Graces to marry (δώσω ὀπιυέμεναι καὶ σὴν κεκλήσθαι ἄκοιτιν). But Iuno speaks more solemnly and earnestly.

72. *quae* : sc. *est*; cf. 157, 9. 238 'in biuio portae quae proxima ponto', *G.* 1. 233. For such omission in other types of subordinate clauses cf. 81, 216, 520; in a principal clause cf. 202, 237. See Leo, *Senecae tragoediae* i. 184 ff. for the practice of Virgil and other poets in this matter, and cf. my note on 2. 2,

*formā pulcherrima* : Deiopea was a very handsome girl with a neat figure. The Greek name accounts for the polysyllabic line-ending.

73. 'I will join her to you in lasting wedlock, and formally make her your own.' Iuno makes it clear that she does not propose a casual liaison; as goddess of marriage she uses the Roman technical term *conubium* ('ius legitimi matrimonii', Servius) and the ritual verb *dicare* ('obsequentem eam fore demonstrat', Servius), for which cf. Val. Flacc. 3. 535 f. 'quem tibi coniugio tot dedignata dicaui, / Nympha, procos', Stat. S. 2. 7. 82 f. 'taedis genialibus dicabo / doctam atque ingenio tuo decoram'. The marriage-bond is to be permanent, the wife is to be dutiful to her husband, the purpose of the marriage is to produce children (75): all very Roman, and far removed from Homer. This line, with its solemn significance, is repeated at 4. 126, where Iuno sets out her plan for Dido: see G. Williams, op. cit., pp. 370 ff. for an important discussion of both contexts, and especially of the implications for the position of Dido and Aeneas.

*conubio* : the prosody of the second syllable is a problem. Servius states that it is naturally long, and that Virgil has shortened it here. It could, however, be scanned as long if the word is made trisyllabic by synizesis, with consonantal *-i-*; the same possibility is open, in theory, with all forms of the word (not only in Virgil but in Ovid, Lucan, and Statius) other than the nominative and accusative plural, where *conūbia* is regular (except in Lucr. 3. 776, Stat. S. 2. 3. 19, 3. 3. 110, 5. 3. 241, *Th.* 1. 245, 3. 579, 8. 235, 11. 216, where synizesis would be necessary if the *-u-* is to be long). But such frequent invocation of synizesis is improbable; and on this and on other grounds it is reasonable to accept Wackernagel's view (*Festschrift für P. Kretschmer* [Vienna-Leipzig, 1926], pp. 289 ff.) that, despite Servius, the true prosody is *conūbium*—cf. *innūba*, *pronūba*, *subnūba*—and that metrical convenience alone accounts for *conūbia* where the second syllable bears the ictus (as it does in the majority of examples). For further detail see my note on 4. 126, and cf. Munro on Lucr. 3. 776.

*propriam* : 'yours', as a permanent possession; a variation of *stabili*: cf. 6. 871 'propria haec si dona fuissent' (i.e. 'if these gifts had been lasting'); Hor. S. 2. 6. 5 'ut propria haec

*mihi munera faxis* (a prayer); Cic. *leg. Man.* 48 'quod ut illi [sc. Pompeio] proprium ac perpetuum sit . . . uelle et optare debetis'.

74. **omnis** : emphatically placed (cf. 30 note) : a further extension of the idea in *stabili* and *propriam*. This is a characteristic line-pattern, with epithet and noun in agreement at beginning and end (see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. iii. A. 1); often a syntactical unit is so enclosed (e.g. 368, 551), a technique studied in valuable detail by T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ* N.S. xvi (1966), 140 ff., 298 ff.

75. **pulchra . . . prole** : either causal (with *faciat*), or descriptive (with *parentem*), or a fusion of both ideas. Aeolus will become a family man, with handsome children like their mother. Ennius puts the purpose of marriage more directly, *Sc.* 129 'ducit me uxorem liberorum sibi quaesendum gratia' (see Vahlen on *Sc.* 120, and G. Williams, op. cit., p. 371); cf. Catullus 61. 204 f. 'ludite ut lubet, et breui / liberos date'; *Hom. h.* 5. 126 f. Ἀγχίσεω δέ με φάσκε παραὶ λέχεσιν καλέεσθαι / κουριδίην ἄλοχον, σοὶ δ' ἄγλαὰ τέκνα τεκεῖσθαι.

In *Od.* 10. 5 ff. Aeolus has a wife, with six sons and six daughters married to each other, feasting continually with their parents: Virgil has chosen to make him a lonely bachelor. But DServius (on 71) offers some entertaining efforts by scandalized critics to explain away Virgil's temptation of a married man.

76 ff. A clever piece of characterization: Aeolus is awed and excited, and full of innocent self-importance (so soon to be shattered).

76. **contra** : 'in reply'; 6. 544 'Deiphobus contra', 7. 552 'tum contra Iuno'.

**tuus** : in antithesis with *mihi* (77). The emotional *o* with the vocative (cf. LHS, p. 26; Fordyce on Catullus 46. 9) suggests awe and respect here (cf. 229, 327 f., 522), sorrow in 198 f. *Optare* is stronger than *uelle*, suggesting a longing for something; cf. 10. 279 'quod uotis optastis adest'.

77. **explorare** : 'to settle', after thinking things out: 'deliberare' (Servius); 'aperire uel pensare' (DServius).

**capessere** : cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 300 'haec tibi si mea imperia capesses, multa bona in pectore consident'. Ovid is blunter, *Met.* 4. 477 'facta puta, quaecumque iubes' (Tisiphone to Iuno).

**fas est** : cf. 4. 113 (Venus to Iuno) 'tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando'. The basis of *fas* is divine sanction; here it means virtually 'duty' (cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, p. 91): Aeolus says 'Your task is to settle your pleasure; I have a duty to carry out orders',

naïvely assuming that what Iuppiter's wife bids is within his brief from Iuppiter. For the double monosyllable ending the line, cf. 181, 603; there is no resulting rhythmic disturbance like that of 105 (*aquae mons*): see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. ix. 4. b.

78 ff. *tu . . . tu . . . tu* : Aeolus returns Iuno's compliment (65) by using the ceremonial style of hymns, with anaphora (see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. C. 1. 10. 9): cf. 8. 293 ff. (hymn to Hercules) '*tu nubigenas . . . tu Cresia . . . te . . . te . . .*'; Catullus 34. 13 ff. '*tu Lucina . . . tu potens Triuia . . . tu cursu . . .*'; the powers and honour of the deity are formally listed (so too Catullus 36. 12 ff.). In 7. 335 ff. Iuno uses this style to Allecto, '*tu potes . . . tu uerbera . . . tibi nomina . . .*'; so Amata to Turnus, 12. 57 ff. '*spes tu . . . tu requies . . . te penes, in te . . .*'; Horace slyly adapts it for his Ode to a wine-bottle, C. 3. 21. 13 ff. '*tu lene tormentum . . . tu sapientium . . . tu spem . . . te Liber . . .*' (see G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 ff.).

Anaphora has its roots in the lively dramatic manner of spoken Latin, giving emotional emphasis in sentences of parallel structure: see Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangsspr.*, pp. 61 ff. for its development in Plautus and Terence (it reappears in the speeches of freedmen in Petronius, 44. 7, 63. 8, 9). The poets made it a conscious stylistic ornament, often serving as an artistic form of emphatic connective: e.g. 421 f., 709, 2. 306 '*sternit agros, sternit sata laeta*', G. 1. 77 f. '*urit enim lini campum seges, urit auenae, / urunt Lethaeo perfusa papauera somno*': see LHS, pp. 694 f.

Quintilian (II. 3. 176) comments on the difference of tone needed for '*tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni*' and '*tunc ille Aeneas?*' (617).

78. *quodcumque hoc regni* : sc. *est*. The partitive is depreciatory; cf. Lucr. 2. 16 '*hoc aevi quodcumque est*', Catullus 1. 8 '*quicquid hoc libelli*' (see Fordyce ad loc.). Aeolus means '*my humble kingdom*', with the modesty that conceals pride.

*sceptra Iouemque* : a compression for '*royal power and Iuppiter's favour*'. Virgil has invented this detail (perhaps for sheer fun), that it was Iuno who had got the wind-kingdom concession for Aeolus from Iuppiter, to suit his plot.

79. *concilias . . . das* : the present is used, of a completed action with lasting effect: Iuno once did Aeolus this favour, and she remains his benefactress; so 9. 266 '*cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido*' (the bowl 'is a present from Dido', who was long since dead). The Augustan and later poets like the idiom (which has much metrical advantage for the



hexameter): see LHS, p. 306, and my note on 2. 663; Vahlen, *Opusc. Acad.* i. 364.

80. A line of almost operatic bombast (but innocently proud), full of noise and weight; a four-word line is rare. Conington found it awkward, a mere repetition of 78: but there Aeolus speaks of his power in general, here of his special sphere and of the capacity in which he has the entrée to the parties of the gods.

81-123. *Aeolus looses the winds. The Trojans, caught in a hurricane, face death; and Aeneas laments that he did not die at Troy. The storm falls violently upon the ships, and many are wrecked.*

Virgil first describes the swooping of the storm (81-101), then its effects (102-13), a balanced arrangement. Till now, except for the brief mention of the Trojans in 34 f., set on a fair course, the action has been on the divine plane; now the mortal actors take the stage, with their immediate condition settled arbitrarily by Iuno.

Virgil's storm is clearly reminiscent of *Od.* 5. 291 ff.; but there it is a horrible incidental only, here the storm has profound and lasting implications for Aeneas. Some modern scholars discover far-reaching symbolism in the passage: see Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils* (Innsbruck-Vienna, 1950), pp. 23 ff. (English version, pp. 13 ff.); B. Otis, *Virgil* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 227 ff.; such speculations are of undoubted interest, but they are entirely subjective. Homer's example, and the precedent of Naevius, who had likewise described the Trojans as overtaken by a storm (see on 229), had shaped poetic tradition for Virgil; his dramatic intuition showed him how and where to use it.

Juvenal, telling how a friend had escaped from a storm at sea, observes sardonically (12. 22 ff.) 'omnia fiunt / talia, tam grauitur, si quando poetica surgit / tempestas'. Virgil's sense of proportion may be realized from a comparison with other storm-descriptions: Ovid, *Met.* 11. 474 ff.; Lucan 5. 560 ff.; Seneca, *Agam.* 462 ff.; Val. Flacc. 1. 608 ff.; Statius, *Th.* 1. 342 ff.; Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 488 ff.: cf. W. H. Friedrich, *Festschrift Bruno Snell* (Munich, 1956), pp. 77 ff. The *locus* spread from poetry to history; cf. Livy 21. 58, 40. 58, Tac. *Ann.* 2. 23. It was taken up in the declamation-exercises of the schools of rhetoric (Seneca, *Contr.* 7. 1. 4, 10; cf. the parody in Petronius 114): see J. de Decker, *Juvenalis Declamans* (Ghent, 1913), pp. 148 ff.; S. F. Bonner, *AJP* lxxxvii (1966), 280.

81. *haec ubi dicta*: again, 5. 32, 315, 8. 175; cf. 5. 362 'post, ubi confecti cursus'; for the omission of *sunt* see on 72: such an

omission in a subordinate clause is less common in Virgil with a passive participle than it is with a deponent (cf. 520, where both occur).

**cauum . . . montem** : a conflation of the *antrum* (52) and the *mons* (55). Probably *conuersa cuspidē* means 'with the butt-end of his spear' (but it could mean 'turning his spear-head' against the mountainside); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14. 300 'percutimurque caput conuersae uerbere uirgae', Lucan 7. 577 'uerbere conuersae cessantis excitat hastae'. Some commentators think that Aeolus was inside the winds' cave (e.g. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien*, p. 43), which seems improbable. The harsh alliteration marks the clatter of the blow; and the noise is continued by the winds themselves (in 83, every word but one contains *t*).

**82. impulit in latus** : Aeolus drove at the cavernous mountain on its flank; cf. 7. 621 'impulit ipsa manu portas'. Virgil reflects Ennius, *Ann.* 551 f. 'nam me grauis impetus Orci / percutit in latus'. The strong pause at the second-foot diaeresis (cf. 52 note) brings the rhythm to a jerk at the blow; see also 115, 116 for a like effect.

**uelut agmine facto** : the winds come pouring from the 'gate' like an army in column of march, moving with precision.

**83. data** : sc. *est* (see on 81). The dactyls here and in 84-5 suggest the rush of the winds; Virgil uses every device of rhythm and language in the whole passage to make us feel and see his storm.

**perflant** : cf. Lucr. 6. 132 ff. 'est etiam ratio, cum uenti nubila perflant, / ut sonitus faciant. . . . / scilicet ut, crebram siluam cum flamina cauri / perflant, dant sonitum frondes ramiq̄ue fragorem', a grand effect of noise.

**84. incubuere mari** : 'down they crash upon the sea'; the perfect marks instantaneous action (so 90 *intonuere*).

**85 f.** Cf. 2. 416 ff. 'aduersi rupto ceu quondam turbine uenti / conflagunt, Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois / Eurus equis': a like arrangement (two winds named together, then an epithet of a third, named in the next line). The assortment of winds goes back to *Od.* 5. 295 f., with a variation: Virgil's winds are south-east, south, and south-west, with the north in reserve for 102. Seneca (*NQ* 5. 16. 2) complains that in describing these winds as all blowing together Virgil has stated 'quod fieri nullo modo potest': yet as a dramatist he himself has (*Agam.* 474 ff.) 'undique incumbunt simul / rapiuntque pelagus infimo euersum solo / aduersus Euro Zephyrus et Boreae Notus'. Mackail remarks that Virgil accurately represents a Mediterranean cyclone, and Conway defends him through painful personal experience; cf. Nisbet-

Hubbard on Hor. C. 1. 3. 13. But in any case Virgil knew what an epic storm ought to be like.

85. **Eurusque Notusque** : for the correlation see on 18.

**ruunt** : transitive (cf. 35); its repetition (with changed meaning) so closely after 83 is in Virgil's manner: cf. 684, 688 (*falle . . . fallas*), 2. 65, 70 (*accipe . . . accipere*), 2. 470 f. (*luce . . . in lucem*), 4. 406, 412 (*cogunt . . . cogis*), 5. 780 f. (*pectore . . . pectus*): see my note on 2. 505, with bibliographical references, and cf. Sparrow, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

**creberque procellis** : 'squall-packed', one squall rapidly succeeding another. The construction, an adjective with dependent noun in the ablative, is a substitute for a compound epithet. Such compounding, natural to Greek, is a feature of early Latin; but greater linguistic sophistication brought severe restrictions: cf. Quintilian 1. 5. 70 'sed res tota magis Graecos decet, nobis minus succedit: nec id fieri natura puto, sed alienis fauemus, ideoque cum *κυρταύχενα* mirati simus, *incuruicervicum* uix a risu defendimus'.

86. **Africus** : a wet and stormy south-wester. Its prominence here is due to its special villainy: Horace constantly curses it: it is *praeceps* (C. 1. 3. 12), *celer* (C. 1. 14. 5), *pestilens* (C. 3. 23. 5), *proteruus* (*Epod.* 16. 22); the merchant fears it (C. 1. 1. 15 f.), the mast shrieks with its storms (C. 3. 29. 57 f.). Livy (30. 24. 7) tells how Cn. Octavius, on a fair-seeming course from Sicily to Africa, met with the *Africus* which 'passim naues disiecit'; Tacitus (*Ann.* 15. 46) describes how some Roman captains 'gravi Africo, dum promunturium Miseni superare contendunt, Cumanis litoribus impacti triremium plerasque . . . amiserunt'. One of the virtues of Pliny's *cryptoporticus* in his Laurentine villa was that it 'Africum sistit' (*Epp.* 2. 17. 17).

**uastos . . . fluctus** : for this frequent pattern (an epithet before the caesura agreeing with a noun at the end of the line, enclosing a syntactical unit) see T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ* N.S. xvi (1966), 149 f., 157 f., 317 f.

87. D Servius quotes from Pacuvius' *Teucer* (fr. 335 R), 'armamentum stridor et rudentum sibilus'; Caelius, describing to Cicero (*ad Fam.* 8. 2. 1) how Hortensius was booed in the theatre, quotes 'strepitus fremitus clamor tonitruum et rudentum sibilus' (evidently from the same passage): cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11. 495 'quippe sonant clamore uiri, stridore rudentes'.

**uirum** : for the genitive form see on 4. The double correlation of *que . . . que* here and in 88, following closely on 85, helps to give an impression of swift, cumulative terror.

88. Cf. 3. 198 f. 'inuoluere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum /

abstulit'; Accius, fr. 32 R 'deum regnator nocte caeca caelum e conspectu abstulit': so in a rhetorical storm (Seneca, *Contr.* 7. 1. 4) 'emicabant densis undique nubibus fulmina et terribili fragore horridae tempestates absconderant diem'; the manner is taken off by Petronius (114) 'dum haec taliaque iactamus, inhorruit mare nubesque undique adductae obruere tenebris diem'.

89. **ponto . . . atra** : 'black night settles upon the sea'. Quintus Curtius makes Alexander's soldiers list among imminent terrors (9. 4. 18) 'caliginem ac tenebras et perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem mari'.

90. **intonuere poli** : possibly a deliberate echo of *incubueret mari* (84). The intensive compound *intonare* occurs first in Cic. poet. fr. 7. 12 Tr., 'partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinister' (cf. Norden on 6. 607). Virgil uses the plural *poli* here only (later Epic has it often): the thunder crashed 'from pole to pole' (Conington). Lucan improves upon the idea, 5. 632 f. 'arduis axis / intonuit, motaque poli conpage laborant'.

**micat . . . aether** : cf. Pacuvius, fr. 413 R 'flamma inter nubes coruscat, caelum tonitru contremittit'. Ovid plays further with his lightning, *Met.* 11. 521 ff. 'caecaque nox premitur tenebris hiemisque suisque; / discutiunt tamen has praebentque micantia lumen / fulmina, fulmineis ardescunt ignibus ignes'; Seneca's picture is (*Agam.* 493 ff.) 'premunt tenebrae lumina et dirae Stygis / inferna nox est. excidunt ignes tamen / et nube dirum fulmen elisa micat': a brisk game. It is misleading to call this line an example of *ὑστερον πρότερον* (see on 526): or is 'thunder and lightning' one?

91. **intentant . . . mortem** : cf. Seneca, *Phaedr.* 727 'instat premitque, mortis intentat metum'. *Intentare* is not recorded in poetry before Virgil. The line may echo Catullus 64. 187 'omnia sunt deserta, ostentant omnia letum': Virgil is so steeped in him that it is not possible to tell whether such reminiscences are conscious or not (cf. Fordyce on Catullus 66. 39).

92. **extemplo** : an augural word, which occurs in ordinary usage as early as Plautus (Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangsspr.*, p. 83). Ennius, Accius, and Lucretius have it, and its status of archaic dignity is seen from its occurrence in Epic and its absence in Lyric and Elegy (Ovid has it in the *Metamorphoses* only). See *Thes. L.L.*, s.v.; J. C. Jones, *ALL* xiv. 104.

**Aeneae** : the first naming of Aeneas, almost casually. Similarly, Latinus' *regia coniunx* is mentioned in 7. 56, but not named until 7. 343; Turnus' *soror alma* is mentioned in 10. 439, but not named until 12. 146: they are first indicated 'off-stage', named when they come directly into the action

(cf. Eumelus, *Od.* 14. 55): see Heinze, pp. 377 f., an interesting discussion.

One of the pictures in Vat. lat. 3867 (the Romanus) shows the scene with considerable vigour: the Trojans are in a violently storm-tossed ship, Aeneas has his arms outstretched to the sky, above is a winged Iuno with Eurus and Notus flanking her: see the Rome facsimile (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti* ii, published in 1902), and cf. K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Harvard, 1959), p. 60.

**soluuntur frigore membra** : a Virgilian fusion of *Od.* 5. 297 *λύτο γούνατα* with Livius Andronicus' translation 'Ulixi cor frixit prae pauore' (fr. 16 M). D Servius, who quotes this, proceeds to show the captious naïveté of early critics: 'reprehenditur . . . Vergilius quod improprie hos uersus Homeri transtulerit, καὶ τότε Ὀδυσσεύος λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ, ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν. nam soluuntur frigore membra longe aliud est quam λύτο γούνατα, et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas talia uoce refert molle, cum illud magis altum et heroicæ personæ πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν. praeterea quis interdiu manus ad sidera tollit, aut quis ad caelum manum tendens non aliud precatur potius quam dicit *o terque quaterque beati*? et ille intra se, ne exaudiant socii et timidiore despondeant animo; hic uero uociferatur.' Apart from these absurdities, these earnest critics seem not to have noticed that in *Od.* 1.c. Odysseus was *alone*.

Thus early begins the long line of bad press-notice of Aeneas that led to Fox and Landor (cf. R. D. Williams, in *Virgil* [ed. D. R. Dudley, London, 1969], pp. 132 f.) and E. M. Forster (introduction to M. Oakley's translation of the *Aeneid* in Dent's *Everyman* series, London, 1957). They are misconceived: Virgil knew what he was about in so representing Aeneas on this our first meeting with him, an ordinary man, with no firm confidence in heroic destiny, bewildered, frightened of the elements: his world was far removed from Homer's, and far more complex.

93. **ingemit** : cf. Lucr. 3. 489 'concidit et spumas agit, ingemit et tremit artus' (of an epileptic).

**duplicis . . . palmas** : cf. 9. 16, 10. 667. For *duplicis* ('both') cf. Lucr. 6. 1146 'duplicis oculos suffusa luce rubentis'; in Cic. *Arat.* 20. 1 Tr., *supera duplices umeros* represents Aratus, *Phaen.* 137 ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὤμων. *Geminus* is likewise used pleonastically: cf. 6. 788 'huc geminas nunc flecte acies', 8. 680 f. 'geminas cui tempora flammæ / laeta uomunt' (transferred epithet); *Culex* 150 'geminas auium uox obstremit aures'; Catullus 63. 75 'geminas deorum ad aures'; Varro Atacinus, fr. 3 M 'geminis capiens tellurem Oeaxida

palmis'; Apuleius ap. *Anth. Lat.* 712. 10 (from Menander) 'pupularum nitidas geminas gemmulas'.

94 ff. The description is interrupted by a speech, as in *Od.* 5. 299 ff., Lucan 5. 578 ff., Val. Flacc. 1. 627 ff., clearly traditional technique. Odysseus cries (*Od.* 5. 306 f.) *τρισμακάρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις οἱ τότ' ὄλοντο / Τροίη ἐν εὐρείῃ*; but he then laments the loss of glory from death in battle if he drowns, while Aeneas thinks of the brave men who are dead when he lives.

94. *terque quaterque* : for the correlation see on 18.

95. *quis* : this form (dative and ablative) occurs in Comedy, Lucilius, Sallust, Varro, Cicero's letters. Virgil has it eight times in the *Aeneid*, only once in the *Georgics* (1. 161), nowhere in the *Eclogues*: presumably its archaic tone commended it for Epic (in Silius it predominates). Lucretius has it once (5. 871), Catullus uses it sometimes, but only in his longer poems. But Horace uses it only in the *Satires* and (once) in the *Epodes*, presumably influenced by its familiar tone. In Elegy, Ovid, Propertius and Tibullus have it occasionally. In prose, it recurs in Livy and Tacitus. The form is thus clearly a matter for stylistic 'feel': see Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*<sup>2</sup>, p. 316 n. 1, and cf. Kiessling-Heinze on Hor. C. 1. 26. 3.

*ante ora patrum* : the saddest of all deaths, and yet to Aeneas such men are *beati*; cf. Priam's outraged reproach to Pyrrhus, 2. 538 f. 'qui nati coram me cernere letum / fecisti et patrios foedasti funere uultus', 6. 308 'impositique rogis iuuenes ante ora parentum'. There are many tomb-inscriptions of the type 'quod par parenti fuerat facere filium / mors immatura fecit ut faceret pater' (*Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 164 etc.): see R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Roman Epitaphs* (Urbana, 1962), pp. 187 ff.; he suggests that the Romans felt more deeply on this than the Greeks.

96. *oppetere* : Ennian (*Sc.* 203 'utinam mortem obpetam'). Virgil's use without *mortem* or the like was taken up by Tacitus (*Ann.* 2. 24, 4. 50). The repeated *o* marks strong emotion (cf. 76 note).

97. *Tydide* : Greek vocative, Greek patronymic of Diomedes: for Aeneas' escape from death at his hands, helped by Aphrodite, see *Il.* 5. 297 ff. (cf. the allusion in 4. 228); Helenus terms Diomedes *κάρτιστον Ἀχαιῶν* (*Il.* 6. 98), putting him even above Achilles.

*mene . . . potuisse* : for the construction see on 37. *Occumbere* (never of natural death) is absolute here (so 7. 294, 10. 865); *occumbere morti*, 2. 62 (see my note there for other constructions, and Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus d. lat. Sprache*, s.v.).

99. **Aeacidae** : i.e. Achilles (so 6. 58; of Pyrrhus, 3. 296; of Perseus, king of Macedon, 6. 839). For the characteristic triple anaphora cf. 78 ff. note (a quadruple *ἔνθα* in a similar passage, *Od.* 3. 109 ff.). Unnecessary difficulty has been made of *iacet* (cf. Conway's note): for the moment, Aeneas is back on the battlefields of Troy, seeing his friends' bodies, dead.

**ubi ingens** : an elision at this point is unusual, except with *-que* (e.g. 177) and *neque*; cf. 9. 351 'ibi ignem', G. 4. 491 'ibi omnis', both with a strong pause preceding: see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. xi. 1. 9. The sense-pause (before *ubi* here) is also rare in Virgil (Norden, *ib.*, Anh. ii. 4. 4). This is the first occurrence in the *Aeneid* of *ingens*, so dear to Virgil: see Henry on 5. 118, a classic example of his manner; but cf. my note on 4. 89, and Conway on 453 below. For Sarpedon's death see *Il.* 16. 426 ff.

100. **correpta** : with *uoluit* (see on 69); Aeneas still sees events as if they were before his eyes. Servius knew a variant *sub undas*; cf. 8. 538 (a near-repetition of this passage; see Sparrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 103).

101. The arrangement is noteworthy: two nouns with a common genitive (*uirum*), then a noun with epithet. The main pauses in the whole speech have been carefully planned: end of second foot (96 *oppetere*); beginning of second foot (97 *Tydide*); a lighter pause at *dextra* (end of 98); then a tricolon, of which the first clause occupies nearly the whole of 99, the second spills over to the second foot of 100 (*Sarpedon*), and the third, much longer, takes nearly two lines, giving a strong and effective finale. The speech is also markedly dactylic, a rush of anguished utterance.

102 ff. The shipwreck is described with vivid power (cf. the account of St. Paul's shipwreck off Malta in Acts 27). There are many violent verbs: *ferit, franguntur, furit, torquet, urget, inlidit, excutitur, uoluitur, uorat*. The sea is tossing everywhere: *fluctus, undis, aquae, fluctu, unda, fluctus, aestus, fluctibus, mari, alto, uadis, pontus, fluctus, aequore, gurgite, undas*; and in one tremendous phrase (105) we are shown metrically and verbally a piling jagged mass of waters. Cf. N. I. Herescu, *RÉL* x (1932), 322 f.

102. **talia iactanti** : so Petronius in his parody (114) 'dum haec taliaque iactamus, inhorruit mare'. The dative of 'person affected' provides a neat transition; contrast the varying methods of 50, 81, 142, 208, 297, 402, 579, 610, 631, 689. *Iactare* takes its tone from its context: it is often used of ranting, boastful talk (e.g. 2. 588, 9. 621), and Servius unsympathetically interprets here 'inaniter loquenti', but

Aeneas' cry is one of despair (cf. 2. 768 'ausus . . . uoces iactare per umbram'); in a remarkable passage (*E.* 5. 62 f.) the mountains 'shout for joy' ('ipsi laetitia uoces ad sidera iactant / intonsi montes').

**stridens . . . procella** : 'a shrieking northerly squall'; the *Aquilo* comes in at last (cf. 85 f. note). *Aquilone* may mark direction ('ab Aquilone', Servius), or, more probably, the specific manner of the *stridor*; the ablative with *stridens* acts for a compound epithet ('North-wind-whistling'). Virgil reflects early poetry: Ennius, *Ann.* 443 ff. 'concurrunt ueluti uenti cum spiritus austri / imbricitor aquiloque suo cum flamine contra / indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant'; Accius, fr. 566 f. R 'unde horrifer / Aquilonis stridor gelidas molitur niues'. Cf. Acts 27: 14 (New English Bible) 'A fierce wind, the "North-Easter" as they call it ['Euroclydon' AV; *Euro-aquilo* Vulgate], tore down from the landward side. It caught the ship, and, as it was impossible to keep head to wind, we had to give way and run before it'.

**104. prora auertit** : 'the prow lurches round'. MR have *proram*, which involves an abrupt change of subject for *dat latus*, whereas *franguntur remi*) (*prora auertit* give a balanced chiasmus and there is no problem with *dat latus*. For *auertere* used intransitively cf. 402; see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 1321. 53.

**105. insequitur . . . mons** : contrast the blandness of Ovid, *Tr.* 1. 2. 19 f. 'me miserum, quanti montes uoluuntur aquarum! / iam iam tacturos sidera summa putes'. The modal *cumulo* applies both to *insequitur* and to *praeruptus* (cf. 2. 498 'fertur in arua furens cumulo', of a river in flood).

The rhythm is notable, a run of dactyls and a sharp monosyllabic ending. The normal end-pattern in Virgil is either of the type *Aquilone procella* or of the type *sidera tollit*; in both, the speech-accent and the metrical ictus fall upon the same syllable, giving a smooth close to the line: such coincidence must occur if the final word is disyllabic or trisyllabic and the last two feet are shared between two words only (or have the pattern of 104, *auertit et undis*). In this abnormal line, because of the monosyllable at the end, there is clash, not coincidence: the ictus gives *praeruptus aquae mons*, against the speech-accent *praeruptus aquae mons*. Such abnormality in Virgil is usually designed for some graphic effect; here, the mountainous waves rear up metrically. But sometimes such an ending reflects a traditional formula from early poetry, as in 65 'dium pater atque hominum rex'. See my note on 4. 132; Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. ix. 2, 3.

**106. hi . . . his** : different crews; the varied construction is in Virgil's manner. Contrast Seneca, *Agam.* 497 ff. 'ipsa se



classis premit / et prora prorae nocuit et lateri latus. / illam dehiscens pontus in praeceps rapit / hauritque et alto redditam reuomit mari; / haec onere sedit, illa conuulsum latus / submittit undis, fluctus hanc decimus tegit': Virgil knew when to stop.

**dehiscens** : the verb is recorded in Varro only before Virgil.

**107. terram** : the sea-bed; cf. Ovid, *Tr.* 1. 2. 21 f. 'quantae diducto subsidunt aequore ualles! / iam iam tacturas Tartara nigra putes'.

**furit . . . harenis** : 'there is a mad swirl of sea and sand'; cf. 3. 557 'aestu miscentur harenae'; Quintus Smyrnaeus 14. 495 f. βίη δέ τις ἄσχετος αἰεὶ / ψάμμον ἀναβλύζεσκε διοιγομένοιο κλύδωνος. Sallust observes of the Syrtes (perhaps alluded to here) 'ubi mare magnum esse et saeuire uentis coepit, limum harenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt' (*Iug.* 78).

**108. tris Notus abreptas** : cf. 6. 355 'tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes': for this type of repetition see on 365, 637.

**109.** This line has been thoughtlessly criticized ('flat and pedantic', Mackail); Ribbeck deleted it. It is an artistically planned footnote, extending to *mari summo*, put in a typically Virgilian parenthesis (cf. 530 note; 9. 387 f. 'locos qui post Albae de nomine dicti / Albani (tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat)'), and reflecting the Alexandrian manner and technique; cf. Callimachus, *h.* 5. 39 ff. φυγᾶ τεὸν ἱρὸν ἄγαλμα / ὥχετ' ἔχων, Κρεῖιον δ' εἰς ὄρος ὠκίσαστο, / Κρεῖιον ὄρος· σέ δέ, δαῖμον, ἀπορρώγεσσι ἐθήκεν / ἐν πέτραις, αἰς νῦν οὖνομα Παλλατίδες, *fr.* 11. 5 f. ἄστυρον ἐκτίσσαντο, τό κεν "Φυγάδων" τις ἐνίσποι / Γραικός, ἀτὰρ κείνων γλῶσσ' ὀνόμηγε "Πόλας". It is marked by two striking figures, epanalepsis (as in Callimachus, *h.* 5. 40 f.) and hyperbaton (see on *quae*, below).

Epanalepsis (the rhetorical repetition of a word or phrase from a previous line) is used with varied effect according to its context, sometimes merely ornamental, sometimes emotional; with this example (*saxa latentia . . . saxa*) cf. Lucr. 5. 950 f. 'proluuie larga lauere umida saxa, / umida saxa', and see, e.g., 2. 406, 6. 496, 7. 587, 10. 822: see Norden on 6. 164, and my note on 2. 406; G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 705, 730. Here the figure is designed to dress the didactic manner with ornament, and to give lively emphasis to the apparently casual parenthesis (which is itself a Hellenistic device of style; see G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 730 f.). Virgil was in any case interested in the kind of detail that he offers here; it is as if he wishes to give his readers ('Itali') the pleasure of looking at a map with him and of identifying the very place where these mythical events occurred; there is something

too of a historian's manner, e.g. Livy 30. 10. 9 'sub occasum solis in portum (Rusucmona Afri uocant) classem adpulere'.

**quae**: the word-order is dislocated (hyperbaton). Quintilian (8. 2. 14) quotes the line disapprovingly ('peior mixtura uerborum'): but, as Conway remarks, he was advising orators, not poets. The figure gives further colour to the footnote; there is a remarkable example (also in a passage of antiquarian interest) in 7. 678 ff. 'nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis, / Volcano genitum pecora inter agrestia regem / inuentumque focus omnis quem credidit aetas, / Caeculus' (cf. also 9. 359 ff., again didactic): for its use by Callimachus (e.g. fr. 66. 2 f. οὐδὲ μὲν Ἡρῆς / ἀγνὸν ὑφαινόμεναι τῆσι μέμηλε πάτος) see Pfeiffer on fr. 6. See Fordyce on Catullus 66. 18; Fraenkel, *Horace*, pp. 111 n. 2, 265 n. 3; Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 104 ff. (for Ovid); L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 213 ff.

For the elision of the monosyllable *quae* see on 219.

**mediis . . . in fluctibus**: the construction is loose; probably *latentia* is to be supplied.

**Aras**: Virgil has transferred to a suitable location some rocks of this name which Pliny mentions as lying between Sicily and Sardinia, 'scopuli uerius quam insulae' (*NH* 5. 42); D. Servius quotes Varro as stating in his *de ora maritima* that if voyagers from Sardinia to Sicily lost sight of either island, 'sciunt periculose se nauigare ac uerentur in pelago latentem insulam, quem locum uocant aras'. The Servian scholia record that the Greeks knew them as βωμοί, that they got their name 'quod ibi Afri et Romani foedus inierunt et fines imperii sui illic esse uoluerunt', and that they were a remnant of a vanished island where Carthaginian priests used to sacrifice: ingenious but improbable. But it is clear from the scholia that they were of geographical and antiquarian interest, which would explain Virgil's use of them for his purpose here. Their identification with the Skerki rocks (south-west of Lilybaeum) is only guess-work.

**110. dorsum . . . summo**: 'a cruel monstrous reef at sea level'; cf. 10. 303 'inflicta uadis, dorso dum pendet iniquo': the *dorsum* was only just visible, and would be invisible in a storm.

**111. breuia**: 'shallows' (so 10. 289): a Virgilian innovation; cf. Suetonius, *de naturis rerum* (p. 243 Reiff.) 'uada quibus in mari potest stari, quae Vergilius breuia appellat, quae eadem Graeci βραχέα'; so Mela 1. 35 (of the Syrtes) 'ob uadum frequentium breuia . . . infestus', Tac. *Ann.* 1. 70 'neque discerni poterant incerta ab solidis, breuia a profundis' (cf. N. P. Miller, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* i [1961-2], 30).

**syrtis** : sandbanks in general, as in 146; contrast 4. 41, 6. 60. For the possibility that *Syrtis* can be used of land see H. E. Butler's interesting note on *Apul. Apol.* 72.

**miserabile uisu** : cf. 9. 465; *mirabile uisu*, 12. 252; *uisu mirabile*, 10. 637. Such phrases are not necessarily stopgaps; they mark a dramatic way of drawing attention to the wonderful or the horrible (especially prodigies; see my note on 2. 174).

113. **Lycios . . . Oronten** : the Lycians had come as allies to Troy, and after their king's death they joined Aeneas in his flight (Servius); *fidum*, therefore, has point. Orontes is named in Virgil's typical particularizing manner. The grouping of the wrecked ships is of interest: one line, with a footnote extension, for the first three (108-10), just over two lines for the next three (110-12), then five lines (113-17) for the Lycian calamity in full detail.

114. **ipsius** : i.e. Aeneas'; cf. 584 'uidimus ipsi' (Achates to Aeneas, referring to Orontes' ship): *ipse* is used of the dominant personage, although Aeneas has not been directly mentioned since *iactanti* (102).

**a uertice** : 'falling sheer'; cf. *G.* 2. 310 f. 'si tempestas a uertice siluis / incubuit'. *Ingens pontus* is a novel phrase, our 'huge sea' (Conington compares *Val. Flacc.* 4. 665 f. 'effluit imber / spumeus et magno puppem procul aequare uestit').

115. **in puppim ferit** : so 81 f. 'montem / impulit in latus'. For the rhythm cf. 52, 82 (notes); here its roughness is increased by the lack of a third-foot caesura. The next line is parallel in rhythm, but the pause after *caput* is less strong, and there is formally a caesura after *ast* (as after *ac*, 82). Cf. 2. 29, 30, with my note on 29.

**excutitur** : sc. *magister*, the helmsman; cf. 6. 353 'excussa magistro' (Palinurus' ghost speaking). In the Underworld, Aeneas meets Orontes waiting to cross the Styx, with Leucaspis (6. 334), and Servius (here) takes the latter to be the name of the *magister*.

116. **ast** : see on 46. The construction is changed, so that the ship (*illam*) is again the object; this enables Virgil to revert to active verbs in place of the less manoeuvrable passive. 'But as for the ship, thrice in the selfsame spot the wave spins her round with driving force, and the racing maelstrom sucks her down in the sea'.

**ibidem** : rare in elevated poetry; again, *G.* 3. 500, and several times in Lucretius; Silius 11. 330. An adverb or conjunction at the end of a line is unusual; see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. iii. B. 2, and my note on 2. 18.

117. **agens** : cf. 191, 4. 70 f. 'quam . . . fixit / pastor agens telis',

G. 3. 411 f. 'apros / latratu turbabis agens'. The force of *circum* applies both to *agens* and to *torquet*.

**uertex** : cf. 7. 567 'torto uertice torrens'. Quintilian (1. 7. 25) says that Scipio Africanus first made the change from the older form *uortex*, which some editors retain here (with R); cf. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 142 n. 3. For the repetition from 114, in a different sense, see on 85 (*ruunt*).

118. A line of great power and pity. It has the maximum possible number of spondees, in sharp contrast to the whirling dactyls of 117 (cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. vii. B. 1), and the maximum number of ictus-accent clashes possible in a regularly constructed line; the assonance is notable ('apparent rari nantes . . . uasto'), suggestive of the *uorago* which engulfs the sailors (cf. 6. 576 'quinguaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra'). The men 'come into sight' (*apparent*), bobbing up and down; they are *rari*, few and widely scattered; the water is illimitable and desolate (*uasto*).

**rari** : cf. E. 6. 40 'rara per ignaros errent animalia montis'; but there the juxtaposition of *rara* with *ignaros* is a clever 'conceit', *rari* here is tragic.

**gurgite** : the open, tossing sea; see Henry's good note (sixteen pages).

119. The line repeats the pattern of 101; it is as if the horror of Troy is being re-enacted. For *tabulae* ('planks') cf. *Od.* 12. 67 f. ὁμοῦ πίνακας τε νεῶν καὶ σώματα φωτῶν / κύμαθ' ἄλός φορέουσι πυρός τ' ὀλοοῖο θύελλαι.

**Troia gaza** : the adjective is trisyllabic. *Gaza* (γάζα) is Persian in origin, and is often used of royal and specifically oriental 'treasure' (see my note on 2. 763). Not all the *Troia gaza* had been looted by the Greeks, and some of it was saved from the wreck (647 ff.).

120. iam . . . iam : Virgil seems to have introduced this correlation into poetry (for *modo . . . modo*, *nunc . . . nunc*), but it never became common: see Wölfflin, *ALL* ii. 244. The little particularizing catalogue is carefully varied: two genitives, two nominatives; an epithet with *nauem*, none with *qua uectus Abas*; an epithet with the genitive *Achatae* and the nominative *Aletes*; and the accusative *nauem*+genitive is varied by *qua uectus*+nominative. For the form *Ilionei* (quadrisyllabic) see on 41; for *Achatae* cf. *Philoctetae* (Cic. *de or.* 3. 141), *Thyestae* (dative, Plaut. *Rud.* 509): see Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 116 n. 3. *Grandaeuus* occurs only in Lucilius (1108) before Virgil.

122. **hiems** : 'the storm'; the meaning 'wintry weather', and so 'winter', develops from this. Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 448 f. 'uiresque ualentes / contudit crudelis hiems'; Ovid, *Tr.*

1. 11. 41 ff. (writing on board ship) 'improba pugnat hiems indignaturque quod ausim / scribere se rigidas incutiente minas. / uincat hiems hominem'.

122 f. **laxis . . . fatiscunt** : 'the framework of their timbers was loosed, and all take in a villain torrent, cracking and splitting'.

122. **compagibus** : the word is often used of shipbuilding; cf. Pacuvius, fr. 250 R 'nec ulla subscus cohibet compagem aluei' (of Odysseus' raft); Livy 35. 26. 8 'primo statim incursu ad nouam et firmam nauem uetus, quae per se ipsa omnibus compagibus aquam acciperet, diuulsa est'; Seneca, *dial.* 4. 10. 8 'ille cuius nauigium multam undique laxatis compagibus aquam trahit'.

123. **imbrem** : sea-water; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 497 f. 'ratibusque fremebat / imber Neptuni'; Lucr. 1. 715, for 'water' as one of the four elements ('ueteres . . . omnem aquam *imbrem* dicebant', DServius). With *inimicum* cf. G. 4. 330 'fer stabulis inimicum ignem', an associated word-pattern.

**rimisque fatiscunt** : the cracking and splitting cause an instantaneous inrush of water, which is therefore given greater prominence in the unit; cf. 90, and see on 526. *Rimis* is modal; for the verb cf. G. 1. 180 'neu puluere uicta fatiscat' (sc. *area*), Lucr. 5. 308 'delubra deum simulacraque fessa fatisci'.

124-56. *Neptune notices that an unauthorized storm has arisen: he sternly rebukes the winds, and sets about calming the sea.*

The scene returns to the divine plane; the change is marked by *interea* (cf. 180).

124. Repeated at 4. 160 (with *caelum* for *pontum*), of the thunderstorm at the hunt; the alliteration well suggests the mass of noise.

126. **stagna . . . uadis** : 'the waters churned up and down from the sea-bed'. Servius takes *stagna* as 'profunda maris', normally calm 'nisi nimia tempestate turbantur' (cf. E. de Saint-Denis, *Latomus* v [1946], 167 ff.); but it need be no more than a synonym for *mare*, as in 10. 764 f. 'maxima Nerei / stagna'. *Refusa* implies both boiling up and pouring back; *imis uadis* can be either ablative ('from'), or recipient dative ('to'): it is a complex phrase of calculated two-way meaning, to give a vivid notion of upsurge and backwash.

**commotus** : Neptune was 'in a great state', both because of his anger and because (from another point of view) he was himself the sea. Cf. Stat. S. 4. 3. 67 ff., where the river-god Vulturnus, leaning on the arch of the bridge just built over him in his capacity as the river, says proudly (78) 'iam pontem fero peruiusque calor'; Hollis on Ovid, *Met.* 8. 549.

**alto** : synonymous with *mari*; the sense is clear from the variation in the next line (*summa . . . unda*).

127. **prospiciens** : cf. *G.* 4. 352 'prospiciens summa flauum caput extulit unda' (of Arethusa).

**placidum** : difficult. Servius comments 'quaerunt multi quemadmodum *placidum caput si grauiter commotus*'; he thinks that while Neptune was angry with the winds, he was 'propitius Troianis'. This is forced and unlikely, although *placidus* certainly can mean 'propitious' (e.g. 3. 265 f. 'di, talem auertite casum / et placidi seruate pios', 4. 578 'adsis o placidusque iuues'; Ovid, *F.* 4. 161 f. 'ad Aeneadas placido, pulcherrima, uultu / respice'): Neptune's emotional pre-occupation is with Iuno and the storm, not with the storm's victims.

*Placidus* is sometimes conventional, of a ruler (Ovid, *F.* 6. 259; Stat. *Ach.* 1. 729) or an old man (Stat. *S.* 3. 3. 43), marking the calmness of authority or age: cf. 7. 194, where Latinus speaks *placido ore*. Sometimes it implies august benevolence, as in Ovid, *Met.* 8. 703 (Iuppiter speaking to Baucis and Philemon). Sometimes its meaning passes from 'calm' to 'calming', as in Ovid, *Met.* 15. 657 f., where Aesculapius is seen 'placido tales emittere pectore uoces, / "pone metus"': this is evident in 11. 251, where Diomedes 'haec placido sic reddidit ore', advising the Latins to come to terms with Aeneas. But in 521 (below) when Ilioneus addresses Dido on behalf of the shipwrecked Trojans, 'placido sic pectore coepit': he is neither 'calm' (for he feels in danger from Dido's people), nor 'calming' (for nothing has passed to suggest that the Tyrians are apprehensive): his attitude and manner are 'peaceable', designed to show that the Trojans have no aggressive intentions. The epithet takes its colour from its context.

Here there may be some guidance from Silius' imitation, 7. 254 ff. 'ut cum turbatis placidum caput extulit undis / Neptunus, totumque uidet totique uidetur / regnator ponto, saeui fera murmura uenti / dimittunt': he evidently thought of *placidum* as 'calming' in Virgil's line. This is possible: the storm ought not to be there, for Neptune has not sanctioned it, and he intends to quell it (cf. 142 'dicto citius tumida aequora placat'). But there is another possibility. In Stat. *Th.* 1. 201 f. Iuppiter, about to announce punishment of the house of Oedipus, 'mediis sese arduus infert / ipse deis, placido quatiens tamen omnia uultu'; his features have the stern intimidating look of authority: Virgil may mean something like this here, i.e. that Neptune shows the firm calmness of an autocrat who will stand no nonsense. The passage

is a good example of Virgilian elusiveness: we may assume, however, that in choosing just this epithet Virgil felt no conflict with *grauiter commotus*, and that he did not suppose that his readers would feel one.

For a discussion of *placidus* see T. E. V. Pearce, *CR* n.s. xviii (1968), 13 f.

129. *fluctibus . . . ruina*: 'the Trojans crushed by the waves and the crashing sky'; the storm has been so appalling that the sky seems to have collapsed upon the ships. *Ruina* is primarily the crash itself (cf. *G.* 1. 324 'ruit arduus aether'), then the 'ruin' that results (cf. 2. 465 f. 'ea lapsa repente ruinam / cum sonitu trahit', where the crash and the noise of the crash and the debris of the crash are graphically blended). Cf. Silius 17. 251 f. 'hinc rupti reboare poli, atque hinc crebra micare / fulmina, et in classem ruere implacabile caelum'.
130. *latuere*: cf. Stat. *Th.* 7. 154 'nec causae latuere patrem', Silius 15. 601 f. 'at non Hasdrubalem fraudes latuere recentum / armorum'. Virgil seems to have brought this use (cf. *λανθάνειν*) into poetry; so Varro, *RR* 1. 40. 1 'quod latet nostrum sensum', auct. *bell. Afr.* 56. 3 'Caesarem non latebat' (see Wölfflin, *ALL* vi. 99). *Iunonis* is ingeniously placed, belonging both to *fratrem* and to *doli*.
131. Zephyrus now appears; D Servius comments 'ira in hoc Neptuni exprimitur, si etiam eum obiurgat qui non adfuerit'.  
*dehinc*: monosyllabic, by synizesis (so 256, 6. 678, 9. 480), as sometimes in Comedy (see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 388. 63), where it must reflect common pronunciation; but the iambic scansion is more usual, as in 3. 464, 5. 722, 8. 337, 12. 87, *G.* 3. 167.
- 132 ff. Neptune's peremptory tone shows him as an autocrat, rebuking an underling who has presumed to encroach upon his jurisdiction; his insulting speech is the more biting in that he sends a message through one of those very winds that chafed so at Aeolus' restrictions (55). The hard *t*-sounds in the first four lines are notable, giving place to hissing *s*-sounds later.
132. *generis*: the winds were children of the Dawn (Hesiod, *Theog.* 378).
133. *iam*: 'by this time'; their insolence has gone even further than usual. *Numine* here is a good instance of its meaning 'assent'.
134. *miscere*: cf. Livy 4. 3. 6 'quid tandem est cur caelum ac terras misceant?', Juvenal 2. 25, 6. 283: proverbial for 'turning topsy-turvy' (Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, s.v. *caelum*).
135. *quos ego*: Neptune chokes with rage. Servius quotes Ter. *Andr.* 164 f. 'quem quidem ego si sensero . . . / sed quid opust

uerbis?'; so id. *Eun.* 989 f. 'ego te, furcifer, / si uiuo . . . ! sed istuc quidquid est primum expedi', Plaut. *Persa* 296 f. 'qui te di deaque—scis quid hinc porro dicturus fuerim, / ni linguae moderari queam'. Macrobius (*Sat.* 6. 6. 15) quotes Demosth. *de cor.* 3; he says of the figure (*Sat.* 4. 6. 20) 'hic aliqua tacendo subducimus, quae tamen intellegere possit auditor'; cf. Quintilian 9. 3. 60 'illa (sc. figura) quid taceat incertum est, aut certe longiore sermone explicandum'.

This figure ('aposiopesis') belongs essentially to animated, dramatic speech; it is frequent in Comedy and in Cicero's letters; one can easily imagine the accompanying stage gestures: see Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangssprache*, pp. 53 ff.; Volkmann, *Rhetorik*, pp. 503 f.; H. Bardon, *RÉL* xxi (1943-4), 102 ff. For an English example cf. Trollope, *Doctor Thorne*, ch. 12: 'Here was an aggravation to the already lacerated feelings of the injured man. . . . He swelled with noble anger till he would have burst, had it not been for the opportune padding of his frock-coat. "Sir . . .", said he, "Sir . . .": and he could hardly get his lips open to give vent to the tumult of his heart'.

**sed praestat**: *sed* is a natural resumptive (see examples above). *Praestat* is impersonal, as in 3. 429 'praestat . . . metas lustrare Pachyni' (Helenus' instructions), 6. 38 f. 'septem mactare iuuenos / praestiterit' (the Sibyl to Aeneas), Lucr. 6. 1083 'sed breuiter paucis praestat comprehendere multa'. It suits the downright tone here ('but better to . . .'); its character is clear from its use in Plaut. *Bacch.* 396 'nimio impendiosum praestat te quam ingratum dicier', Cic. *ad Att.* 14. 9. 2 'mori miliens praestitit quam haec pati', Asinius Pollio ap. Cic. *ad Fam.* 10. 32. 4 'de illo plura coram; nunc, quod praestat, quid me uelitis facere, constituite'.

136. **non simili poena**: i.e. with something more than a mere scolding (*post* = 'later on'). Neptune has more important cares at the moment.

137. **maturate fugam**: 'be off, quick!'; but *maturate* implies 'while there is still time' (cf. Ter. *Ph.* 716 'matura, dum lubido eadem haec manet'). Neptune's message is short and pithy, with bitter emphasis on *illi, ille, illa*.

139. **immania saxa**: he chooses an epithet for Aeolus' rocky domain that suggests scorn for its uncouthness.

140. **uestras . . . domos**: for *uestras*, applied to one member of a group with reference both to himself and his companions, cf. 375, 9. 525 'uos, o Calliope, precor, aspirate canenti', 10. 188 'crimen, Amor, uestrum' (cf. Fordyce on Catullus 39. 20). Servius comments 'quod autem dixit *saxa immania, uestras domos* de Pseudolo Plauti translatum est, ubi ait *nisi*



*forte carcerem aliquando effregistis uestram domum*' (not in the extant play; ed. Harv. notes *Pseud.* 1172 'an etiam umquam ille expugnauit carcerem, patriam tuam?'): interesting evidence of what Servius regards as *translatio*.

**se iactet** : very malevolent: *se iactare* has nuances that vary from decent pride (cf. *E.* 6. 73 'ne quis sit lucus quo se plus iactet Apollo') to vulgar boasting (as here), with the physical aspect of the verb always in the background (cf. 'throw his weight about').

**aula** : again malevolent: Aeolus' palace, the place where he holds his court (cf. *G.* 2. 504 'penetrant aulas et limina regum'), is a lot of rocks, a gaol (*carcere*, 141); and perhaps there is the other sense of *aula* too, a pen for animals (Hor. *Epp.* 1. 2. 66, Prop. 3. 13. 39, Grattius 167; cf. Servius on 9. 59). The word is used in poetry from Virgil onwards, in prose mainly from Tacitus onwards.

141. **Aeolus** : the name has been delayed as long as possible, with great effect. Conington takes *clauso* as emphatic and predicative (King Aeolus had better keep his prison locked); but *clauso uentorum* need be no more than an elaboration of *illa in aula* ('let the prison-walls of his winds be his royal sphere').

**regnet** : a final jeer; Neptune knows that Aeolus is subject to Iuppiter's orders (*iussus*, 63).

142. **dicto citius** : a turn from lively descriptive style; cf. Hor. *S.* 2. 2. 80 f. 'alter, ubi dicto citius curata sopori / membra dedit, uegetus praescripta ad munia surgit' (the delights of a simple diet); Livy 23. 47. 6 'dicto prope citius equum in uiam Claudius egit' (after a snatch of sharp direct speech); Seneca, *Apocol.* 13. 2 'dicto citius Narcissus euolat' (after a command from Mercury); Petronius 131. 6 (following a magic incantation). For a more verbose expression of the same idea cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 82 'quae omnia sunt citius facta quam dixi'; Ovid, *Met.* 5. 635 'citius quam nunc tibi facta renarro'; Eur. *Hipp.* 1186 θᾶσσον ἢ λέγοι τις. The phrase is clearly akin to Ter. *Heaut.* 760 'dictum factum reddidi', 904 'dictum factum huc abiit Clitipho', *Andr.* 381, a turn to which Ennius gave Epic authority (*Ann.* 314 'sed quid ego haec memoro? dictum factumque facit frux').

143. Neptune methodically reverses the process described in 88.

144. Neptune's assistants do the heavy work, rather a charming touch; he himself (*ipse*, the commander of the operation) does the rest, whisking the ships afloat (*leuat*) with his trident, effortlessly (these are presumably the three ships mentioned in 108).

146. **uastas . . . syrtis** : he 'opens up the dreary waste of

sandbank', so that the other three ships (110) may get through the surrounding *agger harenae* (112).

*temperat*: 'moderates' (cf. Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 344): a restatement of 142, preparing for the lordly picture in the next line.

147. *atque*: not in elision (again, 254, 543); of the thirty-five examples of this in the *Aeneid*, only eight occur in the first six books (Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, p. 84). The predominance of *atque* in elision is marked in the poets, except in Horace. Of the nineteen examples of *atque* in the *Odes* (eleven in the first book, four each in the second and third, none in the fourth), two only are in elision (twelve are penultimate in the line, two end the line). It might be thought that this reflects the advantages of unelided *atque* in lyric metres, but Horace shows the same preference in his other works (again with a marked liking for the penultimate position or the ending of the line). See Axelson, l.c., for further discussion; M. Platnauer, *CQ* xlii (1948), 91 ff., and *Latin Elegiac Verse*, pp. 78 ff.; cf. LHS, p. 477.

*rotis*: for *curru*; cf. Ovid, *Ars* 2. 229 f. 'rure erit et dicet uenias; Amor odit inertes: / si rota defuerit, tu pede carpe uiam'.

148 ff. This famous simile, the first in the *Aeneid*, is notable on two counts: it illustrates nature by the behaviour of man, instead of the reverse process, and the man in control is a 'uir pietate grauis', a Roman ideal. Its power is well seen from a comparison with Silius 7. 219 ff., where a lengthy speech to his restive soldiers by Fabius (Cunctator) calms them just as Neptune calms the sea. Quintilian quotes it (12. 1. 27) as a vignette of his ideal orator-statesman, *uir bonus dicendi peritus*. In itself, the comparison of a turbulent mob to the sea goes back to Homer (*Il.* 2. 144 ff.); for its use in rhetoric Heinze (p. 206 n. 1) notes Cic. *Clu.* 138 'ex quo intellegi potuit id quod saepe dictum est: ut mare, quod sua natura tranquillum sit, uentorum ui agitari atque turbari, sic populum Romanum sua sponte esse placatum, hominum seditiosorum uocibus ut uiolentissimis tempestatibus concitari'; cf. Livy 28. 27. 11 'sed multitudo omnis sicut natura maris per se immobilis est, uenti et aurae cient; ita aut tranquillum aut procellae in uobis sunt', Polybius 11. 29. 9 f. Virgil, at the outset of his epic, has used a rhetorical *τόπος* to give striking expression to the power and the responsibility of *pietas*: a parable for his generation.

It has been suggested that some actual incident lies behind the simile, in particular an occurrence in 54 B.C. during Cato's praetorship, when, after being the target of abuse and stone-

throwing by the mob in the forum, Cato spoke and silenced the rioters (Plut. *Cato Minor* 44). Virgil could, of course, have heard of this from eyewitnesses; it is most unlikely that he was himself in Rome at the age of sixteen (cf. Donatus, *uita* 6 f.). His admiration for Cato is certainly shown in 8. 670 (Cato represented on the Shield as lawgiver to the *pii* in Elysium); it could even be argued that there is a reflection of 151 in Stat. S. 2. 7. 68 'libertate grauem pia Catonem'. But it is much more probable that the simile expresses an ideal that was close to the poet's heart than that it should have been suggested to him by any actual event.

See M. Coffey, 'The Subject-Matter of Vergil's Similes' (*BICS* viii [1961], 63 ff.); Pöschl, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff. (English version, pp. 22 f.); Otis, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 ff.

148. *ac ueluti*: a frequent Virgilian introduction of a simile, especially with a *cum*-clause structure, as here; sometimes the simile is left in the air, with no formal corresponding clause, as in 2. 626, 4. 402 (cf. Mackail there; Norden on 6. 707 ff.).

*magno in populo*: cf. Hor. S. 1. 6. 78 f. 'uestem seruosque sequentis / in magno ut populo, si qui uidisset' (of Rome, in contrast to a country town like Venusium).

*cum saepe*: a compression for *cum ut saepe fit*; cf. 8. 353, Lucr. 4. 34 f. 'in somnis cum saepe figuras / contuimur miras' (see Munro on Lucr. 5. 1231); so *qualis saepe* (5. 273), *ceu saepe* (10. 723), *ut saepe . . . cum* (G. 2. 279).

149. *ignobile uulgus*: Virgil does not normally use *uulgus* with contempt. It means 'the masses' (cf. 2. 99, 119), sometimes in contrast with leaders (cf. 190, of deer; 2. 39); sometimes it has a tone of pity, as in 2. 798 (Trojans gathered for exile), 12. 131 (non-combatants in war), G. 3. 469 (plague-stricken cattle). Nor is his normal use of *ignobilis* derogatory: 7. 776 f. 'solus ubi in siluis Italis ignobilis aeuum / exigeret' ('obscure'); E. 9. 38 'neque est ignobile carmen' ('no unremarkable song'); G. 4. 63 'cerinthae ignobile gramen' ('an unpretentious plant'); G. 4. 564 'studiis florentem ignobilis oti' ('un-spectacular retirement'). Here the vague, anonymous body of demonstrators is in marked (and possibly pitying) contrast with the 'uir pietate grauis' who confronts them.

150. *furor*: the intensity of feeling that underlies this word may be measured from 294 ff.: such a *seditio* results from unreasoning madness, and is fed in turn by unreason and frenzy.

151. *pietate . . . meritis*: a man 'of authoritative virtue and service', a patriot statesman. For the monosyllabic ending see on 105; but *quem* (= *aliquem*) is enclitic and unstressed,

so that the effect is not quite as sharp as that of *aquae mons* there. The rhythm suggests the sudden start of the mob at this dramatic moment.

152. *conspexere* : 'they have caught sight of'; the very appearance of such a man is enough to cause a change of front.

*arrectis auribus* : so 2. 303 'arrectis auribus asto' (of Aeneas waking to the sound of fighting in Troy); a graphic expression, which Virgil has introduced into elevated style (cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 1293 'suo mihi hic sermone arrexit auris', Ter. *Andr.* 933 'arrige auris'); cf. Prop. 3. 6. 8 'suspensis auribus ista bibam'.

153. *ille* : for the shift from *uirum* see note on *illi*, 55.

*pectora mulcet* : the affinity of sound and language with *aequora placat* (142) unobtrusively marks the end of the long simile and alerts the reader to the matter that the simile illustrates.

154. Cf. Silius 7. 253 'his dictis fractus furor, et rabida arma quierunt' (after Fabius' speech; see on 148 ff.). For *postquam* ending the line cf. 3. 212, 10. 298; see note on *ibidem*, 116.

155. *prospiciens* : as he did before calming the storm (127); for the transitive use cf. 11. 908 f. 'Aeneas fumantis puluere campos / prospexit longe'.

*genitor* : used like *pater* as a term of reverence; cf. 5. 817 ff. 'iungit equos auro genitor, spumantiaque addit / frena feris . . . / caeruleo per summa leuis uolat aequora curru' (Neptune, in a similar calming context). With *caelo aperto* ('clear skies') cf. *G.* 1. 393 'ex imbri soles et aperta serena' ('fine clear sunny weather').

156. A resumption, after the simile, of the scene in 147; cf. *G.* 2. 41 'pelagoque uolans da uela patenti': an interesting example of an association-pattern. There is some evidence that Octavian was sometimes shown in art, after Actium, in the role of Neptune as described here: see Camps, op. cit., p. 8 n. 17; J. Gagé, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* liii (1936), 87 (fig. 3).

*curru* : dative (so 476, 3. 541, *E.* 5. 29); cf. 257 (*metu*), 6. 465 (*aspectu*; see Norden), 9. 605 (*uenatu*). Such forms occur also in prose (Caesar, Livy, Tacitus): Kühner-Holzweissig, *Gramm. d. lat. Spr.*, pp. 395 f.

*secundo* : 'compliant' ('Troianis obsequenti', Servius). *Secundus* was originally a participial form of *sequor*; cf. Catullus 4. 20 f. 'siue utrumque Iuppiter / simul secundus incidisset in pedem' (a following wind, and so 'favourable'); Caesar, *BG* 4. 23 'uentum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum'; of down-stream travelling, *G.* 3. 447 'missusque

secundo defluit amni', Livy 21. 47. 3 'tota rate in secundam aquam labente'. Neptune drives smoothly and at speed.

157-79. *The Trojans, worn out, make for land: they find a safe refuge, a lovely natural harbour; they make a fire, and start to prepare a meal.*

Virgil characteristically leaves it to the reader to imagine the voyage to safety. For a valuable study of this part of the book see H. T. Plüss, *Vergil und die epische Kunst* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 7 ff.

157. **defessi Aeneadae**: the adjective tells us all that we need to know. For *Aeneadae* cf. 8. 648, where Virgil uses it for the Roman people, just as Lucretius begins his poem 'Aeneadum genetrix'.

**quae proxima litora**: for the omission of *sunt* see on 72; cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1. 178f. 'ille subit rapido quae proxima saltu / flumina'.

**cursu**: with *petere*; it implies speed as well as 'course'; cf. 2. 399 f. 'diffugiunt alii ad nauis et litora cursu / fida petunt', where *cursu* = 'running'; contrast 5. 834 'ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi'.

158. **Libyae . . . ad oras**: in this quiet way Virgil brings the Trojans to the land which was destined to cause so much misery to Aeneas, with a profound effect upon the whole character of the Virgilian epic.

159. **est . . . locus**: picked up by *huc* (170); see note on 12.

**in secessu longo**: 'in a retreating inlet': a deep fjord; but *secessus* suggests also a place where tired men could rest. With Virgil's picture cf. Southampton Water, protected by the Isle of Wight. The following passage, an elaborate *ἐκφρασις* with detail carefully piled up to emphasize the peace and safety of the landing-place, forms a notable and deliberate contrast to the stress and turmoil of what has preceded.

Servius comments 'topothesis est, id est, fictus secundum poeticam licentiam locus. ne autem uideatur penitus a ueritate discedere, Hispaniensis Carthaginis portum putatur descripsisse. ceterum hunc locum in Africa nusquam esse constat'. He is right: Virgil's harbour is imaginary, Homeric in certain details, but essentially Virgilian. Homer had made harbour-descriptions an ingredient in the epic scene (Virgil handed on the tradition; cf. Lucan 2. 613 ff., Silius 15. 220 ff.): there is the harbour of the Cyclopes (*Od.* 9. 136 ff.), the Laestrygonian harbour (*Od.* 10. 87 ff.), and the harbour of Phorcys in Ithaca (*Od.* 13. 96 ff.), all three with some features in common. Virgil has made a 'literary' harbour, a

compound of Homer and his own poetic insight of what such a place should be, a place of peace and protection and beauty for the exhausted Trojans: see G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 637 ff. for a perceptive discussion.

Yet, 'literary' though Virgil's harbour is, it has enough of an authentic ring to make critics try to identify it: Servius' *putatur* shows that he refers to a traditional theory, according to which Virgil describes the harbour of New Carthage in Spain; some modern scholars have fitted the Virgilian details into a locality on the bay of Tunis (see Conway's note); for some other theories see G. Schnayder in *Commentationes Vergilianae* (Cracow, 1930), pp. 70 ff. Polybius, describing the situation of New Carthage from personal observation, speaks of an island off the mouth of the harbour in language that certainly has an affinity with Virgil's picture, 10. 10. 2 *νῆσος ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ κείται . . . ταύτης ἀποδεχομένης τὸ πελάγιον κῦμα, συμβαίνει τὸν κόλπον ὅλον εὐδῖαν ἴσχειν, πλὴν ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ λίβες . . . κλύδωνας ἀποτελοῦσι. τῶν γε μὴν ἄλλων πνευμάτων ἀκλυδώνιστος ὦν τυγχάνει διὰ τὴν περιέχουσαν αὐτὸν ἡπειρον.* Livy adapted this description (26. 42. 7 f.), saying 'huius in ostio sinus parua insula obiecta ab alto portum ab omnibus uentis praeterquam Africo tutum facit'. Nothing more can be inferred from these passages than that Virgil knew how to construct a good poetic harbour. This quality was turned to account by Pliny when he wished to describe Trajan's artificial harbour at Centum Cellae (the modern Cività Vecchia), *Epist.* 6. 31. 16 f. 'in ore portus insula adsurgit, quae inlatum uento mare obiacens frangat, tutumque ab utroque latere decursum nauibus praestet', etc. Nothing can be sensibly adduced to disprove the sanity of Servius' judgement on these lines: those who have sought to identify Virgil's harbour should have heeded a salutary comment of Eratosthenes on would-be interpreters of Homeric geography, as recorded by Strabo (1. 2. 3) *ποιητὴν . . . ἔφη πάντα στοχάζεσθαι ψυχαγωγίας, οὐ διδασκαλίας* (see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* [Oxford, 1968], p. 166).

160. *efficit*: apart from Ovid, the verb is rare in elevated poetry (*Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 164. 43); cf. Caes. *BC* 3. 112 (of Pharos) 'haec insula obiecta Alexandriae portum efficit'.

*obiectu laterum*: 'by the barrier of its coasts'; cf. Tac. *H.* 3. 9 'cum terga flumine, latera obiectu paludis tegerentur', *Ann.* 4. 67 'caeli temperies hieme mitis obiectu montis' (of Capri); Seneca, *NQ* 4. 2. 8 'hinc . . . Nilus alto ac profundo alueo fertur, ne in latitudinem excedat obiectu montium pressus'; Pliny, *NH* 3. 151 'insulae . . . ante Brundisium quarum obiectu portus efficitur'.

161. The waves, rolling in from the open sea (*ab alto*), are broken by the island-barrier, and split up and fill the deep inlets of the coast. Virgil has borrowed from his own description of Proteus' home (*G.* 4. 418 ff.) 'est specus ingens / exesi latere in montis, quo plurima uento / cogitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos, / deprensus olim statio tutissima nautis'.
- 162 f. *hinc . . . scopuli*: 'from this side and from that there jut beetling skywards huge bleak cliffs forming twin headlands': either the *rupes* are a line of cliffs and the *scopuli* the peaks at its extremities, or *-que* is explanatory and *gemini scopuli* defines the *rupes* more precisely. The sense of projection in *minantur* is clear ('eminent', Servius); cf. 4. 88 f. 'minaeque / murorum ingentes', where Servius glosses 'eminentiae murorum, quas pinnas dicunt'; Lucan 4. 431 f. 'turris / eminet et tremulis tabulata minantia pinnis'. Quintilian quotes the line (8. 6. 68) to illustrate hyperbole ('decens ueri superiectio').
163. *late*: either with *aequora* (adjectival, like *longe*, 13), or with *tuta* (164), which is participial in force ('protected everywhere').
164. *silent*: in notable contrast with the stormy roaring seas through which Aeneas has come.

*tum*: transitional ('and furthermore').

*siluis scaena coruscis*: 'a backdrop of quivering woods'; the descriptive ablative acts for a compound epithet. *Coruscus* primarily implies vibrant movement; its frequent meaning 'flashing' depends upon an appropriate context, and here that meaning is ruled out by *atrum nemus* (165): cf. 12. 701 ff. 'ipse coruscis / cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudet-que niuali / uertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras'.

Virgil has made a remarkable and memorable turn of phrase to create a brilliant imaginative picture; it owes nothing to Homer. He has transferred *scaena* from its normal use to describe natural 'scenery', an original idea which has no parallel in classical Latin. He seems to wish to stress the almost theatrically spectacular appearance of this line of trees on the cliff, so vivid that they might be painted in, like stage-scenery of the kind that Vitruvius mentions in connection with satyric *scaenae* (5. 6. 9 'ornantur arboribus, speluncis, montibus reliquisque agrestibus rebus in topeodi speciem deformatis'). He could have seen such 'scenery' in villa-murals, among the subjects of which Vitruvius lists (7. 5. 2) 'portus, promunturia, litora . . . luci': see K. Scheffold, *Pompejanische Malerei* (Basel, 1952), p. 162 and pl. 5, on the landscape-paintings in the villa at Boscoreale near Pompeii, 'die man als Nachahmungen hellenistischer Bühnenprospekte erkannt hat'.

'Sylvan scene' in English (which would seem affected now) has shed the Latin metaphor, and it conveys nothing of the sharp unexpectedness which Virgil's *siluis scaena coruscis* must have brought to his contemporaries. But Milton's use of the phrase in *PL* 4. 137 ff. (adduced by Mackail) still keeps the metaphorical force; it was borrowed by Dryden for this passage ('A sylvan scene / Appears above, and groves for ever green'), and by Dr. Trapp after him: for a discussion of Milton's lines in their Virgilian context see G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 642 f.

165. *horrentique . . . umbra* : another way of describing the *scaena*; *horrenti* ('shivering') shows how *coruscis* above must be interpreted.

166. *fronte sub aduersa* : 'under the cliff-face straight ahead', from the point of view of men sailing into the anchorage.

*scopulis pendentibus* : cf. Lucr. 6. 195 'speluncasque uelut saxis pendentibus' structas', which in turn reflects a line from an early poet quoted by Cicero, *Tusc.* 1. 37 'per speluncas saxis structas asperis pendentibus'. In view of these parallels it is probable that *scopulis pendentibus* is ablative of material ('a cavern formed of hanging rock'), with *scopulis* used in a different way from *scopuli* in 163 (cf. 85 note). The harbour of Phorcys has a cave also (*Od.* 13. 103 ff.), *ἱρὸν νυμφάων αἰ νηιάδες καλέονται*; Homer adds a number of half-magical 'extras'.

167. *aquae dulces* : fresh spring-water, as in *G.* 2. 243 'dulcesque a fontibus undae', *G.* 4. 61 (the bees make for *aquas dulcis*); Cicero (*de nat. deor.* 3. 37) contrasts *aquae dulces* with *aquae marinae*: cf. *Od.* 12. 305 f. *στήσαμεν ἐν λιμένι γλαφυρῷ εὐεργέα νῆα / ἄγχ' ὕδατος γλυκεροῖο*.

*uiuo . . . saxo* : 'seats of living rock', not man-made; cf. 3. 688 'uiuo praeteruehor ostia saxo'; Ovid, *Met.* 5. 317 'factaque de uiuo pressere sedilia saxo' (of nymphs), *F.* 5. 661 f. 'uiuo rorantia saxo / antra'; Tac. *Ann.* 4. 55 'Halicarnasii mille et ducentos per annos nullo motu terrae nutauisse sedes suas uiuoque in saxo fundamenta templi adseuerauerant': Ovid extends this idea of life in the natural rock in *Met.* 14. 713 'saxo quod adhuc uiuum radice tenetur'. See J. C. Plumpe, *Traditio* 1 (1943), 1 ff. for a discussion of the phrase, and for its development in the Christian conception of Christ the 'living Stone' (e.g. 1 Peter 2: 4 *πρὸς ὃν [sc. τὸν Κύριον] προσερχόμενοι, λίθον ζῶντα . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομείσθε οἶκος πνευματικός*).

168. *nympharum domus* : cf. *Od.* 13. 104 (on 166 above), *Od.* 12. 318 *ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν Νυμφέων καλοὶ χοροὶ ἠδὲ θόωκοι* (of a cave in the island of the Sun). Virgil adds this traditional decorative detail to stress the peace and charm of the Trojans' refuge:



cf. G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 641. For the strong pause after *domus* see on 52; *hic* is still part of the *ἔκφρασις*; the introductory *est locus* (159) is not picked up till *hic*, 170.

**fessas . . . nauis** : the *defessi Aeneadae* have found just the right place. The order *fessas non* avoids a self-contained spondee in the fourth foot (see note on 1, *Troiae qui*); it also prevents *non* from occupying the same position in the line as it does in the next line; conceivably, too, *non fessas* might appear ambiguous.

**uincula** : cf. *Od.* 9. 136 f. λιμὴν εὖορμος, ἴν' οὐ χρεὼ πείσματός ἐστιν, / οὐτ' εὐνάς βαλέειν οὔτε πρυμνήσι' ἀνάψαι, *Od.* 13. 100 f. ἔντοσθεν δέ τ' ἄνευ δεσμοῖο μένουσι / νῆες εὐσσελμοι, ὄτ' ἂν ὄρμου μέτρον ἴκωνται.

169. **unco . . . morsu** : cf. 6. 3 f. 'dente tenaci / ancora fundabat nauis'; Lucan 3. 699 f. 'nimis adfixos unci conuellere morsus, / adductum quotiens non senserat ancora funem'. *Alligat*, though used of the anchor, still suggests the idea of *uincula*. Anchors are post-Homeric; Homer's ships used the *εὐναί* of *Od.* 9. 137 (for which see J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* [Cambridge, 1968], pp. 56 f.).

The whole *ἔκφρασις* is composed with much beauty of alliteration and assonance, especially in these concluding lines, adding to the visual charm of this peaceful scene; and the pauses are subtly varied to give further pleasure to the ear.

170. Virgil now resumes his narrative, after the embroidering digression in which he has acted as commentator.

**septem** : Aeneas had started his voyage with twenty ships (381).

171. **subit** : Virgil likes this word in this position, with second-foot diaeresis and a monosyllable to follow: so 5. 339 (*post Helymus subit et*), 10. 522 (*ille astu subit, at*), 11. 763 (*hac Arruns subit et*); with a different pattern, 10. 338 (*huic frater subit Alcanor*).

**magno . . . amore** : 'with passionate longing for land'; reinforced in the variation *optata harena* in the next line, where *optata* has great depth of meaning—to have made landfall had been an almost unattainable ideal.

172. **potiuntur** : cf. 3. 278 'insperata tandem tellure potiti', 11. 493 'liber equus campoque potitus aperto'; Ovid, *Met.* 5. 254 f. 'Heliconam petit, quo monte potita / constitit'. The verb suggests a firm, eager grasping of the shore. *Troes* is a Greek form (cf. *Troas*, 30), with the termination short as in Greek.

173. **tabentis** : a graphic word, full of the nastiness of messy discomfort: the Trojans were soaked and befouled with the salt-crust. Livy has *tabes* of melted, slushy snow (21. 36. 6).

174 ff. Virgil now describes the lighting of a fire, in purposely ornate language and with great precision, almost as if he

were describing a ritual; and indeed its importance for the shipwrecked men was such that it needed ritualistic care. There are two stages: first, *silici . . . foliis*, the anxious business of the start—the spark *must* not go out; second, *arida . . . flammam*, the methodical build-up of the tiny flame with material to make it blaze. It is an epic fire-lighting, but the epic poet knew well how to light a fire; and he knew the needs of shipwrecked men (cf. Acts 28: 2).

174. **primum**: first in a series of actions (different from *primo*, 'at the start', followed by a later development).

**scintillam excudit**: cf. G. 1. 135 'ut silicis uenis abstrusum excuderet ignem'. This use of *excudere* is Virgil's own, and does not reappear in classical Latin; the elision seems to suggest the faintness and precariousness of the spark so struck.

**Achates**: Servius comments 'adlusit ad nomen; nam Achates lapidis species est' (*achates* = 'agate', Pliny, *NH* 37. 139 ff.).

175. **succepit**: this form belongs originally to ritual, and is appropriate here; so 6. 248 f. 'cruorem / succipiunt pateris' (at a sacrifice; see Norden ad loc.); cf. Prop. 4. 9. 36 'caua suscepto flumine palma sat est' (in a prayer by Hercules); Lucr. 5. 401 f. 'solque cadenti / obuius aeternam succepit lampada mundi' (of the fall of Phaethon). *Succipere* (originally distinct from *suscipere*; cf. Nettleship, *Contr. Lat. Lex.*, p. 591) implies the catching of something from below to prevent its being lost. One can imagine Achates anxiously cupping his hand; cf. *Moretum* 14 'oppositaque manu lumen defendit ab aura' (of lamp-lighting).

**foliis**: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8. 641 ff. 'ignis / suscitatur hesternos foliisque et cortice sicco / nutrit'; Val. Flacc. 2. 449 f. 'citum strictis alius de cautibus ignem / ostendit foliis et sulphure pascit amico'.

176. **nutrimenta**: the spark must now be fed; cf. Val. Max. 2. 4. 5 'contractis leuibus et quae fors obtulerat nutrimentis pertinaci spiritu flammam euocauit'.

**rapuitque in fomite flammam**: 'and whipped up a flame among chips of wood'; the clause is explanatory of *nutrimenta dedit*, with the particularizing *fomes* replacing the general *nutrimentum*. DServius comments admirably 'et mire rapuit, opus est enim uelocitate ad tale ministerium'; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3. 373 f. 'cum summis circumlita taedis / admotas rapiunt uiuacia sulphura flammis', 15. 350 'bitumineae rapiunt incendia uires'; Lucan 3. 683 f. 'faciles praebere alimenta carinae / nunc pice, nunc liquida rapuere incendia cera'.

*Fomes* is very rare in classical Latin, frequent in Christian and other late writers. DServius comments 'fomites sunt

assulae quae ab arboribus cadunt quando inciduntur, quod foueant ignem'. It is first recorded in a fragment of Sallust quoted by Jerome (*in Dan.* 3. 46) 'naphthas sit genus fomitis apud Persas, quo uel maxime nutriantur incendia'; its only other classical appearances are in a solemn and emotional passage of Lucan (the cremation of Pompey, 8. 776 'excitat inualidas admoto fomite flammās') and in Pliny's account of the method of obtaining fire by rubbing sticks together (*NH* 16. 208 'teritur . . . lignum ligno ignemque concipit adtritu, excipiente materie aridi fomitis, fungi uel foliorum facillimo conceptu'). Christian writers often use it metaphorically, e.g. Cyprian, *hab. uirg.* 1 'fomes ac nutrimentum bonae indolis'; Ambrose, *in psalm.* 1. 27 'scintilla peccati, si quo uitiorum fomite fuerit excitata, incendium . . . excitat'; Prudentius, *Hamart.* 188 'arsit enim scintilla odii de fomite zeli'. Cf. W. H. Kirk, *AJP* xxviii (1907), 313 ff.

177. **tum** : the second essential: after warmth, food. Virgil uses the same high style (cf. 8. 180 ff.) for this scratch meal as he used for the fire-lighting: the soggy corn is *Cererem corruptam undis*, the grinding outfit becomes *Cerealia arma*: at this special moment the poet honours the goddess who brings sustenance and comfort to man, and through him the Trojans are shown as grateful to her in their need.

Lucretius (2. 655 ff.) censures such personifications (when used seriously by the Stoics; see Bailey ad loc.), but as a poet he himself writes *Neptuni corpus acerbum* (2. 472), *Bacchi flos* (3. 221). Quintilian has an interesting comment (8. 6. 24) 'ut *Vulcanum* pro igne uulgo audimus, et *uario Marte pugnatum* eruditus est sermo, et *Venerem* quam coitum dixisse magis decet, ita *Liberum* et *Cererem* pro uino et pane licentius quam ut fori seueritas ferat'. For an extreme example cf. *Stat. Th.* 11. 238 'uictorque furit per uiscera Nessus', where *Nessus* = 'poison'.

178. **expediunt** : cf. 702; they get the things out quickly; there may be an added idea of extricating them from the general disorder.

**fessi rerum** : 'worn out with everything'; cf. 12. 589 'trepidae rerum'. The poets use this type of genitive ('in connection with') dependent on adjectives of all kinds; see LHS, pp. 77 f. Virgil first used *fessus* in this way; so *Stat. Th.* 3. 395 'fessum bellique uiaeque', Silius 2. 234 'trepidum rerum fessique salutis'; cf. Hor. *C.* 2. 6. 7 'sit modus lasso maris et uiarum'.

**frugesque receptas** : the grain saved from the sea.

179. Cf. *G.* 1. 267 'nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo'; Servius comments 'quia apud maiores nostros molarum

usus non erat, frumenta torrebant et ea in pilas missa pinsebant' (cf. L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* [Oxford, 1958], p. 72). DServius quotes Accius, fr. 478 R 'nocturna saxo fruges franges torridas'.

**180–207.** *Aeneas climbs the cliffs, vainly looking seawards for further survivors. He sees some stags, kills them, and carries his spoil back to his men, comforting them with words of hope.*

For this passage cf. *Od.* 10. 144 ff., where Odysseus tells how he climbed to a high point on Circe's island and killed a stag and brought it in triumph to his men. He lays great stress on the huge bulk of the stag, and on his own strength and resource in getting it down; and his speech to his men is rough rather than compassionate ('You aren't dead yet', in effect). Homer is more dramatic, and the scene has greater visual power; but Virgil brings out qualities in Aeneas that are foreign to Odysseus.

**180. interea :** this does not mean that Aeneas missed his meal; it is used, as often in Epic, to introduce a new piece of narrative (= 'and now'): see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 2183. 52 ff. These lines (180–94) are a good example of Virgil's paratactic method, which avoids subordination and makes the narrative crisp and taut: see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. ii. 2 for a valuable discussion of this aspect of Virgil's style.

**181. prospectum . . . petit :** 'he takes a searching view all round, far over the sea'; cf. Catullus 64. 241 'pater ut summa prospectum ex arce petebat' (Aegeus, looking out for Theseus' ship); Pacuvius, fr. 95-6 R 'incipio saxum temptans scandere / uorticem in summum, inde in omnis partis prospectum aucupo'; Livy 21. 35. 8 'in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat'.

**Anthea si quem :** cf. *Od.* 10. 147 εἴ πως ἔργα ἰδοίμι βροτῶν ἐνοπήν τε πυθοίμην. Virgil has made a lively fusion of general and particular: instead of simply saying 'in the hope of seeing someone' he has added a group of names to give particularizing colour: 'in case he might descry an Antheus, perhaps' (or a Capys, or a Caicus).

**182. Phrygias :** a frequent variant for 'Trojan', sometimes used by enemies as a taunt (e.g. 4. 103, 9. 617, 12. 99); cf. my note on 2. 276.

**biremis :** a variant for *navis* (again, 8. 79); DServius notes the anachronism ('Varro . . . ait post aliquot annos inuentas biremes'): see F. H. Sandbach, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* v (1965–6), 26 f.

**183. celsis :** conventional (cf. 2. 375, 4. 554), here with rather more colour than it sometimes has.

*arma Caici* : the shield hung on the poop, identifying the commander; cf. 10. 80 'praefigere puppibus arma'; Virgil, as usual, varies his little catalogue (cf. 120)—*Capyn* standing alone, flanked by the two other names with descriptive clauses, and *arma Caici* instead of *Caicum*.

184. *nullam, tris* : adversative asyndeton, one of the ways in which Latin treats what in Greek would be expressed by μέν . . . δέ; here it is combined with chiasmus, and the line is 'framed' in the two contrasting nouns.

185. *tota armenta* : 'an entire herd'. The plural is collective, as often; cf. 12. 718f. 'mussantque iuuencae / quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur' (but in G. 3. 149f. 'tota armenta' = 'whole herds'); so 'tota theatra', Prop. 3. 18. 18, Ovid, *ex Pont.* 2. 6. 28, *Tr.* 2. 280: see Hofmann, *Mélanges Marouzeau* (Paris, 1948), pp. 289f. *Armentum* properly applied to plough-animals (cf. Varro, *LL* 5. 96); see B. Kübler, *ALL* vii. 591: but in G. 3. 286 it includes horses (not a plough-animal) with oxen; in G. 4. 395 it is used of seals; Pliny (*NH* 7. 31) has it of dog-headed apes.

187. *hic* : adverbial ('at this'); cf. 6. 290f. 'corripit hic . . . ferrum / Aeneas', 12. 728f. 'emicat hic . . . / . . . Turnus'.

*arcumque* : there is no correlation with the following *-que*; the first of the pair is a true connective, linking *constitit* with *corripuit*, the second links *sagittas* with *arcum*.

188. The line has a trochaic caesura in both the fourth and the fifth foot (cf. 658); this is very rare in Virgil (see Norden on 6. 140, and cf. my note on 4. 58), though less so if examples are included where there is a connecting *-que* in the fourth foot (as in 94, 113, 477, 558, 725, 749): sometimes a special effect seems intended, as in 4. 335 'nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae', G. 3. 519 'opere in medio defixa reliquit aratra'. It may perhaps have been avoided because it produces the 'feel' of a line-ending in the fifth foot (here, 'quae tela gerebat'); but cf. Perret, *Gnomon* xxviii (1956), 154.

Achates is *fidus* again in 6. 158, 8. 521, 8. 586, 10. 332, 12. 384; he is Aeneas' right-hand man, kindling the fire (174), acting as batman (cf. also 10. 332), helping to reconnoitre (312), escort for Iulus (645) and for the Sibyl (6. 34), sharing Aeneas' emotions (459, 513, 8. 521) and intimate talk (6. 160), the first to hail 'Italy' (3. 523), accompanying Aeneas when Pallas accompanies Evander (8. 466).

189. *ductores* : 'sonantius est quam duces . . . quod heroum exigit carmen' (Servius on 2. 14); Virgil likes the word, which seldom occurs before him (cf. my note on 2. 14, and Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 147 n. 1).

Odysseus (*Od.* 10. 157 ff.) attributes his luck in coming

across his stag to the kindness of some god, who felt sorry for him.

189 f. *capita* . . . *arboreis*: 'bearing proudly their towering branchy-antlered heads', a noble picture. *Ferentis* suggests stateliness (Conington, comparing 503); *cornibus arboreis* could be taken with *alta*, showing the manner in which the beasts' height was displayed, but more probably it belongs to *capita*, acting as a compound epithet (cf. *Od.* 10. 158 ὑψίκερων ἔλαφον); contrast the early compound *reciprocicornis* (of rams' horns), Laberius, fr. 154 R. For *arboreis* cf. *E.* 7. 30 'ramosa . . . uiuacis cornua cerui'.

190. *uulgus*: contrasted with the *ductores* (see on 149); cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13. 1 'consedere duces et uulgi stante corona': perhaps here too with a touch of pity (*uulgus* is amplified in *omnem turbam*, the indiscriminate mass of humbler deer). DServius quotes 'auium uulgus' from Ennius (*incert.* 15).

191. *miscet agens*: 'throws into confusion as he drives them' (cf. 117 note); *telis* belongs both to *miscet* and to *agens*.

192. *uictor*: in its juxtaposition with *ingentia* there is a hint that Aeneas had a difficult task. Homer's picture is more natural and lively, as Odysseus makes the most of his prowess in dragging his stag to the ship, observing contentedly (*Od.* 10. 171) μάλα γὰρ μέγα θηρίον ἦεν.

193. *humi*: so Servius, and some ninth-century manuscripts; cf. 5. 78 'fundit humi', 6. 423 'fusus humi', 11. 665 'quot humi morientia corpora fundis?' The capital manuscripts read *humo*; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10. 210 'cruor, qui fusus humo signauerat herbam' (v.l. *humi*), Val. Flacc. 1. 710 'fusus humo iuuenis'. Cf. Housman on Lucan 9. 843.

*numerum* . . . *aequat*: one stag for each ship. In *Od.* 9. 159 f. Odysseus after a successful hunt allots nine goats to each ship except his own: he takes ten.

195. *uina*: Virgil always has the plural in the nominative and accusative, the singular for dative and ablative; he does not use the genitive. *Vina* is sometimes a true plural (e.g. *G.* 2. 97 'sunt et Aminneae uites, firmissima uina'), but more often the plural is used for metrical convenience, and in addition there is often a collective idea (as here): see R. D. Williams on 5. 98, a useful note; Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 48 (for the aspect of collectivity); Maas, *ALL* xii. 504, 521, 529; Schink, *De Romanorum plurali poetico* (diss. Jena, 1911), p. 136.

*deinde*: disyllabic, by synizesis, the normal prosody ('una syllaba metri causa excluditur', DServius). Virgil seldom has *deinde* as the opening word of a clause; here the postponement is especially remarkable, since it is put in a clause

to which it does not logically belong (the natural order is 'deinde bonus quae uina', etc.; the metre would have allowed this, so the disturbance is deliberate). For other examples cf. 5. 303 'Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus' (where the connective *quibus* is itself postponed), 5. 772 f. 'tris Eryci uitulos et Tempestatibus agnam / caedere deinde iubet', 8. 481 f. 'hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo / imperio et saeuis tenuit Mezentius armis'.

**cadis onerarat**: 'had loaded into jars' (*cadis* is probably dative); an inversion for *uino cados onerarat*; so 8. 180 f. 'onerantque canistris / dona laboratae Cereris'.

**Acestes**: the Sicilian king, 'Troiano a sanguine clarus' (550), who had been Aeneas' host in Sicily, and who was later to welcome him again (5. 36, etc.). The brief mention, followed at a later stage by fuller detail, is in Virgil's manner (cf. 92 note).

196. **Trinacrio**: 'Sicilian'; so *Trinacria*, 3. 440 ('the three-cornered land'); cf. *Lucr.* 1. 717 'insula quem triquetris terrarum gessit in oris' (of Empedocles).

**heros**: a restatement of *bonus Acestes*, in apposition (cf. *dea*, 17, 412, 692); it marks the nobility of Acestes, as a fine host in the traditional manner. Cf. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien*, pp. 64 ff., where passages of similar type are collected; G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 729. Mackail prefers to take *heros* as subject to *diuidit*, of Aeneas: this is most improbable, involving as it does a change of subject which could only be indicated by a punctuation-break after *abeuntibus* (for such considerations see G. B. Townend, *CQ* N.S. xix [1969], 330 ff.).

197. **mulcet**: 'comforts'; so Odysseus rallies his men *μειλιχίους ἐπέεσσι* (*Od.* 10. 173); but Aeneas shows a sympathy that is less discernible in Odysseus.

198 ff. Aeneas' speech has an obvious ancestry in *Od.* 12. 208 ff. (Odysseus before his encounter with Scylla and Charybdis):

ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμενός εἰμεν·  
οὐ μὲν δὴ τόδε μείζον ἔπι κακὸν ἢ ὅτε Κύκλωψ  
εἶλει ἐνὶ σπηϊ γλαφυρῶ κρατερῆφι βίηφιν·  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνθεν ἐμῇ ἀρετῇ βουλῇ τε νόω τε  
ἐκφύγομεν, καὶ πού τῶνδε μνήσεσθαι οἴω.

But there is a notable difference in tone. Odysseus is unsure of his men, sure of himself, reminding them of his own courage and skill in bringing them out of cruel dangers. Aeneas trusts his men, and gives them credit for steadfastness, deliberately concealing his own nagging fears (209). Macrobius (*Sat.* 5. 11. 5) comments 'Maro exstitit locupletior interpres'.

DServius remarks, in a familiar formula, 'totus hic locus de Naeuiano Belli Punici libro translatus est' (for the text of ed. Harv. here see Fraenkel, *JRS* xxxviii [1948], 139); this need mean no more than that Naevius also adapted Homer's passage, or included a comparable incident; cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. i (p. 366 n. 2); Wlosok, op. cit., p. 26 n. 1.

198. *o socii*: for the repeated emotional *o* see on 76; cf. 94 ff.

*neque enim . . . malorum*: for other parentheses introduced by *neque enim* see 643, 6. 368, 7. 195, 581, 9. 617. Löfstedt (*Syntactica* i. 338, 340) regards *neque* in such passages as a survival of the archaic use of *neque* for *non*. More probably, *neque* was originally connective, with *enim* asseverative (see on 19), the meaning being 'and indeed . . . not'; later, the connective force faded out, and *enim* became explanatory; see LHS, p. 451. Here there is an ellipse ('I say this, for . . .'). *Ante* is best taken with *malorum* (cf. *longe*, 13; see Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 78 n. 1); but Conington connects it with *sumus* (like *πάλαι*; cf. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien*, p. 71).

199. *o passi grauiora*: a Roman counterpart of *Od.* 20. 18 *τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης*; so Hor. *C.* 1. 7. 30 f. 'o fortes peioraque passi / mecum saepe uiri' (perhaps the earlier passage; see Nisbet-Hubbard ad loc.); cf. Ovid, *Tr.* 5. 11. 7 'perfer et obdura; multo grauiora tulisti'.

The sense-pause at *grauiora* dominates the rhythm, so that the ear scarcely notices the strong caesura after *dabit*; contrast, e.g., 187, 195. This is a typically Homeric rhythm. But the Homeric type more often has no caesura in the fourth foot to support the 'weak' caesura in the third: in Latin such a line is rare (see, e.g., 290, 500, 4. 486, 7. 711, 11. 851, 12. 619): see Hardie, *Res Metrica*, pp. 8 f.; Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. vii. B. 2 (d).

*dabit . . . finem*: more positive than *Od.* 12. 215 f. *αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς / δῶη τόνδε γ' ὄλεθρον ὑπεκφυγέειν καὶ ἀλύξαι*. Cf. Acts 27: 22 ff. (NEB) 'But now I urge you not to lose heart; not a single life will be lost, only the ship. For last night there stood by me an angel of the God whose I am and whom I worship. "Do not be afraid, Paul," he said'.

*his quoque finem*: a line-ending of this pattern is infrequent, i.e. two disyllabic words, the first being a pyrrhic. A very high proportion of the examples show a monosyllable (often emphatic) before the pyrrhic, as here: so 290, 327, 328, 380, 407, 444, 498, 592, 719, 734. Such endings prevent the normal coincidence of ictus and speech-accent in the fifth foot (cf. 105 note), but the conflict is barely felt in a line like this, where *quoque* is enclitic (again, 290, 407), or when the preceding monosyllable is a preposition (e.g. 498). In



a minority of examples, however, conflict is marked: this occurs when the pyrrhic is preceded by a word of two or more syllables, as in 5. 731 'Ditis tamen ante', 10. 440 'medium secat agmen', a type which is found mainly in the later books. See Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. ix. 4 (a); L. P. Wilkinson, *CQ* xxxiv (1940), 35; Warde Fowler, *CR* xxxiii (1919), 95 ff.; S. E. Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse* (London, 1903), pp. 137 ff.

200. uos et: repeated in the next line, a high rhetorical anaphora. Virgil uses a technique familiar in the historians, where a speech before battle stresses previous victories over the same, or a similar, enemy.

Scyllaeam rabiem: cf. 3. 432 'Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa', *E.* 6. 74 f. 'Scyllam . . . / candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris'; *Lucr.* 5. 892 f. 'rabidis canibus succinctas semimarinis / corporibus Scyllas' (denying the existence of such monsters). The adjective formed from the proper name is in epic style, replacing the genitive of the name itself (cf. 671): it is often metrically convenient, but metre is not necessarily a reason for its employment (cf. 3. 304 'Hectoreum ad tumulum', where 'Hectoris' could have stood equally well); see my note, with references, on 2. 543.

penitus: with *sonantis*; the cliffs 'ring to their depths', as Scylla's dogs bark in her cavern-home. Conway's arguments for taking it with *accestis* (a Servian alternative) are unconvincing.

201. accestis: with this syncopated form (= *accessistis*) of a perfect in *-si* cf. *exstinxisti* (4. 682), *exstinxem* (4. 606), *traxe* (5. 786), *devexti* (6. 57), *uixet* (11. 118): all occur in speeches, and in emotional contexts. Such forms are frequent in Comedy, e.g. *Plaut. Merc.* 333 (*aduexe*), 658 (*dixti*), *Rud.* 1103 (*intellexti*), *Ter. Heaut.* 819 (*adduxti*), etc.; cf. Enk on *Merc.* 53, Sonnenschein on *Rud.* 1047: Virgil uses them for their archaic tone as well as for their closeness to common speech, which is further clear from *Catullus* 14. 14 (*misti*), 66. 21 (*luxti*), 99. 8 (*abstersti*) and from *Horace*, *S.* 1. 5. 79 (*erepsemus*), 2. 3. 169 (*diuissime*), 2. 3. 273 (*percusti*). See Norden on 6. 57, Munro on *Lucr.* 1. 233 (*consumpse*).

202. experti: for the omission of *estis* see on 72.

203. forsan . . . iuuabit: the use of *forsan* with the indicative (by analogy with *fortasse*) begins with Virgil; the word belongs mainly to poetry. There is no counterpart in *Od.* 12. 208 ff. to Virgil's *iuuabit*; but cf. *Od.* 15. 400 f. *μετὰ γὰρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ, / ὅς τις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πολλ' ἐπαληθῆ.* The sentiment is a commonplace; *Macrobius, Sat.* 7. 2. 9, quotes in illustration *Eur. fr.* 133 N (from the *Andromeda*)

ὡς ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμνήσθαι πόνων, which Cicero translates (*de fin.* 2. 105) 'suavis laborum est praeteritorum memoria', in the context of a proverb 'iucundi acti labores'; cf. Cic. *ad fam.* 5. 12. 4 'habet . . . praeteriti doloris secreta recordatio delectationem'; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 656 f. 'quae fuit durum pati / meminisse dulce est'. But for all that, it is authentic of human experience and resilient hope.

204. A good example of Virgil's variation-method, giving a rhetorical underlining of the Trojans' sufferings.

205. *tendimus in Latium*: we do not know how Aeneas knew the name *Latium*, nor does it matter (see Conington's sensible note); the 'problem' is discussed at length and with earnestness by Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien*, pp. 76 ff.

*sedes . . . quietas*: cf. Lucr. 3. 18 ff. 'apparet diuum numen sedesque quietae / quas neque concutiunt uenti nec nubila nimbis / aspergunt neque nix acri concreta pruina / cana cadens uiolat semperque innubilis aether / integit, et large diffuso lumine ridet': so Aeneas will come to his earthly paradise, winds and storms forgotten.

206. *regna*: this plural predominates in Virgil, in the nominative and especially the accusative; from Ennius onwards (*Ann.* 141) it is marked in all poetry. Its metrical advantage is obvious, especially when an epithet is added (e.g. 338 'Punica regna uides'); it is sometimes claimed that the plural implies some special splendour (e.g. 2. 22 'Priami dum regna manebant'), but any such nuance is to be sought in the context rather than in the plural form. See Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 54; Schink, *De Romanorum plurali poetico*, pp. 109 ff.

207. *uosmet*: it is wrong to state (as Norden does on 6. 505 f., followed in my note on 4. 606) that forms of pronouns in *-met* disappear from poetry after Virgil: see G. B. A. Fletcher, *Hermes* xciv (1966), 254 ff.

208–22. *The famished Trojans feast cheerfully; and then they talk about their lost companions.*

208. *uoce*: 'aloud'; but in his heart he has no such comfort.

209. A carefully-constructed antithetical arrangement: *spem . . . dolorem* framing the line, *uultu* balanced by *corde*, with *simulat* and *premit* juxtaposed (for the adversative asyndeton cf. 184 note): critics of Aeneas would do well to note his courage and unselfishness here. Cf. Stat. *S.* 5. 1. 159 f. 'comites tamen undique ficto / spem simulant uultu; flentem notat illa maritum': far less artistic.

210. *se . . . accingunt*: the men go briskly to their work of stripping the carcasses (cf. 2. 235 'accingunt omnes operi'); the expression seems appropriate in a context like this.

*Praedae* is extended in *dapibus futuris*; *dapes* suggests a grand meal, such as the Trojans would not have had for a long time. In contrast to Aeneas, the men have no worries now: all they (*illi*) want is to eat.

211. *diripiunt*: the verb suggests their eagerness as they 'tear away the hides from the ribs', and it suits the context of *praeda*; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 6. 387 (of Marsyas) 'clamanti cutis est summos direpta per artus'. *Viscera* means the flesh beneath the hide; 'non tantum intestina . . . sed quicquid sub corio est' (Servius). Plüss (*Vergil und die epische Kunst*, p. 26) well draws attention to the assonance of the verb-terminations in 210-14; it is especially notable that *diripiunt*, *secant*, *locant*, *reuocant* occur in the same position in the line: the impression is produced of a busy, noisy scene.
212. *frusta*: chops or steaks; cf. *praecisum*, a cutlet (Lucilius 569 M 'illi praeciso atque epulis capiuntur opimis'). On *tremetia* ('palpitantia adhuc', Servius) H. P. Cholmeley observes, *CR* xxxiii (1919), 146, that if fresh-killed meat is cooked before *rigor mortis* sets in, it is beautifully tender; otherwise it is tough and needs to be hung.
213. *aëna*: cauldrons of water, 'non ad elixandas carnes, sed ad se lauandos' (Servius); boiling the meat would be an anachronism (but if Virgil could swallow a non-Homeric anchor, cf. 169, he could presumably digest non-Homeric boiled meat): Cholmeley comments (l.c.) that no hungry man would boil his meat; it takes longer. However, Ovid, writing of an even earlier age, had no inhibitions about boiling; his cannibal Lycaon (*Met.* 1. 228 f.) 'semineces partim feruentibus artus / mollit aquis, partim subiecto torruit igni'; and probably Virgil too thought of 'roast (212) or boiled'.
- 214 f. 'Then they revive their strength by taking their fill of vintage wine and rich meat, stretched out along the grass': a pleasant picture of a picnic. The two lines have some neatly interwoven alliteration.
215. *implentur*: middle (they 'fill themselves'); this is the only example of the genitive with *implere* in this sense, which Virgil has brought into poetry; cf. Varro, *RR* 3. 16. 28 'uno tempore ne potu nimium impleantur' (of bees), 2. 5. 12 'mensem unum ne cibo et potione se impleant' (of cattle): the familiar tone is clear from Petronius 16. 1 'praeparata nos impleuimus cena' (adduced by Nettleship, with Juvenal 5. 74 f. 'uis tu consuetis, audax conuiua, canistris / impleri?'). For *Bacchi* see on 177. *Ferina* as a substantive is first recorded here; cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 374 f. 'agninam caram, caram bubulam, / uitulinam, cetum, porcina'.
216. Cf. 8. 184 'postquam exempta fames et amor compressus

edendi'; for the omission of *est, sunt* see on 72. Virgil has made his counterpart to *Od.* 12. 308 f. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο, / μνησάμενοι δὴ ἔπειτα φίλους ἔκλαιον ἑταίρους. *Mensae remotae* (cf. 723) is a way of saying that the meal was over; there were no 'tables' at the picnic: cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 807 'mensa ablatast, cubitum hinc abiimus'; Ovid, *Met.* 13. 676 'mensa somnum petiere remota'. *Epulis* (instrumental ablative) suggests a fine meal, like *dapibus* (210).

217. *sermone requirunt*: they 'look for' their lost friends in their talk, wondering what has happened to them, missing them; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 7. 515 f. 'multos tamen inde requiro / quos quondam uidi'.

218. *spemque metumque inter*: for the position of *inter* cf. 11. 692, *G.* 2. 345; for the correlation see on 18. Cf. Livy 42. 59. 8 'fluctuante rege inter spem metumque tantae rei conandae'; Tac. *H.* 2. 2. 1 'his ac talibus inter spem metumque iactatum spes uicit'; Lucan 6. 418 f. 'ad dubios pauci praesumpto robore casus / spemque metumque ferunt'.

218 f. *seu . . . uocatos*: commentators assume that *seu . . . siue* introduce a disjunctive question dependent on *dubii*, instead of *utrum . . . an*; this would have no classical parallel (2. 739 and 3. 261 f. have been adduced, but they are not relevant), but cf. Vitruvius 2. 8. 19 'de ipsa . . . testa, si sit optima seu uitiosa ad structuram, statim nemo potest iudicare'. The assumption is neither likely nor necessary.

After the parenthetic '*spemque metumque inter dubii*', explaining the emotions of the speakers, the two clauses *seu . . . siue . . .* have their normal function, denoting alternative possibilities; they form an extension of *sermone requirunt* in two branches, the first showing the possibility that raises hope, the second showing the possibility that causes fear. The construction in simple form may be seen in 181 f. 'prospectum . . . petit, Anthea si quem / . . . uideat'; the subjunctive reports the thought in the mind of the agent. The Trojans, wavering between hope and fear, recall their missing companions: maybe (they think) they should believe them still alive, maybe believe them dying or dead. Cf. Plüss, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 f.; he also rejects the view that *seu . . . siue* introduce a disjunctive question.

219. *extrema pati*: cf. Sallust, *Hist.* fr. 2. 87 D 8 'ne . . . extrema uicti paterentur'; Tac. *H.* 4. 59. 3 'aliter nihil spei; famem ferrumque et extrema passuros'. The present infinitive is unexpected; the Trojans picture their friends as dying at that very moment.

*iam*: elided; this, with *me, te, se*, makes up the small group of monosyllables elided with any frequency in the

*Aeneid* (see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. xi. 2. (a)): cf. 109 (*quae*), 308 (*nam*), 322 (*quam*), 378, 388 (*qui*), 455 (*se*), 568 (*tam*). Elision of *iam* occurs in certain patterns, one of which is that a monosyllable precedes it, as here, another that a preposition follows, as in 623; see my note on 2. 254.

**exaudire**: the compound suggests hearing from a distance; so Columella (7. 12. 13) recommends short names for dogs 'quo celerius quisque uocatus exaudiat'. There is no need to assume an allusion in *uocatos* to the formal *conclamatio* of the dead; the clause is a picturesque variation of *extrema pati*, and the whole line is a vivid and moving way of saying 'maybe they are dying or dead'; cf. Plüss, op. cit., p. 33.

220. **pius**: not a cliché; it points to Aeneas' sense of duty and devotion to his men (see on 10, and my detailed note on 4. 393): so at Misenus' funeral (6. 175 f.) 'omnes magno circum clamore fremebant, / praecipue pius Aeneas'.

**Oronti**: for the form cf. *Achilli*, 30. Virgil particularizes, as usual, with varying methods for each name (cf. 120 f.): an epithet for Orontes, none for Amycus; *casum* is varied by *crudelia fata*; the genitives change to accusative in *Gyan*, *Cloanthum*, each with the same epithet. Of these men, Orontes alone had perished (113); Gyas and Cloanthus survived (612); Amycus reappears in 9. 772, Lycus in 9. 545.

223-53. *Venus comes to Iuppiter, as he surveys the world, imploring him, in tears, to end Aeneas' sufferings and to allow him to reach Italy.*

Virgil now leaves the Trojans, at the very nadir of their fortunes, and begins a new scene; the reader is once more removed to the divine plane, to see the calm power of Iuppiter (here virtually equivalent to Fate) and the far stretch of destiny, and to learn of events necessary to the action but concealed from the principal actor: a masterly piece of technique. Heinze (p. 375) notes how the attitude of Venus and Iuppiter is developed in a dramatic dialogue, in contrast to Virgil's own narrative of Iuno's part (12 ff.). For a study of the passage see Wlosok, op. cit., pp. 26 ff.; W. H. Friedrich, *Philologus* xciv (1940-1), 164 ff.

223. **et iam finis erat**: a transition-formula (so Val. Flacc. 1. 350), referring not so much to the particular scene of mourning as to the whole episode from 157 onwards: one chapter of the Trojans' affairs is over, a new development is to begin at 305; and at this turn of events important matters are being settled by the gods.

224. **despiciens**: many editors have adopted the reading *dispiciens*, mentioned by Servius, on the ground that *despicere*

used transitively must imply contempt (cf. Munro's critical note on *Lucr.* 4. 418). It seems merely arbitrary to distinguish this use from such passages as Ennius, *Sc.* 310 'derepente ex alto in altum despexit mare', Ovid, *Met.* 2. 178 'summo despexit ab aethere terras'.

**mare ueliuolum**: 'the scudding-sailed sea'. The vivid compound belongs to early poetry (so *Lucr.* 5. 1442); cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 387 f. 'cum procul aspiciunt hostes accedere uentis / nauibus ueliuolis', *Sc.* 79 'rapit ex alto naues ueliuolas' (see Jocelyn, p. 261); Laevius, fr. 11 M 'tu qui per mensus ponti maria alta / ueliuola' (see Morel ad loc.; Leo, *Ausg. kleine Schriften* i. 268): Ovid has it twice, *Epp. ex Pont.* 4. 5. 42 'freta ueliuolas non habitura rates', ib. 4. 16. 21 'ueliulique maris uates', and it occurs in a merchant's epitaph (*Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 1533. 2, first century A.D.) 'nauibus ueliuolis magnum mare saepe cucurri'. For such compounds cf. 85 note; Virgil's discreet use of them is in striking contrast to Lucretius, who splashes them on with inventive excitement; when he does use them, he chooses the moment with great care, as here or at 6. 141 (*auricomos fetus*, of the Golden Bough), 6. 573 (*horrisono cardine*, of the gates of Hell), 4. 453 (*turicremis aris*, where Dido finds horror instead of peace of mind), 10. 216 (*curru noctiuago*, of the Moon). See Norden on 6. 141; Leumann, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 150 ff.; Bailey, *Lucretius, Proleg.* vii. 1.

225. **latos populos**: cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 3 'nam latos populos res atque poemata nostra'. By leaving *litora* without an epithet Virgil avoids over-decoration.

**sic**: i.e. while he was looking down; *sic* pin-points the moment at which his attention was caught by the Libyan scene. Cf. 7. 666 ff. 'ipse pedes, tegimen torquens immane leonis, / . . . sic regia tecta subibat', where *sic* = 'this was how he looked'.

226. **regnis**: for the plural see on 206.

227. **atque illum**: *atque* introduces a dramatic new turn of events, as in 4. 261 f. 'atque illi stellatus iaspide fulua / ensis erat' (Mercury did not expect to see Aeneas like this), 6. 162 f. 'atque illi Misenum in litore sicco, / ut uenere, uident' (the Trojans are disconcerted to find Misenus dead).

**talis**: this allusively summarizes the effect of Iuppiter's sight of events in Libya; detail is unnecessary.

228. **tristior**: Venus was 'miserable, with tears welling up in her brilliant eyes'; *tristior* is either the weakened use of the comparative, with no reference to a standard, or intended to contrast with her normal radiance (she ought to have been φιλομμειδής).

**oculos** : direct object of a 'middle' participle, not an accusative of 'respect' after a passive; the tears are of Venus' own making, not caused by some act done to her: contrast, e.g., G. 4. 337 'caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla' (*effusae*, 'middle') with G. 4. 357 'percussa noua mentem formidine mater' (*percussa*, passive). See my note on 2. 57; R. D. Williams on 5. 135; Norden on 6. 281.

229. **Venus** : the first mention of her, and the first indication of her relationship to Aeneas (231), brought in obliquely in Virgil's manner. Virgil's treatment of Venus is always subtle. The reader is constantly aware of her beauty and charm and allure; here, her *oculi nitentes* are the only hint of it ('expressit nimiam etiam in lacrimis pulchritudinem', Servius), but this is enough for us to see her as the pretty daughter cajoling her majestic father. She is *dea candida* (8. 608), *Venus aurea* (10. 16), *formae conscia* (8. 393). She wafts lovely perfumes around her (403), her altars at Paphos glow with incense of Araby and fresh flowers (416 ff.). She is heartless where Dido is concerned (657 ff., 4. 128); she is implacable towards Iuno, and always militant for her son. She is a clever speaker, knowing always the right line for the occasion: compare her tone here, respectful but firm, with her words to Iuno in 4. 107 ff., mock-humble and covertly malicious, or with her artfully independent approach to Vulcan in 8. 374 ff., or with her fighting speech at the Council of the Gods (10. 18 ff.), full of fire and spirit. But perhaps her most remarkable performance is her gay, saucy encounter with Aeneas, in her disguise as a 'Tyrian girl' (321 ff., below).

Her speech here is skilfully argued. She begins with a brief *captatio beneuolentiae*, a deferential address to Iuppiter, and then, after reminding him of his promise that from the Trojans there should one day spring the ruling race of Rome, she suggests that he does not intend to keep it; this is followed by an *exemplum*, in the true rhetorical manner (cf. Quintilian 5. 11. 6 'potentissimum autem est . . . quod proprie uocamus exemplum, id est rei gestae aut ut gestae utilis ad persuadendum id quod intenderis commemoratio')—it is amusing to hear a learned Venus interpreting Virgil's own antiquarian interests—and she ends with a spirited appeal to him not to let his daughter down *unius ob iram* (cleverly avoiding any direct mention of Iuno).

Macrobius (*Sat.* 6. 2. 31) says of this scene: 'hic locus totus sumptus a Naeuio est ex primo libro belli Punici. illic enim aequae Venus, Troianis tempestate laborantibus, cum Ioue queritur, et sequuntur uerba Iouis filiam consolantis spe futurorum'; cf. DServius on 198 ff. (quoted there).

- o qui . . . deumque** : for *o* see on 76; for the correlating *-que* see on 18; for the genitive *deum* see on 4. Cf. Hor. C. 1. 12. 13 ff. 'quid prius dicam solitis parentis / laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum, / qui mare ac terras uariisque mundum / temperat horis?'; *Il.* 2. 669 ἐκ Διός, ὃς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει.
- 231. meus** : affectionate; this is Virgil's first mention of Aeneas as Venus' son: cf. 2. 522 'si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector' (Hecuba to Priam), 3. 489 'o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago' (Andromache to Ascanius), 8. 168 'frenaque bina meus quae nunc habet aurea Pallas' (Evander to Aeneas), 10. 902 'nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus' (Mezentius, just before Aeneas kills him).
- 232.** For the rhythm see on 199; the dominant pause follows *potuere*.
- 233.** A difficult line. Servius gives its general sense, 'ne ad Italiam perueniant, toto orbe pelluntur'. But *ob Italiam* is very perplexing. D Servius offers four interpretations of *ob* by early critics, as equivalent to *iuxta*, *ante*, *propter*, or *circum*. Of these, the third alone seems possible; a local sense for *ob* seems hardly credible here, despite *Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 14. 61, and K-S i. 531 ('Italien gegenüber'). 'Because of Italy'—i.e. because Italy is their destined goal—'the Trojans have the whole world closed to them', and therefore they cannot reach Italy either: *cunctus terrarum orbis* is a rhetorical exaggeration for 'everywhere'. This, however, is a very laboured explanation. There seems no clear parallel to Virgil's highly compressed use of *ob*.
- 234. hinc** : i.e. from Aeneas and his Trojans (cf. 21); *olim*, 'one day', as in 20, 203.
- uoluentibus annis** : cf. *G.* 1. 163 'uoluentia plaustra', *Lucr.* 5. 931 'uoluentia lustra'; similarly 10. 362 'saxa rotantia'. The participle is used as if *uoluo*, *roto* were deponents; see K-S i. 108 ff.
- 235. Teucri** : Teucer was the legendary ancestor of the Trojan kings. Cf. 4. 230, 6. 500 'genus alto a sanguine Teucri'. *Reuocato* = 'brought to life again', after the destruction of Troy; cf. *G.* 4. 282 'nec genus unde nouae stirpis reuocetur habebit'.
- 236. omnis** : Servius preferred *omni* (so MR), interpreting 'pace, legibus, bello', and Conington agrees; but *omnis* is far more satisfactory. For *dicione tenerent* (= *regerent*) cf. 622, 7. 737 'dicione premebat'.
- 237. pollicitus** : sc. *es* ('You promised', says Venus to her father, like any disappointed daughter); cf. 10. 827 'arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua', Housman on *Lucan* 1. 441; see 72 note, and cf. 202.



*quae . . . uertit?* : not necessarily an 'inversion': 'what view has changed you?' is perfectly natural.

238. *ruinas* : see on 129; here it effectively picks up *occasum*.

239. *solabar* : 'I comforted myself' for Troy's fall: an unusual use of the verb, for the object *occasum* is not something experienced by the subject (contrast 9. 489 'tela curas solabar anilis', 10. 829 'hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem'); cf. Cic. *Mil.* 97 'esse hanc unam quae breuitatem uitae posteritatis memoria consolaretur'; Livy 45. 41. 12 'hanc cladem domus meae uestra felicitas et secunda fortuna publica consolatur' (= 'consoles me for'); Seneca, *dial.* 11. 1. 3 'ideo mihi uidetur rerum natura quod grauissimum fecerat commune fecisse, ut crudelitatem fati consolaretur (= 'make up for') aequalitas'.

*fatis . . . rependens* : 'balancing destiny against destiny in opposition'; cf. 7. 293 f. 'heu . . . fatis contraria nostris / fata Phrygum' (Iuno speaking): for this conception of one individual destiny being set against another see Bailey, *Religion in Virgil*, pp. 212 ff. *Rependere* is not recorded in poetry before Virgil.

240. *fortuna* : for this sense of 'ill fortune' cf. 6. 62 'hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta', 12. 593 'accidit haec fessis etiam fortuna Latinis': for the various aspects of *fortuna* in Virgil see Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.

241. *insequitur* : 'dogs them'; the run-on position, with the impressive pause following (see 11 note), gives the word great force.

*quem . . . laborum?* : a counterpart in sense and pattern to 237 'quae te, genitor, sententia uertit?': Venus rams home her theme of the broken promise (and *insequitur* here, with the pause, draws attention to *pollicitus* similarly placed in 237).

*finem* : Gellius (13. 21. 12), discussing Virgil's treatment of the gender of *finis* (cf. 2. 554 'haec finis Priami fatorum'), remarks 'si ita dicas: "quam das finem", iniucundum nescio quo pacto et laxiorem uocis sonum feceris': how little we can really know about Latin sound-effects.

242 ff. Venus points her argument with an *exemplum* from 'history': Antenor had safely reached Italy from Troy, and had founded Patavium (the modern Padua, where today there is a publishing house called *Editrice Antenore*, and the 'tomb of Antenor' is still shown), while Aeneas was debarred by Iuno's enmity.

Antenor is a mysterious and important figure in the Trojan legend. In Homer, he is a wise counsellor, who entertained Menelaus and Odysseus when they came to demand the

return of Helen, and urged acceptance of the demand (*Il.* 3. 207, 7. 348 ff.). Later legend (probably Cyclic) told that the Greeks spared him, setting a leopard-skin at his door as a sign that he must not be molested; this scene was shown by Polygnotus in his great painting of the Sack of Troy in the Lesche at Delphi (Pausanias 10. 27. 3). Sophocles used this tradition in a play (Strabo 13. 1. 53), presumably the *Antenoridae*, and also a tradition that Antenor and his family escaped and finally reached a country called Enetica on the Adriatic. Livy evidently knew this version (I. 1. 1 f.) 'satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saeuitum esse Troianos, duobus, Aeneae Antenorique, et uetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerant, omne ius belli Achiuos abstinuisse; casibus deinde uariis Antenorem . . . uenisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum, Euganeisque qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant pulsus Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras'; there seems no earlier record of the association of Aeneas with Antenor in this way. Virgil would naturally have been attracted by the connection of Antenor with one of the most famous cities in Northern Italy. Accius had written a play, the *Antenoridae*, presumably modelled on Sophocles, of which a few fragments survive; Horace (*Epp.* 1. 2. 9) admires Antenor's wise counsel for peace; Ovid (*F.* 4. 75) refers to *Troianae suasorem Antenora pacis*, and (*Epp. ex Pont.* 4. 16. 17 f.) mentions the work of the poet Largus, 'Gallica qui Phrygium duxit in arua senem', which is held to have been about Antenor's wanderings. Virgil's choice of an *exemplum* for Venus to use would obviously have been enjoyed and understood by his Roman readers.

However, a different turn to the Antenor-legend had been given by Hellenistic writers: Antenor was said to have been spared, not because of his hospitality to Menelaus and Odysseus but as a reward for betraying Troy. This version appears first in Lycophron (340 ff.; in his riddling style he does not directly name Antenor, but his allusions are explained by the Scholiast), though it need not have originated with him. It was known to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (who was at Rome when Virgil was working on the *Aeneid*), as one theory of the way in which Troy fell (*Ant. Rom.* 1. 46. 1); and, according to Servius here, it was known to the historian Sisenna (praetor 78 B.C.). It reappears in the pseudo-histories of the Trojan War by Dictys Cretensis (4. 18, 4. 22) and Dares (37 ff.). In turn, Aeneas himself was denounced: Dionysius (*Ant. Rom.* 1. 48. 3) cites the fourth-century Lycian historian Menecrates for this accusation of betrayal, based on

a feud between Aeneas and Paris (cf. *Il.* 13. 460 f.); so Dictys associates Antenor and Aeneas in plotting Troy's fall (4. 22), and this version appears in the medieval romance by Guido de Columnis, the *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, completed in 1287. These stories explain Marlowe's words in the second act of his *Tragedy of Dido*: 'Many tales go of that city's fall, / And scarcely do agree upon one point: / Some say, Antenor did betray the town; / Others report 'twas Sinon's perjury.'

Servius' comments here, and on 488, 647, 2. 15, show that he and his sources were influenced by this new form of the legend; thus he reads into Livy l.c. an accusation of treachery against both Antenor and Aeneas, and (647) he suggests that Virgil tries to hush up the allegations against Aeneas.

See Wlosok, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff. for a careful and interesting examination of the Antenor-legend, fully documented; Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* i. 86 ff.; Ogilvie on Livy 1. 1. 1-3 (for the connection of Antenor with the Veneti); C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage*, pp. 1005 ff.; V. Ussani, *Studi italiani di Filologia Classica* xxii (1947), 114 ff., and his introduction to his edition of *Aen.* 2 (Rome, 1961), pp. x ff., G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff. (for the legend that Aeneas was a traitor).

243. *Illyricos . . . sinus* : a good description of the configuration of the Dalmatian coast; in a wider sense the words could mean the whole northern gulf of the Adriatic. The dangers of these waters were notable: cf. Catullus 4. 6 'minacis Adriatici', Hor. *C.* 1. 28. 21 f. 'me quoque . . . / Illyricis Notus obruit undis', *C.* 3. 3. 4 f. 'Auster / dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae', *C.* 3. 27. 18 f. 'ego quid sit ater / Hadriae noui sinus'. Thus *tutus* has special point, emphatically placed at the end of the line: no shipwreck for Antenor (contrast *nauibus amissis*, 251, of Aeneas).

*intima* : cf. Livy 1. 1. 2 'uenisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum'; but the description is so natural that nothing can be safely inferred as to the possible relationship of the two passages (cf. Wlosok, *op. cit.*, p. 41 n. 69).

244. *Liburnorum* : Croatia. Pliny (*NH* 3. 139) says of its tribes 'populorum pauca effatu digna aut facilia nomina'. *Intima* implies the remoteness of the region, tucked away at the head of the Adriatic (Antenor did not journey inland), and *intima regna Liburnorum* is a particularizing variation on *Illyricos sinus*. The possible dangers can be judged from Livy 10. 2. 4 (Cleonymus' raiding journey) 'circumuectus . . . Brundisii promunturium medioque sinu Hadriatico uentis latus, cum laeua importuosa Italiae litora, dextra Illyrii

Liburnique et Histri, gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniiis maritimis infames, terrerent, penitus ad litora Venetorum peruenit'.

**superare** : 'sail past' (successfully); 'nauticus sermo est' (DServius); cf. *E.* 8. 6 f. (to Pollio) 'seu magni superas iam saxa Timauui, / siue oram Illyrici legis aequoris'.

Strabo (5. 1. 8) describes the Timavus, using information from Polybius and Poseidonius, showing that it was considered a remarkable geographical phenomenon: ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀδρίου [cf. *Illyricos sinus*] καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διομήδους ἐστὶν ἄξιον μνήμης, τὸ Τίμαυον· λιμένα γὰρ ἔχει . . . καὶ πηγὰς ἐπὶ ποτίμου ὕδατος εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐκπίπτοντος, πλατεῖ καὶ βαθεῖ ποταμῷ. Πολύβιος δ' εἶρηκε πλὴν μιᾶς τὰς ἄλλας ἀλμυροῦ ὕδατος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους πηγὴν καὶ μητέρα τῆς θαλάττης ὀνομάζειν τὸν τόπον. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ φησι ποταμὸν τὸν Τίμαυον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν φερόμενον καταπίπτειν εἰς βέρεθρον, εἶθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ἐνεχθέντα περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ τὴν ἐκβολὴν ποιείσθαι. Pliny (*NH* 2. 225) lists it among rivers that flow underground, adding (229) 'contra Timauum amnem insula parua in mari est cum fontibus calidis, qui pariter cum aestu maris crescunt minuunturque'; Seneca (*NQ* 3. 1. 1) quotes lines 245–6, and links them with a line by his friend Lucilius on the fabled under-sea course of the Alpheus, 'Elius Siculis de fontibus exsilit amnis'.

The Timavus (Timavo) rises in the Julian Alps, and for just over half its course it flows underground; it emerges at San Giovanni di Tuba, and enters the sea a short distance away, in the Gulf of Trieste. Scientific experiment has found that its waters reach the sea through a number of tunnels along a stretch of coast of about thirteen miles; the coastline has probably altered from ancient times by silting. Virgil's *fons*, which Antenor 'sailed past', is the river itself in its final course, from the point of its emergence to its debouchment in the sea, so close to each other that 'spring' and exit are poetically integrated; for *fons* of the emerging-point cf. Lucan 3. 261 ff. 'Tigrim subito tellus absorbet hiatu / occultosque tegit cursus rursusque renatum / fonte nouo flumen pelagi non abnegat undis'. Henry's fascinating note here makes good reading, based on a personal visit in 1865; he argues that the next two lines describe a sudden flood, caused by a storm, or when the mountain snow has melted, and the water is forced spouting through the many exits, deluging the strip of land between them and the sea. See H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* (Berlin, 1902), ii. 233 f.; H. Philipp in *RE* viA. 1242 ff.; *Enciclopedia Italiana* xxxiii. 847 f. (with speleological bibliography).

**245. ora nouem** : so Mela 2. 61 'interfluit Timauus, nouem

capitibus exurgens, uno ostio emissus'; 'nine' is a convenient number, with a hint of magic about it (cf. Henry, pp. 549 f., with an impressive sentence occupying forty-nine lines). Strabo gives seven, so too Martial 4. 25. 6; this too could be a convention, like the seven mouths of the Nile (cf. the Seven Springs in Gloucestershire, with their inscription 'hic tuus o Thamesine pater septemgeminus fons'); Servius comments 'multi septem esse dicunt, quod, si incerta fides est, finitus est numerus pro infinito'. Henry (p. 528) implies that five had been known at some time previous to his visit; P. Oltramare (on Seneca, *NQ* 3. 1. 1.) gives three only at the time of writing (1929).

*uasto . . . montis* : cf. 55 note; the *mons* is the massif from under which the Timavus emerges. The alliteration is noteworthy here and in the next line: the mountain booms, the pounding flood batters.

246. *it mare proruptum* : cf. Silius 3. 51 'proruptum exundat pelagus'; the participle is reflexive-intransitive (cf. *G.* 4. 368 'caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus'), and 'timeless'; cf. LHS, p. 293. Servius comments 'Varro . . . dicit hunc fluuium ab incolis *mare* nominari'; DServius interprets 'it quasi proruptum mare'. Clearly there was some localized way of referring to the river as a 'sea' (cf. Strabo, l.c.), and it is of little importance whether *mare* is subject or in apposition; the important thing is that *mare* means the river, not the actual sea (cf. *Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 379. 10), and Virgil is particularizing the manner in which the Timavus issues, bursting out, through its *ora*, itself a sea. Even when not in spate the river was broad (cf. Strabo, l.c.); Livy mentions a 'lagoon' (41. 1. 2 'profectus ab Aquileia consul castra ad lacum Timaii posuit; imminet mari is lacus').

*et . . . sonanti* : 'pounding the fields with thundering flood'; *pelago* continues the notion of the river as a 'sea' (Henry compares *πελαγίζειν*, Herodotus 2. 92, etc.); *premit* could mean actual submerging (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 290 'presaeque latent sub gurgite turres').

247. *hic* : 'in these parts', quite vague and rather odd, as if Venus was showing Iuppiter a map. Virgil leaves us to imagine the final stages of Antenor's journey, and shows him safe on the site of Padua, in spite of (*tamen*) all dangers. Later poets were misled by *hic*: Lucan puts the Timavus near the Euganean hills above Padua (7. 193 f. 'Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit, / atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timaii'); Statius alludes to Livy as *Timaii alumnum* (*S.* 4. 7. 55); Silius (12. 213 ff.) produces a Roman soldier, descended from Trojan Antenor, a credit to Timavus and the darling of the

Euganean land. It has been suggested that Silius was a Cisalpine, perhaps a native of Padua (Syme, *Tacitus* i. 88 n. 7; Sherwin-White, on Pliny, *Epp.* 3. 7. 1, is sceptical): that passage would appear to shake the theory.

**urbem Pataui** : cf. 8. 231 'Auentini montem', etc.; for this type of genitive (not in Cicero or Caesar, but used by Livy and Tacitus) see LHS, p. 62.

**248. genti nomen dedit** : the Veneti; Virgil follows the Greek tradition by which they were identified with the Eneti led by Antenor; cf. Servius on 243 'ideo . . . Vergilius dicit *Illyricos sinus*, quod inde uenit quidam Henetus rex, qui Venetiam tenuit, a cuius nomine Henetiam dictam posteri Venetiam nominarunt'. This Illyrian origin of the Veneti is now rejected; see Ogilvie on Livy 1. 1. 1-3, and cf. Walbank on Polybius 2. 17. 5-6. For Livy's statement 'in quem primo egressi sunt locum Troia uocatur' (of Antenor and his followers) see Ogilvie on Livy 1. 1. 3.

**249. Troia** : the adjective is trisyllabic. Antenor 'hung up' his arms as a token that he had reached safety; cf. Hor. *Epp.* 1. 1. 4 f. 'Veianius armis / Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro'.

**compostus** : cf. *repostum* (26), *supposta* (6. 24), *imposta* (9. 716), *exposta* (10. 694); Ennius, *inc.* 23 (*repostus*); Lucilius 84 (*compostae*). See Norden on 6. 24, with details of the use of such syncopated forms by other poets also (Lucretius is especially fond of them); they are sometimes metrically convenient (cf. 26 note), and Virgil no doubt liked their archaic tone in Epic.

Some commentators have taken *nunc . . . quiescit* as a reference to Antenor's death: not an impressive argument for persuading Iuppiter to bring Aeneas safely to Italy, whereas he might be expected to take the point that Antenor now enjoys what eludes Aeneas, peace and ordered tranquillity after his journeyings and dangers. Virgil has in fact adapted a line from Varro Atacinus (fr. 8 Morel) 'omnia noctis erant placida composta quiete', quoted by both Senecas (*Contr.* 7. 1. 27; *Epp.* 56. 6), with an interesting anecdote by the elder concerning Ovid's view of the line: the context is quite clearly peace and restfulness, not death; and that is plainly Virgil's meaning here. It follows that *locavit*, *dedit*, *fixit* are true perfects ('Antenor has made a settlement and is now enjoying tranquillity'). Virgil may well have had in mind also Ennius' picture of the old race-horse in retirement, *Ann.* 374 f. 'spatio qui saepe supremo / uicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit', quoted by Cicero, *de sen.* 14.

250. *nos* : in adversative asyndeton with *ille* (247) and ultimately with *Antenor* (242): with a dramatic flourish Venus brings home to her father the dismal contrast between Antenor and Aeneas, in four direct and passionate lines (an 'apodosis' as it were, just half the length of the 'protasis'). There is a progression from *nos* (with which Venus superbly identifies her son's cause with her own) to *tua progenies* (reminding Iuppiter of his duty as father and grandfather) and then the resonant *caeli quibus adnuis arcem* (the ultimate promise that now seems forgotten).

*caeli . . . arcem* : explained in 259; the allusive anticipation is much in Virgil's manner. For *adnuis* with direct object cf. 12. 187 'sin nostrum adnuerit nobis uictoria Martem' (so Val. Flacc. 2. 94 'reduci superas postquam pater adnuit arces'); contrast 11. 19 f. 'ubi primum uellere signa / adnuerint superi'. For the present tense see on 79: Iuppiter has made the promise, and it remains his promise (cf. 4. 228 'bis uindicat armis', where Venus remains Aeneas' 'rescuer', though the act of rescuing was long since past).

251. *infandum* : cf. 8. 688 'sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx', G. 1. 478 f. 'pecudesque locutae / (infandum!)', Stat. *Th.* 1. 595 'imperat (infandum!) cupientem occumbere leto'.

*unius ob iram* : Venus tactfully avoids naming Iuno; contrast 4 'saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram', where the poet is commentator: *ob* implies a cause that acts as a blockage.

252. *prodimur* : dramatically accusing; the 'betrayal' is given precision in *Italiam . . . disiungimur oris* (cf. 233).

253. Venus ends with a cutting reproach: 'is *this* the reward of piety? is *this* the way you restore us to royal rule?' *Reponis* suggests giving what is due; cf. Hor. *C.* 1. 10. 17 f. 'tu pius laetis animas reponis / sedibus'. For the sense of *honor* cf. 5. 249 'ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores', 5. 308 'omnibus hic erit unus honor'; cf. Nettleship, *Contr. Lat. Lex.*, s.v.

Virgil always has the nominative form *honōs* (see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v. *honor* 2916. 16 ff., for the practice of varying authors); so *arbōs* frequently, *labōs* 6. 277 (so Plaut. *Merc.* 72, etc.); Plautus has *colōs* (*Men.* 828; so Sallust, *Cat.* 15), *odōs* (*Capt.* 815). These are the archaic forms; when intervocalic -s- became -r- in the oblique cases, the nominative became -ōr by analogy, and later -ōr: cf. my note on 2. 369. Servius was somewhat out of his depth here: 'cum secundum artem dicamus *honor*, *arbor*, *lepor*, plerumque poetae r in s mutant causa metri; . . . sed ecce in hoc loco etiam sine metri necessitate *honor* dixit. item Sallustius paene ubique *labos*

posuit, quem nulla necessitas coegit. melius tamen est seruire regulae'.

The words *hic pietatis honos* appear in several grave-inscriptions (*Carm. Lat. Ep.* 597. 1, etc.).

**254–96.** *Iuppiter comforts his daughter with a smile and a kiss: his purpose is unchanged: Aeneas shall found his destined city, and Romans of Trojan stock shall become lords of the world: under a great Caesar, War shall be enchained and Peace shall triumph.*

**254 ff.** Venus has spoken emotionally, theatrically: Iuppiter, as he begins to reply, is grave, calm, kind in these three slow-moving lines; Virgil implies his majesty by solemn language and Ennian reflections.

**254.** Cf. 12. 829 'olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor'; *Il.* 15. 47 μείδησεν δὲ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε; Ennius, *Ann.* 457 f. 'Iuppiter hic risit tempestatesque serenae / riserunt omnes risu Iouis omnipotentis'. In 12. 829 ff. Iuppiter is replying to an impassioned plea by Iuno, after asking her (12. 793) 'quae iam finis erit, coniunx?', just as here he is answering Venus who has asked (241) 'quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?' In the present passage Iuppiter unrolls the future greatness of the Trojan stock, despite Iuno's enmity; in 12. 829 ff. he reconciles Iuno to this Trojan destiny. The two prophetic speeches frame the action of the *Aeneid*.

**olli** : archaic; so nom. pl., 7. 505, 11. 236, etc.; *ollis* (dative), 6. 730, 8. 659. These forms all occur in Ennius; Lucretius has dative *ollis* often, ablative once; Cicero (*de leg.* 2. 19 ff.) quotes 'ancient' laws containing the forms *ollos, olla*. Quintilian (8. 3. 24) observes that certain archaisms, one of which is *olli*, 'sanctiorem et magis admirabilem faciunt orationem, quibus non quilibet fuerit usus, eoque ornamento acerrimi iudicii P. Vergilius unice est usus'. In *olli subridens* Virgil reflects the Homeric τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας (*Il.* 8. 38; cf. *Il.* 4. 356, 10. 400, *Od.* 22. 371), with the demonstrative article emphatically placed at the beginning of the line: see Gloeckner, *ALL* xiv. 187 f. The solemnity of the spondaic rhythm is increased by the disyllable *olli* in the first foot, with *uultu* similarly placed in the next line (see on 30).

**hominum . . . deorum** : cf. 65; *Il.* 15. 47 (quoted above); Ennius, *Ann.* 175 'dium pater atque hominum rex', 580 'diumque hominumque pater rex', 581 'patrem diumque hominumque'; Cic. poet. fr. 30. 30 Tr. 'caelestum sator' (from Sophocles, *Trach.* 1087 f.). For *atque* used without elision see on 147; cf. 543 'fandi atque nefandi', another formulaic type.



255. *uultu* : the features, expressive of the feelings; the nature of the 'look' is shown in *serenat* (cf. 209, where *spem* makes clear the cheerful meaning of *uultu*); contrast Hor. *C.* 3. 3. 3 'uultus instantis tyranni', where *instantis* marks *uultus* as a threatening look, Tac. *Ann.* 1. 12 'uultu offensionem coniectauerat' (Tiberius' annoyance inferred from his *uultus*). In an interesting passage Quintilian stresses the importance of 'look' in oratory (II. 3. 72): 'dominatur . . . maxime uultus. hoc supplices, hoc minaces, hoc blandi, hoc tristes, hoc hilares, hoc erecti, hoc summissi sumus: hoc pendent homines, hunc intuentur, hic spectatur etiam antequam dicimus: hoc quosdam amamus, hoc odimus, hoc plurima intellegimus, hic est saepe pro omnibus uerbis'.

*caelum tempestatesque* : 'stormy weather'; cf. *G.* 1. 311 'quid tempestates autumni et sidera dicam?'

*serenat* : 'clears up'; cf. *G.* 1. 393 'soles et aperta serena', of sunshine and unclouded skies: so Pliny, *NH* 2. 13 'humani nubila animi serenat' (of the sun). *Serenare* is mainly poetic, and Virgil has it again in the remarkable 'spem fronte serenat', of Dido (4. 477), putting on a bright clear look of hope to deceive Anna; its only recorded occurrence before Virgil is in Cic. poet. fr. 11. 24 Tr., where *luce serenanti* appears to mean 'in clear daylight' (of 'a bolt from the blue'); Statius has it of a fire brightening up a house (*Ach.* 1. 120 f. 'largoque serenat / igne domum').

James Harrington's version of these lines (1658) runs 'Jove, with the smiles that clear the weather, dips / His coral in the nectar of her lips' (see Conington's *Miscellaneous Writings* [London, 1872], i. 154, in an interesting paper on English translators of Virgil): his embellishment looks like a *contaminatio* of Virgil with Horace, *C.* 1. 13. 15 f. 'oscula quae Venus / quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit'.

256. *oscula libauit natae* : 'he lightly touched his daughter's pretty lips' with a kiss. *Natae* may be dative, picking up *olli* in the Homeric manner (e.g. *Od.* 18. 158 f. τῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη / κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρονι Πηνελοπέειη).

*Osculum*, a diminutive from *os*, is one of the very small group of such formations used by Virgil, who in this matter reflects the general Augustan unwillingness to admit them to serious poetry: see A. S. F. Gow, *CQ* xxvi (1932), 150 ff., and cf. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, pp. 38 ff., Fordyce on Catullus 3. 18; LHS, pp. 772 ff. Like many diminutives, it can bear a caressing tone, and the transition to the meaning 'kiss' is natural (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 499 f. 'uidet oscula, quae non / est uidisse satis'); so in 687, 2. 490. Here it has its primary sense, as in *G.* 2. 523 'dulces pendent circum oscula

nati'; in *Lucr.* 3. 895 f. 'nec dulces occurrent oscula nati / praeripere', the other meaning is clear (Gray, in his *Elegy*, made a fusion of both passages—'Or climb his knees, the envied kiss to share').

**libauit**: cf. 12. 434 'summaque per galeam delibans oscula', *Silius* 1. 104 'olli permulcens genitor caput oscula libat'. The verb is well chosen for the implied action of kissing, and Virgil has produced a very charming phrase.

**dehinc . . . fatur**: the same formula as in 131 (with *dehinc* again a monosyllable).

**257 ff.** Iuppiter's apocalypse of the future fame of Rome has a counterpart in 6. 756 ff., the revelation of Anchises in Elysium; it should be read with the final scene between Iuppiter and Iuno in mind (12. 793–840), and with Iuno's speech in *Hor. C.* 3. 3. 18 ff. It is composed with careful symmetry, with an allocation of five or six lines to each theme (except the allusion to Greece, in just under three lines), and with the imperial destiny of Rome in a central position.

The speech reflects some of Virgil's deepest feelings: his consciousness that Rome's history stretches far back into the mists of antiquity; his desire to link that history definitively with Aeneas; his conviction of Rome's imperial power as hers by right of fate; his passionate hopes for an age of Peace, based firmly on the old Roman virtues of integrity and justice, with the madness of civil war chained and impotent—a vision which plainly betrays the shattering impact of his times upon the poet's mind. If it is a political manifesto, it is also a spiritual testimony to his love for Italy and to his belief in her, which he expresses in another way in the *laudes Italiae* of *G.* 2. 136 ff. See the important discussion by G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 426 ff., and *The Third Book of Horace's Odes* (Oxford, 1969), p. 45; Wlosok, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.

**257. metu**: dative (see on 156); cf. *Gellius* 4. 16. For the meaning of *parcere* ('forbear') cf. *G.* 2. 339 'hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri'. The main pause in the line follows *Cytherea*, not *manent*: see on 199.

**258. tibi**: the so-called 'ethic' dative (a term coined by Buttman; see Landgraf, *ALL* viii. 48), corresponding to a tone or gesture indicative of the speaker's concern for the person addressed and of his realization that the latter is himself much concerned. It belongs especially to lively conversational style; but it cannot be easily brought out in translation (here *tibi* = 'I tell you', 'You'll see'): see Landgraf, *l.c.*; LHS, pp. 93 f.; Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangsspr.*, pp. 136 f.; cf. R. D. Williams on 5. 162.

*urbem*: explained by the extension *promissa Lauini moenia*; for the prosody of *Lauini* see on 2.

259. *ad sidera caeli*: so 12. 794 f. (Iuppiter to Iuno) 'indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris / deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli'; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 65 f. 'unus erit quem tu tolles in caerulea caeli / templa' (used, without *templa*, by Ovid, with reference to Romulus, *Met.* 14. 814, *F.* 2. 487). Aeneas shall become a god, and Venus herself shall bring him to heaven; for his apotheosis see Ovid, *Met.* 14. 603 ff. (see on 267): the pleonastic *sublimem* adds colour to the picture.

260. *magnanimum*: the Homeric *μεγάθυμος*; again of Aeneas, 5. 17, 407, 9. 204; of heroes, 6. 307, 649, *G.* 4. 476; of thoroughbred horses, 3. 704; of bees, *G.* 4. 4: in a fourth-century papyrus containing this passage, with a Greek vocabulary added, *magnanimum* is glossed as *μεγαλόψυχον* (R. Rémondon, *Journal of Juristic Papyri* iv [1950], 260). So Plautus, *Amph.* 212 'magnanimi uiri freti uirtute et uiribus' (high-style reporting of a battle); Lucr. 5. 400, of Phaethon; Cic. *de off.* 1. 63 'uiros fortes et magnanimos': see F. Skutsch, *ALL* xii. 208 ff.

*neque . . . uertit*: Iuppiter has been hurt by Venus' insinuation (237), and denies it in her form of words. The pauses in these four preliminary lines are skilfully varied: mid third foot (*Cytherea*), second foot (*tibi*), first foot diaeresis (*moenia*, a light pause only), then a long sweep to *Aenean* (third foot), then the crisp conclusion.

261. *tibi*: again 'ethic', as in 258.

*quando . . . remordet*: Virgil rather affects this causal use of *quando* (cf. LHS, p. 607). *Haec cura* = 'cura huius rei', a frequent type of compression; cf. 10. 828 'si qua est ea cura', 12. 468 'hoc concussa metu': see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v. *hic*, 2741. 52 ff., *is*, 481. 57 ff. The compound *remordet* implies repeated 'nagging'; cf. Lucr. 3. 827 'praeteritisque male admissis peccata remordent', id. 4. 1135 'cum conscius ipse animus se forte remordet'; Hor. *C.* 1. 18. 4 'mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines'.

262. *longius*: with *fabor*, extended in *uoluens . . . mouebo*. Some editors do not punctuate after *longius*, preferring to take *et* as a postponed connective (very much in Virgil's manner; cf. 333 note) and to join *longius* with *uoluens mouebo*; but *fabor* needs something to fill it out, taking the place of an internal object ('I will tell you the facts at some length').

*fatorum arcana*: this well shows the connection of *fata* with *fari*; so Servius on *fata deum*, 2. 54 '*fata modo participium est, hoc est, "quae dii loquuntur"*': see Bailey, *Religion in Virgil*, pp. 206, 228 ff. *Arcanus* implies what is

known to initiates only; cf. 6. 72 f. 'hic ego namque tuas sortis arcanaque fata / dicta meae genti ponam', 7. 122 f. 'mihi talia namque / . . . Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit'; Hor. C. 3. 2. 26 f. 'qui Cereris sacrum / uulgarit arcanae': in the present context, Iuppiter means that he will reveal the hidden decrees of the divine will.

**mouebo** : 'I shall start up', i.e. 'I shall put into words' what has hitherto not been told; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 410 'quippe uetusta uirum non est satis bella moueri'; Ovid, *Am.* 3. 1. 6 'quod mea, quaerebam, Musa moueret, opus', *Met.* 11. 40 'nec quicquam uoce mouentem', *Ars* 3. 651 'quid iuuat ambages praeceptaque parua mouere?': so 7. 45 'maius opus moueo'. *Voluens* is probably a metaphor from the unrolling of a book; but it might be no more than 'turning over' in the mind, as in 305.

263. Cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 394 f. 'o ciues quae me fortuna ferocis / contudit, indigno bello confecit acerbo'. *Ferocis* is not necessarily 'fierce', but 'spirited', 'mettlesome' (cf. 7. 724 f. 'iungit Halaesus equos Turnoque ferocis / mille rapit populos'), practically 'proud'.

264. **contundet** : cf. Ovid, *Ars* 1. 12 'animos placida contudit arte feros'; Tibullus (Lygdamus) 3. 6. 13 f. 'ille ferocem / contudit et dominae misit in arbitrium'; Livy 27. 2. 2 'qui post Cannensem pugnam ferocem uictoria Hannibalem contuderit'.

**moresque . . . ponet** : i.e. he will bring them a civilized way of life; *mores* may perhaps be translated 'institutions' ('laws' can mislead): Conington well notes that the word conveyed to a Roman many of the notions which political institutions and a social system convey to us, while the building of a city (*moenia ponet*) implies a settled civil government. In 5. 730 f. Anchises tells his son 'gens dura atque aspera cultu / debellanda tibi Latio est'; in 8. 316 Evander speaks of the primitive dwellers in Italy, 'quis neque mos neque cultus erat', until Saturnus came and (321 f.) 'genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis / composuit legesque dedit'.

Thus early in his epic Virgil stresses Rome's unique and special gift to the world, as he saw it: the *artes* of 6. 852 f., 'pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos'.

**uiris** : little more than *iis*; cf. 91, 2. 452 'auxilioque leuare uiros uimque addere uictis', etc. Forms of *is* in poetry, with certain exceptions, are sparingly used: see on 413.

265 f. Aeneas' three-year rule is stated first from his point of view, then from that of the Rutulians, who are named as the chief among the *populi feroces*.

266. **Rutulis** : probably dative (of 'person affected'), as often in Greek with similar expressions of time, e.g. *Il.* 2. 295 f. ἡμῖν δ' εἵνατός ἐστι περιτροπέων ἐναυτός / ἐνθάδε μμνόντεσσι, *Od.* 19. 192 f. τῷ δ' ἤδη δεκάτῃ ἢ ἐνδεκάτῃ πέλεν ἤως / οἰχομένῳ σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν.

**hiberna** : the military term is appropriate, as Conington notes; it is an imaginative substitution for *hiemes*, balancing *aestas* (cf. Seneca, *dial.* 6. 17. 4, of Syracuse, 'uidebis . . . tepidissima hiberna et nullum diem sine interuentu solis'). For the curious internal 'rhyme' *terna . . . hiberna* cf. 3. 540 'bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur', 4. 505 'erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta' (cf. my note on 4. 55); for similar assonances see Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, p. 192 n. 2; Housman on Lucan 4. 219, Manilius 4. 221.

267. **at . . . Ascanius** : 'prudenter exitum Aeneae et ostendit et tacuit dicendo filium postea regnaturum' (Servius). Ascanius is to reign for thirty years, and there will be three hundred years between the foundation of Alba and that of Rome (272): the multiples of three reflect the tradition of 'magic' numbers; so Theocritus (17. 82 ff.) assigns 33,333 cities of Egypt to Ptolemy's rule (see Gow ad loc.).

For the tradition of Aeneas' death see Livy 1. 2. 6 'secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. situs est, quemcumque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum flumen: Iouem indigetem appellant', on which see Ogilvie. Ovid describes his mysterious apotheosis in *Met.* 14. 603 ff.: the Numicus 'quidquid in Aenea fuerat mortale, repurgat / et respersit aquis: pars optima restitit illi. / lustratum genetrix diuino corpus odore / unxit et ambrosia cum dulci nectare mixta / contigit os fecitque deum; quem turba Quirini / nuncupat Indigetem temploque arisque recepit'.

*Puer* is often used in poetry for the less tractable *filius* (cf. 678). Livy (1. 3. 2) knew of alternative traditions, that Ascanius was Aeneas' son by Lavinia, or that he was 'Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus . . . quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat': on this see Ogilvie ad loc.

**cui nunc . . . Iulo** : the assimilated dative *Iulo* is the older construction (see Landgraf on Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 17). *Nunc* is significant: Virgil deliberately clothes the tradition (linking the *gens Iulia* with Troy) with all the authority of Iuppiter himself, announcing the change of name to Venus. The earliest evidence for the equation Ascanius-Iulus may be from Cato, if the confusing Servian scholia here can support the inference (for the difficulties of interpretation see my note on 2. 563). Virgil uses both names indifferently ('Iulus'

35 times, 'Ascanius' 41); Ovid ingeniously has 'sub Ascanii ditione binominis' (*Met.* 14. 609).

268. **Ilus** : Cato may have recorded this tradition also, if we may assume that Servius took him as source in referring to the name; cf. Appian, *Bell. Ciu.* 2. 68 ἐκ γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Ἴλου τοῦ Αἰνείου τὸ τῶν Ἰουλίων γένος παρενεχθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἤγειτο εἶναι: on the claim of the gens *Iulia* to connect their name with Troy by the equating of Iulus with Ilus see Ogilvie on Livy 1. 3. 2. Suetonius records (*Iul.* 6) that Iulius Caesar, in his *laudatio* of his aunt Iulia, claimed descent from Venus for his family ('a Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra'). It is curious to find Iuppiter making this explanation to Venus: but the line really acts as a footnote for the reader, and the parenthesis is much in the manner of 109 f.

**dum . . . regno** : 'while the Trojan state stood firm in royal power'; cf. 2. 88 'dum stabat regno incolumis' (for the perfect cf. 3. 16, 10. 43 'dum fortuna fuit').

269. **triginta . . . orbis** : 'thirty vast cycles of revolving months', a grand periphrasis, designed to mark the special significance of Ascanius' reign with its foundation of Alba (the gens *Iulia* was an Alban family; see Ogilvie on Livy 1. 3. 2); *magnos orbis* suggests the atmosphere of *E.* 4. 12 'incipient magni procedere menses', itself a piece of rhetorical pomp.

**uoluendis mensibus** : cf. 234 'uoluentibus annis'; the gerundive acts as a present passive participle, a usage from early Latin; so again 9. 7 'uoluenda dies' (the 'march of time'); Ennius, *Ann.* 531 'clamor ad caelum uoluendus per aethera uagit'; Lucr. 5. 514 'quo uoluenda micant aeterni sidera mundi', 1276 'uoluenda aetas commutat tempora rerum'. The archaism adds to the high tone of the line.

270. **ab sede Lauini** : cf. 3. 687 'angusta ab sede Pelori', of a headland, Catullus 81. 3 'moribunda ab sede Pisauri': *sedes* suggests 'home' as well as 'city'.

271. **Longam . . . Albam** : cf. 8. 48 'Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam' (Tiberinus' prophecy), Livy 1. 3. 3 'Ascanius . . . abundante Lauinii multitudine florentem . . . urbem . . . relinquit, nouam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata'. Alba was on the site of the modern Castel Gandolfo, twelve miles south-east of Rome (see Ogilvie ad loc.). Livy's account of the fall of Alba to the Romans under Tullus (1. 29) is one of his most moving pictures, and well shows how close the historian can come to epic poetry.

**multa ui** : for the word-order see on 1; cf. 8. 452 'illi inter sese multa ui bracchia tollunt'. *Muniet* implies the building of a strong city (so *munire* is regularly used for the

building of roads); cf. Lucr. 1. 728 'rebus opima bonis, multa munita uirum ui' (sc. *regio*), where *munita* is metaphorical.

272. *totos . . . annos* : 'there shall be kingly rule for a full span of three hundred years'. *Regnabitur* is impersonal; for other examples of a passive impersonal from an intransitive verb cf. 700 *discumbitur*; 6. 179 *itur*; 7. 553 *pugnatur*; 11. 468 *discurritur*; G. 3. 249 *erratur*; G. 4. 78 *concurritur*; G. 4. 189 *siletur*. Such impersonals (probably the oldest function of the passive) mark an action in process, with the agent either quite general or clear but unexpressed: see Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* i. 144 ff.; LHS, pp. 288, 418; Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 115 n. 1 (for the type *itur, uentum est*); cf. my notes on 2. 634, 4. 416. For some criticism of Wackernagel's exposition see E. Wistrand, *Ueber das Passivum* (Göteborg, 1941), pp. 88 ff.

273. *Hectorea* : i.e. 'Trojan'; so 5. 190 'Hectorei socii', 5. 634 'Hectoreos amnis, Xanthum et Simoenta': the epithet is used so with special emotional effect, for Hector represented the quintessence of Trojan pride and greatness. Silius goes further: in 'spes et fiducia gentis / Regulus Hectoreae' (2. 342 f.) he uses *Hectoreus* to mean 'Roman'.

*regina sacerdos* : the Vestal Rhea Silvia, daughter of king Numitor: for *regina* ('regis filia; abusiue dicit more poetico', Servius) cf. 6. 28 (of Ariadne; see Norden), Val. Flacc. 5. 373 (of Medea). Virgil, in a dramatic sweep of 'history', now reaches the founding of Rome, omitting the line of Alban kings, which he reserves for the specially Roman context of 6. 763 ff. where it magnificently suits his purpose: for these kings see Ogilvie on Livy 1. 3. 6 ff.

274. *Marte grauis* : 'pregnant by Mars'; cf. Livy 1. 4. 2 'ui compressa Vestalis cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat'. For this use of *grauis* (introduced by Virgil) cf. *E.* 1. 49 'non insueta grauis temptabunt pabula fetas'; so of the Wooden Horse, 6. 516 'armatum peditem grauis attulit aluo' (contrast Ennius, *Sc.* 76 'gravidus armatis equus'). Ovid has a characteristically bland version of the story, *F.* 3. 11 ff. (23 'iacet illa grauis'). *Marte* is instrumental ablative; cf. Hor. *C.* 3. 10. 15 'uir Pieria paelice saucius': see LHS, p. 122.

*Ilia* : this alternative name is due to the encroachment of the Aeneas-legend (Ovid uses both; cf. *F.* 3. 45, 4. 55); cf. Tibullus 2. 5. 51 ff., in a context which owes something to Virgil (see K. F. Smith, ad loc.). A different tradition made *Ilia* a daughter of Aeneas; see Vahlen's edition of Ennius, pp. cliii f.; Ogilvie on Livy 1. 3. 10; Servius on 6. 777.

**275. lupae . . . laetus** : 'delighting in the red-brown skin of a wolf-nurse'; the interlacing of nouns and adjectives is pleasant. For the legend see Ogilvie on Livy 1. 3. 10, with references. This is Virgil's picturesque way of saying that Romulus was reared by a wolf; it upset early critics ('hoc multi reprehendunt, cur nutricis tegmine usus sit', Servius), and Conway gravely suggests that the wolf bequeathed her skin to Romulus. Heyne drily comments 'nec uero accipiendum, quasi lupae ipsius, a qua nutritus fuerat, pellem detractam sibi imposuerit; sed ornat epitheton *nutricis lupae*: quia ex eo genere fuit illa, a qua ipse nutritus esset'. If indeed Romulus wore a wolf-skin ('qua utebatur more pastorum', Servius), it represented for him—in Virgil's imagination—the foster-mother to whom he owed his life; and he wore it with pride in his upbringing. The position of *laetus* gives the adjective marked emphasis; Romulus was proud not only of his *tegmen* but of the *gens* under his rule and of the city that he was to found.

**276. excipiet** : Romulus will take over in due succession.

**Mauortia** : cf. 6. 777 f. 'auo comitem sese Mauortius addet / Romulus'; the epithet refers both to Romulus' birth and to the cult of Mars at Rome (for which see Bailey, *Ovid, Fasti* 3, pp. 33 ff.); cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 90. 3 f. (= Gow–Page, *The Garland of Philip*, 3520 f.) οὐριον εὐχομένοισι δίδου πλόον Ἄρεος ἄχρῖς / ἐς πόλιν (a prayer for a safe journey from Syria to Rome).

**277. Romanos** : Virgil's compression of Rome's prehistory helps to suggest the close link of the *gens Hectorea* with the Romans.

**278 f.** Iuppiter sets no bounds of fortune or time to Roman power. The majestic pronouncement of 278 is confirmed, as it were, by the variation *imperium sine fine dedi* (a fine sweeping rhythm), where *dedi* is in strong contrast to the future tenses elsewhere: the splendour of eternal Rome is already settled.

Here then is the concept of the Eternal City. The actual phrase appears first in Tibullus 2. 5. 23 f. 'Romulus aeternae nondum formauerat urbis / moenia' (so Ovid of Romulus, *F.* 3. 72 'aeternae . . . pater urbis'); cf. Livy 4. 4. 4 'in aeternum urbe condita', 28. 28. 11 'ne istuc Iuppiter optimus maximus sirit, urbem auspicato dis auctoribus in aeternum conditam huic fragili et mortali corpori aequalem esse'; and the noble peroration of Otho's speech in Tac. *H.* 1. 84 'quid? uos pulcherrimam hanc urbem domibus et tectis et congestu lapidum stare creditis? muta ista et inanima intercidere ac reparari promisca sunt: aeternitas rerum et pax gentium et mea cum uestra salus incolumitate senatus firmatur. hunc



auspicato a parente et conditore urbis nostrae institutum et a regibus usque ad principes continuum et immortalem, sicut a maioribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus'. Syme (*Tacitus*, p. 208 n. 1) notes an inscription of A.D. 32 (*ILS* 157) 'prouidentiae Ti. Caesaris Augusti nati ad aeternitatem Romani nominis', and observes that senatorial coins under Domitian are inscribed *aeternitas Augusti*: see his further references, and Ogilvie on Livy 4. 4. 4. Virgil's splendid lines show plainly the Augustan conception of Roman greatness. Marlowe has a fine rebuilding of Iuppiter's prophecy, in his *Tragedy of Dido*, Act 1.

279. **quin**: 'and what is more'; this emphatic use of *quin* developed from its original interrogative function in lively conversation (see LHS, p. 676). Iuppiter's solemn purpose will be undermined if Iuno continues to be hostile; *aspera* suggests her pugnacity, just as Carthage is *studiis asperrima belli* (14).

280. A vivid picture of Iuno's nagging nuisance-value. *Metu* can mean either the fear that she inspires or the fear that she feels; perhaps the latter is uppermost ('scilicet quem de Carthagine habet', D.Servius, comparing *id metuens*, 23).

**fatigat**: cf. Lucr. 2. 1169 'temporis incusat momen caelumque fatigat', 4. 1239 'nequiquam diuum numen sortisque fatigant'.

281. **consilia . . . referet**: Iuno will amend her design; cf. 11. 425 f. 'multa dies uariique labor mutabilis aevi / rettulit in melius'. For her yielding see 12. 841. Servius comments 'quia bello Punico secundo, ut ait Ennius, placata Iuno coepit fauere Romanis' (*Ann.* 291); but cf. the implications of Hor. *C.* 3. 3 (on which see G. Williams, *The Third Book of Horace's Odes*, p. 45).

**mecumque fouebit**: 'will hold dear, as I do', with blessing and support.

282. A magnificent line, full of justifiable Roman pride. Macrobius (6. 5. 15) quotes Laberius for the expressions *togatae stirpis* and *togatae gentis*; Suetonius (*Aug.* 40. 5) records of Augustus 'uisa quondam pro contione pullatorum turba indignabundus et clamitans "en Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam!" negotium aedilibus dedit ne quem posthac paterentur in Foro circae nisi positus lacernis togatum consistere'; cf. Hor. *C.* 3. 5. 10 f. 'nominis et togae / oblitus aeternaeque Vestae'; Lucan 5. 698 f. 'non rector ut orbis / nec dominus rerum, sed felix naufragus esses' (spoken to Caesar), 6. 595 'uel dominus rerum uel tanti funeris heres' (of Sex. Pompeius); Tac. *H.* 2. 78 (of Vespasian) 'nec erat intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox rerum dominus

Seleucum quendam mathematicum rectorem et praescium palam habuerit'; Cic. *Planc.* II 'est . . . haec condicio liberorum populorum praecipueque huius principis populi et omnium gentium domini'.

**283.** *sic placitum* : crisp and authoritative ('this is my will and pleasure'); *sic* looks both backward and forward.

*lustris labentibus* : cf. *uoluentibus annis*, 234. This is the only place where Virgil uses *lustrum* as a measure of time; Conington comments that Iuppiter is made to speak the language of Romans.

The Roman conquest of Greece is given special mention: this is the way that Troy's ruin shall be avenged. But it meant something distinctive to contemporary Romans also: there was so much in the Greek genius that the Romans lacked and envied, but Roman qualities had won victory in hard fact over Greece: 6. 847 ff. 'excudent alii spirantia mollius aera / . . . : tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hae tibi erunt artes)'.

**284.** *Assaraci* : Assaracus was grandfather of Anchises; cf. 6. 778 f. 'Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Iliā mater / educet'. Virgil particularizes, naming Achilles' birthplace (Pthia in Thessaly), Agamemnon's city (Mycenae), and Diomedes' city (Argos); so 6. 838 ff. 'eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae / ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotētis Achilli, / ultus auos Troiae' (of Aemilius Paulus' victory at Pydna in 168 B.C.; see Norden ad loc.).

*Pthiam* : for this orthography (not 'Phthiam') see W. Schulze, *Orthographica* (repr. Rome, 1958), pp. 49 ff., where it is shown that the double diphthong in such words (as in 'diphthongus' itself) was due to Italian renaissance scholars; see also Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* ii. 350 (= *JRS* xxxviii [1948], 136).

**285.** Virgil's choice of words (*seruitio*, *uictis*, *dominabitur*) thrusts home the crushing of Troy's ancient enemy. For the form *Argis* see on 24.

**286 ff.** *nascetur . . . Iulo* : 'there shall be born a Trojan of noble lineage, Caesar, he who is to bound his empire by Ocean and his fame by the stars, a Iulius named in direct descent from great Iulus'. The opening spondees give impressive solemnity to Iuppiter's words; *pulchra Troianus origine* is ingeniously phrased—Caesar is to be of Trojan ancestry, and because his ancestry is Trojan it is therefore noble. *Terminet* is consecutive; cf. 7. 98 f. 'externi uenient generi, qui sanguine nostrum / nomen in astra ferant'; the idea appealed to the panegyrists of a later age, cf. *Pan. Lat.* 2 (12) 23. 1 'dum ultra terminos rerum metasque naturae regna orientis

extendis', 10 (2) 10. 1 'uos . . . qui imperium non terrae sed caeli regionibus terminatis'.

The identity of *Caesar* is a problem. Lines 291-6 plainly refer to Augustus: is Virgil speaking of Augustus in 286-90 also? Servius (on 286), after observing 'omnis poetae intentio . . . ad laudem tendit Augusti, sicut et in sexti catalogo et in clipei descriptione', then says 'hic est qui dicitur Gaius Iulius Caesar', a conclusion which he evidently reached with at least some hesitation. Servius' view prevailed for long, and both Henry and Conway accept it (so too H. E. Butler, on 6. 820 ff.); Mynors in his *Index Nominum* to the OCT (1969) assents. But Turnebus in the sixteenth century (*Adversaria* 10, ch. 11) held that the reference in 286 is to Augustus; this was restated by Heyne, and is supported by Conington and by most modern scholars.

For *Iulius Caesar* it can be argued: (1) Complete omission to mention him in this passage, with its special significance for the *gens Iulia*, would have been remarkable; (2) The name *Iulius* must instantly have been taken of the dictator when the passage was heard or read by contemporaries; (3) The apotheosis of Iulius had taken place in 42 B.C.; cf. the elaborate passage in Ovid, *Met.* 15. 746 ff. (*followed* by a tribute to the greatness of Augustus, 822 ff.): here its mention is in chronological order if the reference is in fact to Iulius, whereas if Augustus is meant, the prophecy of apotheosis for him precedes his living achievements; (4) The allusion in *spoliis Orientis onustum* (289) might be taken to refer to Iulius' victories at Alexandria in 48 B.C. and over Pharnaces in 47 B.C.; he held a triumph for both (Livy, *epit.* 115; Sueton. *Iulius* 37; where we learn that in his Pontic triumph 'praetulit titulum VENI VIDI VICI').

For *Augustus* it can be argued: (1) He was *Iulius* by adoption; cf. 6. 789 ff. 'hic Caesar et omnis Iuli / progenies magnum caeli uentura sub axem. / hic uir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis, / Augustus Caesar, diui genus' (where, however, Mynors indexes the Caesar of 789 under Iulius); (2) The allusion to apotheosis is in the same vein, though more specific, as that of *G.* 1. 24 ff. (with 290 'uocabitur hic quoque uotis' cf. *G.* 1. 42 'uotis iam nunc adsuesce uocari'); the objection put forward to it by Conway and others that in this context it would be tactless carries no weight; the chronological argument may be countered by regarding the mention of apotheosis where it stands as a natural corollary to 286-8, putting the highest splendour in the forefront; (3) The words *spoliis Orientis onustum* would at once, and pre-eminently, suggest the victory over Parthia in 20 B.C.,

as well as over other Eastern peoples (cf. 8. 705 f., and see on 289 below); (4) The language of 287 is close to that of 6. 794 ff. (of Augustus) 'super et Garamantas et Indos / proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus, / extra anni solisque uias', etc.; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15. 829 ff. (of Augustus) 'quid tibi barbariem gentesque ab utroque iacentes / Oceano numerem? quodcumque habitabile tellus / sustinet, huius erit; pontus quoque seruiet illi'.

Perhaps the most telling of these arguments is the relevance of 289, *spoliis Orientis onustum*: this undeniably points to Augustus, and can only be made to apply to Iulius by a not very convincing explanation, although he is not ruled out because of it. Similarly, the chronological point in connection with the apotheosis tells against Augustus, although it does not rule him out. The crucial line is 291, not so far considered. If *tum* in that line is backward-looking, then there is no case at all for referring 286-90 to Iulius, since (as G. Williams points out) his death was followed by fifteen years of civil strife. But if *tum* is forward-looking ('next', 'after that'), as it can be, the previous lines can refer to Iulius, with the advantage that the chronological problem disappears. It must be emphasized that there is no problem in the fact that Augustus is not named if the allusion to him begins only in 291: the references in 292-6 speak for themselves, especially the closing of the Gates of War.

If a decision must be faced, my preference would probably be to take the Caesar of 286 to be Iulius. But is not the whole matter a case of deliberate Virgilian ambiguity, as E. J. Kenney suggests? Virgil's feelings about Iulius Caesar were tinged with deep unhappiness, as 6. 834 f. show; but not so deep as to make him refuse to include the Dictator in a passage of such importance as this, in which the links of the *gens Iulia* with Trojan Aeneas are set out. He therefore composed this passage with oracular ambiguous expression, leaving it to his readers to interpret his two-way lines as they wished.

See Norden, *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klassische Altertum* vii (1901), 273 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 386 f.); G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 427; E. J. Kenney, *CR* n.s. xviii (1968), 106.

288. Cf. 6. 763 'Siluius, Albanum nomen'; Hor. *S.* 2. 5. 62 f. 'iuuenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto / demissum genus Aenea' (of Augustus).

289. *spoliis . . . onustum*: see above; if the allusion is to Augustus, the reference here will be primarily to the recovery of the Roman standards taken at Carrhae (53 B.C., a defeat which meant to the Romans something like what

- Sedan or Pearl Harbour imply in modern times), and from Antony's armies in 40 and 36 B.C., by a negotiated settlement in 20 B.C. (Sueton. *Aug.* 21. 3; cf. *Mon. Anc.* 27, 32, 33, and Norden, l.c., p. 387); cf. Prop. 3. 4. 3 ff. 'parat ultima terra triumphos; / Tigris et Euphrates sub tua iura fluent; / sera, sed Ausoniis ueniet prouincia uirgis; / assuescent Latio Partha tropaea Ioui. / . . . ante meos obitus sit precor illa dies, / qua uideam spoliis oneratos Caesaris axis' (see G. Williams, op. cit., pp. 432 f.), Hor. *C.* 1. 12. 53 f. 'ille seu Parthos Latio imminentis / egerit iusto domitos triumpho', etc. For other allusions to Augustus' eastern operations cf. *G.* 2. 171 f., *G.* 4. 561; 8. 705 f., 726.
290. *secura* : cf. *parce metu*, 257. *Hic quoque*, i.e. as well as Aeneas. The line reproduces the Homeric rhythm, with 'weak' caesura in the third foot and none in the fourth (cf. 500, and see on 199); for the line-ending see on 199.
291. *tum* : see above, on 286 ff. From here onwards the passage refers plainly to Augustus: 'wars shall be abandoned, and generations of violence shall grow to gentleness'. This is virtually a 'golden line', since *positis* is the equivalent of an epithet; in pattern and style it recalls the Golden Age of the fourth *Eclogue*. For *aspera* cf. 279 note; Virgil's high hope in the Augustan age is very clear.
- 292 ff. 'Grey Faith, and Vesta, and Quirinus in concert with his brother Remus shall be lawgivers; terrible in their close-wrought frame of iron, the gates of War shall be shut; within, Frenzy the impious shall be seated upon a pile of savage arms, and tight-bound with a hundred brazen knots behind his back he shall bellow hideously from bloody jaws'. In this ornate and richly-constructed passage Virgil expresses the full meaning of the *pax Augusta* to come: law and order shall be established on ancient, honoured institutional concepts; civil war shall be ended, and the madness that inspired it shall be imprisoned and impotent. It is a noble manifestation of Virgilian idealism.
292. *cana* : the epithet marks Faith's antiquity; Livy (1. 21. 4) represents Numa as setting up a shrine to her (see Ogilvie, ad loc.); her formal temple was built in the third century by A. Atilius Calatinus, consul 258 and 254 (see Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 61). The conception of *Fides* in connection with the sanctity of an oath goes back to Ennius, *Sc.* 403 'o Fides alma apta pinnis et ius iurandum Iouis', quoted by Cicero (*de off.* 3. 104) with the comment 'qui ius igitur iurandum uiolat, is Fidem uiolat, quam in Capitolio uicinam Iouis optimi maximi . . . maiores nostri esse uoluerunt': 'Fides is the powerful Roman symbol of straight dealing, of which they

were proud' (G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 427). For the history of the word see Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* i. 15 ff.

**Vesta** : herself *cana* (5. 744); cf. G. 1. 498 ff. 'di patrii Indigetes et Romule Vestaque mater, / quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia seruas, / hunc saltem euerso iuuenem succurrere saeclo / ne prohibete', where Virgil calls upon this same protectress of the very heart of Rome to spare Octavian for Rome's sake; for her temple see my note on 2. 296. The main pause in the line occurs after *Vesta*; cf. 257, and see on 199.

**Quirinus** : the name given to Romulus on his apotheosis; cf. G. 3. 27. See Ogilvie on Livy 1. 16; O. Skutsch, *Studia Enniana* (London, 1968), pp. 130 ff.; Frazer on Ovid, *F.* 2. 475; Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 113. Virgil passes over the tradition of the quarrel and the murder of Remus (cf. G. 2. 533); the implied reconciliation is symbolic of the end of civil war.

293. **iura dabunt** : the great civilizing function of Rome; so, in G. 4. 561 f., Octavian is shown as the giver of law to conquered peoples, who welcome it ('uictorque uolentis / per populos dat iura').

293 f. After thus symbolizing the Golden Age of Augustan Peace, in which Rome shall become regenerate in the service of these three ancient divinities, Virgil now completes his picture with a prophecy of the closing of the gates of Ianus' temple in token of world peace: this ceremony was said to have been instituted by Numa, who, according to Livy (1. 19. 2 ff.) 'Ianium . . . indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse ciuitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret' (see Ogilvie *ad loc.*); after Actium it was done (29 B.C.) for the first time since 235 B.C. at the end of the first Punic War (Livy, l.c.), and again in 25 B.C. after the Spanish wars; cf. *Mon. Anc.* 13, where a third occasion is mentioned (see Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 298 n. 1, and Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius*, pp. 53 ff.). For the significance of Augustus' revival of the ritual see G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

As if to invest this theme with a special antique dignity, Virgil draws on Ennius, *Ann.* 267 'belli ferratos postis portasque refregit', quoted by Servius on 7. 622 (see on 294): this line had been introduced by Horace (*S.* 1. 4. 60 ff.) into another context, 'non, ut si soluas "postquam Discordia taetra / Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit," / inuenias etiam disiecti membra poetae'. Virgil has taken *belli portae* for this passage, and has elaborated *ferratos postis* into *ferro et compagibus artis*.

293. *ferro . . . artis* : hendiadys. *Compagibus* refers to the whole framework of the gates, *artis* to its tightly-fitting structure; there is a hint too of a prison, which prepares the way for the magnificent climax to follow: cf. Lucan 9. 467 f. 'si solida Libye compage et pondere duro / clauderet exesis Austrum scopulosa cauernis'; Stat. *Th.* 3. 356 'artam compagibus urbem', of the encircling walls of a city; Dracontius, *de laudibus Dei* 2. 644 f. 'animatus anhelat / intra membra puer uinctus compagibus artis', of a child in the womb; Lucr. 4. 1113 'usque adeo cupide in Veneris compagibus haerent', of the 'chains' of love.

294. *Belli portae* : so 7. 607 ff. (the solemn opening of the war-gates by Iuno):

sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)  
religione sacrae et saeui formidine Martis;  
centum aerei claudunt uectes aeternaque ferri  
robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus. . . .

(620) tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis  
impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine uerso  
Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis,

where Virgil has used Ennius again to add to the tone of awe.

The spondaic *claudentur Belli portae* has a solemnity like that of 286. The pauses in 292-6 are notably planned: the 'Homeric' division of 292 effectively balances *Fides* and *Vesta*, *Remus* and *Quirinus*, with a run-over to a strong pause in the second foot of 293; then a colon of almost equal length, but far slower in rhythm, extending to the fourth foot of 294; then a final, longer colon of nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lines, with much alliteration and assonance, moving almost breathlessly to the horrible *cruento* in 296.

**Furor** : this always means madness of some kind; here *impius* gives the clue: it is the madness of civil war, when brother is set against brother, and the duty and love implicit in *pietas* have been forgotten (cf. Ovid on the Age of Iron, *Met.* 1. 144 ff. 'non hospes ab hospite tutus, / non socer a genero, fratrum quoque gratia rara est. . . / uicta iacet pietas').

DServius comments 'non in aede Iani, sed in alia in foro Augusti introeuntibus ad sinistram fuit Bellum pictum et Furor sedens super arma, deuinctus eo habitu quo poeta dixit'. This painting, by Apelles, was placed by Augustus 'in foro suo celeberrima in parte' (Pliny, *NH* 35. 27), depicting (ib. 93) 'Belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante'; Virgil has drawn from it a moral for contemporary Rome. The Roman conquest of Greece had enriched the city with many Greek works of art; Pliny (*NH* 35. 24 ff.) has an important account of the taste

for such acquisitions, stating 'tabulis . . . externis auctoritatem Romae publice fecit primus omnium L. Mummius' (i.e. in 146 B.C.); Livy (25. 40. 1 f.) assigns the start of the vogue to Marcellus' removal of many works of art from Syracuse in 211 B.C. Many such paintings were acquired for private collections; Pliny records that Agrippa urged that all pictures and statues should be made state property (35. 26 'exstat . . . eius oratio magna et maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis, quod fieri satius fuisset quam in uillarum exilia pelli'). Among Apelles' paintings to be seen at Rome was his *Venus anadyomene*, dedicated by Augustus in the shrine of Iulius Caesar (Pliny, 35. 91). See Jex-Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (London, 1896), pp. xci ff., and the Museographic Index, s.v. Rome.

296. **fremet**: like the imprisoned winds in 56. So the great speech ends, with this vivid evocation of the caged Furor, a grisly bloody-faced shape, snarling in vain.

297-304. *Iuppiter sends Mercury to Carthage, to ensure that Dido shall treat the Trojans kindly.*

This brief passage resembles a stage-direction, acting as a device for bringing the scene of the epic smoothly back to the mortal plane.

297. **Maia genitum**: Mercury; cf. 8. 138 f. 'Mercurius . . . / quem candida Maia / Cyllenae gelido conceptum uertice fudit'.

298. **nouae**: with *Karthaginis*; Servius on 366 comments 'Carthago est lingua Poenorum *noua ciuitas*, ut docet Liuius' (= fr. 6 W-M); for other such 'etymological' epithets cf. 3. 693 'Plemyrium undosum', 3. 703 'arduus . . . Acragas'; cf. J. Marouzeau, *Mélanges Ernout* (Paris, 1940), pp. 259 ff.; J. S. T. Hanssen, *Symbolae Osloenses* xxvi (1948), 113 ff.; Shackleton Bailey on Prop. 4. 1. 103, 4. 9. 38.

299. **hospitio**: probably ablative of manner; possibly predicative dative ('ad hospitium', Servius), a unique example with *patere*: see Roby, *Lat. Gr.* ii, p. xlviib.

**fati nescia Dido**: the first mention of Dido, almost casually introduced. There is terrible irony in *fati nescia*: Dido must not frustrate, through mere human ignorance of the will of Iuppiter (*fatum*), the plan which was to bring her a personal *fatum* of which her ignorance counted for nothing; and the irony is made more dreadful by 4. 222 ff., where Mercury is sent to tell Aeneas that he must leave her.

300. **arceret**: the change of tense after the historic present *demittit* marks Virgil's statement of Iuppiter's purpose in sending Mercury, in contrast to *pateant* which conveys



Juppiter's own message to Dido; there is a virtual ellipse ('he did this in order that . . .'); cf. Cic. *Clu.* 71 'capit hoc consili ut pecuniam . . . polliceatur, deinde eam . . . supprimat ut . . . destitutione iratos Oppianico redderet'.

**uolat** : contrast the elaborate description in 4. 238 ff.

301. **remigio alarum** : cf. 6. 18 f. 'tibi, Phoebe, sacrauit / remigium alarum' (of Daedalus); Lucr. 6. 743 'remigi oblitae pennarum uela remittunt' (of birds); both poets look back to Aesch. *Ag.* 52 *πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι*; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 12. 144 (Meleager, of Eros) *τί δ' ἄγρια τόξα καὶ ἰούς / ἔρριψας διφυῆ ταρσὸν ἀνείεις πτερύγων*; Ovid, *Met.* 8. 228 (of Icarus) 'remigioque carens non ullas percipit auras'.

**citus . . . oris** : cf. 6. 17 'Chalcidicaque leuis tandem super astitit arce'. The adjective takes the place of an adverb (cf. 415 'sublimis abit'), a usage of poetic style from early times: so Livius Andronicus, fr. 26M 'topper citi ad aedis uenimus Circae'; Ennius, *Ann.* 21 'transnauit cita per teneras caliginis auras'. See K-S i. 234 ff.; Löfstedt, *Syntactica* ii. 368 ff.; examples occur in Comedy also, e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 1115 'citus e cunis exsilit', *Rud.* 1252 'suam quisque ibant diuorsi domum', and it is a feature of Livy's style.

302. **ponuntque** : Virgil likes this type of parataxis, to convey a sense of immediacy; cf. 2. 692 f. 'uix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore / intonuit laeuum', 4. 663 'dixerat, atque illam . . .', *G.* 2. 80 f. 'nec longum tempus, et ingens / exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos'. See LHS, p. 481. In fact, the Carthaginians did not 'put off their rough spirit' all at once, as is clear from 539 ff.

303. The elision at the caesura, with a break in the sense, is noteworthy, though not so striking as, e.g., 2. 548 'Pelidae genitori. illi mea tristia facta'. How would the words have been read?

**regina** : from this earliest mention of Dido, Virgil stresses her royalty (so 496, 522, 594, 717, 728). Dido 'takes on a tranquil feeling and a kindly purpose towards the Trojans'; it is made clear that the impulse which ended in tragedy came from something outside her control (see G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 376). But *quietum, benignam* do not prepare us for the passion of the Fourth Book.

305-34. *Aeneas goes to reconnoitre; his mother meets him, disguised as a young huntress, and asks if he has seen another huntress pass by: he replies that he has not, and asks her to tell him what country he has reached.*

305. **at pius Aeneas** : the action now returns to the human scene, in a carefully devised transition to a cardinal part of

the epic structure. In 220 ff., Aeneas' *pietas* was shown in his concern for lost companions; now it is seen in his practical concern for the safety of the living.

306. *lux alma* : cf. 5. 64 f. 'si nona diem mortalibus alnum / Aurora extulerit', 8. 455 'Euandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitāt alma', 11. 182 f. 'Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam / extulerat lucem'. The epithet is not a mere convention; the kind day brings relief from the fears of the dark night; and here the night must have been black with the special terrors of the unknown.

*exire* : the opening of a complex series of clauses. There are two linked pairs of infinitives, *exire* linked to *explorare*, *quaerere* linked to *referre*, with asyndeton between the pairs: all depend on *constituit*. In the centre, between the pairs, there are two dependent clauses, so arranged that they are common to *explorare* in the first pair and *quaerere* in the second, although *quas . . . oras* inclines more towards *explorare* and *qui . . . feraene* inclines more to *quaerere*.

307. *uento* : causal; cf. 4. 46 'cursum Iliacas uento tenuisse carinas'.

308. *qui teneant* : cf. 7. 131 f. 'quae loca, quae habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis, / uestigemus'.

*nam . . . uidet* : the little parenthesis, typical of Virgil's technique, provides variety and informality to his narrative. For the elision of *nam* see on 219; Virgil has no other example: Norden lists two from Lucilius and five from Horace's *Satires*, which may suggest a further touch of informal manner.

*inculta* : 'a desert', substantival; cf. Livy 21. 54. 1 'palustribus herbis et quibus inculta ferme uestiuntur'.

*uidēt* : the final syllable is lengthened, bearing the metrical ictus, at a dominant caesura. Such 'irregular' lengthenings are frequent in Homer (as distinct from examples of syllables which were long in his day but shortened later, or which were affected by a following digamma). Virgil has fifty-four examples (see R. G. Kent, *Mélanges Marouzeau* [Paris, 1948], pp. 303 ff.), sometimes, as here and often in Homer, with a marked pause or break in sense following the syllable so treated. Some may reflect archaic prosody, as *uidēt* here; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 166 (*tenēt*), 432 (*iubēt*), with Lucr. 2. 27 (*fulgēt*), and see on 651 (*peterēt*): more often they do not (cf. *iactetūr*, 668). Various theories have been put forward to explain the nature of such treatment (see R. G. Kent, l.c.; F. W. Shipley, *TAPA* lv [1924], 142 ff.; F. Vollmer, *Sitzungsberichte d. kön. bay. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1917, 3 Abh., pp. 25 f.): what is clear is that Virgil's relation to his predecessors (both Greek and Latin) in the

matter is akin to that of the Greek Alexandrians to Homer, in their imitation and extension of Homeric practice as a point of formal metrical technique.

See Nettleship, excursus to book 12 (a detailed discussion); Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. x; G. Williams, op. cit., p. 687 n. 1; with my notes on 2. 411, 563, 4. 64, and R. D. Williams on 5. 284.

**hominesne feraene** : sc. *teneant*; cf. Ter. *Hec.* 664 f. 'uidete... / remissan opus sit uobis, reductan domum'; Virgil first uses *-ne . . . -ne* in direct questions (11. 126 'iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?'): see LHS, pp. 465, 545.

309. **exacta** : equivalent to *explorata*. The line is deliberately prosaic: the general will report the result of reconnaissance. Cf. 9. 193 'mittique uiros qui certa reportent'; Silius 1. 684 'mittique uiros qui exacta reportent'; Pliny, *NH* 6. 219 'hactenus antiquorum exacta celebrauimus' ('what the ancients have ascertained').

310. **in conuexo nemorum** : 'in the curve of the woods' (amplified in the next line): the wooded shores of the anchorage (162 ff.), with their overhanging cliffs and winding contour, form a safe place of concealment while Aeneas is away. *Conuexo* is substantival (cf. 608); contrast 11. 515 'conuexo in tramite siluae': the word is mainly poetic, first recorded in Cic. *Arat.* 34. 42, 217 Tr.

**rupe cauata** : cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4. 525 f. 'imminet aequoribus scopulus; pars ima cauatur / fluctibus'.

312. **occulit** : with *clausam* ('he keeps his fleet hidden in concealment'). There is no suggestion that it was moved from its first moorings.

**ipse** : the commander on whom all the rest depend.

**Achate** : this instrumental ablative, instead of *ab* with ablative of agent, is normal with *comitatus*, *stipatus*; cf. 2. 580 'Phrygiis comitata ministris', 4. 544 'Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum'; Cic. *Cael.* 34 'alienis uiris comitata': the 'accompanying' is not regarded as an act done to another person, but as a simple act of association. See K-S i. 380; LHS, p. 122.

313. **crispans** : not 'brandishing', which would be absurd, but something like 'balancing': Aeneas holds the spears as he walks, and they are springy in his grasp. Conway comments 'anyone who has carried two golf-clubs in one hand will know at once what Virgil means'. The verb is not recorded before Virgil; it can be applied to frizzy, springy hair, or fluttery clothes, or rippling water.

**hastilia** : properly, the spear-shafts; cf. 4. 131 'lato uenabula ferro': the descriptive ablative functions as a compound

epithet (contrast 12. 489 'praefixa hastilia ferro'). The line is repeated at 12. 165 (of Turnus); cf. Sparrow, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

314. *media . . . silua* : his mother 'put herself in his path, in the heart of the forest'. Virgil likes this type of phrase; cf. 6. 879 f. 'non illi se quisquam impune tulisset / obuius armato', 10. 734 f. 'obuius aduersoque occurrit seque uiro uir / contulit', 11. 498 f. 'obuia cui Volscorum acie comitante Camilla / occurrit'.

The following scene shows Virgil's touch at its lightest and most charming: 'is there anything more sparkish and better-humoured than Venus's accosting her son in the deserts of Libya?' (William Walsh, *Preface to the Pastorals*, in Carey's edition of Dryden's Virgil [London, 1803], i, p. lxviii). The device itself goes back to *Od.* 7. 19 ff., 13. 221 ff., where Athena in disguise meets Odysseus and guides him; and Macrobius comments (*Sat.* 5. 2. 13) 'Venus in Nausicae locum Alcinoi filiae successit'. But Virgil's scene has nothing secondhand about it: it has a life and a directness that is all his own, and a deeper purpose than its Homeric counterparts; for it is from Venus that Aeneas learns of Dido, with all the bitter consequences that she was to bring to him and he to her. For an examination of the passage in relation to Homer see G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen, 1964), pp. 158 ff.

315. *os habitumque . . . arma* : the picture of the girl is very carefully developed. First, her 'face and bearing'; *habitus* refers to her whole personal aspect, her 'look' in the widest sense (Henry has a good note); but then *arma* shows that she is an outdoor type, particularized in *Spartanae* (316) and again, further, in the comparison with Harpalyce: then, in 318 ff., the *arma* and the *habitus* (in that order) are made explicit, with the clue *uenatrix* given at last (cf. the placing of *bellatrix*, 493).

316. *qualis* : a frequent compression in similes (for 'talīs fuit qualis est Harpalyce cum equos fatigat'); cf. 430.

317. There is no earlier evidence for 'Thracian Harpalyce'. D. Servius states that her father, a Thracian king named Harpalycus, was driven out by his people and killed; the girl then took to the woods and lived rough, until she herself was killed when foraging for food; her murderers then quarrelled over the ownership of a kid which she had stolen, and there was a fight with many deaths: later, 'consuetudo seruata est ut ad tumulum uirginis populi conuenirent et propter expiationem per imaginem pugnae concurrerent'. Her reputation for speed has two explanations: (a) she was so skilled at poaching 'ut . . . rapto pecorum fetu insequentes etiam

equites in celeritate uitaret', (b) she freed her father, captured by the Getae, 'celerius quam de femina credi potest'. Hyginus (*fab.* 193) says that she saved her father from being killed by Neoptolemus 'reuertens a Troia'.

These details suggest a Hellenistic origin. Hyginus also states that Harpalyceus 'amissa matre eius uaccarum equarumque eam uberibus nutriuit, et crescentem armis exercuit'; DServius notes 'quidam a patre Harpalyco . . . ita nutritam dicunt ut ipse Camillam a Metabo facit' (cf. *II.* 570 ff.). The parallel with Camilla, Diana's dedicated servant, is obvious: her story has Virgil as its single extant authority, and there are several linguistic resemblances in the two narratives; it seems that Virgil took the Thracian Harpalyce as a model for the Etruscan Camilla. DServius has an interesting note on *II.* 543 (where Virgil explains Camilla's name): 'Staius Tullianus de uocabulis rerum libro primo ait dixisse Callimachum apud Tuscos Camillum appellari Mercurium, quo uocabulo significant deorum praeministrum, unde Vergilius bene ait Metabum Camillam appellasse filiam, scilicet Dianae ministram' (so too Macrobius, *Sat.* 3. 8. 6; see Pfeiffer on Callimachus, fr. 723). If Callimachus interested himself in the name Camillus, could he perhaps have known and told the story of Camilla? Or was he Virgil's source for the story of Harpalyce?

See O. Crusius, s.v. Harpalyce, in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*; G. Knaack, *Rh. Mus.* xlix (1894), 526 ff.; R. Ehwald, *Philologus* N.F. vii (1894), 744.

**uolucrem**: an unusual epithet for a river; cf. Val. Flacc. 5. 429 (of the Phasis) 'uolucris uictam deus alligat unda'; in Callimachus, *h.* 4. 115, *πέτεσθαι* is used of the Peneus (I owe this reference to Professor R. G. M. Nisbet).

**praeuertitur**: 'outstrips' (from the basic sense of anticipation and prevention; cf. Conway on Livy 2. 24. 5); so in the active form, 7. 806 f. (of Camilla) 'proelia uirgo / dura pati cursuque pedum praeuertere uentos', 12. 345; Stat. *Th.* 5. 691 f. 'uolucris equitum praeuerterat alas / fama recens', *Ach.* 2. 111 f. 'uolucris . . . praeuertere ceruos / et Lapithas cogebat equos'.

**Hebrum**: for this Thracian river (now the Maritza) cf. 12. 331, *E.* 10. 65, *G.* 4. 463, 524. DServius comments 'multum quidem laudis flumini epitheto addidit, sed falsum est; nam est quietissimus etiam cum per hiemem crescit': if this is correct, it is a criticism of no great significance, for Roman poets were apt to be casual in their choice of river-epithets (cf. Burman on Val. Flacc. 5. 180), and Virgil's concern was

to give local colour to his account of Harpalyce by naming the largest of her country's rivers.

A more familiar speed-comparison is with winds: so 7. 807 (quoted above); 8. 223 'fugit ilicet ocior Euro', Silius 3. 292 'uelocior Euris', 4. 6 'uolucrique citatior Euro'; 5. 242 f. 'illa Noto citius uolucrique sagitta / ad terram fugit'; Stat. S. 3. 1. 156 'uolucris Zephyros praecedere telo'; Silius 10. 10 f. 'uelocius inde / Haemonio Borea pennaque citatior ibat'. In view of this, and because of DServius' stricture, the seventeenth-century scholar Jan Rutgers proposed *Eurum* for *Hebrum* (in his *Venusinae Lectiones*, while discussing Hor. C. 1. 25. 20, where the manuscripts have *Hebro*, an incongruous allusion: see Nisbet-Hubbard ad loc.); he did not, however, claim credit himself for the proposal (see Burman here). Ribbeck accepted it, and a number of editors have given it consideration. But the change is not needed, even though in 7. 807 Virgil has *praeuertere uentos* of Harpalyce's 'double'. Silius (2. 73 ff.) evidently thought of the passage, 'quales Threiciae Rhodopen Pangaeaque lustrant / saxosis nemora alta iugis cursuque fatigant / Hebrum innupta manus' (of Amazons), with a probable reminiscence also of 5. 253 'uelocis iaculo ceruos cursuque fatigat' and of G. 4. 461 ff., where Hebrus is also associated with Rhodope and Pangaea.

318. *de more*: i.e. in the proper huntress-fashion.

*habilem*: neat and comfortable, convenient for use; cf. 11. 555 (of the baby Camilla, tied to a spear) 'habilem mediae circumligat hastae'; so of a sword, 9. 305; a helmet, 9. 365; a shield, 12. 432.

319. *uenatrix*: see on 315. This type of noun implies the practice of a profession.

*dederatque . . . uentis*: 'and she had let the winds blow her hair about'. For the infinitive after *dare* see on 66.

320. *nuda genu*: the Greek construction of an accusative of 'respect' dependent on an adjective, used especially of parts of the body. Virgil brought it into Latin, and it became frequent in poetry; it is not found in prose until Tacitus (e.g. *Ger.* 17 'nudae brachia'). Quintilian states (9. 3. 17) that 'saucius pectus' (12. 5) was 'iam uulgatum actis quoque', i.e. in the 'acta diurna', a curious item of Roman journalese style. See Landgraf, *ALL* x. 209 ff.; LHS, p. 37. Here the construction is joined with a 'middle' participle (*collecta*) followed by a direct object (see on 228).

Virgil's description accurately fits representations of the huntress Artemis in art (e.g. the 'Versailles' figure in the Louvre); cf. Callimachus, *h.* 3. 11 f. (a hymn with many charming touches), where the child Artemis begs her father

to grant her *φαισφορίην τε καὶ ἐς γόνυ μέχρι χιτῶνα / ζώννυσθαι λεγνωτόν*; in Virgil's context of 'Thracian Harpalyce' it may be relevant that Artemis had a particular association with Thrace, *ib.* 114.

321. *heus*: the stranger-girl is no demure miss, waiting to be spoken to. The word sets the tone for her speech: it belongs to Comedy and to familiar, intimate talk, and is often followed by a jussive or interrogative sentence (see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v.; Hofmann, *Lat. Umgangsspr.*, pp. 15 f.; W. S. Watt, *Glotta* xli [1963], 138 ff.). It is normally used by men (the only passages in Comedy where it is used by women are Plaut. *Cas.* 165, *Rud.* 413, Ter. *Eun.* 594). In epic style it is very rare: Virgil has it again in 7. 116, where the eager boy Iulus cries '*heus, etiam mensas consumimus?*' Here it makes the girl's tone gay and boyish, with dramatic gesture.

*monstrate*: 'point out' (sc. 'the way she went'). *Iuuenes* is interesting, for it is so easy to forget that Aeneas was young, and Achates probably younger. The following *si*-clause is formally a protasis to *monstrate*; but it is equivalent to a question: Venus says in effect 'Have you seen one of my sisters? If so, tell me what path she took'.

In this little scene, Virgil has adapted for Epic a familiar situation from Comedy: cf. Plaut. *Rud.* 313 ff., where Trachalio asks some fishermen '*ecquem adulescentem huc, dum hic astat, expedite, / uidistis ire strenua facie, rubicundum, fortem, / qui tris semihomines duceret chlamydatos cum machaeris?*'; they reply '*nullum istac facie ut praedicas uenisse huc scimus*', and again, to a further question (with the plea '*at si uidistis, dicite*'), '*huc profecto nullus uenit*'. The parallel technique and expression are plain: Virgil has constructed a perfect dramatic sketch.

322. *quam*: very rare in elision; cf. 219 note.

323. *succinctam*: appropriate to the 'girt-up' dress of lynx-hide (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 10. 536 '*fine genu uestem ritu succincta Dianae*'). The quiver would normally be slung behind the shoulder (cf. 501; Callimachus, *h.* 3. 212; Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, pp. 85 f.), as in the Louvre Artemis. But it is sometimes shown at the waist, as in the Mattei type of Amazon in the Vatican (which well illustrates both *succinctam* and *nuda genu*): see G. M. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven, 1929), fig. 620. In the Attic red-figure calyx-crater by the Niobid Painter (in the Louvre) showing Apollo and Artemis killing the children of Niobe (Beazley, *ARV* 419/20), Artemis has her quiver in the shoulder-position, Apollo has it slung at his waist from

a baldric: see P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase-Painting* (tr. B. Shefton, London, 1962), pl. 175.

*maculosae*: Virgil seems to have been the first to apply this epithet to animals; so of a snake, *G.* 3. 427.

324. *spumantis*: conventional; cf. 4. 158 f. 'spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia uotis / optat aprum' (Ascanius at the hunt).

*clamore prementem*: cf. *G.* 3. 413 'ingentem clamore premes ad retia ceruum'; she is 'hard upon' the course of the boar, hallooing.

325. *Venus . . . Veneris . . . filius*: a subtle juxtaposition, for Venus' son does not know that he is speaking to his own mother. It is instructive to compare his speech with that of Odysseus in a comparable situation, encountering Nausicaa (*Od.* 6. 149 ff.): Odysseus speaks at length, starting with a bland and flattering address which suggests the practised orator, Aeneas is far less at ease and has far less to say, blurting out all his troubles in a few lines.

326. *audita . . . uisa*: a chiasmic correspondence with *uidistis* and *clamore* above. The motif for the invention of a fictitious 'sister' by Venus may perhaps derive from Comedy: cf. Ter. *Hec.* 439 ff., where Pamphilus describes, with much circumstantial detail, a non-existent character.

327. *o . . . uirgo?*: *o* here and in 328 marks Aeneas' wonder and awe at the charming vision, and his relief at finding a dweller in this desert (cf. 308). He concludes at once that the girl is a divinity, but cannot think how to address her; contrast *Od.* 6. 149, where Odysseus asks Nausicaa bluntly *θεός νύ τις ἢ βροτός ἐσσι*; (with *uirgo* here cf. *Od.* 6. 168, where Odysseus addresses Nausicaa as *γύναι*, although he thinks she may be divine).

*o quam te memorem*: cf. the rhetorical figure *dubitatio*, or *διαπόρησις*, as in Demosth. *de cor.* 22 *εἴτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι*;, Ar. *Nub.* 1378 *σοφώτατόν γ' ἐκείνον, ὦ—τί σ' εἶπω*;, *Rhet. ad Herenn.* 4. 40 'homo omnium mortalium—quonam te digno moribus tuis appellem nomine?': but in these passages the phrase substituted for the expected vocative is equivalent to something abusive, while here *o quam te memorem?* represents a mental search for the right goddess with whom to identify the girl.

*haud*: co-ordinated with *nec* again in 3. 214 f. 'tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saeuior ulla / pestis', 7. 203 'haud uinclo nec legibus aequam': it is an early Latin usage, e.g. Plaut. *Most.* 124 f. 'hau materiae reparcunt / nec sumptus ibi sumptui ducunt esse'.

328. *hominem sonat*: cf. 6. 50 'nec mortale sonans'; *hominem* (= *hominis sonitum*) is an internal accusative: cf. Ennius,



*Ann.* 375 'uicit Olympia' (of a racehorse), Juvenal 12. 128 'uiuat Pacuuius quaeso uel Nestora totum'; poetry offers many examples of a free use of the idiom. Virgil's phrase is quoted by the scholiast on Persius 3. 21 'sonat uitium percussa' (a jar 'rings cracked when struck').

**o, dea certe:** Aeneas' own answer to his 'o quam te memorem?' The following line reads more like a puzzled aside than part of Aeneas' actual speech. Odysseus likens Nausicaa to Artemis (*Od.* 6. 151); and in *Hom. h.* 5. 93 ff. the shepherd-boy Anchises wonders if his alluring visitant is Artemis or Leto or Aphrodite or Themis or Athena or one of the Graces or a Nymph. For the end-pattern of this and the previous line see on 199.

- 330. sis felix:** 'be kind'; cf. *E.* 5. 65 'sis bonus o felixque tuis', Silius 8. 228 'felix oblata secundes'. Servius comments 'felix . . . dicitur et qui habet felicitatem et qui facit esse felicem'. So Telemachus says to Odysseus, whom he cannot believe to be his father (*Od.* 16. 183 ff.), ἦ μάλα τις θεός ἐσσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν / ἀλλ' ἴληθ', ἵνα τοι κεχαρισμένα δώομεν ἱρὰ / ἠδὲ χρύσεια δῶρα, τετυγμένα· φείδεο δ' ἡμέων.

**quaecumque:** sc. *es* (again a 'vocative'); cf. Lucan 8. 642 f. 'sed, quisquis, in istud / a superis inmisce caput': contrast 8. 122 'egredere o quicumque es', Lucan 8. 746 '“quaecumque es,” ait “neclecta”'. Virgil uses prayer-ritual; the divinity must be given the name or function that is most pleasing, and then a precautionary clause is added to make up for any accidental omission: so Catullus (34. 5 ff.), listing Diana's powers and names, ends 'sis quocumque tibi placet / sancta nomine'; see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 160 ff. Ζεύς, ὅστις πότ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐτῷ φίλον κεκλημένω, τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω.

- 331. tandem:** 'please', adding a gesture of entreaty; often in questions or with an imperative (cf. note on 369).

**quibus . . . oris:** cf. *Od.* 13. 232 f. καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὄφρ' εὖ εἰδῶ / τίς γῆ, τίς δῆμος, τίνες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάασιν;

- 332. hominumque locorumque:** hypermetric, with *-que* in elision with the vowel beginning the next line. Most examples of hypermetre in Virgil occur, as here, with correlating *-que* (for which see on 18); with this cf. 2. 745 f. 'quem non incusauī amens hominumque deorumque, / aut quid in euersa uidi crudelius urbe?'; there is an interesting example in *G.* 2. 344 f. 'si non tanta quies iret frigusque caloremque / inter', where the anastrophe of *inter* combines with the hypermetric *-que* to form a curiously welded unit. The technique does not occur in Homer; its single occurrence in Greek dactylic poetry is in Callimachus, *Ep.* 41. 1 (cf. Norden on 6. 602, and see West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 884). Ennius

presumably introduced it into Latin hexameters: see Seneca, quoted by Gellius 12. 2. 10 (= *Epp. Mor.* p. 541, OCT) 'Vergilius quoque noster non ex alia causa duos quosdam uersus et enormes et aliquid supra mensuram trahentis interposuit quam ut Ennianus populus adgnosceret in nouo carmine aliquid antiquitatis'. It occurs before Virgil in Lucilius 547, Lucr. 5. 849, Catullus 64. 298 (and 34. 22, lyrics; 115. 5, elegiacs), and Horace has it in *Sat.* 1. 4. 96, 1. 6. 102; see also Ovid, *Met.* 4. 11, 4. 780, 6. 507, Val. Flacc. 4. 293: cf. my notes on 4. 558, 629, and R. D. Williams on 5. 422.

**333.** *uastis et fluctibus*: cf. 86 'uastos uoluunt ad litora fluctus'. The postponement of the connecting particle *et* is a neoteric mannerism which begins in Latin with Catullus, in imitation of Hellenistic usage (cf. Pfeiffer's index to Callimachus, s. vv. ἀλλά, καί); so *sed enim* (19), *nam* (444), *nec* (548), *aut* (369): see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. iii. 3; Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse*, pp. 93 ff.; and cf. my note on 4. 33. There is good authority for the reading *et uastis* (M<sup>1</sup>R); this gives the fourth-foot pattern which Virgil uses sparingly (see on 1, *Troiae qui*), but Conington and Conway prefer it ('it is a question of ear', Conington).

**334.** The promise of such offerings is epic convention: cf. *Od.* 16. 183 ff. (on 330 above), and *Hom. h.* 5. 100 f. (Anchises to Aphrodite); Silius 8. 229 f. 'ego te, compos pugnae, Carthaginis arce / marmoreis sistam templis' (in a prayer-context). Here the promise is somewhat abrupt, with an ellipse of thought ('if you help me, this will be your reward').

Marlowe made a close representation of all this scene in *The Tragedy of Dido*, Act I ('Ho, young men! Saw you, as you came, Any of all my sisters wandering here?' etc.): on which G. S. Gordon comments (*The Discipline of Letters*, Oxford, 1946, p. 25) 'How sweetly this comes off! And leaves the distinguished army of Virgilian translators panting!'

**335-71.** *Venus tells Aeneas where he is, and tells him the story of Dido.*

Venus' speech is a tale within a tale, an example in miniature of the 'epyllion' technique that can be seen in the Aristaeus-story at the end of the fourth *Georgic*. After telling Aeneas where he has landed, she passes, by a smooth transition, to the story of Sychaeus and Pygmalion, then tells of Dido's journey from Tyre, and finally returns to the present and to Carthage, the point from which her narrative had begun. It is a beautifully balanced composition, told in plain, direct style, with quick movement, dramatic pauses, clear-cut detail; it contains matter of much significance for

our understanding of the dilemma and the tragedy of the Fourth Book. For a similar technique cf. 8. 481 ff. (the story of Mezentius, told by Evander), 11. 535 ff. (story of Camilla, told by Diana): see Heinze, p. 375.

335. *honore*: 'id est, sacrificio' (Servius; cf. 49 note); but the word refers to Aeneas' whole treatment of her as a goddess, which she disclaims. She does not say outright that she is not divine: contrast Aphrodite's blunt falsehood to Anchises in *Hom. h.* 5. 109 f. οὐ τις τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτησιν ἔϊσκεις; / ἀλλὰ καταθνητὴ γε, γυνὴ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ. Quintilian quotes this line (11. 3. 70) in his discussion of the position of the head while speaking: 'aspectus . . . semper eodem uertitur quo gestus, exceptis quae aut damnare aut concedere aut a nobis remouere oportebit, ut idem illud uultu uideamur auersari, manu repellere': Quintilian's examples constantly show the close affinity of oratory with the reading of poetry aloud.
336. *Tyriis*: i.e. Phoenician; Venus obliquely indicates the name of the people before her explicit statement in 338.
337. *purpureo . . . coturno*: cf. *E.* 7. 32 'puniceo stabis suras euincta coturno' (of an image offered to Diana). The *coturnus* was a high boot (the 'buskin' of tragic actors); *purpureus*, with its play upon *puniceus*, implies Tyrian purple (cf. Pliny, *NH* 9. 124 ff., and my note on 4. 262).
338. *regna*: for the plural see on 206.  
*Agenoris urbem*: i.e. Carthage; the somewhat recondite allusion to Agenor is designed to fit in with *finis Libyci*: for this ancestral king of Phoenicia (twin brother of Belus, cf. 729) was the son of Neptune by a certain Libya, after whom the country was named: see DServius here, Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2. 1. 4, 3. 1. 1 (with Frazer's notes, Loeb text). So Silius calls Hannibal *Agenoreus ductor* (17. 391), and writes (8. 1 f.) 'primus Agenoridum cedentia terga uidere / Aeneadis dederat Fabius', where *Agenoridae* = 'Carthaginians' and *Aeneadae* = 'Romans'.
339. *genus . . . bello*: cf. 4. 40 'Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello'; the dangers of Dido's city are made plain from the start. *Intractabilis* ('unmanageable') is not recorded before Virgil (cf. *G.* 1. 211 'brumae intractabilis').
340. *imperium*: the ruling power, which Dido directs (*regit*); cf. Ovid, *ex Pont.* 3. 3. 61 f. 'sic regat imperium terrasque coerceat omnis / Caesar'.
- Tyria . . . urbe profecta*: cf. 732, 7. 209 'illum Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectum'.
341. *germanum fugiens*: the essence of the story, put in a businesslike way at the start, with a dramatic pause for telling effect: an awful thing, against all *pietas*.

DServius (on 340) states that Dido's name was originally Elissa, but after her death the Carthaginians named her Dido, the Punic word for *uirago*, because she bravely killed herself rather than be forced to marry an African king. Timaeus (third century B.C.; *FGrH* 566 F 82) has a similar story, but says that the name Dido was given her in her lifetime 'because of her many wanderings'. There is a much longer account of her history in Justin (third century A.D., the epitomator of the Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus) 18. 4-6; he calls her Elissa throughout. These passages are conveniently assembled and documented by A. S. Pease in his edition of *Aen.* 4 (Harvard, 1935), pp. 16 f.; cf. H. E. Butler's introduction to his edition of *Aen.* 4 (Blackwell, Oxford, 1935).

**342. ambages** : a complicated tale; cf. *G.* 2. 46 'per ambages et longa exorsa'; Plaut. *Pseud.* 1255 'quid opust me multas agere ambages?'; Ter. *Heaut.* 318 f. 'quas, malum, ambages mihi / narrare occipit?'; Ovid, *Met.* 4. 476 f. '“non longis opus est ambagibus”, inquit, / “facta puta, quaecumque iubes”': see Nettleship, *Contr. Lat. Lex.*, s.v.

**fastigia** : 'main points', 'headings'. This use (very natural and expressive, in view of the literal meaning) has no classical parallel; but cf. Commodianus, *Apol.* 523 'ego non tota, sed summa fastigia carpo'. Virgil's summary compares instructively with Justin's version.

**343. huic . . . erat** : 'she had a husband, Sychaeus'; cf. 544 'rex erat Aeneas nobis'. Virgil has *Sȳchaeus* here, but *Sȳchaeus* in 348 and elsewhere (cf. note on *Lavinia*, 2), 'ea licentia quae est in propriis nominibus' (Servius). Justin (18. 4. 5) names Dido's husband Acherbas, stating that he was her uncle and a priest of Hercules; Servius gives his name as Sicarbas, saying that Virgil changed it for reasons of euphony, or of metre (which seems absurd); see Pease on 4. 20.

**auri** : so Huet, for the manuscript reading *agri* (see Ribbeck, *Proleg.*, p. 364), on the ground that the Phoenicians were commercial, not agricultural: Virgil's whole narrative gives prominence to *aurum* (349, 359, 363), and cf. 9. 26 'diues pictai uestis et auri'; *agri* might have been due to *ditissimus agri* in 10. 563. But the manuscripts are unanimous for *agri* (so Servius also), and many editors retain it, reasonably enough; see Wagner, *Quaest. Virg.* xxxix.

**344. magno . . . amore** : 'the poor girl loved him with deep passion': Aeneas is told plainly from the first of Dido's devotion to Sychaeus. For the dative of agent with *dilectus* cf. 12. 391 'Phoebo ante alios dilectus Iapyx', Hor. *C.* 1. 21. 3 f. 'Latonamque supremo / dilectam penitus Ioui'

(see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v. *diligo*, 1177. 75). *Miserae* marks the depth of her love; cf. Catullus 45. 21 'Septimius misellus', 51. 5 f. 'misero quod omnis / eripit sensus mihi'; in 4. 429 'extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti' the sense of 'ill-fated' is present also, but it is not necessary here.

With these lines cf. Dido's words of Sychaeus, 4. 28 f. 'ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores / abstulit; ille habeat secum seruetque sepulcro', 4. 552 'non seruata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo'. It is crucial to Virgil's conception of her that in the Fourth Book he shows her as guilt-ridden at the thought of breaking her solemn bond with her husband, even when he is dead: from the start she has to struggle with herself, and the misery that Aeneas brings her is deepened by remorse. The highest ancient Roman ideal abhorred a second marriage for a woman; for this pattern of the *uniuira* cf. Prop. 4. 11. 36 'in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar' (Cornelia to her husband Paullus); Livy 10. 23. 9; Val. Max. 2. 1. 3: see, however, Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, p. 265. It is discussed, with reference to this passage, by G. Williams, op. cit., pp. 377 ff., 387 ff., *JRS* xlvi (1958), 23 ff.

345. *intactam* : she was a virgin (cf. G. Williams, *JRS* l.c., p. 18 n. 13).

345 f. *primisque . . . ominibus* : her father 'had joined her in marriage in a first bond of due omen'. *Primis ominibus* restates the idea in *intactam*; it is a remarkable phrase (see G. Williams, op. cit., pp. 389, 415), emphasizing the solemnity of the ritual: the *omina* are those taken at the marriage-ceremony (cf. Prop. 3. 20. 24 'contineant nobis omina prima fidem', with Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, p. 206; Stat. *Th.* 2. 201 ff. 'fuso rumore per urbem / aduenisse duci generos primisque hymenaeis / egregiam Argian nec formae laude secundam / Deipylen tumida iam uirginitate iugari'). The first recorded example of *iugare* in this sense is Catullus 64. 21 'tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit'.

346. *ominibus* : the run-over, with the strong pause following, throws great significance upon the word.

347. *Pygmalion* : according to Justin (18. 4. 3) he and his sister Elissa were named as coheirs by their father, 'sed populus Pygmalioni admodum puero regnum tradidit'.

*scelere . . . omnis* : 'a monster of crime surpassing any other'; for the pleonastic comparative cf. Livy 5. 42. 5 'ante alios miserandi magis qui umquam obsessi sunt' (contrast 3. 321 'felix una ante alias', 5. 570 'ante omnis pulcher'). This type of pleonasm appears first in Virgil; but Plautus has examples with a superlative (*Asin.* 858 'illum ante omnis minimi mortalem preti', *Trin.* 824 'tibi ante alios deos

gratias ago atque habeo summas'); so 7. 55 'ante alios pulcherrimus omnis': see Wölfflin, *Ausg. Schriften*, pp. 175 f., and, for other types of pleonasm in comparisons, Löfstedt, *Syntactica* ii. 199 ff. Virgil depicts Pygmalion with a fine rhetorical flourish, much as Cicero might describe some contemporary villain.

348. *quos . . . furor*: 'a frenzy clean divided them', i.e. Sychaeus and Pygmalion. *Medius* is adverbial; cf. 682 'medius occurrere possit', Stat. *Th.* 4. 650 f. 'medius quis euntibus error / Phoebe, doce'. *Furor* is used of family strife, as elsewhere of civil war (cf. 294; Lucan 1. 8 'quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?'). There is again a dramatic pause at *furor*: this produces the so-called 'bucolic diaeresis', i.e. a line in which a diaeresis at this point, with a strong pause, dominates the rhythm (cf. 159, 405, 500, 719; see W. R. Hardie, *Res Metrica*, p. 17).

Justin's account runs (18. 4. 6 ff.): 'huic [*sc.* Acherbae] magnae sed dissimulatae opes erant, aurumque metu regis non tectis sed terrae crediderat: quam rem, etsi homines ignorabant, fama tamen loquebatur. qua incensus Pygmalion, oblitus iuris humani, auunculum suum eundemque generum sine respectu pietatis occidit.'

349. *impius ante aras*: cf. 4. 20 f. 'miseri post fata Sychaei / coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penatis' (Dido to Anna); Ovid, *Her.* 7. 113 'occidit internas coniunx mactatus ad aras' (Dido speaks). Virgil stresses Pygmalion's horrible conduct in a grisly crescendo: his impiety was such that he killed his own brother-in-law, attacking him in his home, in a holy place, when he was off guard and suspected nothing; he thought nothing of his sister's feelings, and even pretended to her that she might still hope to see Sychaeus again: each point adds to the terrible nature of the hurt that Dido suffered, forming a significant background to the Fourth Book. The manner of the passage conforms to principles of rhetoric: cf. Cic. *de inuent.* 1. 100 'indignatio est oratio per quam conficitur ut in aliquem hominem magnum odium aut in rem grauis offensio concitetur', followed by a number of points for the orator to aim at. The straightforward enumeration of facts could be illustrated from many of Cicero's speeches, e.g. *Chu.* 30 f.

350. *securus amorum*: 'unconcerned for his sister's loving heart'; for *amorum* cf. 4. 28 (quoted on 344); it is no doubt deliberate that *amore*, *amorum* end consecutive lines: Pygmalion's *amor* was greed, Dido's *amores* were bound up wholly with her husband (emphasized again in *amantem*, 352). In 10. 326 *securus amorum* recurs in a different sense

('with no thought of loves'): for such repetitions with changed meaning see Conington on 10. 396; Camps, *op. cit.*, p. 107; cf. 85 note.

351. *aegram*: often of the 'sickness' of love; cf. 4. 35 '*aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti*' (Anna to Dido), *G.* 4. 464 '*caua solans aegrum testudine amorem*'; Ennius, *Sc.* 254 '*Medea animo aegro amore saeuo saucia*'.

352. *multa . . . amantem*: 'wickedly, telling many a lie, he mocked her misery of love with empty hope': the alliteration gives the line a horrid smoothness, as Virgil develops his picture from the simple '*factum diu celauit*'.

353. *sed*: for the postponed connective see on 333.

*in somnis*: 'in a dream', the normal meaning of this phrase: see Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 55 ff. for detailed discussion, and cf. my note on 2. 9: so 2. 270 '*in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector*', 4. 353 '*admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago*', 12. 908 ff. '*uelut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit / nocte quies, nequiquam auidos extendere cursus / uelle uidemur*'; Ennius, *Sc.* 35 f. '*mater grauida parere se ardentem facem / uisa est in somnis Hecuba*'; Lucr. 4. 34 f. '*in somnis cum saepe figuras / contuimur miras simulacraque luce carentum*'.

The dream-motif goes back to Homer (*Il.* 23. 62 ff., *Od.* 20. 87 ff., etc.), and in Latin epic to Ennius (*Ann.* 35 ff., the dream of Ilia): see Leo, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.*, p. 179 n. 2; Heinze, pp. 313 ff.; H. R. Steiner, *Der Traum in der Aeneis* (Berne-Stuttgart, 1952), with useful bibliography; cf. also Pease on 4. 465 and on Cic. *de diu.* 1. 40. Virgil may have himself invented this story of the murdered Sychaeus revealing the horror; the dream is not mentioned by Timaeus or by Justin; Appian's words (*Pun.* 1) ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐνυπνίου τὸν φόνον ἐπέγνω may be derived from Virgil's version (Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 27; but see Heinze, p. 119 n. 2). It has deep significance, not only as a solemn warning to Dido by her husband's ghost (so Hector's ghost, displaying his wounds, warns Aeneas in 2. 270 ff.), but as a further indication to Aeneas of the bond between the two.

*inhumati*: a climax of callousness. In 6. 473 f. Dido is comforted by Sychaeus in the *lugentes campi*; he could not have crossed the Styx *inhumatus* (cf. 6. 374) unless his spirit had wandered restlessly on its outer shore for a hundred years: so Virgil leaves us to imagine his burial at some time.

354. *ora . . . miris*: 'lifting to meet her a face uncannily blanched'. So 7. 89 '*multa modis simulacra uidet uolitantia miris*' (the visions of the priest of Faunus), 10. 821 f. '*ut uultum uidit morientis et ora, / ora modis Anchisiades*

pallentia miris' (Aeneas looking at the dying Lausus), *G.* 1. 477 'simulacra modis pallentia miris' (the apparitions at Caesar's death): these passages reflect *Lucr.* 1. 120 ff. (on Ennius' dream-encounter with Homer, *Ann.* 6) 'etsi praeterea tamen esse Acherusia templa / Ennius aeternis exponit uersibus edens, / quo neque permaneant animae neque corpora nostra, / sed quaedam simulacra modis pallentia miris', where the last line may give Ennius' own words (cf. Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 14 n. 4).

Lucretius and Virgil invest the expression *modis miris* with an uncanny, spectral quality. Virgil uses it almost mystically in 6. 736 ff. 'nec funditus omnes / corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est / multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris' (of the evil ingrained in the soul); somewhat similarly, *G.* 4. 309 'uisenda modis animalia miris' (the miracle of 'bougonia'). The phrase has been termed 'stately-antique' (Sidgwick), or described as having a beauty which appealed to Virgil (Mackail). It is certainly old-fashioned: *modis* with an adjective of quality belongs to early Latin and is very rare later (cf. Wölfflin, *ALL* viii. 144; Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 60 ff.; Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus d. lat. Spr.*, s.v. *modus*); cf. *Livy* 1. 57. 6 (on Lucretia) 'forte potantibus . . . incidit de uxoribus mentio. suam quisque laudare miris modis', where Ogilvie comments that an Augustan reader would have felt 'an archaic ring appropriate for such legendary champions of female quality'. Yet it is unlikely that the phrase originally had a tone of stateliness or beauty. Plautus uses it of peculiar happenings: strange dreams, *Merc.* 225 f. and *Rud.* 593 f. 'miris modis di ludos faciunt hominibus / mirisque exemplis somnia in somnis danunt' (where one man dreams that he has bought a goat and put it in charge of a monkey, another that he has seen a monkey trying to reach a swallow's nest and asking for the loan of a ladder); puzzling events, *Men.* 1039 'nimia mira mihi quidem hodie exorta sunt miris modis'; bamboozlement, *Mil.* 538 f. 'nunquam edepol hominem quemquam ludificarier / magis facete uidi et magi' miris modis'; mock-tragedy, *Cas.* 625 f. 'tanta factu modo mira miris modis / intus uidi'. Terence has it once, *Hec.* 179 'miris modis odisse coepit Sostratam' (of a family feud). These passages suggest that originally *miris modis* was simply a cliché of familiar speech for something out-of-the-way or fantastic: Lucretius (possibly Ennius too) and Virgil then gave it a special tone of supernatural wonderment, in a way that adds poetic mystery to language. After Virgil it disappears from classical poetry.

*pallida*: not our 'pale', but a yellowish off-colour, the



result of sickness or disease or, as here, decomposition; cf. 3. 217 f. 'pallida semper / ora fame', 6. 275 'pallentesque habitant Morbi', 8. 197 'ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo': see Fordyce's valuable note on Catullus 81. 4.

355. *crudelis aras*: a vivid compression for 'the altar where the cruel deed had been done'; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 13. 453 f. (of Polyxena) 'postquam crudelibus aris / admota est sensitque sibi fera sacra parari'. Virgil prefers the plural of *ara* (cf. 349, where *aram* could not have stood), a use which developed by analogy with *altaria*: see Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 43; Landgraf, *ALL* xiv. 68.

*pectora*: a 'poetic' plural, like *ora* above, frequent with parts of the body (so *terga*, *colla*): sometimes, but not always, the plural may be accounted for by metrical convenience. See Maas, *ALL* xii. 530 ff.; Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 30 ff.; cf. my notes on 2. 57, 4. 673. The assonance in *traiectaque pectora* is noteworthy.

356. *nudauit*: either the spectre led Dido to the actual altar and exposed its horror, or *nudauit* is used of 'laying bare' the tale in words (which involves a 'zeugma', with the verb used figuratively with *aras* and literally with *pectora*): the first seems to suit the graphic narrative better (cf. the ghost in Pliny, *Epp.* 7. 27. 9, which 'stabat innuebatque digito similis uocanti').

*caecumque . . . retextit*: 'uncovering all the dark crime of the house': explanatory of *nudauit*. The crime was 'domestic', committed by Dido's brother, Sychaeus' brother-in-law. D. Servius records a view held by some critics that this clause refers to a plot by Pygmalion to kill Dido also: but *caecum domus scelus* picks up the whole previous detail in Virgil's manner. The line has a characteristic Virgilian arrangement, with a verb at the beginning and a parallel verb at the end (see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. iii. A. 2): this technique often seems to act as a closure to a section of narrative.

357. *celerare fugam*: again, 3. 666, 9. 378; the verb is mainly poetic, the transitive use occurring before Virgil in Lucr. 2. 231 only (unless it is accepted in Plaut. *Pseud.* 168).

*patriaue excedere*: a variation and extension of *celerare fugam*: the spectre counsels flight, and flight from her own homeland.

358. *auxiliumque uiae*: a touch of great tenderness; like a good and loving husband, the pale murdered ghost takes thought for his wife's needs on her dangerous journey.

359. *ignotum*: no one knew of the existence of the hoard (cf. Justin 18. 4, quoted on 348); Conington suggests that it was

hereditary treasure. Possibly it was buried under the altar, as Conway thinks, comparing the plot of the *Aulularia*. Tacitus has a bizarre tale (*Ann.* 16. 1) of a madman from Carthage, who persuaded Nero that there was a huge treasure in a cave on his property, 'non in formam pecuniae sed rudi et antiquo pondere', which he imagined had belonged to Dido.

**argenti pondus et auri**: so Cic. *de rep.* 1. 27 'agros . . . et aedificia et pecudes et immensum argenti pondus atque auri qui bona nec putare nec appellare soleat', Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 41 f. 'quid iuuat immensum te argenti pondus et auri / furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?' The phrase looks like a quotation: A. Ronconi (*Studi italiani di Filologia Classica* xxv [1951], 108 ff.) suggests that it may be Ennian.

360. Dido makes practical plans for flight, a central, commanding figure to whom others rally. After the heightened style of 343 ff., with its emotional detail and alliterative decoration, Venus now returns to the simple briskness of her opening (335-42), to give a clear-cut, sharp picture of Dido's decisive and fearless character. *His commota* refers to all the ghost's words and actions. Justin has an elaborate tale (18. 4. 9 ff.): 'Elissa diu fratrem propter scelus auersata ad postremum dissimulato odio mitigatoque interim uultu fugam tacita molitur, assumptis quibusdam principibus in societatem quibus par odium in regem esse eandemque fugiendi cupiditatem arbitratur. tunc fratrem dolo aggreditur': she pretended to wish to leave her house and live with her brother, and ingeniously tricked him over the gold which he had expected her to bring with her.

361. **conueniunt**: the vivid present shows quick, dramatic action (*parabat* above = 'she began preparations').

**odium . . . tyranni**: 'savage loathing for the despot'; cf. *Ciris* 532 'infesti apposuit odium crudele parentis'. Servius takes *crudele* as a transferred epithet ('id est, crudelis tyranni'), unnecessarily: the loathing felt for Pygmalion was an active desire to treat him with savagery. For *tyranni* in this odious sense cf. 8. 483 f. 'quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni / efferat?' (of Mezentius); but contrast 7. 266 'pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni' (of Aeneas), 7. 342 'Laurentis tecta tyranni' (of Latinus).

362. **quae forte paratae**: a nice circumstantial touch; for the omission of *erant* see on 72. Cf. Timaeus (*FGvH* 566 F 82) τοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πυγμαλίωνος ἀναιρεθέντος, ἐνθεμένη τὰ χρήματα εἰς σκάφος, μετὰ τινῶν πολιτῶν ἔφευγε καὶ πολλὰ κακοπαθήσασα τῇ Λιβύῃ προσηνέχθη.

363. **corripiunt**: 'they commandeer'; according to Servius, the ships were intended for foreign trade.

**portantur** : Virgil likes this verb, which is relatively rare in classical prose (cf. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, p. 30); it seems to have had a more familiar tone than *ferre* (cf. its survival in Romance languages) : see Wölfflin, *Ausg. Schriften*, pp. 113 f.; Löfstedt, *Syntactica* ii. 338, *Per. Aeth.*, p. 270.

364. **Pygmalionis opes** : a neat sarcasm; the *opes* are those that Pygmalion had thought he had got; cf. Ovid, *H.* 7. 149 f. (Dido to Aeneas) 'hos potius populos in dotem, ambage remissa, / accipe et aduectas Pygmalionis opes'. Justin's story is that when Pygmalion sent servants to help Dido move house, she put them on shipboard with all her wealth, and forced them to throw loads of sand into the sea pretending that the sacks contained her money; she then called to her dead husband, praying him to take the money as his funeral-offering, after which she terrified the servants with a picture of the punishment that they would get from Pygmalion for what they had done to rob him of what he expected to possess; so that they fled away with her.

**dux femina facti** : a terse epigrammatic summary, brilliantly showing Dido's spirit and quality: the brave picture intensifies the misery of her collapse in the Fourth Book. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14. 35 'Boudicca . . . solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur'.

365. **deuenere locos** : so in a very different context, 6. 638 'deuenere locos laetos et amoena uirecta' (cf. 108, 637); similarly 2. 209 'iamque arua tenebant' (the serpents about to kill Laocoon), with 6. 477 f. 'iamque arua tenebant / ultima' (Aeneas and the Sibyl).

**cernes** : *cernis* M (cf. *uides*, 338); but *nunc* contrasts the place as it is now with what it was when Dido first came there, and the future *cernes* is perfectly compatible with it; cf. Catullus 8. 16 f. 'quis nunc te adibit? . . . / quem nunc amabis?', where *nunc* is contrasted with the happy past.

366. **nouae Karthaginis** : see on 298; in this unobtrusive way, Venus awakes Aeneas' interest in a woman who in exile could yet found and build a city, which he despaired of ever doing.

367. **mercati** : finite, sc. *sunt*; somewhat disconcerting, but cf. *G.* 1. 466 'ille etiam exstincto miseratus Caesare Romam', where *miseratus* pulls the reader up similarly.

**Byrsam** : the Greek *βύρσα* means a bull's hide; the Greeks identified with it the Phoenician name for the citadel of Carthage, *Bosra*: and so the aetiological story arose that Virgil follows in 368: Servius comments 'Dido . . . petit callide ut emeret tantum terrae quantum posset corium bouis tenere, tum corium in fila propemodum sectum tetendit

occupauitque stadia uiginti duo'; Justin (18. 5. 9) has the same story, adding 'unde postea ei loco Byrsae nomen fuit'; Livy (34. 62. 11 f., a report of an argument between Masinissa and the Carthaginians) 'si quis ueram originem iuris exigere uellet, quem proprium agrum Carthaginensium in Africa esse? aduenis, quantum secto bouis tergo amplecti loci potuerint, tantum ad urbem communiendam precario datum: quidquid Bursam, sedem suam, excesserint, ui atque iniuria partum habere'. Marlowe brilliantly has (*Dido Queen of Carthage*, Act IV) 'She crav'd a hide of ground to build a town' (cf. *O.E.D.*, s.v. *hide*).

368. *possent*: sub-oblique, representing the condition of the bargain as Venus reports it. Cf. Silius 1. 24 f. 'pretio mercata locos noua moenia ponit / cingere qua secto permissum litora tauro'; in 4. 211 ff. Iarbas complains 'femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem / exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum / cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra / reppulit'.

369. *sed uos qui tandem?*: the question that would normally have been asked at the outset of the encounter has been postponed to give a transition to Aeneas' speech; cf. 8. 113 f. 'quo tenditis?' inquit. / 'qui genus? unde domo?', and the Homeric formula (*Od.* 1. 170, etc.) *τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες;*; Plato, *Lysis* 203 a *καί με προσιόντα ὁ Ἰπποθάλῃς ἰδὼν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ποῖ δὴ πορεύῃ καὶ πόθεν; Tandem* represents a lively gesture (cf. 331), sometimes of impatience, sometimes of anxiety or interest; cf. 4. 349 f. 'quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra / inuidia est?'; Ter. *Ad.* 685 'in qua ciuitate tandem te arbitrare uiuere?'; *Eun.* 573 'quid ex ea re tandem ut caperes commodi?': so *ain' tandem?* expressing incredulity or the like (Plaut. *Trin.* 987, Ter. *Andr.* 875, etc.).

*aut*: for its position see on 333; it is not antithetical, but merely separative, introducing a second question more or less synonymous with the first: this is a feature of conversational speech, frequent in Plautus. Cf. 2. 285 f. 'quae causa indigna serenos / foedauit uultus? aut cur haec uulnera cerno?'; Plaut. *Amph.* 409 'quid igitur dubito? aut cur non intro eo?'; see LHS, p. 498.

370. *quoue . . . iter?*: cf. 9. 376 f. 'state, uiri. quae causa uiae? quiue estis in armis? / quoue tenetis iter?' For *-ue* used like *aut* above cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 636 'uidetin uiginti minae quid pollent quidue possunt?'. *Talibus* (sc. *uerbis*) is perhaps best taken with *ille* (sc. *respondit*), not with *quaerenti*.

371. *suspirans*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2. 655 f. 'suspirat ab imis / pectoribus'.

372-86. *Aeneas tells who he is, and the calamities that have beset him on the path which his mother has shown him to take.*

372. *o dea* : he ignores the disclaimer of divinity by the 'Tyrian girl'. He speaks heavily and with dejection; the whole speech has a certain deliberate monotony of rhythm.

*prima . . . origine* : cf. *G.* 4. 285 f. 'altius omnem / expediam prima repetens ab origine famam'. Virgil uses a variant of the common phrase *altius* (or *longius*) *repetere*, of tracing the cause or origin of an action or thought (cf. 753): so *Cic. de off.* 1. 50 'quae naturae principia sint communitatis et societatis humanae, repetendum uidetur altius'; *Quintil.* 6. 2. 2 'altius omnis rei repetenda ratio est', *II.* 1. 62 'repetitis altius causis'; see my note on *Quintil.* 12. 8. 7.

Latin expressions for 'beginning', 'origin', are often pleonastic (so English 'earliest beginning', 'first opening'); cf. *Ennius, Sc.* 248 f. 'neue inde nauis incohandi exordium / coepisset' (v.l. *cepisset*; see *Vahlen, Jocelyn*), *Ter. Andr.* 709 'narrationis incipit mi initium': see *Löfstedt, Syntactica* ii. 179 f.; *Vahlen on Ennius, l.c.*; *Gudeman on Tac. Dial.* 11. 3; *Shackleton Bailey, Propertiana*, p. 311.

373. *uacet . . . laborum* : 'if there were time to listen to the chronicle of our sufferings'. For the impersonal use of *uacare* (first recorded in *Cassius ap. Cic. ad Fam.* 12. 13. 2) cf. 10. 625 'hactenus indulsisse uacat'; *Ovid, Met.* 5. 333 f. 'sed forsitan otia non sint, / nec nostris praebere uacet tibi cantibus aures?', *ex Pont.* 3. 3. 1 'si uacat exiguum profugo dare tempus amico'; *Seneca, Tro.* 758 f. 'non uacat uanis diem / conterere uerbis', *Ag.* 654 'non uacat istis lacrimare malis', etc.

*annalis* : the word effectively suggests both the weariness of Trojan sufferings and the tediousness that might be felt by a hearer.

374. *ante . . . Olympto* : 'sooner shall Evening close the sky and lay the day to sleep'. Virgil has adapted to epic style a familiar commonplace of rhetoric: e.g. *Cic. Cael.* 29 'dies iam me deficiat, si quae dici in eam sententiam possunt coner expromere', *Verr.* ii. 4. 59 'dies me citius defecerit quam nomina', *Demosth. de cor.* 296 ἐπιλείψει με λέγονθ' ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὄνόματα. Homer similarly has (*Od.* 11. 328 ff.) πάσας δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω / . . . πρὶν γὰρ κεν καὶ νύξ φθίτ' ἄμβροτος.

*componet* : for the meaning 'settle to sleep' cf. *G.* 4. 438 'uix defessa senem passus componere membra'; *Ovid, Am.* 2. 5. 21 f. 'iamque frequens ierat mensa conuiuia relicta; / compositi iuuenes unus et alter erant'; with Virgil's use here cf. *Seneca, Phaedr.* 838 f. 'iam quarta Eleusin dona

Triptolemi secat / paremque totiens libra composuit diem'; Pliny, *Epist.* 2. 17. 2 'saluo iam et composito die'.

The capital manuscripts vary between *componet* and *componat*, with Servius and Tib. Donatus supporting the former. The future gives a 'mixed' conditional sentence of a type that can easily be paralleled; see H. C. Nutting, *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* viii (1926), 187 ff.: e.g. Ovid, *ex Pont.* 2. 7. 33 f. 'quae tibi si memori coner perscribere uersu, / Ilias est fati longa futura mei'; Sall. *Iug.* 42. 5 'de studiis partium . . . si singillatim aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus quam res maturius me deseret'. The force of the indicative is something like 'will prove to be': Aeneas says, in effect, 'if I should tell my whole story, you will find that night is with us before I have ended'.

**clauso . . . Olympo** : cf. *G.* 1. 450 'emenso cum iam decedit Olympo' (of the Sun). *Olympus* is used of the sky (cf. Varro, *LL* 7. 20 'caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum'); in Homer, its gates are kept by the Hours (*Il.* 5. 749 f. πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον Ὁραι, / τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανοῦ Οὐλυμπός τε); cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 518. 2 χαλκείας κλείε πύλας μακάρων (a warning to Zeus against Philip of Macedon), 9. 526. 1 κλείε, θεός, μέγαλοιο πύλας ἀκμήτας Ὀλύμπου (on the supremacy of Rome).

**375. Troia antiqua** : depending on *uectos*, 376; for *antiqua* see on 12 (Servius comments 'nobili, uenerabili, more suo').

**uestras . . . auris** : cf. 2. 81 f. 'fando aliquod si forte tuas peruenit ad auris / Belidae nomen Palamedis'; Lucr. 1. 417 'argumentorum sit copia missa per auris' (see Conington's note); with *si forte* cf. Homer's εἴ που ἀκούεις (*Od.* 15. 403; *Hom. h.* 5. 111).

**uestras** : see on 140. The address is ambiguous: Aeneas may mean 'you Olympians' (cf. 329 'an Phoebi soror?'), in bitter irony (W. B. Anderson, *CR* xliv [1930], 4); or he may mean 'you and your sister-nymphs' (cf. 329 'an Nympharum sanguinis una?'); or simply 'you and the people who live here'.

**376.** Virgil could have written *nomen iit Troiae*, but with far less effect (cf. 30 note).

**diuersa . . . uectos** : cf. 6. 335 'a Troia uentosa per aequora uectos', 6. 692 f. 'quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora uectum / accipio', 7. 228 'tot uasta per aequora uecti', *G.* 1. 206 'in patriam uentosa per aequora uectis': these reflections of Catullus 101. 1 'multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus' show how deeply Virgil had been affected by that poem.

**377. forte sua** : 'casu suo, id est, quo solet', Servius. The expression (which might well have raised the brows of early critics)

has no parallel; but cf. *forte quadam* (Livy 1. 4. 4, 3. 64. 4 'forte quadam utili ad tempus', 5. 49. 1, Quintilian 4. 2. 66, Tac. *Ann.* 15. 72). The meaning seems to be 'by a chance of its own', a capricious whim of nature: Aeneas knew nothing of Iuno's machinations. For the close repetition of *forte* from 375 cf. note on 85.

378. *sum pius Aeneas*: this is not a boast; 'non est hoc loco adrogantia, sed indicium' (Servius); cf. Wlosok, op. cit., p. 79 n. 16. Aeneas is 'not so much claiming a moral quality as identifying himself by the achievement for which he was known in legend' (Camps, op. cit., p. 25). But in stressing his *pietas* here Aeneas makes a bitter protest (see W. B. Anderson, *CR* xliv [1930], 3 ff., an important discussion): he has done his duty as he was told, and his reward is to be an exile from the civilized world. Charles James Fox's unworthy sneer ('Can you bear this?') has had too much currency: Henry rebukes him in a curious diatribe (*Aeneidea* i. 647 ff.).

Virgil's 'model' is *Od.* 9. 19 f., Odysseus' self-introduction to Alcinous, εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης; ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν / ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καὶ μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει; but Aeneas' words have a Virgilian emotional content and significance.

*raptos . . . penatis*: cf. 68 note; 2. 293 f. 'sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis; / hos cape fatorum comites' (Hector's ghost to the dreaming Aeneas). For the elision of *qui* see on 219.

379. *fama . . . notus*: cf. *Od.* 9. 20 (above); but Aeneas' *fama* is his repute for *pietas*.

380. *Italiam . . . patriam*: cf. 68. 'It is Italy that I seek, my fathers' land'. Virgil constantly stresses the Italian kinship of Aeneas and the Trojans: cf. 3. 167 'hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus' (the Penates of Troy to Aeneas, telling him that Italy is their true home); 7. 122, 239 ff. The tradition in these passages is that Dardanus, son of Iuppiter, founder of Troy, came originally from Corythus in Etruria (?the modern Cortona): see 3. 170, 7. 209, D Servius on 3. 167; Buchheit, op. cit., pp. 151 ff.

*et . . . summo*: with Mynors's punctuation this is presumably a new statement (sc. *est*, with *genus* nominative), in which Aeneas claims descent from Iuppiter (cf. 6. 123 'et mi genus ab Ioue summo'; 7. 220 'rex ipse Iouis de gente suprema', said of Aeneas). But it is hardly likely that such a significant statement should be made almost in an after-thought; Aeneas has in fact given his credentials in 378-9, and is now stating the purpose of his journey. It is preferable to omit the comma after *patriam* (as in most texts; Mackail,

however, puts a semicolon); *genus* is then accusative, an extension of *patriam*, and by 'the race sprung from highest Iuppiter' Aeneas means his kinsmen in Italy, descended through Dardanus. This interpretation provides some clarification for *patriam*, besides giving a smoother construction. Servius prefers to punctuate 'Italiam quaero, patriam, et genus ab Ioue summo', taking *patriam* of Corythus: hardly convincing. For the line-ending see on 199.

381. *conscendi*: a novel use, extending the action of climbing on board ship to 'climbing' on to the sea for embarkation; cf. [Quintilian] *decl. mai.* 5. 10 'pro duobus pretia contraxi, pro duobus maria conscendi'. Commentators compare ἀνάγεσθαι; whether Virgil thought of the sea as 'sloping' (cf. Conway) cannot be known.

Towards the end of the second century the Delphic Oracle was consulted as to how long Septimius Severus would rule: 'respondisse Graece dicitur "Bis denis Italum conscendit nauibus aequor: si tamen una ratis transiliet pelagus"'. ex quo intellectum Seuerum uiginti annos expleturum' (*Script. Hist. Aug.* 11. 8. 6): Delphic indeed.

382. *matre dea*: significant of his *pietas* and of his protest; and a pretty piece of drama in this context. Servius explains *monstrante uiam* as an allusion to the star of Venus (cf. 2. 801); he quotes Varro, *in secundo Diuinarum*, as stating 'ex quo de Troia est egressus Aeneas Veneris eum per diem cotidie stellam uidisse, donec ad agrum Laurentem ueniret, in quo eam non uidit ulterius; qua re terras cognouit esse fatales'. *Fata* here = 'oracles' (see 3. 94 ff.). Cf. Wlosok, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.

383. *uix*: with *supersunt*; for the seven ships cf. 170. *Euro* is effectively substituted for *uentis*. The line has a notable run of clashes between ictus and speech-accent.

384. *ignotus, egens*: cf. 4. 373 f. 'eiectum litore, egentem / excepi' (Dido to Aeneas). *Ignotus*, like 'stranger', looks two ways; Aeneas is unknown in this wild place, and he knows no one; cf. Stat. S. 4. 2. 44 f. 'talem quoque barbarus hostis / posset et ignotae conspectum agnoscere gentes'.

385. *Europa atque Asia*: the civilized world; cf. 7. 223 f. 'quibus actus uterque / Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis', 10. 91; Catullus 68. 89 'Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque'.

386. *interfata*: the verb is not recorded before Virgil, and is rare in poetry after him; Livy has it several times (e.g. 3. 47. 4 'priusquam . . . Verginio respondendi daretur locus, Appius interfatur'). Venus cannot bear to hear still further sorrows from her son.



**387-401.** *Venus comforts Aeneas; he must go to Dido's dwelling, and there he will find his lost companions safe and sound.*

The 'Tyrian girl' speaks now with obvious authority, but she still delays her apocalypse a little longer.

**387. quisquis es :** she ignores his self-identification, just as he had ignored her disclaimer of divinity. Such an address is formulaic (cf. 330): cf. 4. 576 f. 'sequimur te, sancte deorum, / quisquis es' (Aeneas to Mercury, whom he has certainly recognized); 8. 122 "'egredere o quicumque es" ait' (Pallas to Aeneas, whose identity he has just learned); 9. 21 f. 'sequor omina tanta, / quisquis in arma uocas' (Turnus to Iris, whom he has just addressed by name): cf. Pease on 4. 577, and my note on 2. 148.

**388. uitalis :** cf. Lucr. 5. 857 'quaecumque uides uesci uitalibus auris', and elsewhere.

**qui :** again elided; the repeated elision, in the same position as in 378, has an almost antistrophic effect, especially remarkable in view of the fact that there is only one other instance of elided *qui* in the whole epic (2. 663, also in a speech). It is noticeable that in these opening lines (387-92) there are a number of elisions, and harsh ones, while from 393 onwards there are only two, neither of them harsh: possibly this is designed to show Venus' initial emotion at her son's distress.

**adueneris :** causal subjunctive; in reaching Libya Aeneas owes his safety to the gods; but the personal misery that he was to find from his stay there makes the words full of irony.

The termination *-eris* in the perfect subjunctive originally had the final syllable long, whereas it was short in the future perfect indicative termination. But this distinction was blurred by the poets, who use either prosody for either tense according to the needs of metre conditioned by the pattern of the word. With *adueneris* here cf. 10. 33 (*iuueris*), *E.* 8. 102 (*respexeris*); contrast, e.g., Ovid, *Met.* 10. 560 (*audieris*); for the future perfect, cf. 3. 441 (*accesseris*), with Ovid, *Am.* 1. 4. 31 (*reddideris*). See S. G. Owen on Ovid, *Tr.* 2. 323; Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse*, p. 56; and cf. Fordyce on Catullus 5. 10 (*fecerimus*).

**389. perge modo :** a most natural touch (cf. 'carry straight on'); although Aeneas does not know it yet, his mother once more 'points the way'. The force of *perge* is continued in *perfer*, not a normal compound in this reflexive idiom.

**391. nuntio :** Virgil normally avoids using the first person singular of the present indicative of verbs with a cretic pattern (— ∪ —), which (at this period, before the shortening

of the final *-o* became general practice; see my note on 2. 735) can only be brought into the hexameter by an uncomfortable elision; cf. 11. 503 'audeo et . . .', perhaps the only other Virgilian example, and see note on *Ilium*, 68.

**392. ni frustra . . . parentes** : 'unless my parents have given me false and empty teaching of augury'; an amusing piece of acting by the 'Tyrian girl', still keeping up her role, and a good example of Virgil's subtle humour. The pleonasm *frustra . . . uani* is a fairly frequent type; cf. 11. 715 'uane Ligus frustra que animis elate superbis'; Stat. *Th.* 6. 696 'frustra que manum demisit inanem'; Silius 2. 470f. 'casso-que labore / e sicco frustra presserunt robore sucos'; in a different manner, Lucr. 5. 1002 'temere incassum frustra mare saepe coortum', Cic. *Arat.* 34. 32 Tr. 'frustra temere a uulgo ratione sine ulla'.

**393 ff.** The omen of the twelve swans, safe after being harried by an eagle, was, in the technical language of augury, an *augurium oblatiuum*, sent by the gods without man's request (cf. my note on 2. 691); cf. the remarkable passage 12. 244 ff., of the swan seized by an eagle and then dropped when a mass of other birds mobbed the marauder. Omen and interpretation carefully correspond, with four lines to each, and the concluding line of each (396, 400) has a similar pattern of *aut . . . aut*. Virgil clearly delighted in swans: cf. *G.* 2. 198 f. 'qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum / pascentem niueos herboso flumine cycnos', and the similes in 7. 699 ff., 11. 456 ff. (which are not less Virgilian for owing something to Homer). For a fascinating collection of swan-lore see D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1936), pp. 179 ff.

**393. bis senos** : a 'magic' multiple; the swans correspond in number to the twelve missing ships: Aeneas had set sail with twenty (381), seven were safe (383), and one had sunk (113 f.).

**laetantis agmine** : 'jubilant in their formation', travelling properly together after having been scattered by the eagle. Pliny observes of swans (*NH* 10. 63) 'a tergo sensim dilatante se cuneo porrigitur agmen largeque impellenti praebetur aerae; colla imponunt praecedentibus, fessos duces ad terga recipiunt'; cf. Stat. *Th.* 3. 524 ff. 'clara regione profundi / aetheros innumeri statuerunt agmina cycni', etc., an elaborate swan-and-eagle passage, worked out with much military language.

**394. aetheria . . . plaga** : the eagle 'swoops from the tract of high heaven'; the rhythm suggests the movement, sweeping quickly to the fourth-foot caesura. *Aetheria plaga* occurs

again in 9. 638; it has an archaic tone: cf. Ennius, *Sc.* 244 'caeli scrutantur plagas', *V.* 23 'endo plagas caelestum ascendere'; Varro, *Menipp.* 233 f. 'nos admirantes, quod sereno lumine / tonuisset, oculis caeli rimari plagas'.

**Iouis ales**: this periphrasis (cf. 5. 255 'Iouis armiger') corresponds to Aeschylus' Ζηνὸς ὄρνυ (Suppl. 212): see Thompson, op. cit., pp. 3 ff., and cf. Pearson on Soph. fr. 884. The swan was Venus' special bird (Hor. *C.* 3. 28. 15, etc.; Thompson, p. 184); so the eagle-swan picture suggests her triumph over Iuppiter's hostility (cf. 231 ff.).

**395. turbabat**: previously the eagle 'was harrying' the swans: now (*nunc*) they have shaken him off, and are safe. The verb implies their disorder, now ended (so *ordine longo*; cf. *agmine*, 393).

**396.** Servius' comment that *capere* = *eligere* (adducing *G.* 2. 230 'ante locum capies oculis') has bedevilled the interpretation of this line; as Page observes, *oculis* makes all the difference. The meaning must tie up with the corresponding line 400, where some ships are already in harbour (*portum tenet*), others are in full sail towards it. Whatever the precise picture of the swans' actions is, the general sense must be that some are ashore, others nearly there. But the correspondence is chiasmic: *terras capere* ('to be reaching the land': note that Virgil does not say *cepisse*) ties with *pleno subit ostia uelo*; while *captas iam despectare* ('to be actually looking down upon the land that has been reached', and so to be on the point of descending) ties with *portum tenet* (the ships are in harbour, and the crews will soon land). *Videntur* is a true passive ('are seen'). *Despectare* is not recorded in poetry before Virgil.

Henry has a wild note; Ribbeck (*Prolegomena*, p. 321) made a strange emendation which he afterwards withdrew; Housman has another oddity (*Trans. Camb. Philol. Soc.* iii [1894], 239 ff.); there is an interesting note by P. Brommer and W. K. Kraak in *Mnemos.* 4th ser., x (1957), 56 ff.; see also Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations*, pp. 181 f.

**397. reduces illi**: the whole company of swans (so *reduces socios*, 390). *Ludunt* picks up *laetantis* (393). *Stridentibus alis* well describes the strange creaking sound of swans flying.

**398. coetu . . . dedere**: an extension of *ludunt*; the swans 'have circled the sky in convoy, uttering their musical cries'. The line has notable assonance (*cinxere . . . dedere*), and the general clatter is suggested by the hard consonants here ('et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere') as well as in 396 ('aut capere aut captas iam despectare uidentur'). There is

a similar effect of noisiness in 399 f. (of the ships and sailors in their turn).

399. *puppisque . . . pubesque* : a good example of correlative *-que* (see on 18). *Pubes* is often used simply for *populus* (cf. 2. 798, with my note); here it implies men in their prime ('flos iuuentutis', DServius). *Tuorum* = 'your people', quite generally; *pubes tuorum* is something like 'the fine young men of your crews'.

400. *portum tenet* : cf. 9. 98 f. 'ubi defunctae finem portusque tenebunt / Ausonios', 10. 301 'donec rostra tenent siccum'.

401. A variation and amplification of 389, rounding off the interpretation of the omen with the instruction that had preceded it. 'Qua te ducit uia' is reassuring; Aeneas need not think he is lost in the *Libyae deserta*.

402-17. *Venus reveals herself in all her beauty and majesty: she hides Aeneas and Achates in a cloud of mist, and floats away to Paphos, happily.*

This lovely picture of Venus Revealed is in marked contrast with 314 ff.: there, she was idealized mortal, near and tangible; here, she is idealized divinity, mysterious, evanescent. Virgil uses all his art in this passage of heightened style, with subtle assonances and interlacing of consonants, bringing light and colour and scent to the reader. For a study of the passage see Wlosok, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-100.

402. *auertens* : intransitive (cf. 104).

*rosea ceruice* : cf. *Il.* 3. 396 *ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε θεᾶς περικαλλέα δειρῆν* (Helen recognizing Aphrodite), *Hom. h.* 5. 181 (of Anchises) *ὡς δὲ ἶδεν δειρῆν τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' Ἀφροδίτης*. *Roseus* implies a delicate, warm glow; so of Venus' feet, *Apul Met.* 4. 31. 4 'plantisque roseis uibrantium fluctuum summo rore calcato'; Pliny has it of grapes (*NH* 14. 15 'hic purpureo lucent colore, illic fulgent roseo nitentque uiridi'), and of fine amethysts (*NH* 37. 123 'refulgens quidam leniter in purpura roseus color'): cf. J. André, *Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine* (Paris, 1949), pp. 111 ff.

*refulsit* : of a sudden bright flash; so of the transfigured Aeneas (588); 2. 590 'pura per noctem in luce refulsit' (of Venus); 6. 204 'discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit' (the Golden Bough).

403. Cf. *Il.* 1. 529 (of Zeus) *ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαίται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος*. *Ambrosiae* implies both divinity and the mysterious fragrance associated with it, expressed and explained in *diuinum odorem*; in 12. 419 'ambrosiae sucos et odoriferam panaceam', *G.* 4. 415 'liquidum ambrosiae diffundit odorem', *ambrosia* is a substantive.

404. The strong pause after *spirauere* is unusual in such a position in the line (perhaps marking just a moment for the perfume to be wafted): contrast 152, where the pause after *conspexere* is much slighter and the grammatical unit is not completed until *silent*.

*defluxit*: the 'Tyrian girl' till now had been 'nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis' (320): now her dress 'flowed down' to her feet, and she appeared in the *palla* of a divinity; cf. Prop. 3. 17. 32 'feries nudos ueste fluente pedes' (of Bacchus). But *defluxit* keeps something of its literal sense; Venus' dress fell with the shimmering motion of water: cf. Herrick,

When as in silks my *Julia* goes,  
Then, then (me thinks) how sweetly flowes  
That liquefaction of her clothes.

405. *et . . . dea*: 'and in her walk she was revealed, a goddess in truth'; for *incessu* cf. 46 note. So, in a very dissimilar context, Callimachus, *h.* 6. 57 Δαμάτηρ δ' ἄφατόν τι κοτέσσατο, γείνατο δ' ἁ θεὸς (of the angered Demeter, discovering herself to Erysichthon).

There is a remarkable hiatus after *dea*, following a syllable which is short and so does not bear the metrical ictus (contrast 16, and the examples quoted there): the only parallel is *E.* 2. 53 'addam cerea pruna (honos erit huic quoque pomo)', where there is hiatus after *pruna*, again with a marked pause in the sense. This is a Greek practice, foreign to Latin (e.g. *Il.* 1. 565 ἀλλ' ἀκέουσα κάθησο, ἐμῶ δ' ἐπιπείθεο μύθῳ). Here the pause (much stronger than in *E.* 2. 53), together with the juxtaposition of *ille* with *dea*, gives an effect analogous to that of drama where hiatus occurs at a change of speakers (see on 16): Virgil seems to show metrically Aeneas' moment of suspense before he recognizes his mother and begins to speak. See Hardie, *Res Metrica*, p. 45; Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1924), p. 20; Shipley, *TAPA* lv (1924), 141. For the 'bucolic diaeresis' see on 348.

Gavin Douglas has a notable version of 402-5:

Thus said sche, and turnit incontinent,  
Her nek schane like unto the roise in May,  
Her hevinly hairis, glitterand bricht and gay,  
Keist frim hir forhead ane smell glorious and sweit,  
Hir habeit fell down couering to hir feit,  
And in hir passage ane verray god did hir kith.

*ille ubi matrem*: for the line-ending see on 199. But here the pyrrhic *ubi* is preceded by a disyllabic word in

elision, a very unusual pattern, recurring only twice elsewhere in Virgil, in the formula 'atque ita fatur' (5. 382, 12. 295).

406. *fugientem*: the elided final syllable may mirror Venus' elusiveness. Aeneas sees his mother as an almost mocking vision.

407. *quid*: 'why?'; originally a usage of familiar speech (e.g. Ter. *Eun.* 304 'quid tu es tristis? quidue es alacris?'); it is frequent in both direct and indirect questions.

*crudelis tu quoque*: a borrowing from *E.* 8. 50 'improbis ille puer; crudelis tu quoque, mater'; but there it is part of a rhetorical conceit, here it is a real and bitter protest (cf. *incusat*, 410); D'Servius interprets *tu quoque* 'sicut Iuno ceterique dii, Troianis inimici'. For the line-ending cf. 199, 290.

408. *imaginibus*: we do not know the allusion in *totiens*; it is something left to our imagination, like the visions of Anchises, nowhere else mentioned, that troubled Aeneas' dreams and warned him against staying with Dido (4. 351 ff.); cf. Heinze, p. 99.

*dextrae . . . dextram*: cf. 6. 697 f. 'da iungere dextram, / da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro' (Aeneas to Anchises, in Elysium).

409. *ueras*: 'without disguise on the one part or mistake on the other' (Conington).

*audire . . . uoces*: from Catullus, 64. 166 'nec missas audire queunt nec reddere uoces' (of the winds): again, 6. 688 f. 'datur ora tueri, / nate, tua et notas audire et reddere uoces?' (Anchises to Aeneas, in Elysium).

411. *obscuro . . . aere*: the epithet shows that *aer* here is the Homeric ἀήρ, 'mist'; so Hor. *C.* 2. 7. 13 f. 'me per hostis Mercurius celer / denso pauentem sustulit aere'. The passage is 'modelled' on *Od.* 7. 14 ff., where Athena wraps a mist round Odysseus on his way to the Phaeacian city, to prevent his being pestered by questions from the locals (cf. also Apoll. Rhod. 3. 210 ff., Val. Flacc. 5. 400). But Virgil uses the device with a deeper purpose: for, because of the shrouding mist, Aeneas first sees Dido when he is invisible to her (575 f.), in such a way as to be drawn emotionally towards her by her magnanimity. The whole dramatic situation of 494-578 is further dependent on the device.

412. *nebulae . . . amictu*: an expansion of *obscuro aere*; cf. *Il.* 15. 308 εἰμένος ὤμουιν νεφέλην (of Apollo), Hor. *C.* 1. 2. 31 f. 'nube candentis umeros amictus, / augur Apollo'.

*dea*: 'in her divinity'; see on 17, 196, and cf. 692.

413. *eos*: the solitary occurrence of this form of *is* in the *Aeneid*. Even the nominative singular is comparatively

infrequent in elevated poetry, and the oblique cases (singular and plural) are quite rare. The pronoun is colourless, with no independent existence, as it were, apart from the noun for which it acts: metrical consideration also plays a part in its avoidance in certain forms; only Lucretius has *eius, ei, eorum* with any frequency. See Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, pp. 70 ff., Wölfflin-Meader in *ALL* xi. 369 ff.; for Virgil see also M. Hélin, *RÉL* v (1927), 60 ff., and cf. my note on 4. 479. For some comparative statistics see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 455. 15 ff.

414. *moliriue moram* : 'or devise means of delaying them'; for *moliri* cf. 424, 564 (it suggests scheming, or working at something with laborious patience).

415. *Paphum* : Paphos in Cyprus and Cýthera off Cape Malea were the chief cult-centres of Aphrodite: cf. *Od.* 8. 363, where she visits Paphos ἔνθα τέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις (similarly *Hom. h.* 5. 58 f.); Hesiod, *Theog.* 193; Tacitus (*H.* 2. 3) describes the temple and its rites, in connection with a visit to Paphos by the future emperor Titus; for its history and antiquities see M. R. James, *JHS* ix (1888), 175 ff.

*sublimis abit* : cf. Livy 1. 16. 8 (Proculus reporting an alleged message from the vanished Romulus) "'haec" inquit "locutus sublimis abiit"'; Val. Flacc. 7. 157 f. 'tenues sublimis in auras / tollitur' (of Iuno).

416. *laeta* : not a mere formal epithet; Venus is delighted to have seen and helped her son, delighted to have played her act as a 'Tyrian girl', delighted to go off to her dear Paphos (*sedes suas*), where she had special honour. It is a notable contrast: the son lonely and careworn, the mother gay and warm in her perfumed luxury: was Aeneas not right, perhaps, in thinking her heartless?

*templum illi* : cf. *Od.* 8. 363, quoted above; for the omission of *est* see on 72.

*Sabaeo* : cf. *G.* 1. 56 f. 'nonne uides, croceos ut Tmolus odores, / India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei?', *G.* 2. 117 'solis est turea uirga Sabaeis'; Pliny, *NH* 6. 154 'Sabaei Arabum propter tura clarissimi'; Stat. *S.* 4. 8. 1 f. 'pande foris superum uittataque templa Sabaeis / nubibus'; Milton, *PL* 4. 161 ff. 'Off at sea north-east winds blow / Sabaeian odours from the spicy shore / Of Araby the blest'.

417. *ture* : cf. *Od.* l.c. θυήεις. The 'hundred altars' are a rhetorical decoration (cf. 4. 200); so Stat. *Th.* 5. 61 (of Venus) 'illa Paphon ueterem centumque altaria linquens'.

*halant* : a poetic verb, first in Lucretius, who uses it transitively (2. 848 'nardi florem, nectar qui naribus halat', 6. 221, 391); cf. *G.* 4. 109 'croceis halantes floribus horti'.

418–40. *Aeneas and Achates quickly go ahead, and from a hill-top they marvel at the sight of the Tyrians building their city, as busy and as disciplined as bees.*

418. *corripuere uiam* : this use of the verb is not recorded before Virgil (cf. 5. 316, 6. 634, with *spatia, spatium*; *G.* 3. 104, with *campum*); so Pliny, *Epp.* 4. 1. 6 ‘tanto magis uiam ipsam corripiemus’.

*qua . . . monstrat* : ‘where a path points’; cf. Silius 15. 148 ‘patrio monstraret semita signo’; Prudentius, *Perist.* 11. 134 ‘deuia quo fractum semita monstrat iter’. The change from the perfect in *corripuere* (marking a quick, sudden dash) to the historic present in *monstrat* is a Virgilian characteristic; cf. K. Quinn, *Latin Explorations* (London, 1963), pp. 221 ff., and *Virgil’s Aeneid* (London, 1968), p. 95. The imperfect in the next line marks their continued progress (‘and soon they were climbing’).

419. *plurimus* : the hill ‘looms over the city in a long mass’; cf. Stat. *Th.* 1. 114 f. ‘abrupta qua plurimus arce Cithaeron / occurrit caelo’. Servius glosses *plurimus* as ‘longus’, comparing *G.* 3. 52 ‘cui plurima ceruix’ (of an ox), where Conington notes that both thickness and length are meant (cf. Varro, *RR* 2. 5. 7 ‘ceruicibus crassis ac longis’).

420. *aspectat* : an unusual use; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12. 32 ‘haud procul mari quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat’. The hill, from above, confronts the towers that face it, a rhetorical way of showing the height of the *arces*.

421. *molem* : the solid bulk of the buildings; cf. Hor. *C.* 3. 29. 9 f. ‘fastidiosam desere copiam et / molem propinquam nubibus arduis’ (of Rome).

*magalia* : a Punic word, meaning shepherds’ huts of some kind (in poetry, only here and in 4. 259). D. Servius says that Cato, in his *Origines*, described them as ‘aedificia quasi cohortes rotundas’ (i.e. ‘like round pens’, for cattle or fowls), while others simply termed them ‘casas Poenorum pastorales’. Servius comments ‘debut magaria dicere, quia *magar*, non *magal* Poenorum lingua uillam significat’; and Plautus mentions a district of Carthage known as Magaria (*Poen.* 86). There is a companion-word *māpalia* (*G.* 3. 340, of Libyan shepherds’ huts), which is much more frequent (see Pease on 4. 259); Sallust (*Iug.* 18. 8) describes them as ‘oblonga, incuruis lateribus, tecta quasi nauium carinae sunt’. Servius (on 4. 259) identifies the two words. See E. Müller-Graupa, *Philologus* lxxiii (1914–16), 302 ff.

*magalia quondam* : Servius takes this as Virgil’s own aside, ‘non enim haec nouit Aeneas’. But it would be a strangely abrupt ‘footnote’ (contrast the manner of 109); and 8. 361,



which Conington compares, is no real parallel, for there Virgil's own anticipation of the Forum and the Carinae is natural enough as Evander and Aeneas walk round the future site of Rome. More probably Virgil is still representing Aeneas' wondering thoughts ('only the other day this busy city must have been a shepherd-settlement'), but in using the word *magalia* he is in effect giving a piece of local information to his readers. It is clear from 4. 259 ('ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis', of Mercury's arrival at Carthage to warn Aeneas) that some *magalia* were still to be seen, at least in the outskirts.

422. *miratur*: for the anaphora see on 78; cf. 709, 8. 91 f. 'mirantur et undae, / miratur nemus insuetum', 8. 161 f. 'mirabarque duces Teucros, mirabar et ipsum / Laomedontiden'.

*strata uiarum*: 'paved streets'; so Lucr. 1. 315 f. 'strataque iam uulgi pedibus detrita uiarum / saxea conspicimus', id. 4. 415 'qui lapides inter sistit per strata uiarum'; cf. 2. 332 'angusta uiarum', 2. 725 'opaca locorum', 6. 633 'opaca uiarum'. The genitive is formally 'partitive', but the partitive aspect is sometimes very faint; the type goes back to Ennius, *Ann.* 89 'recessit in infera noctis'. See W. B. Anderson on Livy 9. 3. 1 (*aduersa montium*); Haverfield on *G.* 4. 159 (*saepta domorum*); Bailey, *Lucretius, proleg.*, p. 91; and my note on 2. 332.

423. *instant*: for the spondaic disyllable in the first foot see on 30; the effect is more vivid and emphatic than if Virgil had chosen to write 'ardentes instant'. Cf. Silius 2. 406 ff. (scenes on armour presented to Hannibal at Saguntum) 'condebant primae Dido Carthaginis arces, / instabatque operi subducta classe iuuentus. / molibus hi claudunt portus, his tecta domosque / partiris, iustae Bitia uenerande senectae'. Conington does not punctuate after *Tyrii*, and takes the infinitives as dependent on *instant*. But the brisk picture is much better suited by the 'historic' infinitive construction (a better term is 'descriptive'); for its use cf. my note on 4. 422, and see LHS, pp. 367 ff., with bibliography.

*ducere*: 'build lengths of walls'; D Servius quotes Sallust, *Hist.* 2. 107 Maur., 'murum ab angulo dexteri lateris ad paludem . . . duxit'; cf. Cic. *Mil.* 75 'parietem . . . per uestibulum sororis instituit ducere', Livy 7. 23. 5 'in tumulo . . . uallum ducere coepit'.

424. *molirique arcem*: 'labour at constructing a citadel'; the verb implies difficult physical toil, elaborated in the next clause.

*subuoluere*: a graphic compound ('roll up from below'),

which occurs here only in classical Latin. D Servius asks 'cur *manibus*? an quia adhuc machinae non erant? an ad constructum festinationem referre uoluit?': there were *machinae* (see 4. 89), at least at some stage of the city-building, and *manibus* marks their eager effort.

425. *tecto*: 'for a building' (houses, etc.); for this dative of 'work contemplated' cf. 3. 109 'optauitque locum regno'. The foundations would be marked out by a trench (*sulcus*).

426. *iura . . . senatum*: 'they decide upon laws, and choose magistrates and a reverend senate'. The line has full manuscript authority, but it is incongruous in the middle of this account of the building-operations, and does not fit the structure *pars . . . alii . . . alii*: Heyne and Ribbeck (see *proleg.*, p. 67) ejected it. There would seem to have been some early dislocation of the text (Professor G. Williams suggests to me that the line might perhaps be transferred to follow 429; certainly it would follow reasonably after the reference to the future in *scaenis futuris*, and it would make an impressive conclusion). In any case, it is nothing that Aeneas could see, only what (from a Roman point of view) would come into his mind when he saw a city being built, i.e. the preparations for a settled community under law and authority. Cf. Heinze, p. 402.

*sanctum*: cf. G. 2. 473 'sacra deum sanctique patres'; Ennius, *Ann.* 238 'consilio indu foro lato sanctoque senatu'. *Sanctus* implies not only moral rectitude but also the fact that a Senate was 'by law established', and therefore authoritative.

427. The harbour of Carthage was artificial; D Servius comments 'et uere ait; nam Carthaginenses Cothone fossa utuntur, non naturali portu'. For the change from *pars* to *alii* cf. 212 f.

*theatris*: so FP<sup>1</sup>R; *theatri* MP<sup>2</sup>, Servius. The dative gives a parallel with *tecto* (425), and the plural suits the rhetorical splendour of the picture. There is a variant *lata* (F) for *alta*.

428. *fundamenta locant*: cf. 4. 265 f. 'tu nunc Karthaginis altae / fundamenta locas?' (Mercury to Aeneas); Pliny, *NH* 36. 95 'ne in lubrico atque instabili fundamenta tantae molis locarentur' (in a detailed description of the temple of Diana at Ephesus).

429. *scaenis . . . futuris*: 'fit adornment for stages to come': Virgil means the *scaenae frons*, forming the back of the stage: this belongs to contemporary Rome, and is an anachronism here (cf. Sandbach, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* v [1965-6], 28). *Apta* is Bentley's reading for *alta* of the manuscripts, which could stand if *lata* is read in 427. The repeated *alta*

(for which cf. 2. 448 'auratasque trabes, ueterum decora alta parentum') with a changed meaning is in itself quite Virgilian (cf. 85 note), but the epithet is so 'stock' that the repetition here is hardly possible.

430 ff. The following simile is transplanted from *G.* 4. 162 ff.:

aliae spem gentis adultos  
educunt fetus; aliae purissima mella  
stipant et liquido distendunt nectare cellas;  
sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti,  
inque uicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli,  
aut onera accipiunt uenientum, aut agmine facto  
ignauum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent:  
feruet opus, redolentque thymo fraglantia mella.

Virgil has used a narrative passage of the *Georgics* to provide a simile for epic; cf. 2. 471 ff. with *G.* 3. 425 ff., 12. 103 ff. with *G.* 3. 232 ff.; for the reverse cf. 8. 449 ff. (narrative) with *G.* 4. 171 ff. (simile): see Sparrow, *op. cit.*, p. 92. The general picture of the disciplined bee-community is more appropriate to the present scene than the detail is; Virgil thinks of them as responsible, practical, obedient to law and order. For bee-similes in Epic cf. *Il.* 2. 87 ff.; Hesiod, *Theog.* 594 ff.; Apoll. Rhod. 1. 879 ff.: see M. Coffey, *BICS* viii (1961), 67.

430. *qualis*: cf. 316. The 'young summer' of the bees corresponds to the bright promise of the growing city.

*florea*: cf. Val. Flacc. 5. 343 'florea per uerni qualis iuga duxit Hymetti' (of Proserpina); Virgil uses the word here only, no doubt to suggest the gay brightness of the summer fields.

431. *exercet*: vivid; the bees' work keeps them on the go (contrast *G.* 4. 159 'exercetur agris'); cf. 499 note.

432. *educunt fetus*: 'they escort the young bees out', to help them find their way round: an imaginary detail; see T. F. Royds, *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1918), p. 76; L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 265.

*liquentia*: 'oozy', the participle of *liquor*. Virgil never uses the singular form *mel*; cf. note on *uina*, 195; Maas, *ALL* xii. 522.

433. *stipant*: for the spondaic disyllable see on 30.

*nectare*: i.e. honey: 'properly speaking, the pure product of the flower before it is converted into honey by the stomach of the bee' (Royds, *op. cit.*, p. 77); in *E.* 5. 71 it is used of sweet wine.

434. *aut . . . aut*: for *aliae . . . aliae*; cf. Nettleship, *Contr. Lat. Lex.*, s.v. *aut*.

**onera** : cf. Pliny, *NH* II. 21 'totaeque [sc. apes] onustae remeant sarcina pandatae. excipiunt eas ternae quaternae quae exonerant'.

**435. fucos** : Royds (op. cit., p. 77) comments: 'the drones are not expelled, as a rule, till August, when they all either die of starvation or are massacred by the workers. Drones are said to be useless, except for breeding purposes, and even then only about one in a thousand has the opportunity, unless their number is strictly limited by the bee-master; hence the character for idleness which the drone has acquired, and the quaint speculations about him in old writers.' Pliny (*NH* II. 27) calls the drones 'quasi seruitia uerarum apium', adding 'neque in opere tantum sed in fetu quoque adiuuant eas, multum ad calorem conferente turba'.

**pecus** : the tone is pitying rather than contemptuous; contrast Hor. *S.* I. 3. 99 f. 'cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris, / mutum et turpe pecus', *Epp.* I. 19. 19 'o imitatores, serum pecus'. Virgil uses *praesepeibus* for 'hives' to suit the idea of *pecus*.

For the interlaced word-order *ignauum fucos pecus* cf. *G.* 2. 146 f. 'maxima taurus / uictima', *G.* 4. 246 'dirum tiniae genus'; rather less simple, *E.* 3. 3 'infelix o semper, oues, pecus'; more complex, *E.* I. 57 'raucae, tua cura, palumbes', *E.* 7. 21 'nymphae noster amor Libethrides'; still more complex, *E.* 2. 3 'inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos', *E.* 9. 9 'ueteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos'. See G. Williams, op. cit., pp. 317 f., 726 f. for this stylistic device, which can be paralleled from Hellenistic poetry (he notes *Anth. Pal.* 5. 199. 5 μαλακαί, μαστῶν ἐκδύματα, μίτραι) and thus suits the manner of the *Eclogues*, but is later used less and less (for the *Aeneid*, Williams finds only one other clear example, 6. 842 f. 'geminos, duo fulmina belli, / Scipiadas'). It is interesting that in adapting *G.* 4. 162 ff. Virgil did not exclude this line, while omitting others, in spite of the mannered pattern which he tended to avoid in Epic. See also O. Skutsch, *Rh. Mus.* N.F. xcix (1956), 198 f.; Hollis on Ovid, *Met.* 8. 226.

**436. feruet opus** : cf. 4. 407 'opere omnis semita feruet' (of ants).

**redolentque . . . mella** : 'and the thyme-scented honey spreads its perfume'; *thymo* belongs both to *redolent* and to *fraglantia*; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15. 80 'mella thymi redolentia flore'. Pliny (*NH* II. 38) says that thyme-honey is good for treating the eyes and for ulcers, 'coloris aurei, saporis gratissimi'. For the form *fraglantia* see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v. *fragro*, 1238. 5, and cf. Ellis, *Catulli Veronensis Liber*, pp. 346 ff.

**437. o fortunati** : 'expressit Aeneae desiderium, hoc est, quia iam faciunt quod et ipse desiderat' (DServius, perceptively);

- cf. 3. 493 f. (Aeneas to Helenus and Andromache) 'uiuite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta / iam sua'. With the exclamatory nominative contrast *G.* 2. 458 f. 'o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, / agricolas!'
438. Aeneas has now come down from the hill and is standing beneath the city walls with their towers; *suspicit* suggests admiration as well as the act of looking upward. The clause *et . . . urbis* well illustrates Virgil's use of parataxis instead of subordination; and also how effectively he can get round a matter-of-fact piece of detail.
439. *infert se* : cf. 30 note; *nebula* picks up *obscuro aere* (411).  
*mirabile dictu* : cf. 111 'miserabile uisu', and note: so 2. 174 (the prodigy of Minerva's image), 7. 64 (the omen of the bees), 8. 252 (Cacus blowing out fire and smoke); Ovid, *Met.* 14. 406 'exsiluere loco (dictu mirabile) siluae': cf. M. von Albrecht, *Die Parenthese in Ovids Metamorphosen* (Hildesheim, 1964), pp. 120 f.
440. *miscetque uiris* : sc. *se* (from 439); cf. [Ovid], *Am.* 3. 5. 29 'illuc se rapuit gregibusque inmiscuit illis'. *Viris* = 'people' in general; cf. 264 (where, however, *populos* has preceded).  
*neque . . . ulli* : *ulli* is dative of agent. Cf. *Od.* 7. 39 f. (of Odysseus hidden in the mist sent by Athena) τὸν δ' ἄρα Φαίηκες ναυσικλυτοὶ οὐκ ἐνόησαν / ἐρχόμενον κατὰ ἄστρῳ διὰ σφέας.
- 441-93. *They find a grove in the heart of Carthage, where a temple to Juno is being built; and on its walls they see depicted many scenes from the Trojan War.*

This ornate passage acts as a setting for Dido's appearance in 496 ff.: it is a highly evocative transition-piece, in rich and complex detail. The temple-scenes, to which Aeneas reacts with such emotion in the famous lines 461 ff., draw him urgently to the Dido whom he has not seen, in the knowledge that she knows and feels for the Trojan sufferings. Virgil uses a like method of introducing 'history' in 6. 20 ff. (the temple at Cumae), 8. 626 ff. (the Shield). The form of his *ἐκφρασις*, a description of an elaborate work of art, has its origin in *Il.* 18. 478 ff. (Achilles' shield), and the Hellenistic poets found it congenial, e.g. Theocritus 1. 29 ff. (a carved drinking-cup), Apollonius Rhodius 1. 721 ff. (Jason's cloak), and from them it passed to Catullus (64. 50 ff., the quilt embroidered with the story of Ariadne); cf. Silius 2. 406 ff. (armour given to Hannibal), Val. Flacc. 5. 410 ff. (Aeetes' palace).

See Norden on 6. 14 ff.; Fordyce on Catullus 64; Heinze, pp. 398 f.: for discussion of the scenes see E. Riess, *CW* xii

(1919), 132 f.; R. D. Williams, *CQ* N.S. x (1960), 145 ff.; cf. A. Szantyr, *Mus. Helvet.* xxvii (1970), 28 ff.

441. *lucus . . . fuit* : picked up by *hoc . . . in luco* (450); see on 12.

*laetissimus umbrae* : 'very rich in shade'; the epithet suggests both the abundance of foliage (cf. *G.* 2. 112 'litora myrtetis laetissima') and the delight of the *lucus* in its own lavish growth: a welcome sight to Aeneas in the *Libyae deserta*. Servius records *umbrae* (so F<sup>1</sup>) as the reading of Probus, the first-century scholar and critic (Gellius states, 13. 21. 4, that he had access to a copy of the *Georgics* corrected by Virgil's own hand); for an assessment of his importance see Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 25 f. The other capital manuscripts read *umbra* (so also F<sup>2</sup>), an obvious change from an unusual construction, and one which produces an ambiguity with *media*. For the construction cf. 11. 73 'laeta laborum'; Silius 13. 33 'laetus opum'; Sallust, *Hist.* 2. 83 Maur. 'frugum pabulique laetus ager' (quoted by Servius).

442. *quo* : with *loco* (443); *primum* ('in the beginning') refers to the Tyrians' original landing.

443. *signum* : a portent of future power; cf. 3. 388 'signa tibi dicam' followed by the prodigy of the white sow foretold by Helenus. See Justin 18. 5. 15 f. 'in primis fundamentis caput bubulum inuentum est, quod auspiciam fructuosae quidem sed laboriosae perpetuoque seruae urbis fuit: propter quod in alium locum urbs translata, ibique equi caput repertum, bellicosum potentemque populum futurum significans, urbi auspiciam sedem dedit' (Servius has the same tradition); cf. Silius 2. 410 f. 'ostentant caput effossa tellure repertum / bellatoris equi atque omen clamore salutant' (among the pictures on Hannibal's armour, presented to him at Saguntum).

444. *monstrarat* : 'monstro dederat' (Servius); Virgil has combined two ideas in the verb, that Iuno had shown them where to look, and that when they had found the horse's head it was a portent; so that *monstrarat* virtually = 'had predicted'; cf. Silius 4. 120 f. 'huic superos sentire monentes / ars fuit ac penna monstrare futura magistra'.

One of the two main types of Carthaginian coinage (the other depicts the goddess Tanit, i.e. Iuno) shows a horse, standing or prancing or as a head only: see G. K. Jenkins and R. B. Lewis, *Carthaginian Gold and Electrum Coins* (London, 1963) for many plates; the horse's head is illustrated also by J. Bayet, *RÉL* xix (1941), 175, in an important paper in which the tradition of the horse is exhaustively examined in connection with this passage. These coins were struck for

use in Sicily as well as in Carthage, and must have been well known in Italy.

**sic . . . bello** : Iuno's reported words as she promised the *signum*. For the postponement of *nam* see on 333, and cf. 518, 731; Catullus 23. 7, 37. 11, 64. 301; Hor. C. 4. 14. 9. For the line-ending see on 199; here there is quite a marked conflict of ictus and speech-accent in the fifth foot.

**bello** : cf. 14 'diues opum studiisque asperrima belli' (of Carthage). This is the point of *acris* above ('spirited'); cf. Silius 2. 411 'bellatoris equi' (see on 443).

445. **facilem uictu** : 'ready of livelihood'; this could suggest either a fertile soil (cf. G. 2. 460 'fundit humo facilem uictum iustissima tellus') or prosperity (cf. *diues opum*, 14); Henry's argument that it means a 'simple patriarchal life' is quite wilful, based as it is on Seneca, *Epp.* 90. 13 'sapiens facilis uictu fuit', where Seneca uses the phrase for his own purposes. Virgil, omitting the tradition that an ox's head was originally found (see on 443), seems to have transferred its symbolism of fine plough-land (and hence prosperity) to the horse, ownership of which would involve personal wealth and an availability of good provender. See, however, Bayet, l.c., pp. 189 ff., and cf. E. Kraggerud, *Symb. Osl.* xxxviii (1963), 34 ff.
446. **Sidonia Dido** : Virgil uses Sidon (cf. 619) and Tyre indifferently of Dido's Phoenician origin; so Statius has *Tyrias opes* (*Th.* 10. 3) and *Sidonios duces* (*Th.* 10. 126) of the Theban Cadmus, who was of Phoenician birth. The prosody of *Sidonius* varies according to metrical needs (so also in Greek): contrast *Sidōnia Dido* here (a virtual formula; cf. 613, 9. 266, 11. 74) with *Sidōniasque ostentat opes*, 4. 75. Cf. Bednara, *ALL* xiv. 331.
447. **condebat** : work was still in progress. But the goddess' presence was already in the holy place, glorifying it.
- 448 f. **aerea . . . aënis** : 'Brazen was its threshold, set high upon a flight of steps, bronze-plated the beams, of bronze the door with its clanking hinge'. The triply-varied expression *aerea . . . aere . . . aënis* is insistent with richness and glitter; cf. 4. 138 f. 'ex auro . . . in aurum . . . aurea', 7. 278 f. 'aurea . . . auro . . . aurum', 8. 659 ff. 'aurea . . . aurea . . . auro'. The method is a variation of the principle of anaphora.
448. **gradibus . . . limina** : an arresting description of the temple-entrance; the rising of the steps is transferred to the actual threshold (*limina* is a frequent 'poetic plural') as if it too were climbing. Vitruvius (3. 4. 4) prescribes an uneven number of temple-steps: 'namque cum dextro pede primus gradus ascendatur, item in summo templo primus erit

ponendus'; so, e.g., the Maison Carrée at Nîmes has nineteen steps.

*nexaeque*: *-que* is hypermetric (see on 332); since a connective was not essential here, for *nexae* (sc. *sunt*) could have stood in asyndeton, the hypermetre seems intended pictorially, perhaps to suggest the closeness of the plating.

With this reading, the *trabes* may be the doorposts, with *nexae* used 'not only to express the coherence of the plating with the thing plated, but to indicate the coherence of the posts with the threshold and lintel' (Conington), and *nexae aere* equivalent to *aeratae*; or they could be the architrave. But the text is not certain. *Nexaeque* is read by F<sup>2</sup>MPR, and may be defended by a possible imitation in Claudian, *de rapt. Proserp.* 1. 238 ff. 'stant ardua ferro / moenia, ferrati postes, inmensaque nectit / claustra chalybs'. F<sup>1</sup> has *nixaeque*, and D Servius states 'multi *nixae* legunt'; it may be read also in the 'Commentarius in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica' attributed to Probus (see Thilo-Hagen, *Servius*, iii, fasc. 2, 331. 23), and many editors accept it. In this case, the *trabes* will be the architrave, resting on brazen capitals; so Pliny describes the portico built in 167 B.C. by Cn. Octavius near the *Circus Flaminius*, 'quae Corinthia sit appellata a capitulis aereis columnarum' (*NH* 34. 13), adding that Agrippa used Syracusan bronze for the capitals of the columns in his Pantheon (built 27 B.C.). *Nixae* receives support from Stat. *S.* 1. 2. 152 'pendent innumeris fastigia nixa columnis', [Tibullus] 3. 3. 13 'quidue domus prodest Phrygiis innixa columnis?', and cf. Stat. *Th.* 7. 43 f. 'ferrea compago laterum, ferro arta teruntur / limina, ferratis incumbunt tecta columnis' (of a shrine of Mars).

On the whole, *nixaeque* seems to suit the picture rather better than *nexaeque*; yet the latter gives good sense in itself, and has the merit of being less obvious: on manuscript evidence alone, *nexaeque* clearly wins. See Saatmann-Jüngst-Thielscher, *PhW* liii (1933), 813 ff., with liv (1934), 623 f.; A. Boethius, *Eranos* i (1952), 147 f.: both papers argue strongly for *nixaeque*.

449. *cardo*: not a hinge as we know it, but the combined socket and pin at top and bottom of the *postes*, attaching them to the architrave and sill of the door: see Page on 2. 493, and my note on 2. 480. *Cardo* is only a formal subject; *foribus* is the significant noun: threshold, architrave (or doorposts), and doors were all of bronze. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 34. 13 'prisci limina etiam ac ualuas in templis ex aere factitauerē'.

450. *hoc . . . in luco*: the pick-up of the formula of 441; Virgil now resumes the narrative proper.



**noua res oblata** : 'a strange thing put in his path'; *oblata* has point, for what Aeneas sees is virtually equivalent to an *omen oblatiuum*, bringing comfort and reassurance.

452. **ausus** : sc. *est*; cf. 72 note.

**adflictis . . . rebus** : a neat compression ('to trust his fortunes better, low as they were'). Cf. *G.* 4. 449 'uenimus hinc lassis quaesitum oracula rebus'.

453. **sub ingenti . . . templo** : Aeneas is now beneath the portico of the temple, looking up; cf. *suspicit* (438). The repetition from 446 *templum ingens* (with noun and adjective now reversed) is not careless: Virgil wants to stress the grandeur of the sanctuary; cf. 6. 417 f. (of Cerberus) *ingens . . . immanis*, followed in 422 f. by *immania terga . . . ingens*.

**lustrat** : the verb is primarily used of ritual purification (cf. 6. 229 ff. 'ter socios pura circumtulit unda / . . . lustrauitque uiros'), from which the idea of movement in various ways develops (cf. 608): see Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus*, pp. 96 ff., and cf. my notes on 2: 528, 4. 6. Here Aeneas' glance travels slowly along each detail.

**singula** : cf. 8. 310 ff. 'miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum / Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus / exquirique auditque uirum monimenta priorum', *G.* 3. 285 'singula dum capti circumuectamur amore'.

454. **opperiens** : a movingly imaginative touch: he feels that the queen must come, sooner or later, to this holy place; his thoughts are already with Dido; there is no need to suppose that he inferred her arrival from the crowds present (so Conington and Conway). It is almost as if he had an appointment with her; cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 696 ff. 'seruom meum / . . . miror ubi sit, quem ego me iusseram / hic opperiri'.

For a similar situation cf. Val. Flacc. 5. 455 f., where Aetes enters to find the Argonauts engrossed in looking at the elaborate scenes depicted in the palace. See Norden on 6. 14 ff., where Aeneas, waiting for the Sibyl, looks at the pictures on the walls of Apollo's temple.

**quae . . . urbi** : dependent on *miratur* (456), parallel with the accusatives in the next line, which expand and explain *fortuna*, the general splendour of the city.

455. **artificumque . . . laborem** : 'at the handiwork of the craftsmen, one with another, and the care that they had put into their building'.

**manus** : cf. Prop. 3. 21. 29 f. 'tabulae capient mea lumina pictae, / siue ebore exactae, seu magis aere, manus'; Stat. *S.* 1. 3. 47 'uidi artes ueterumque manus'; Val. Flacc. 4. 287 'artificum notat ipse manus'; Silius 14. 653 f. 'hic sancta uetustas / artificum manibus'.

*inter se* : for elided *se* see on 219. The phrase is loosely appended adjectivally to *artificum*; cf. 2. 453 f. 'peruius usus / tectorum *inter se* Priami'. There was a common effort on the part of the *artifices*, each doing his best (cf. DServius 'inter se certantium').

*operum* : the temple-buildings; cf. G. 2. 155 'tot egregias urbes operumque laborem'.

456. *Iliacas . . . pugnas* : 'the battles of Troy in succession'.

Virgil would have known such paintings: Trojan scenes (among them the dragging of Hector's body and Priam's ransoming) were found on the portico of Apollo's temple at Pompeii (they are now lost): see Mau, *Pompeii*<sup>2</sup>, p. 84 (Sandbach, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* v [1965-6], 29). Pliny records (*NH* 35. 144) that in Rome there was a 'bellum Iliacum pluribus tabulis', painted by Theorus, in the *porticus Philippi* (built by Marcius Philippus, probably the son of Augustus' stepfather, consul 38 B.C.). Cf. Vitruvius 7. 5. 2 'Troianas pugnas seu Ulixis errationes per topia' (subjects of mural landscape-painting).

457. *fama . . . orbem* : so that they had reached even this distant land.

458. The names are in loose apposition to *bella*, giving particularizing colour: *saevum ambobus* marks Achilles' enmity to Agamemnon and Menelaus as well as to Priam. Seneca (*Epp.* 104. 31) quotes the line (with *Atriden*) to illustrate Cato's attitude to both Caesar and Pompey.

459. *lacrimans* : at this point, Aeneas' tears are mingled with pride in Troy's fame; in 465 he breaks down at the sight of so much remembered suffering, and his grief is again stressed in 470, 485. Criticism of so many tears is easy (cf. Page here): but weeping came easily to the heroic Mediterranean age (see Lessing, *Laocoon*, ch. 1), as Homer often shows; and Virgil wishes to show the full impact of the pictures on Aeneas' emotions, in preparation for the meeting with Dido soon to come.

460. *nostri . . . laboris* : cf. 2. 11 'breuiter Troiae supremum audire laborem'; in 628 Dido speaks of her own *labores*.

461. *en Priamus* : 'Look! *Priam!*': the figure of the king first catches his eye, a symbol of all the Trojan suffering.

461 f. *sunt hic . . . tangunt* : 'even here honour has its due reward; even here tears fall for men's lot, and mortality touches the heart'. The force of *hic etiam* continues to the second clause: Aeneas had expected to find himself among barbarians; he now finds that they too have the ordinary emotions of humanity, generous where praise is due, sympathetic to sorrow. The famous words 'sunt lacrimae rerum'

must not be divorced from this context. But the beauty of the lines, and the melancholy that seems to predominate, have given them a mysterious universality in the view of many critics; they have been endlessly discussed, and Virgil would surely have been surprised at some of the directions into which his interpreters have gone.

For a useful examination of various views see K. Stanley, *AJP* lxxxvi (1965), 267 ff.; cf. A. Pagliaro, *Maia* i (1948), 114 ff.; W. T. Avery, *CP* xlviii (1953), 19; L. Feder, *CJ* xlix (1953-4), 199 ff.; W. H. Alexander, *AJP* lxxv (1954), 394 ff.; Klingner, *Virgil* (Zürich, 1967), pp. 398 f. There is a strange adaptation of the passage in Val. Flacc. 1. 723 f. 'sunt hic etiam tua uulnera, praedo, / sunt lacrimae carusque parens'.  
**462. lacrimae rerum**: for the objective genitive cf. 2. 784 'lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae'; the quite general *rerum* is made more definite by *mortalia*, with which cf. Lucan 2. 13 'habet mortalia casus'.

**tangunt**: cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 432 πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἦπαρ; Eur. *Med.* 54 f. χρηστοῖσι δούλοις ξυμφορὰ τὰ δεσποτῶν / κακῶς πίτνοντα, καὶ φρενῶν ἀνθάπτεται.

**463. aliquam**: pathetic; they dare not hope for too much as yet (cf. 6. 664 'quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo'). It is characteristic of Aeneas that he tries to comfort his companion (cf. 202). *Tibi* is probably 'ethic' dative (see on 258).

**464. animum . . . inani**: contrast *G.* 2. 285 'non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem'. *Inani* has much pathos: the 'insubstantial' painting on which he 'feeds his thoughts' is full of ghosts for him.

**465. multa gemens**: a Virgilian phrase; again, 4. 395, 5. 869, 12. 886, *G.* 3. 226. D Servius comments 'Graecum est πολλὰ στενάζων'; *multa* is an internal accusative (cf. Wölfflin, *ALL* ii. 98); in *G.* 3. 226 'multa gemens ignominiam' it is adverbial, as in Ennius, *Ann.* 49 f. 'multa manus ad caeli caerulea templa / tendebam', where Vahlen compares Apoll. Rhod. 1. 248 πολλὰ μάλ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ἄειρον.

**largoque . . . uultum**: cf. 11. 90 'it lacrimans guttisque umectat grandibus ora' (of Pallas' horse Aethon; cf. *The Times*, 15 May 1959, a story of an old Russian peasant, caretaker of a great house, speaking of the funeral in 1916 of the last Woronzov to live there: 'it had been wonderful; all his friends had come, and his horse too had followed the cortège, and the horse had cried'). For *umectat* cf. Lucr. 1. 920 'lacrimis salsis umectent ora genasque' (of the effects of laughter). Virgil's use of *flumen* here seems to be his own invention, rarely followed; cf. Claudian, *de rapt. Proserp.* 3. 128 'larga uel inuito prorumpunt flumina uultu'.

466 ff. The paintings are now particularized. Temple murals are often recorded, e.g. in the Theseum and in the temple of Dionysus at Athens (Pausanias 1. 17. 2, 1. 20. 31), in the temple of Minerva at Syracuse (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4. 122). Among the most famous of all representations of the Trojan War was Polygnotus' *Iliupersis* in the Lesche at Delphi, described in detail by Pausanias (10. 25 ff.).

The scenes are arranged in pairs: victorious Trojans, victorious Greeks (466–8); two young men dead (Rhesus and Troilus, five lines to each, 469–78); two scenes of supplication and grief (479–82, 483–7); then, after a single line (488) in which Aeneas sees himself fighting among the Greeks, two scenes from post-Homeric myth (Memnon and Penthesilea, both killed by Achilles). It is hardly accident that the last figure in the series is a woman, a brave equal of men. R. D. Williams (*CQ* N.S. x [1960], 150) notes that much of the unity of the scenes is 'a unity imposed by the observer (Aeneas) on the series of pictures'; Aeneas is shown in movement, passing the pictures one by one, with a growing emotional involvement, the effect of which is clear in 495 'dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno'.

466. *namque uidebat uti*: cf. *E.* 6. 31 'namque canebat uti', where Silenus begins his song of themes from nature and myth. The form *uti* is archaic, and is frequent in Cato and Lucretius (see LHS, p. 632); Virgil has it again in 2. 507, 7. 528, 12. 488, *G.* 2. 285, *G.* 3. 237.

**Pergama**: strictly the citadel of Troy (neuter plural), often a synonym for Troy in general. When *circum* follows a noun, as here, its normal position is at the end of the line (*Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 1115. 26).

467. *hac*: generally, as here, with a verb of motion. It is seldom used in prose. The correlation *hac . . . hac* ('this way' . . . 'that way') well shows the swaying fortunes of battle; cf. the vivid picture in 11. 762 ff. 'qua se cumque furens medio tulit agmine uirgo, / hac Arruns subit et tacitus uestigia lustrat; / qua uictrix redit illa pedemque ex hoste reportat, / hac iuuenis furtim celeris detorquet habenas'.

**Grai**: Virgil never uses *Graecus*; in elevated poetry *Graius* is the normal form (see my note on 2. 148; Housman on Lucan 9. 38).

**Troiana iuuentus**: cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 469 'Romana iuuentus'; the noun is metrically convenient for 'company' (cf. 699, and my note on 2. 63).

468. **Phryges**: a Greek form, and so with termination *-ēs*. It is simply a synonym for 'Trojans' (cf. 182); Conway's interpretation ('the weaker folk among the Trojan forces') is

absurd. The pattern of this line is skilfully varied from that of 467; *premeret* there follows the third-foot caesura, *instaret* here precedes it.

**cristatus** : not recorded before Virgil. For Achilles' crest see *Il.* 19. 380 ff., 22. 314 ff. *Curru* is instrumental ablative.

469. **niueis . . . uelis** : descriptive ablative, for a compound epithet. Canvas tents are un-Homeric (cf. *Il.* 24. 448 ff.).

Rhesus, king of Thrace, ally of the Trojans, was murdered in a night-ambush by Diomedes (Tydides) and Odysseus, and his horses were stolen: for an oracle had said that if these horses cropped Trojan grass or drank of the Trojan rivers, the city could not be taken. The story is told in *Il.* 10. 469 ff., and in the *Rhesus* ascribed to Euripides, but without the detail of the oracle, which is preserved by the Scholiast on *Il.* 10. 435 (followed by D Servius here).

470. **primo . . . somno** : Rhesus had arrived late and exhausted (Eur. *Rh.* 764), and fell asleep without setting any guard; he was betrayed by Dolon. Henry has a lively note (he takes *somno* as instrumental ablative, with *prodita*).

471. **multa caede** : this belongs both to *uastabat* and to *cruentus* ('in a welter of bloody slaughter'). *Vastabat* marks the raid in continuous progress, *auertit* the single moment of stealing the horses.

472. **ardentis** : in Homer the horses are λευκότεροι χιόνος (*Il.* 10. 437), in the *Rhesus* (617 f.) λευκαὶ . . . διαπρεπεῖς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ / στίλβουσι δ' ὥστε ποταμίου κύκνου πτερόν. *Ardentis* ('spirited'; the horses could run like the wind, Homer says) may perhaps hint at the gleam of the white beasts in the darkness (cf. στίλβουσι above).

**auertit** : so of cattle-lifting (8. 208), and of looting (10. 78 'auertere praedas'). *In castra*, i.e. to the Greek camp.

473. **gustassent . . . bibissent** : the subjunctives mark the purpose of preventing the horses from eating and drinking.

474. **parte alia** : a formula in descriptive passages: so 8. 433 (the Cyclopes' forge), 8. 682 (the Shield); Catullus 64. 251 'at parte ex alia' (the quilt); Cic. *Arat.* 34. 367 f. Tr. 'at parte ex alia claris cum lucibus enat / Orion'; Manilius 1. 319 'at parte ex alia claro volat orbe Corona'.

**Troilus** : the only mention of him in the *Iliad* is where Priam names him among his lost sons (24. 257). In the *Cypria* (Kinkel, *EGF*, p. 20; OCT Homer, v. 105) his slayer is Achilles. Sophocles' play *Troilus* represented him as killed in an ambush while exercising his horses (and so presumably unarmed) in the Thymbraeum of Apollo (schol. T *Il.* 1.c.; cf. Apollodorus, *epit.* 3. 32): see Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* ii. 253. Virgil says nothing of this; his

Troilus has fallen from a chariot, dragged by bolting horses, trying to escape *amissis armis*; his description is the most detailed of all the temple-scenes, and reads like a modern account of the detail of a vase-painting or sculpture. See R. D. Williams, l.c., 145 ff.; for representations in art see Arias and Hirmer, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (tr. Shefton), pp. 290 f. and pl. 44 (the François Vase in the Museo Archeologico in Florence); G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*, pp. 18 f., figs. 14, 15, 97, 98, 110. For a summary of the medieval romance legend of Troilus in its various forms cf. M. R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy* (Phaidon, London, 1963), pp. 102 f., with pl. 40.

In linking Troilus with Rhesus, Virgil no doubt had in mind the legend that Troy's fate depended on Troilus' safety: *Myth. Vatic.* 1. 210 'Troilo dictum erat quod si ad annos xx peruenisset, Troia euerti non potuisset'; Plaut. *Bacch.* 953 ff. 'Ilio tria fuisse audiui fata quae illi forent exitio: / signum ex arce si periisset [sc. the Palladium]; alterum etiamst Troili mors; / tertium, quom portae Phrygiae limen superum scinderetur' [sc. by the Wooden Horse]; this is a passage inserted by Plautus into his Greek original, the *Δις ἑξαπατῶν* of Menander (see Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, pp. 61 ff., 71; G. Williams, *Hermes* lxxxiv [1957], 449 ff.).

*amissis . . . armis*: 'after dropping his arms'; for *amissis* with this sense cf. Cic. *de domo* 6 'ministros . . . scelerum tuorum perterritos partim amissis gladiis, partim ereptis diffugisse': the meaning of *armis* is obscure, for he still had his spear (478); it may simply refer to his shield, or sword; certainly it looks as if Virgil has followed a different tradition, by which Troilus was armed when Achilles surprised him, and hastily flung away such of his *arma* as might encumber him, then tried to get away in his chariot. Probably the *amissa arma* were shown lying on the ground.

475. *puer*: Horace (*C.* 2. 9. 15) calls Troilus *impubes*; cf. Soph. fr. 619 P *ἀνδρόπαιδα δεσπότην*; Quintus Smyrnaeus 4. 431 f. *ἔτ' ἄχνοον, εἰσέτι νύμφης / νηίδα, νηπιάχοισιν ὁμῶς ἔτι κουρίζοντα*. There was a tradition that Troilus was loved by Achilles (schol. Lycophron 307); Servius (on 474) gives a detail that has a Hellenistic ring, 'ueritas hoc habet: Troili amore Achillem ductum palumbes ei quibus ille delectabatur obiecis, quas cum uellet tenere, captus ab Achille in eius amplexibus periit. sed hoc quasi indignum heroo carmine mutauit poeta.'

*impar congressus*: this must mean that Troilus at first put up some kind of token resistance before dropping his *arma*. R. D. Williams (l.c., p. 147) thinks that *congressus* need only

mean 'coming up against', 'meeting', which is very improbable (but he is concerned to show that Troilus was, as he thinks, unarmed when Achilles caught him): cf. 5. 808 f. 'Pelidae . . . forti / congressum Aenean'; Seneca, *Agam.* 747 f. 'te sequor, nimium cito / congresse Achilli Troile'; Auson. *Epitaph.* 18 'Hectore prostrato nec dis nec uiribus aequis / congressus saeuo Troilus Aeacidae'.

476 ff. Troilus has fallen backwards, clinging on somehow, still grasping the reins, dragged with trailing neck and head, his spear marking a furrow in the dust. The rhythm is noteworthy: 'fertur equis // curruque haeret // resupinus inani, // lora tenens tamen: // huic // ceruixque comaeque trahuntur', a sound-picture of his jerking bumping course, gathering speed as he is dragged (for the strong pause after *tamen* cf. 82, 115 f., likewise in a context of violence).

476. fertur equis: cf. G. 1. 513 f. 'frustra retinacula tendens / fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas'.

curru: dative (see on 156). The chariot would have no back.

haeret: how? one hand apparently held a spear, the other the reins: he must have been entangled somehow in the reins; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1236 f. ἠνίασιν ἐμπλακεῖς / δεσμὸν δυσεξέλικτον ἔλκεται δεθεῖς; Seneca, *Phaedra* 1085 f. 'praecipit in ora fusus implicuit cadens / laqueo tenaci corpus'; Achilles Tatius 1. 12. 6 (a horrible riding-accident) οἱ δὲ ῥυτήρες αὐτῷ περιδεθέντες οὐκ ἤθελον ἀφεῖναι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἀνθειλκον αὐτό. Or he may have been caught by his greaves, if he was wearing them: cf. Stat. *Th.* 10. 546 f. (a charioteer has been struck by a spear) 'lora excussa manu, retroque in terga uolutus / semianimos artus ocreis retinentibus haeret'.

resupinus: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15. 520 'retro lentas tendo resupinus habenas' (Hippolytus leans horizontally back, tugging at the reins).

477. tamen: Quintilian (7. 9. 7) gives this as an example of *amphibolia*: 'hic utrum teneat tamen lora, an quamuis teneat tamen trahatur quaeri potest': an interesting glimpse of arid school-pedantry.

huic: dative of 'person affected', where English uses a possessive; cf. 10. 814 f. 'extremaque Lauso / Parcae fila legunt'.

ceruixque comaeque: cf. Stat. *Th.* 10. 550 f. 'longo sequitur uaga puluere ceruix, / et resupinarum patet orbita lata comarum'. For the correlating *-que* see on 18; for the trochaic caesura in both fourth and fifth feet see on 188.

478. uersa . . . hasta: the 'reversed spear' is that of Troilus; since he had fallen backwards, it would trail with the point

on the ground, scoring the dust (see R. D. Williams, l.c., p. 148); cf. Stat. *Th.* 10. 548 f. 'arma trahuntur, / fumantesque rotae tellurem et tertius hastae / sulcus arat' (where the spear is the enemy's). With *uersa* cf. 9. 609 f. 'uersaque iuuentum / terga fatigamus hasta', the spear being used as a goad.

*puluīs* : for the prosody cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 282 'iamque fere puluis ad caelum uasta uidetur' (the only other example). Here there is no pause to follow (cf. 308 note), and no evidence that the final syllable was ever originally long; Norden suggests (*Aeneis VI*, Anh. x) that the prosody may be by analogy with *sanguīs*, which is not rare (e.g. 10. 487).

479. *interea* : Aeneas now passes to a new scene ('next', 'presently'; cf. 180 note), the attempt made by the women of Troy to placate Pallas, after the fighting had gone against the Trojans (*Il.* 6. 286 ff.).

*non aequae* : Pallas was 'biased' against the Trojans; cf. 2. 162 f. 'omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli / Palladis auxiliis semper stetit'; so 11. 477 ff. 'nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces / subuehitur magna matrum regina caterua' (Amata supplicating Minerva). *Ibant* adds movement to the picture; the Trojan women were going in procession.

480. *peplum* : the Greek word for a fine robe; a *πέπλος* was offered to Pallas at the recurrent Panathenaic festival: in *Il.* 6. 294 ff. Hecuba chooses the most beautiful one from her store, one which shone like a star, the work of Phoenician women (was that why Dido had this picture shown?).

481. *tunsaē pectora* : the accusative is the direct object of the 'middle' participle (see on 228), which has a present force here (cf. *G.* 1. 206 'quibus in patriam uentosa per aequora uectis').

482. The single cold line is as effective in its own way as Homer's economical *ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη* (*Il.* 6. 311). Virgil almost repeats it (with *illa solo . . .*) in 6. 469, of Dido who will not be appeased by Aeneas in the *Lugentes Campi*.

483. Another scene, with no introductory connective: the ransom of Hector's body from Achilles by Priam. *Raptauerat* is Virgil's device for explaining that the picture showed the body after its ghastly treatment by Achilles; the viewer sees the action of the verb in imagination only: so 8. 643 f. *distulerant . . . raptabat*, in a horrible scene on the Shield. Virgil follows a post-Homeric tradition: in Homer, the body is dragged round Patroclus' tomb (*Il.* 24. 16). His choice of verb may be an echo of Ennius, *Sc.* 100 f. (Andromache speaking) 'uidi, uidere quod me passa aegerrume, / Hectorem



curru quadriiugo raptarier'; so too 2. 272 'raptatus bigis ut quondam', etc. (see my notes ad loc.). For representations of the dragging in art see Beazley, *Development of Attic Black-figure* (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 81 ff., and cf. M. R. Scherer, op. cit., pl. 71. For the ransom there is a fine representation by the Brygos painter on a red-figured skyphos in Vienna (Beazley, *ARV* 380/171; Scherer, pl. 74).

484. **auro . . . uendebat**: Virgil makes the ransoming sound like a commercial transaction, a stark piece of pathos; in 2. 540 ff. Priam remembers only his enemy's magnanimity. In art, Hector's body is sometimes shown being weighed against gold: see K. Stanley, *AJP* lxxxvi (1965), 270 n. 12 (with useful references). Homer describes Priam's supplication in *Il.* 24. 468 ff.; Ennius' tragedy *Hectoris Lytra* dealt with the subject (see Vahlen, praef. p. ccvi; H. D. Jocelyn, *The Tragedies of Ennius*, pp. 290 f.).

485. **tum uero**: marking a climax of feeling; cf. 2. 228, 9. 424, 12. 494.

**pectore ab imo**: cf. 6. 55 'funditque preces rex pectore ab imo'; Lucr. 3. 57 f. 'uerae uoces tum demum pectore ab imo / eliciuntur'; Catullus 64. 198 'quae quoniam uerae nascuntur pectore ab imo' (sc. *querelae*): evidently a 'tag'.

486. **ut . . . ut . . . utque**: for anaphora of *ut* in various uses cf. *E.* 5. 32 f. 'uitis ut arboribus decori est, ut uitibus uuae, / ut gregibus tauri, segetes ut pinguibus aruis', *E.* 8. 41 'ut uidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error!': here the repetition (cf. 78 ff. note) shows each detail stabbing Aeneas with memories.

**currus**: i.e. Achilles' chariot, with the body tied to it. Virgil likes this 'poetic' plural, which may be influenced by the Greek use of *ἄρματα* (cf. Maas, *ALL* xii. 490, 542); cf. 6. 485 'Idaeumque etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem', 12. 485 'auersos totiens currus Iuturna retorsit' (which shows that metre does not necessarily account for the plural); so Stat. *S.* 2. 7. 55 f. 'ludes Hectora Thessalosque currus / et supplex Priami potentis aurum' (of an early poem by Lucan).

**ipsum**: the mere body, without the attributes of life; cf. *G.* 4. 525 'uox ipsa et frigida lingua' (of the dead Orpheus).

487. **tendentemque manus**: cf. 11. 414 'oremus pacem et dextras tendamus inertis', 11. 672 'dextram labenti tendit inermem'; the pathos of supplication is well seen in 6. 314 'tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore'. Homer has (*Il.* 24. 477 ff.) ἄγχι δ' ἄρα στὰς / χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα καὶ κύσε χεῖρας.

**conspexit**: 'he caught sight of' (not 'saw').

488. **se quoque**: commentators speculate on the means of

recognition, as no specific action is mentioned (*permixtum* = 'fighting among'); some think that Aeneas' name was inscribed over the scene, after the fashion of vase-paintings (cf. Servius ad loc., ed. Harv., app. crit.). But allowance must be made for some imagination, both by the poet and by his readers: what is remarkable is the quiet way in which Aeneas is slipped into the description, with no emotional comment. Servius (here and on 242) knew a theory that the line alludes covertly to treachery ('latenter proditionem tangit') by Aeneas (see 242 ff. note). Silius (2. 451 f.), in his description of the shield presented to Hannibal by the Spanish peoples, includes Hannibal himself among the scenes: but the passage has none of the Virgilian tension.

489. *Etasque . . . arma*: 'and the forces of the Dawn, and dusky Memnon's arms'. Memnon, son of Tithonus and Aurora (cf. 751), brought an army to Troy to help Priam, and was killed by Achilles; he was king of the Ethiopians, the mythical Eastern people (see M. L. West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 985). There are two brief allusions to him in *Od.* 4. 188, 11. 522; his death was an episode in the *Aethiopsis* of Arctinus (Kinkel, *EGF*, p. 33; OCT Homer, v, p. 106), and is described, after an elaborate *aristeia*, by Quintus Smyrnaeus 2. 542-655. The morning dew was said to be the tears of Aurora at his death (DServius here 'cuius mortem mater Aurora hodieque matutino rore flere dicitur'): see Ovid, *Met.* 13. 622, with the *narratio* of Lactantius Placidus (p. 701 Magnus). For his musical statue at Thebes in Egypt see Mayor on Juvenal 15. 5. In the *Aethiopsis* his story is associated with that of Penthesilea (as here): cf. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* ii. 173 ff. For representations of Memnon's duel with Achilles in sculpture see Pausanias 3. 18. 12, 5. 19. 1; for vase-paintings cf. Beazley, *ARV* 206/132.

490. *lunatis agmina peltis*: again (of Penthesilea), 11. 663; Virgil seems to have introduced both noun and epithet into Latin poetry: cf. Seneca, *Phaedra* 402 f. 'lunata latus / protecta pelta' (of a Thracian); Silius 2. 76 'lunatis Bistones armis', 78 ff. 'dextrumque feroci / nuda latus Marti ac fulgentem tegmine laeuam / Thermodontiaca munita in proelia pelta' (of an African 'Amazon'); Stat. *Th.* 5. 144 f. 'Amazonio Scythiam feruere tumultu / lunatumque putes agmen descendere'. The *pelta* (= *πέλτη*), or light shield, carried by the Amazons often had a semi-circular indentation on one edge, giving it the appearance of a crescent moon: see D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957), plates lxxv, lxxxii. 4, lxxxiv. 2. Caesar once 'lunatis castris Thapsum operibus circummuniuit' (*bell. Afr.* 80. 2).

**491. Penthesilea** : the Queen of the Amazons, who brought help to Troy after Hector's death, and was killed by Achilles (Kinkel, *EGF*, p. 33; OCT Homer, v, p. 105); see Frazer on Apollodorus, *Epit.* 5. 1 (Loeb edn., p. 211). Quintus Smyrnaeus' first book tells of her *aristeia*. A famous vase-painting of her death is the Munich cup (Beazley, *ARV* 879/1) from which the 'Penthesilea Painter' gets his name; for other representations in art see K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Harvard, 1959), pp. 43 ff., with plates xxi, xxii (the latter includes a fresco in the Casa del Criptoportico at Pompeii); cf. Scherer, *op. cit.*, pl. 77.

**furens** : Quintus Smyrnaeus constantly stresses Penthesilea's zest for battle, with many varied epithets.

**ardet** : not simply of her passion as a warrior, but suggesting also her brilliant appearance (cf. Stat. *Th.* 5. 438 'chlamys huic, chlamys ardet et illi', of twin fighters), leading up to the *aurea cingula* in the next line: cf. Quint. Smyrn. 1. 142 ff., an elaborate picture of her gleaming armour, including (147-9) an ingenious description of what is evidently a *lunata pelta*.

**492. aurea . . . mammae** : 'one breast left bare, and a golden cincture fastened beneath'; the Amazons traditionally kept the right breast uncovered, to leave the arm free (see von Bothmer, *op. cit.*, *passim*): Servius notes another tradition, 'nudant enim quam adusserint mammam' (cf. Justin 2. 4. 9 'inustis infantum dexterioribus mammis, ne sagittarum iactus impediretur, unde Amazones dictae sunt').

**subnectens** : cf. 4. 139 'aurea purpuream subnectit fibula uestem' (of Dido), 10. 137 f. 'crinis / . . . subnectens circulus auro' (of Ascanius); the present participle is 'timeless' (*subnexa habens*, DServius). The compound is not recorded before Virgil.

**cingula** : cf. 12. 942 'notis fulserunt cingula bullis'; the plural is *metri gratia*. The word is not found in poetry before Virgil.

**493. bellatrix** : for the delayed position, throwing the noun into greater prominence, cf. *uenatrix*, 319; similarly 7. 803 ff. 'aduenit Volsca de gente Camilla / agmen agens equitum et florentis aere cateruas, / bellatrix'.

**uiris . . . uirgo** : with this mysteriously romantic figure of a woman the equal of men, the series of pictures ends: and as Aeneas looks, Dido herself is near. Just as Virgil used 'Thracian Harpalyce' for his later creation of Camilla (see on 317), so he used Penthesilea also: Camilla is directly compared to her (11. 662); she is 'Amazon / unum exserta latus pugnae' (11. 648 f.); she is *bellatrix* (7. 805), and *furens*

(II. 709, 762); her *aristeia* (II. 664 ff.) could serve as prototype for that of Penthesilea in Quintus Smyrnaeus. Cf. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* ii. 174.

494-519. *While Aeneas marvels at the pictures (still invisible in the mist that Venus has set round him), Dido comes into the temple, beautiful as Diana, and presides over the business of the city. Suddenly he sees some of his lost companions arrive, asking for the Queen's favour.*

Dido's magnificent entry is dramatically planned. It has a fine counterpart in 4. 133 ff., Dido's arrival for the hunt; and just as she is compared to Diana here, so there Aeneas is compared to Apollo.

494. *Dardanio* : 'Dardan Aeneas' is deep in Dardan memories. *uidentur* : probably passive ('are seen in all their wonder'), as Conington takes it, rather than 'seem' (as Conway).

495. *dum stupet . . . in uno* : 'while he is rapt and motionless/ rooted in one intent gaze'; cf. 7. 249 f. 'defixa Latinus, obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret', where the meaning of *haeret* is explicit; Apuleius, *Met.* II. 14 'at ego stupore nimio defixus tacitus haerebam'.

496. *forma pulcherrima* : cf. 72, 5. 570 'formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus'; Dido has a noble beauty of figure, and a queenly walk (for *incessit* see on 46).

497. *magna . . . caterua* : cf. 4. 136 'tandem progreditur magna stipante caterua'.

498 ff. This simile reflects *Od.* 6. 102 ff., where Nausicaa among her handmaids, playing and dancing, is likened to Artemis in the joy of the hunt:

οἷη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἴσι κατ' οὔρεα ἰοχέαιρα,  
ἢ κατὰ Τηϋγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον,  
τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείης ἐλάφοισι·  
τῇ δέ θ' ἄμα νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,  
ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι· γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ·  
πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἧ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα,  
ρεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι·  
ὥς ἦ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμῆς.

Its appropriateness was criticized sharply by Probus (cf. 441 note), who, according to Gellius (9. 9. 12 ff.), told his pupils 'nihil quicquam tam inprosperere Vergilium ex Homero uertisse quam uersus hos amoenissimos quos de Nausicaa Homerus fecit'. His points were these: (a) Homer's comparison of Nausicaa among her companions *in locis solis*, to Artemis among the rustic nymphs *in iugis montium*, is perfectly apt: Virgil inappositely likens Dido among her Tyrians *cultu atque incessu serio*, 'instans operi', to the gaily

hunting Diana; (b) Homer speaks *honeste aperteque* of the goddess's delight in hunting: Virgil merely says that she carried a quiver, as if it were a piece of luggage (*tamquam si onus et sarcinam*); (c) Homer shows Leto filled with genuine joy within her inmost heart: Virgil's *pertemptant* signifies hesitant and superficial happiness only (*gaudia . . . pigra et leuia et cunctantia et quasi in summo pectore supernantia*); (d) Virgil has missed 'florem ipsius totius loci' in his thin version of Homer's *ρείά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται*, etc. (108), *quando nulla maior cumulatorque pulchritudinis laus dici potuerit, quam quod una inter omnis pulchras excelleret, una facile ex omnibus nosceretur*.

These criticisms are of interest as showing the way in which Virgil could be judged by a scholar of Probus' period and standing. They have been accepted by many (see Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils*, pp. 101 ff. [English version, pp. 62 ff.]); but Servius already had reservations (on 497 'quam [sc. comparationem] uituperant multi, nescientes exempla uel parabolas uel comparationes adsumptas non semper usquequaque congruere, sed interdum omni parte, interdum aliqua conuenire'). They may be countered as follows: (a) Virgil appositely compares the queen engrossed in her work and the goddess engrossed in her revels; (b) Virgil is less concerned than Homer to show the goddess as a huntress, and his mention of her quiver is significant enough (Probus' luggage-picture is absurd); (c) Probus has quite misunderstood *pertemptant* (see on 502); (d) Virgil has 'missed the flower of the whole passage' only in Probus' mind, for his point of comparison was not Homer's.

Homer is concerned primarily to illustrate Nausicaa's beauty; her happiness is secondary (Gellius forgets to quote Homer's final line). Virgil's concern is to show Dido's happiness (*talem se laeta ferebat*, 503) as she came intent on her city's business, *instans operi*; her beauty is secondary. Homer marks Nausicaa's beauty by stressing the stature and presence of Artemis among a company of beauties. Virgil marks Dido's happiness in her royalty by stressing Diana's leadership while her nymphs follow (499). Homer's Artemis hunts, Virgil's Diana dances. The two poets look at the same picture, but from different angles and with differing purpose. Pöschl rebuts Probus and his supporters on other lines of argument, a valuable discussion in spite of some fanciful symbolic interpretations; see also D. West, *JRS* lix (1969), 44. The over-all impression that Virgil's treatment gives is one of animated, confident authority, as gay in its own way as the scene in 4. 130 ff.

498. **Eurotae** : the river of Sparta, where Artemis had a famous shrine (for her cult in connection with rivers and mountains see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. C. 1. 21. 5).

**Cynthi** : the hill of Delos, her birthplace; cf. 4. 147 'ipse iugis Cynthi graditur' (of Apollo). Virgil's geographical setting is appropriate to his context. For the line-ending see on 199.

499. **exercet . . . choros** : cf. 4. 145 'instauratque choros' (of Apollo). For *exercere*, of keeping busy or being kept busy, cf. 431, 3. 281 'exercet . . . palaestras', 8. 424 'ferrum exercabant . . . Cyclopes', 9. 62 'balatum exercet' (lambs busy bleating), 10. 808 'exercere diem' ('to spend a busy day'), G. 3. 152 'horribilis exercuit iras' (of Iuno).

**Diana** : Virgil has this prosody only here; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 62, Sc. 33, Plaut. *Bacch.* 312; elsewhere *Diana* (always at the end of the line): later poets use either prosody, according to metrical need.

500. **glomerantur** : a vivid word for a massed bodyguard of mountain-nymphs. The line has a Homeric rhythm (cf. 290, and see note on 199); and *Oreadēs* has Greek prosody (cf. *Troēs*, 172): cf. Bion 1. 19 καὶ Νύμφαι κλαίουσιν Ὀρειάδες· ἃ δ' Ἀφροδίτα . . . *Oreas* is first recorded here; so Ovid, *Met.* 8. 787 'talibus agrestem compellat Oreada dictis'.

**illa** : the preceding pause gives a 'bucolic diaeresis' (see on 348). For the return to Diana as subject, after the intervening *quam mille secutae . . . glomerantur*, cf. note on 55.

501. **fert umero** : cf. Callimachus, *h.* 3. 212 f. ἀμφ' ὤμοισι φαρέτρας / ἰοδόκους ἐφόρησαν.

**supereminet** : again, 6. 856, 10. 765; the verb is not recorded before Virgil; cf. Val. Flacc. 5. 344 ff. 'hinc gressibus haerens / Pallados hinc carae Proserpina iuncta Dianae, / altior ac nulla comitum certante'. For *deas*, MPR have *dea*: this would involve a metrical abnormality which has no real parallel in Virgil (neither 3. 464 nor 12. 648 can be safely adduced), and it could only be justified as an Ennian archaism of metre (cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 147 'et densis aquilā pennis obnixa uolabat'), while at the same time it would put inappropriate emphasis on her divinity *vis-à-vis* the *Oreades* (contrast 17, 412, 692).

502. A sensitive and subtle parenthesis, almost an aside; Latona's pleasure in her daughter adds a dimension to Diana's stature: Homer's γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ is more obviously placed, and Virgil has transformed Homer with *tacitum pectus* and *pertemptant*.

**tacitum** : cf. Prop. 2. 25. 29 f. 'quamuis te diligit illa, / in tacito cohibe gaudia clausa sinu'; Tibullus (Sulpicia) 3. 19. 8

'qui sapit, in tacito gaudeat ille sinu'. The emotional situation, however, is close to *Lucr.* 3. 895 f. 'nec dulces occurrent oscula nati / praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent': the thrill of delight that Latona experiences is something too deep for words.

**pertemptant**: Latona's happiness 'assails' her; the verb is very strong, implying a physical thrill or shock; Probus' interpretation (see on 498 ff.) is unintelligible (Gellius adds, l.c., that Probus said 'nescire enim sese quid significaret aliud *pertemptant*'): so 7. 354 f. 'dum prima lues udo sublapsa ueneno / pertemptat sensus' (of the 'assault' of Allecto's poison on Amata), *G.* 3. 250 f. 'nonne uides ut tota tremor pertemptet equorum / corpora, si tantum notas odor attulit auras?' (of sexual thrill); *Stat. Th.* 3. 381 'uariis pertemptat pectora dictis' (of an emotional appeal), *Th.* 5. 445 f. 'tacitis corda aspera flammis / Lemniadum pertemptat Amor'; and of the effect of a thunderbolt, *Lucr.* 6. 287 'tremor terras grauiter pertemptat'. Statius has a good parallel, *Ach.* 1. 183 'angunt sua gaudia matrem' (of Thetis, watching Achilles with Chiron). Cf. Klingner, *Virgil*, p. 401 n. 1.

503. **se . . . ferebat**: of proud movement; cf. 5. 289 f. 'quo se multis cum milibus heros / consessu medium tulit'.

504. **instans operi**: this has a correspondence with *exercet choros* (499); Dido is indefatigable.

**regnis**: the plural (cf. 572) seems to intend a certain grandeur (see on 206), since 'regnoque futuro' was equally possible: contrast 4. 199 'latis immania regnis' (where *lato* could not stand), *G.* 3. 228 'regnis excessit auitis' (where *regno* could not stand).

505. **foribus diuae**: at the folding doors at the entrance to the *cella* where the image of the goddess stood; this would be raised above the floor, with steps leading up to it (see Henry).

**media testudine templi**: 'in the centre of the gable-roofed temple'. For the meaning of *testudo* ('saddleback'; not 'vault', a later sense) see E. Wistrand, *Eranos* 68 (1970), 194, 206, and *Vitruvius-studier* (Göteborg, 1933), pp. 12 ff.; cf. *Vitruv.* 5. 1. 6 (of the nave of a basilica 'mediana testudo inter columnas est longa pedes cxx, lata pedes lx').

506. **saepta armis**: presumably a reference to the *iuuenum caterua* of 497.

**solioque . . . resedit**: 'and high up, supported on a throne, she took her seat'; *solio* belongs both to *subnixa* and to *resedit*; *alte* is explained both by the elevation of the throne itself and by the elevation of the *fores* in front of the *cella*. D. West (*JRS*, l.c.) notes that the detail corresponds 'irrationally' to *supereminet* in the simile (501).

507. Virgil now shows Dido at work as lawgiver and apportioning duties: when suddenly (509) Aeneas sees his lost companions approach, the first impression that he and they receive is that of a just and authoritative ruler. *Viris* is probably no more than 'people'; but there may be emphasis on Dido as a woman, a lawgiver among men.

508. *sorte trahebat*: instead of a name being drawn for the job, the job itself is 'drawn', a Virgilian surprise; cf. 2. 201 'ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos' (of Laocoon), and see my note ad loc. *Trahere* in this context is unusual, although Conington speaks of 'the common phrase *sortem trahere*'; cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 14. 3 'sorte tracta'.

509 ff. The 'Tyrian girl' is now seen to have interpreted the omen (399 ff.) correctly. *Concursu magno* describes the inevitable crowd of curious locals, jostling the strangers. For the names cf. 181, 222; Sergestus, not previously named, reappears (5. 121) as the ancestor of the gens *Sergia*, together with Cloanthus the ancestor of the gens *Cluentia* (5. 123).

512. *dispulerat . . . oras*: a rhetorically exaggerated way of saying that the storm had scattered them to a landing-place farther along the coast. See on 2 for the accusative *oras* without preposition.

513. *obstipuit*: cf. 613. The compound implies a blocking of the faculties; so 2. 774 'obstipui, steteruntque comae et uox faucibus haesit', 3. 47 f. 'ancipiti mentem formidine pressus / obstipui'. For the rhythmic division of the line at *ipse* see on 199. The capital manuscripts vary between *percussus* and *perculsus*, as in 8. 121, *G.* 2. 476; Conington defends *perculsus*, but surely it is too strong (virtually 'knocked out'; cf. 5. 374 'perculit et fulua moribundum extendit harena', of a boxer).

514. *laetitiaque metuque*: cf. 218 'spemque metumque inter dubii'; their joy is shown in *auidi . . . ardebant*, their fear in *res . . . turbat*.

515. *res . . . incognita*: 'the puzzle of it all': they could not imagine how these Trojans had come there. *Turbare* is especially used of the effect of some strange happening, e.g. a portent (cf. my note on 2. 200).

516. *dissimulant*: they 'cloak their feelings'; *dissimulare* (to pretend that something is not happening when it really is) is often used absolutely, and the object is inferred from the context. In fact they had no other choice, for it was not in their power to part the divine mist (which enshrouds them till 586).

*caua*: 'enveloping'; cf. 2. 360 'nox atra caua circumuolat umbra': with *amicti* cf. 412 'nebulae circum dea fudit amictu'.



*speculantur* : 'they keep a look-out', to see if they can learn what has happened; the verb comes very close in meaning to 'speculate', with the loosely dependent clauses that follow.

517. *uiris* : 'their friends'; for the omission of *sit* (or  *fuerit?*) cf. 743, 752, and see on 72.

*linquant* : a compression for 'classem linquentes ueniant'. The series of indirect questions represents what they would naturally have asked if they could have spoken to their fellows (cf. 369 f.).

518. *quid* : see on 407. For the postponed *nam* see on 333, 444.

*cunctis . . . nauibus* : they recognize members of all the ships' crews, evidently a deputation (*lecti*). The tense of *ibant* shows that men were still streaming in.

519. *ueniam* : 'indulgence'; the Trojans are in effect an embassy: cf. II. 100 f. 'iamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina / uelati ramis oleae ueniamque rogantes'. So Dido, begging for time to school herself to sorrow, says (4. 435) 'extremam hanc oro ueniam'.

*clamore* : ablative of accompaniment, virtually an adverb ('noisily'); probably the *clamor* came both from the Trojans themselves and from the *conkursus* of Tyrians (509).

520-60. *Aeneas hears Ilioneus, the senior of them all, explaining who they are, that they mean no harm to Carthage, that they want permission to refit their ships and go on their way.*

Ilioneus' speech is resolute, clear, and honest. It serves a double purpose, (a) to tell the reader what had been happening, showing that Mercury's mission (300 ff.) had not only been necessary but had nearly come too late, (b) to tell Dido how much Aeneas' men look up to him, how just and brave he is (or was, for the men in their turn fear that they have lost him).

520. *introgressi . . . data* : a double omission of a part of *esse* in a subordinate clause, with a deponent and passive participle respectively: see on 72. For other examples following *postquam* cf. 216, 3. 2, 6. 226, 7. 406, 10. 299.

521. *maximus* : 'the oldest' (but he was not necessarily an old man); his status appears also in 7. 212 ff., 9. 501.

*placido . . . pectore* : 'with peaceable spirit'; see on 127 (cf. 7. 194 'haec ingressis placido prior edidit ore', of Latinus; II. 251 'auditis ille haec placido sic reddidit ore', of Diomedes). D. Servius comments 'bene ergo *placido*, ne timore consternatus uideretur, quem ideo aetate maximum et patientem ostendit [sc. poeta] ut ei auctoritas et de aetate et de moribus crescat. ergo *placido* "ad placandum apto"; et definitio est

oratoris, qui talem se debet componere qualem curat iudicem reddere'.

522. *o regina* : emotional and respectful. He opens with a careful *captatio beneuolentiae*, followed immediately by a *captatio misericordiae*: DServius has an interesting analysis of the speech from the rhetorical angle of his day. For *nouam urbem* cf. 298 note: how did Ilioneus know Dido's history?

523. *iustitia* : perhaps an adroit allusion to Dido's immediate occupation (*iura dabat*, 507).

*gentis . . . superbas* : 'non Carthaginiensium, sed circumiacentium barbarorum' (DServius). But Ilioneus' outburst in 539 ff. shows that *superbas* is a criticism of the Carthaginians also, whose behaviour is admitted by Dido herself in 563 f.

524. *Troes* : for the spondaic first-foot disyllable see on 30.

*maria . . . uecti* : for the construction see on 67; contrast 7. 228 'tot uasta per aequora uecti', and cf. Val. Flacc. 5. 669 'ibimus indecores frustra que tot aequora uectae?'

525. *oramus* : the slow spondaic opening, with the strong following pause, impressively clinches the grave effect of *Troes te miseri*.

*infandos . . . ignis* : this is Aeneas' first intimation of actual danger from the Tyrians. *Infandus* is a very strong word (again, 597), implying something monstrous or unnatural, here an action that contravenes the traditional code of behaviour to strangers (and shipwrecked strangers at that): see my note on 2. 3.

526. *pio generi* : they are not lawless or abominable, but god-fearing men with a godfearing leader (545).

*propius . . . nostras* : 'give close regard to our state', with the implication 'be kind to us'. Ilioneus asks Dido to see what sort of men they really are, and then she will surely spare them: the arrangement of the line is what is often misleadingly called *ὑστερον πρότερον*, with the important point put first (*parce pio generi*) and then an explanatory phrase appended paratactically, making a single welded unit; see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. ii. 2, and my note on 2. 353, with G. Williams, op. cit., p. 728. For *propius* cf. 8. 78 'adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes'; and for the basic sense of *propius aspice* cf. Seneca, *Epp.* 5. 6 'dissimiles esse nos uulgo sciat qui inspexerit propius', *Epp.* 30. 9 'illum audiebam quasi ferentem de morte sententiam et qualis esset eius natura uelut propius inspectae indicantem'.

527. *populare* : the infinitive of purpose after a verb of motion is an archaism, convenient in dactylic poetry: cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 910 'ecquis currit pollinctorem accersere?', Ter. *Eun.* 528 'misit porro orare'; Calpurnius Piso, fr. 27 P 'Cn. Fluius . . .

dicitur ad collegam uenisse uisere aegrotum'. Lucretius brought it into elevated style (e.g. 3. 896), and it is frequent in Augustan poetry; the usage spread widely in Vulgar Latin, and thence to the Romance languages. See LHS, pp. 344 f.; H. Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Properz*, p. 14.

528. **raptas . . . uertere** : for the construction see on 69. *Vertere* = *auertere* (cf. 472, and see note on 20).

529. **non ea . . . uictis** : 'our hearts know no such violence; defeated men have no such cruel insolence'; formally, *uictis* belongs only to *superbia*, but the idea of 'defeat' extends to *animo* also.

530. **est locus** : see on 12, and cf. 159; it is picked up in *hic cursus fuit* (534): but here, unusually, the digressive *ἐκφρασις* is not the poet's own but assigned to one of his characters, as in 4. 481 ff. (cf. G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 640).

Virgil echoes Ennius, *Ann.* 23 'est locus Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant'.

**Hesperiam . . . dicunt** : the parenthetical indication of a name is a feature of this kind of *ἐκφρασις*; cf. 12 'urbs antiqua fuit (Tyrii tenuere coloni)', 7. 563 ff. 'est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis, / nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris, / Amsancti ualles'; Ovid, *Met.* 10. 644 'est ager, indigenae Tamasenium nomine dicunt', 15. 332 'est locus Arcadiae (Pheneon dixere priores)'; see M. von Albrecht, *Die Parenthese in Ovids Metamorphosen*, pp. 182 ff.

**Hesperiam** : the Western Land, a name used by the Greeks for Italy (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 35. 3; see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 28. 26); cf. Apoll. Rhod. 3. 311 *ἐσπερίης εἴσω χθονός* (of Circe, brought to Italy by her father the Sun). Lucan, unlike Virgil, prefers it to *Italia*. Sometimes it is used of Spain (cf. Hor. *C.* 1. 36. 4); Lucan sometimes has *Hesperius* for 'Spanish', although he never uses the noun for Spain; cf. my note on 2. 781.

These lines (530-3) recur at 3. 163-6, where Aeneas is told by the Penates of Troy, in a vision, that Italy is their true home. Sparrow (*op. cit.*, pp. 93 f.) argues that they are a stopgap here, and that 3. 163 ff. was the original passage; for the opposite view see Heinze, p. 89 n. 2. It seems unlikely that both passages would have remained if Virgil had been able to revise the poem.

531. **antiqua** : 'nobilis' (Servius); see on 12. *Ubere glabrae* corresponds to Homer's *οὐθαρ ἀρούρης* (*Il.* 9. 141). This powerful, stately line might almost be used as a caption for the *laudes Italiae* in *G.* 2. 136 ff. (with which cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1. 36 f.; Pliny, *NH* 3. 39 ff.; two very interesting and significant passages).

532. **Oenotri** : cf. 7. 85 'Italae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus'.

The name originally applied only to the peoples of part of south-west Italy, between the Bruttii and the Lucani (cf. LHS, *Allg. Teil*, p. 30\*): for various legends concerning Oenotria see R. D. Williams on 3. 165-6.

**fama** : sc. *est*, with dependent clause (for the implication of the phrase see on 15); cf. 3. 578 f. 'fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus / urgeri mole hac': contrast the parenthetic 'ut fama est' (6. 14), 'ut Grai perhibent' (8. 135).

**minores** : 'their descendants', who (so Ilioneus has heard tell) have 'now' changed their nation's name to 'Italy': an ingeniously inserted piece of antiquarian lore, of a kind that Virgil relished.

533. For the rhythm see on 199: the 'weak' caesura after *dixisse* controls the line with its sense-pause; *ducis de nomine* forms so close a unit that the caesura after *ducis* has no operative function. But the line is oddly jerky: since *gentem*, as the object of *dixisse*, belongs in sense to the first half of the line, *ducis de nomine* is rhythmically parenthetic, with a pause after it as well as preceding it: the strangeness of this may be realized by comparing the rhythm of other lines of this pattern, e.g. 575 'atque utinam rex ipse Noto compulsus eodem', where *Noto . . . eodem* forms a self-contained sense-unit and there is no jerk to disconcert the ear (cf. 199, 257, 292, 513).

**ducis** : Italus, king of the Sicels (Thucydides 6. 2. 4); cf. Servius here, and see R. D. Williams on 3. 165-6. Similarly Dionysius accounts for the name, on one theory, as given ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμόνος (*Ant. Rom.* 1. 35. 3).

534. One of the three unfinished lines in the book (so 560, 636): for a useful list of all such lines see F. W. Shipley, *Washington University Studies* xii (Humanistic Series, 1924), 124. This is the only example where the fragment ends at the diaeresis of the second foot. The words are a jotting, left until Virgil had found what he wanted to complete the line (cf. 5. 653 'haec effata'); on a structural analogy with 17 ('hic currus fuit, hoc regnum . . .') such a completion would probably have begun with a pronoun (*hic? hanc?*) or with *huc*. Sparrow (op. cit., pp. 46, 48) records two spurious 'completions' from late manuscripts. Supplements to the incomplete lines began to be forged quite early: Seneca, *Epp.* 94. 28, already quotes 10. 284 ('audentis fortuna iuuat') with the ending 'piger ipse sibi obstat'; cf. the *vita Donati* 41, 'multi mox supplere conati non perinde ualuerunt ob difficultatem'.

It is sometimes held that at least some of these incomplete lines were a deliberate metrical innovation by Virgil. But,

however much some may seem effective in themselves, the only safe conclusion is that they result from Virgil's method of composition and from the lack of final revision. For discussion see Sparrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-52; Shipley, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 ff.; M. M. Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1920), pp. 8 ff.; O. Walter, *Die Entstehung der Halbverse in der Aeneis* (diss. Giessen, 1933); K. Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro* (Stuttgart, 1955), col. 403: cf. my notes on 2. 66 and 4. 44.

535. *subito* . . . *Orion*: 'Orion stormily rising with sudden mountainous waves'. This is a complex phrase: *adsurgens* depicts the rising of the star (cf. Germanicus, *Aratea* 217 'rudis inde adsurgit imago', of the constellation Pegasus) and implies the rising of the waves (cf. *G.* 2. 160 'fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens Benace marino'); *subito fluctu* belongs both to *adsurgens* and to *nimbosus*. Orion's setting, not his rising, is normally associated with storms: so 7. 719 'saeuus ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis', Hor. *C.* 3. 27. 17 f. 'sed uides quanto trepidet tumultu / pronus Orion'. It is doubtful if this line is evidence of the time of the shipwreck (i.e. about midsummer), as is sometimes suggested: Ilioneus is not providing a time-table to impress Dido; cf. Heinze, p. 346 n. 5. With the prosody *Ōrīōn* here, ending the line (so 4. 52, 10. 763), contrast *Ōrīōn* (as in Greek) at 7. 719 (mid-line), and 3. 517 'armatumque auro circumspicit Ōrīōna'; Catullus (66. 94) has the form *Ōārīōn* (from Callimachus).

536. *procacibus*: 'vicious': a remarkable epithet (used only here by Virgil), implying physical and moral insolence; thus the *Austri* are personified, for the word is always used of persons or their behaviour. Its tone is akin to that of *proteruus* and *petulans*: cf. Hor. *C.* 1. 26. 1 ff. 'Mysis amicus tristitiam et metus / tradam proteruis in mare Creticum / portare uentis'; Ovid, *Her.* 11. 14 'pinnis, Eure proterue, tuis', *F.* 5. 321 'uenti nocuere proterui'; Lucr. 6. 111 'percissa furit petulantibus auris'. It connotes impudent behaviour of all kinds; its colour is well shown by Cic. *Cael.* 49 (of Clodia) 'ut non solum meretrix sed etiam proterua meretrix procaxque uideatur'. Cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 26. 2.

*Penitus* here is usually taken closely with *dispulit* (538), cf. 512, so that *perque undas . . . perque inuia saxa* (537) is an amplification of it. But from its position it is tempting to take it with *procacibus* ('vicious to their depths').

537. *superante salo*: the sea 'overtops' the ships; cf. 2. 207, where the serpents' crests *superant undas*: a variation on the effect of Orion's rising *subito fluctu*. The passage is full of sound and movement: the spondees of 535 show the sheer

weight of the storm, the alliterative dactyls of 536–7 mark the noise and speed of the whipped-up sea-race.

538. *adnaimus*: not necessarily of swimming; drifting on wreckage, perhaps.

539. *quod . . . hominum?*: Macrobius (*Sat.* 6. 1. 32) says that these words were taken from the poet Furius, quoting ‘*quod genus hoc hominum, Saturno sancte create?*’: this may be either Furius Antias, a contemporary of Q. Catulus, consul in 102 (cf. Gellius 18. 11; A. E. Douglas on Cic. *Brut.* 132; Schanz–Hosius, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* i<sup>4</sup>. 162), or Furius Bibaculus, contemporary of Catullus (Schanz–Hosius, *ib.*, p. 290); cf. R. Büttner, *Porcius Licinus und der litterarische Kreis des Q. Lutatius Catulus* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 181 ff. Morel assigns the quotation to Bibaculus (*FPL*, p. 82). Macrobius’ quotation occurs in a long list of passages where Virgil’s judgement and taste in his treatment of such borrowings are illustrated, ‘*ut quod apud illum legerimus alienum, aut illius esse malimus aut melius hic quam ubi natum est sonare miremur*’ (*Sat.* 6. 1. 6). See also 692 note.

*quaeue*: cf. 369, 370, notes; the question is an alternative way of asking ‘*quod genus hoc hominum?*’ *Tam barbara . . . permittit* is a compression for *tam barbara est ut permittat*; cf. 605 ‘*tam laeta*’.

540. *patria*: an artistically economical choice of word. *Patria* is not general, but relative (like *liberi*); it postulates citizens to whom it belongs, so that *ciuibus* does not need to be expressed with *permittit*; further, citizens of a *patria* owe a duty to it, to uphold its good name, and one aspect of its good name is respect for strangers in need.

*hospitio . . . harenae*: cf. 7. 229 f. ‘*dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus / innocuum et cunctis undamque auramque patentem*’ (Ilioneus to Latinus). D. Servius comments ‘*litus enim iure gentium commune omnibus fuit*’, quoting Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 72; cf. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* ii. 380.

541. *primaque . . . terra*: ‘and bar us even from a footing on their shore’; cf. Cic. *ad fam.* 3. 6. 2 ‘*te in prima prouincia uelle esse*’ (i.e. ‘on the extreme edge of the province’); *G.* 2. 44 ‘*primi lege litoris oram*’. Virgil’s narrative suggests that there had been considerable clashes, which might partly explain *clamore* in 519; the Tyrians were obviously like the Phaeacians in *Od.* 7. 32 f. οὐ γὰρ ξείνους οἶδε μάλ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀνέχονται, / οὐδ’ ἀγαπαζόμενοι φιλέουσ’ ὅς κ’ ἄλλοθεν ἔλθῃ.

542. *mortalia . . . arma*: cf. *G.* 1. 123 ‘*curis acuens mortalia corda*’, *G.* 3. 319 *mortalis egestas*’ (the adjectives *mortalia*, *mortalis* are put for the genitive *mortalium*).

*temnitis*: a Lucretian verb (3. 957, 5. 1238); Virgil likes it,

but uses it only in speeches; Horace has it twice in the *Satires* (I. I. 116, 2. 2. 38), nowhere in the *Odes*; except for three passages in Statius, it does not occur in later epic; its single prose occurrence in Tac. *H.* 3. 47 ('haud temnendae manus ductor') may be a reminiscence of 10. 737 'pars belli haud temnenda . . . Orodes'. Ilioneus speaks bluntly; Roman readers might think of *Punica fides*.

543. **at** : this use, in an apodosis following *si*, goes back to early Latin, e.g. Plaut. *Bacch.* 365 'si illi sunt uirgae ruri, at mihi tergum domist'; see LHS, p. 489.

**sperate** : 'expect'; cf. 4. 292 'tantos rumpi non speret amores', 11. 275 ff. 'haec adeo ex illo mihi iam speranda fuerunt / tempore cum ferro caelestia corpora demens / appetii'.

**deos memores** : cf. Catullus 30. 11 'si tu oblitus es, at di meminerunt, meminit fides': ὕβρις will be punished.

**fandi atque nefandi** : these forms act as genitives of *fas*, *nefas* (cf. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* i. 298); cf. Catullus 64. 405 'omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore'; G. I. 505 'quippe ubi fas uersum atque nefas': Donatus, on Ter. *Eun.* 1059, classes *fanda nefanda* as 'prouerbiale', like *iusta iniusta, digna indigna*, etc. For *atque* without elision cf. 254 (see on 147).

544 f. **rex . . . armis** : 'we had a king, Aeneas; none was more just in doing his duty, none was greater in warfare'; cf. 6. 403 'Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis'. For the connection of justice and *pietas* cf. 603 f.; Cic. *de nat. deor.* I. 116 'est enim pietas iustitia aduersum deos', 2. 153 'pietas, cui coniuncta iustitia est'.

The construction is difficult. There is a simpler form of Virgil's pattern in 9. 179 f. 'Euryalus, quo pulchrior alter / non fuit Aeneadum, Troiana neque induit arma', where the force of *pulchrior* continues with *induit*. But here each branch has its own comparative (*iustior, maior*), and Virgil has linked them with correlating *nec . . . nec*, the first of which is postponed to third word in its clause in order to give greater symmetry and emphasis to the arrangement. For such a postponement of *nec* cf. Prop. 2. 6. 3 f. 'turba Menandreae fuerat nec Thaidos olim / tanta'; see on 333. Conington took *pietate* with *maior*, and assumed an omission of *neque* with *iustior*, which seems very improbable; his parallel for such an omission is a doubtful passage in Caesar, *BC* 3. 71, to which Conway adds Plaut. *Curc.* 579, Ter. *Heaut.* 64, *Eun.* 1077, of no relevance to Virgil's arrangement.

546. **uescitur aura** : from Lucr. 5. 857 'quaecumque uides uesci uitalibus auris' (cf. Munro on Lucr. 5. 72).

547. *aetheria* : cf. 6. 761 f. 'proxima sorte tenet lucis loca, primus ad auras / aetherias . . . surget', where there is the same antithesis as here between the world of the dead and that of the living: so 6. 436 f. 'quam uellent aethere in alto / nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!', 11. 104 'aethere cassis'. Statius, writing of the blind Oedipus, has (*Th.* 1. 237 f.) 'proiecitque diem, nec iam amplius aethere nostro / uescitur', where *aether* is regarded from its content of light. For the arrangement of noun and epithet at the end of one line and the beginning of the next see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. iii. B. 1.

*occubat* : 'is laid low' in death; cf. 5. 371 'ad tumulum quo maximus occubat Hector'; this sense is first recorded in Virgil. The language here (*uescitur, crudelibus umbris*) is more ornate and emotional than Homer's . . . εἴ ποῦ ἔτι ζῶει καὶ ὄρα φάος ἠελίοιο. / εἰ δ' ἤδη τέθνηκε καὶ εἰν Αἴδαο δόμοισιν . . . (*Od.* 20. 207 f.). Henry's long note on 'theme and variation' at this point is worth reading.

548. *non metus* : 'we have no fear': Aeneas will protect them if need be, and will repay Dido if she acts with kindness to them.

548 f. *officio . . . paeniteat* : 'and you would be well satisfied that you made the first overture in kindness'; for this meaning of *paenitet* (frequent in early Latin) see Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 5 n. 6. For the postponement of *nec* see on 333.

549. *et* : 'besides'; not only Aeneas (if he is really alive) but powerful friends in Sicily are behind them.

550. *Troianoque . . . Acestes* : see on 195.

551. After the preliminaries (first politeness, then remonstrance, then reassurance) Ilioneus comes to the point and makes his request.

*quassatam* : again of battered ships, 4. 53, 9. 91; cf. Lucr. 3. 434 f. 'quassatis undique uasis / diffluere umorem . . . cernis', id. 3. 451 f. 'ubi iam ualidis quassatum est uiribus aevi / corpus'.

552. *siluis . . . remos* : 'to shape timbers in the forests, and strip the trees for oars': the practical needs for men whose ships were *quassatae*. Cf. 5. 752 f. 'transtra nouant flammisque ambesa reponunt / robora nauigiis, aptant remosque rudentisque'; Silius 6. 352 f. 'aut siluis stringunt remos, aut abiete secta / transtra nouant'; *stringere remos* is a compression, for *stringere frondibus ramos remorum in usum*: contrast the hurry of the Trojans when they prepare to leave Carthage, 4. 399 f. 'frudentisque ferunt remos et robora siluis / infabricata fugae studio'.

553. *si datur* : i.e. by destiny; but such a journey to Italy needs Aeneas to be restored to them. For *Italiam tendere* see



on 2. The whole clause is the condition of their purpose in continuing the voyage.

**555. sin absumpta salus** : sc. *est*; *sin* marks the alternative to *si datur*, showing that the significant words in 553 are *sociis et rege recepto*. If Aeneas is lost, they propose to return to Sicily.

**pater optime Teucrum** : so 5. 358 'risit pater optimus', of Aeneas. The apostrophe is formally a means of stylistic variation (contrast 'quem si fata uirum seruant', 546); but here it is highly emotional also, and it is the more striking because Ilioneus is in fact speaking to Dido—almost as if for the moment he is lost in his own thoughts, having broken off at *salus* and returning to his formal speech in 557.

For a similar effect of pathos cf. 2. 429 f. 'nec te tua plurima, Panthu, / labentem pietas . . . texit', 6. 30 f. 'tu quoque magnam / partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes'. For apostrophe as a means of variation cf. 7. 684 f. 'quos diues Anagnia pascit, / quos Amasene pater', *G.* 2. 95 f. 'et quo te carmine dicam, / Rhaetica?' (in the list of vines). Sometimes it is used simply for metrical reasons, when a vocative is more manageable than another case; e.g. Ovid, *Ars* 3. 354 'ut sciat et uires, tessera missa, tuas' (where *tesseræ missæ* would be impossible): in such passages, it would be incongruous to retain the figure in a translation. It needs discretion in its employment; the highly rhetorical Lucan can overdo it (e.g. 4. 799 ff.); see some useful remarks by J. D. Duff in his Loeb preface.

See Norden on 6. 14 ff. (p. 122), 6. 18 f. (apostrophe in dedicatory style); J. Endt, *Wiener Studien* xxvii (1905), 106 ff.; E. Bednara, *ALL* xiv. 568 ff.; E. Hampel, *de apostrophe apud poetas Romanos usu*, diss. Jena, 1908; G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 723.

**556. pontus habet** : cf. 6. 362 'nunc me fluctus habet' (of Palinurus). Behind the words there is the added grief that he will lack burial.

**nec spes . . . Iuli** : i.e. if Iulus is lost too, as he must be if Aeneas has gone; but in 4. 274 'spes heredis Iuli', 6. 364 and 10. 524 'spes surgentis Iuli', *spes* = 'promise'. Ilioneus' thoughts take him still further from his formal speech: how should Dido know who Iulus is?

**557. at** : see on 543; with the prosody *Sicāniae* contrast the adjective *Sicānus* (5. 24, etc.); but Silius 14. 258 has *gens Sicāna*.

**saltem** : Virgil always seems to use the word with a note of pathos (cf. my note on 4. 327).

**paratas** : they are assured of a settled home in Sicily; but it will not be the promised land of 205.

558. *aduecti* : sc. *sumus*; cf. 2. 25 'nos abiisse rati', etc.: see on 72. For the pattern of the caesura in the fourth and fifth feet see on 188.

559. *fremebant* : expressive, suggesting a general indiscriminate din of applause.

*simul* : i.e. at the moment that Ilioneus finished (not 'together', which is expressed in *cuncti*, as Conington notes).

560. For the unfinished line see on 534: *cuncti* . . . *Dardanidae* is repeated in 5. 385 f., with a completed second line in keeping with the context; here it is an obvious *tibicen* (see Sparrow, *op. cit.*, p. 94).

561–78. *Dido promises to send the Trojans safely on their way, either to Italy or to Sicily, as they prefer. But if they would like to stay in Carthage, her city shall be theirs. She will send a search-party to find Aeneas, whom she would so much like to see.*

This speech, the first that Dido makes, is simple and kind and full of dignity, showing her quick to make decisions and practical in the making of them.

561. *uultum demissa* : 'with downward look'; the participle is 'middle' (see on 228); cf. 3. 320 'deiecit uultum et demissa uoce locuta est' (of Andromache): *demissa* implies both modesty and emotion.

*profatur* : again of Dido, 4. 364; it is an Ennian compound (*Ann.* 563), and Lucretius has it of an oracular response (1. 739); Horace uses it in describing his first meeting with Maecenas (*Sat.* 1. 6. 56 f.) 'ut ueni coram, singultim pauca locutus, / infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari', where the old-fashioned word is accompanied by a deliberately antique alliterative effect (cf. 665 note).

562. *soluite corde metum* : contrast 4. 652 'meque his exsoluite curis'.

563. *res dura* : 'my difficult position'; there were dangers from local tribes (cf. 4. 320), and perhaps from attack by her brother (cf. 4. 325); perhaps too her own people needed firm handling if they were to be kept loyal (cf. 4. 321).

564. The spondaic rhythm of the line gives it a succinct brevity; it was an unpleasant task to apologize for her people's behaviour.

*moliri* : cf. 414, 424; *G.* 1. 271 'insidias auibus moliri'.

*custode* : collective singular; cf. 9. 380 'omnemque aditum custode coronant'; it is used by analogy with *miles*, *hostis*, *eques*, as a military term: see K-S i. 67 ff.; Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 12 ff.; cf. my note on 2. 20 'armato milite'.

565. *quis* . . . *urbem* : cf. 7. 195 f. (Latinus speaking) 'dicite,

Dardanidae (neque enim nescimus et urbem / et genus, auditique aduertitis aequore cursum) '.

**Aeneadum** : cf. 157; Aeneas realizes from this that Dido knows him as the Trojan leader, and that it is her interest that has caused the temple-paintings to be made.

**quis Troiae** : contrast 1 'Troiae qui', and see note there; here Virgil has not avoided coincidence of metrical beat and word-accent in the fourth foot, although he could have done so: perhaps to gain the full effect of *quis* in anaphora.

566. **uirtutesque . . . belli** : 'her brave deeds, her heroes, or the conflagration of that terrible war'; cf. Catullus 68. 90 'Troia uirum et uirtutum omnium acerba cinis'. *Virtutesque uirosque* is a unit (the first *-que* correlative with the second, not connective), balanced by *tanti incendia belli*. For the plural of the abstract *uirtus* used in a concrete sense cf. 5. 785 f. 'non media de gente Phrygum exedis nefandis / urbem odiis satis est' (*odiis* = 'acts of loathing').

**tanti incendia belli** : as so often, English needs a strengthening adjective to give *tantus* its proper force. For the metaphor cf. Cic. *de rep.* 1. 1 'non duo Scipiones oriens incendium belli Punici secundi sanguine suo restinxissent'.

567. **obtunsa** : 'dulled', of the mind (*pectora*); cf. Hor. *Epp.* 1. 4. 6 'non tu corpus eras sine pectore'; Ovid, *Met.* 13. 290 'rudis et sine pectore miles' (of Ajax), *Her.* 16. 305 'hominem sine pectore' (of Menelaus, as seen by Paris); Quintilian 10. 7. 15 'pectus est enim quod disertos facit, et uis mentis': these passages suggest that *pectora* here implies not only intellect but sensibility.

**gestamus** : cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 1083 'haec sola sanam mentem gestat meorum familiarium'; *gerere* is much more frequent in this sense (cf. Munro on Lucr. 3. 1049).

568. **nec . . . ab urbe** : an ornate way of saying 'we are not in such utter darkness', i.e. 'we are not so uncivilized': in these two lines Dido makes clear, but in a different idiom, what Aeneas had discovered in 461 f. Cf. Stat. *Th.* 1. 683 f. 'scimus', ait, "nec sic auersum fama Mycenis / uoluit iter" (a more limited context and meaning); Silius 15. 334 f. 'quisnam auersos Phoebum tunc iungere ab urbe / Romulea dubitaret equos?', implying that the sun recoils in horror at a horrid thing (which Servius takes Virgil to mean here, alluding to the story of Atreus—far-fetched and irrelevant to this context).

Elision of *tam* is very rare indeed (again in 11. 705, also in a speech): see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. xi. 2.

569. **Hesperiam magnam** : so 7. 4 'Hesperia in magna'; Dido

takes up Ilioneus' picture in 530 f. (Servius supposes her to allude to Magna Graecia).

**Saturniaque arua** : explanatory of *Hesperiam*. For the myth of Saturn, who brought the Golden Age to Italy, see 8. 319 ff. (cf. *E.* 4. 6 'redeunt Saturnia regna'): so in 11. 252 f. Diomede addresses an embassy 'o fortunatae gentes, Saturnia regna, / antiqui Ausonii', and in *G.* 2. 173 Italy is 'magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus'. For the relationship of the myth to prehistory see Conway's note, and Warde Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1918), pp. 68 ff. But how did Dido know the legend of this ancient Italian agricultural deity?

570. **Erycis finis** : cf. 5. 630 'hic Erycis fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes': Mt. Eryx in Sicily, above Drepana, was traditionally named after a son of Venus, killed by Hercules and buried there (Servius, who also records a tradition that it was the burial-place of Anchises); for Venus' temple there cf. 5. 759, and see G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, ch. 2.

571. So 8. 171 'auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuuabo' (Evander to Aeneas); *tutos* has full participial force ('safeguarded'), as in 6. 238 'tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris'.

572. Dido's warm magnanimity finds clear expression here; there is a charming diffidence in the way in which she adds this third possibility, almost as an afterthought. For the form of her question, with no interrogative particle, cf. Hor. *C.* 1. 27. 9 f. 'uultis seueri me quoque sumere / partem Falerni?', *C.* 1. 28. 30 f. 'neglegis inmeritis nocituram / postmodo te natis fraudem committere?': see LHS, p. 461. It has the force of a protasis, with the apodosis in the next line.

**et his . . . regnis** : 'to settle even in my kingdom, on equal terms with me'; for *regnis* see on 504. She makes the suggestion as something that has never occurred to the Trojans.

573. **urbem quam statuo, uestra est** : an example of 'inverse attraction'; the noun is attracted into the case of the following relative. It occurs in Greek (e.g. Soph. *OT* 449, where see Jebb); so in the Septuagint version of Psalm 118. 22 λίθον, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. In Latin, it is frequent in early drama: e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 1009 'Naucratem quem conuenire uolui, in nauī non erat', *Curc.* 419 'istum quem quaeris, ego sum', Ter. *Eun.* 653 'eunuchum quem dedisti nobis, quas turbas dedit!'; so in early prose (e.g. Cato, *hist.* fr. 7 P 'agrum quem Volsci habuerunt, campestris plerumque Aboriginum fuit'), and in the plebeian Latin of Petronius (134. 8 'hunc adulescentem quem uides, malo astro natus est'). The effect is to throw into great prominence the noun that is so attracted, before the

construction of the main clause has taken shape. See K-S ii. 289 ff.; LHS, pp. 567 f.; Löfstedt, *Per. Aeth.*, pp. 222 ff.; Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* i. 56 f.; Kvíčala, *Vergil-Studien*, pp. 149 ff.; Sabbadini, *Riv. di Filologia* xxxiii (1905), 471 ff.

Virgil has made Dido use an archaic construction that occurs nowhere else in classical poetry and nowhere in classical prose: a remarkable and surprising turn of phrase. In offering to share with the Trojans her great treasure, her city, she speaks in the tone of some antique proclamation: manner and matter are matched. See Fraenkel, *Glotta* xxxiii (1954), 157 ff. (= *Kleine Beiträge* ii. 139 ff.), a notable discussion: he points out the affinity of this archaic dignity with the lapidary quality of her last words before she ended her life, when she said in pride of achievement *urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia uidi* (4. 655); and he further notes the tragic irony for the reader implicit in *uestra est*. The words *urbem quam statuo, uestra est* are not a mere item for grammatical comment; they illuminate Virgil's conception of Dido.

574. Again a line of deep poignancy, read in the light of 4. 622 ff. 'tum uos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum / exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro / munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt'. *Agetur* is unusual; the verb seems to be used like *ἀγείν*, of weighing and so of considering (cf. *ducere*); cf. 10. 108 'Tros Rutulusue fuat, nullo discrimine habebo'.

575. *Noto . . . eodem*: 'driven by the wind together with you'; *Noto* is used for the general term. This is an idiomatic use of *idem*, to express the idea of 'together': cf. 4. 124 f. 'speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem / deuenient'; Ovid, *Met.* 4. 328 'thalamumque ineamus eundem'; Juvenal 10. 41 f. 'et sibi consul / ne placeat, curru seruus portatur eodem'; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3. 23 'ut, cum alii ne conuiuuiis quidem isdem quibus Apronius, hic isdem etiam poculis uteretur'; Cic. *Cael.* 36 'fuisti nonnumquam in isdem hortis'.

576. *adforet Aeneas*: her first mention of his name is to wish that he were present.

*certos*: 'trustworthy'; cf. Ennius, *Sc.* 210 'amicus certus in re incerta cernitur'; Servius quotes Sallust, *Hist.* 3. 34 Maur. 'apud latera certos locauerat'; so *bell. Afr.* 4 'litterasque . . . dat homini certo ad Scipionem perferendas'. So Dido may have had some with her whom she could not trust (cf. 563 note).

577. *lustrare*: 'to range over'; both movement and looking are implied (cf. note on 453); cf. 9. 57 f. 'huc turbidus atque

huc / lustrat equo muros', *E.* 10. 55 'mixtis lustrabo Maenala nymphis'.

578. si . . . errat : 'in case he has been cast ashore and is lost in some forest or town'; the clause follows from the idea of searching in *lustrare*. There is a sad echo in 4. 373 f. 'eiectum litore, egentem / excepi'. In the light of Dido's kindness and forethought here, the events of the Fourth Book are all the more heartrending.

579–612. *Achates and Aeneas long to make themselves known: and suddenly the mist disperses, and Venus makes her son as beautiful as a god. Aeneas reveals himself to Dido, saying that he will remember her always, everywhere.*

579. *animum arrecti* : 'lifted up in spirit'; *animum* is accusative of 'respect' after the passive participle: cf. 12. 251 'arrexere animos Itali'.

580. *pater* : the term marks Aeneas as responsible leader; sometimes it implies an aspect of his *pietas*, as in 5. 700, 8. 28, where he is full of care for his men in a crisis. Horace took over Virgil's phrase, *C.* 4. 7. 15 'quo pater Aeneas, quo Tullus diues et Ancus' (cf. Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 421).

*erumpere* : transitive; cf. Val. Flacc. 5. 465 'admonet hic socios nebulamque erumpit Iason', Tac. *Ann.* 12. 63 'uis piscium immensa Pontum erumpens', and the reflexive use in *G.* 4. 368 'caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus'. Such compounds always tended to be used in this way; so *exire* (5. 438), *evadere* (4. 685, 6. 425), *enavigare* (Hor. *C.* 2. 14. 11), *erepere* (Hor. *Sat.* 1. 5. 79), *enare* (Val. Flacc. 5. 315).

582. Achates' little speech is neatly done, showing him as the respectful subordinate, blunt and rather prosaic, somewhat puzzled.

*nate dea* : a formula of respect (cf. 615): so 3. 311, 4. 560, 5. 709, etc. (cf. my note on 2. 289).

*quae . . . surgit?* : cf. 9. 190 f. 'percipe porro / quid dubitem et quae nunc animo sententia surgat', 5. 748 'edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constet'.

584. *unus abest* : Orontes (113 ff.), whom Aeneas will meet as a ghost among the unburied dead (6. 334).

586. *uix ea fatus erat* : a formula (cf. 2. 323, 692; 3. 90, 655; 6. 190; 8. 520; 12. 650).

*repente* : except in Lucretius, much less common in poetry than *subito* (see Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, pp. 32 f.). For the relative rarity of an adverb or conjunction ending a line see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. iii. B. 2.

587. *scindit se nubes* : the initial spondees show the mist parting slowly, then the dactylic movement marks its rapid

dispersal. *Se* belongs both to *scindit* and to *purgat*; for the first-foot spondee see on 30. For *apertum* cf. 155: the mist 'melted into a bright clear air'.

588. *restitit*: Aeneas 'stood back', against the parting mist; for *refulsit* cf. 402. A fragment of the Ambrosian papyrus (5th-6th c.) begins here: see Mynors, OCT praef., p. vii, and cf. Lowe, CR xxxvi (1922), 154.

589. *os umerosque . . . similis*: for the construction see on 320, and cf. Wölfflin, ALL xii. 478. Cf. *Od.* 23. 163 δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοίος.

589 ff. *namque . . . honores*: 'for his mother in her divinity (*ipsa*) had breathed grace upon her son's hair, and the bright glow of youth upon him, and a happy sparkle upon his eyes'. Virgil was influenced by *Od.* 23. 156 ff. (to which *Od.* 6. 229 f. is nearly similar), αὐτὰρ καὶ κεφαλῆς χεῦεν πολὺ κάλλος Ἀθήνη / μείζονά τ' εἰσίδέειν καὶ πάσσονα: καὶ δὲ κάρητος / οὔλας ἤκε κόμας ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὁμοίας. In those passages, with their following simile, Homer tells how Athena has made Odysseus all glorious to see, coming from his bath before he convinces Penelope that he is no impostor, and appearing similarly before Nausicaa when he is cleansed and dressed. Both descriptions serve a limited and immediate purpose only. Virgil's picture serves not merely this moment of his narrative, but sets the scene for a whole movement of future passion, in a way that goes far deeper than incidental decoration. Aeneas has long been an idealized hero to Dido (cf. 617), and the Goddess of Love shows him to her on his first appearance as beautiful and godlike, fulfilling her highest hope. Virgil's setting is subtle and dramatic: Aeneas does not emerge, like Odysseus, from the sea or from a bath, but at the parting of a mysterious mist, in radiant light: a magic moment, of pregnant import.

Conington, in the manner of his time, comments that the passage is 'almost a translation' of *Od.* l.c., and that 'Virgil is as usual less appropriate as well as forcible than Homer'. On the latter point the reader must make his own decision. But 'translation' will not do: the language is far richer, displaying light and warmth of colour, happiness and glow, with deep musical beauty (see Conway's good note on 591).

589. *decoram*: so Homer has χάριν (see on 592 ff.); cf. Lucan 8. 680 f. 'generosa fronte decora / caesaries comprehensa manu est' (of Pompey, at his murder).

590. *caesariem*: suggests beautiful, luxuriant hair. Plautus has it once, where the sighs of admiring girls are reported to Pyrgopolynices, *Mil.* 64 'uide caesaries quam decet. / ne illae sunt fortunatae quae cum isto cubant!'; after him it occurs in the poets from Catullus (66. 8, translating Callimachus'

*βόστρυχον*) onwards, but is very rare in prose: cf. Livy 28. 35. 6 (of Masinissa) 'praeterquam quod suapte natura multa maiestas inerat, adornabat promissa caesaries'. Strictly speaking, *adflarat* (591) can only be used with *caesariem* by a 'zeugma'; but the significant word is *decoram*, and the verb gives a highly imaginative picture of Venus 'wafting charming hair' upon her son. The juxtaposition *nato genetrix* has an intimacy that English cannot reproduce.

*iuuentae*: cf. 4. 559 'membra decora iuuenta' (of Mercury); Livy, l.c., of Masinissa, 'aetas erat in medio uirium robore, quod plenius nitidiusque ex morbo uelut renouatus flos iuuentae faciebat'.

591. *purpureum*: this difficult adjective implies the bright glow of youth and health; so, as Camilla lay dying, 'purpureus quondam color ora reliquit' (11. 819): cf. [Tibullus] 3. 4. 29 f. (of Apollo, disguised as a young man) 'candor erat qualem praefert Latonia Luna, / et color in niueo corpore purpureus'.

*laetos . . . honores*: so Dido was *laeta* (503). *Honos* (the plural here is presumably influenced by *oculis*) is used of beauty in various aspects: its grace (cf. *G.* 2. 404 'siluis Aquilo decussit honorem'; Tac. *Ger.* 5. 1, of ugly German cattle, 'ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis'); its dignity (cf. 7. 814 f., of Camilla, 'ut regius ostro / uelet honos leuis umeros'; Lucr. 4. 1163, where a big lumpish girl seems to her lover *plena honoris*, 'majestic'); its radiance, as here (cf. Val. Flacc. 8. 237 'nouus impleuit uultus honor', of Medea at her wedding; Hor. *C.* 2. 11. 9 f. 'non semper idem floribus est honor / uernis', of bright spring flowers). Conington suggests 'lustre' for *honores* here: cf. Germanicus, *Aratea* 77 'illis languet honos, umeris manet integer ardor' (contrasting a faint part of a constellation with a more brilliant part), where *honos* appears to represent *αἴγλη* (Aratus, *Phaen.* 80); Silius 12. 230 f. 'qui miro candoris honore / lucet in aure lapis' (of a pearl). Gavin Douglas comes near the meaning, making Aeneas 'lyk till ane yonkeir with twa lauchand ene'.

592 ff. This simile goes back also to Homer: *Od.* 23. 159 ff. (= 6. 232 ff.) *ὡς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσοῦν περιχέεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνὴρ / ἴδρις, ὃν Ἥφαιστος δέδαεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη / τέχνην παντοίην, χαρίεντα δὲ ἔργα τελείει, / ὡς μὲν τῷ περίχευε χάριν κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ὤμοις.* Virgil's illustration is richer, in keeping with the rich colour of the previous lines. Aeneas in his new beauty is compared to an ivory statue, shaped into grace by an artist's handiwork, or to silver or marble set in gold.

592. *manus*: cf. 455 note. *Decus* picks up *decoram* (589); it



illustrates the effect of *lumen iuuentae* and *honores*. For the line-ending *aut ubi flauo* see on 199; there is noteworthy art in the separation of *flauo* from *auro*, epithet and noun enclosing the silver and marble in their golden setting.

593. **Pariusue lapis** : not just conventional: Parian marble had a luminous quality in its whiteness (cf. D. E. Eichholz on Pliny, *NH* 36. 14, Loeb text). For the type of work cf. 10. 135 ff. 'quale per artem / inclusum buxo aut Oricia terebintho / lucet ebur'; Manilius 3. 28 'auroque atque ebori decus addere'.

594. **cunctis** : this belongs both to *improvisus* and to *ait*. For *repente* see on 586; its close repetition serves to mark two aspects of one event, the melting of the mist and Aeneas' emergence; cf. 8. 238, 247, where it marks Hercules' sudden shove and the effect upon Cacus.

595 ff. 'Praeclara et adfectus plena oratio', Heyne. Aeneas' self-introduction here is in marked contrast with his earlier one to Venus (378 ff.): there, he was hopeless and bewildered at the misery to which his *pietas* had brought him; here, he has found that hope is not lost.

595. **coram** : highly dramatic, following as it does almost directly on Dido's words in 575 ff.

597. **sola** : Helenus and Acestes had both taken pity on the Trojans (3. 294 ff., and 195 above); but they were of Trojan blood, and Dido is the first foreigner to show them kindness: an ironic circumstance, which must have struck Roman readers conscious of their past. Aeneas begins with an elaborate period, and his whole speech is in the high rhetorical manner.

598. **reliquias Danaum** : see on 30; for *terraeque marisque* see on 18.

599. **exhaustos** : the textual evidence varies between this and *exhaustis*; but *exhaustos* has stronger support and gives a better structure and sound, with *egenos* balancing it; cf. *G.* 4. 248 'quo magis exhaustae fuerint' (of the bees): for *exhaustis* cf. 4. 14 'bella exhausta', 10. 57 'exhausta pericula', 11. 256 'ea quae muris bellando exhausta sub altis'.

**omnium egenos** : cf. Livy 9. 6. 4 'omnium egena corpora humi prostrauerunt', Quintil. *decl.* 260, p. 67 R 'emittite subito nudos, omnium egenos'; for the genitive cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1. 53 'omnis spei egenam', Silius 8. 12 f. 'miles egenus / cunctarum ut rerum Tyrius foret'. Before Virgil the adjective is recorded only in Plaut. *Capt.* 406 'rebus in dubiis, egenis', *Poen.* 129 f. 'res multas tibi mandavi . . . / dubias, egenas'; Virgil has *rebus egenis* in 6. 91, 8. 365, 10. 367, probably as an archaism (see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. i. 1, p. 372); cf.

Petronius 133. 3 'inops et rebus egenis / attritus' (in a prayer, composed in high poetic style.)

The elision is striking; apart from Virgil's regular use of *Ilium* (seven times before *et*, once before *in*; see on 68), the only other Virgilian parallel for elided *-um* in a word of this pattern is 2. 667 'alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam': *-am* is elided before *et* in 4. 387 (*audiam*), 4. 684 (*abluam*), 12. 569 (*eruum*); in 10. 514 there is a remarkable and unparalleled elision, *ardens limitem agit*. Further, an elision at this point of the line is relatively rare. See Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. xi. 1. 8, and my notes on 2. 667, 4. 684; cf. Bailey, *Lucretius, proleg.*, p. 129.

600. *urbe, domo socias*: 'you give us a share in your city, your home' (with the underlying implication 'in a city, a home', which outcasts lack). The asyndeton has an archaic ring, suggestive of legal documents, a counterpart to the tone of Dido's words in 573.

601. *non . . . nostrae*: 'is not within our power'; for this (original) meaning of *ops* cf. Cic. *ad Att.* 14. 14. 6 'omni ope atque opera enitar'.

*nec quidquid ubique est*: a compression for 'nec gentis Dardaniae, quidquid ubique est gentis'; for the partitive genitive cf. 78.

602. *quae sparsa*: sc. *est* (see on 72, 81); obviously a repeated *est*, following the previous line-ending, could not stand.

603. *pios*: Dido has shown *pietas* in her humanity towards fellow creatures; Aeneas instinctively recognizes this quality in her. Cf. 2. 536 f. 'di, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet, / persoluant grates dignas', 5. 688 f. 'si quid pietas antiqua labores / respicit humanos': *si* is not sceptical, but expresses confidence that the assertion made is true (= 'as sure as'; cf. 2. 689 'Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis', Catullus 76. 17 'o di, si uestrum est misereri').

603 f. *si quid . . . recti*: 'as sure as there is any justice anywhere and an inward sense of what is right'. The clause is an elaboration of the concept of *pietas* (cf. 544 f.), complementary to *si qua pios respectant numina*: the two clauses together mean 'as sure as the gods regard piety, as sure as piety exists for their regard', with the implication that in Dido there is all that any god could desire as most worthy of honour.

Most editors prefer the variant *iustitia*, taking *quid* as predicative; but this is much less well attested. It is usually assumed that *et mens sibi conscia recti* must be connected with *di* as subject to *ferant*: this seems very arbitrary and awkward, and contrary to the whole run and rhythm of the lines.

605 f. *quae te . . . parentes?* : 'what age in happiness gave you birth? what noble parents have you for their wonderful daughter?' For the idiomatic *tam* cf. 539; *tanti, talem* need more colour in English (cf. 566), but the feel of the juxtaposition cannot be given in translation (cf. 590, *nato genetricis*). The ideas so expressed are those basic to the Fourth Eclogue: a child of a happy age, born to give joy to parents. Cf. *Hom. h.* 5. 131 f. (Aphrodite to the young Anchises) ἀλλά σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι ἠδὲ τοκῆων / ἐσθλῶν· οὐ μὲν γάρ κε κακοὶ τοιόνδε τέκοιεν; more extravagantly, *Od.* 6. 154 ff. (Odysseus to Nausicaa) τρισμάκαρες μὲν σοί γε πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ, / τρισμάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητοι· μάλα πού σφισι θυμὸς / αἰὲν εὐφροσύνησιν ἰαίνεται εἶνεκα σεῖο, / λευσοόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν (with which cf. the wanton Salmacis in Ovid, *Met.* 4. 322 ff. 'sive es mortalis, qui te genuere, beati, / et frater felix et fortunata profecto / siqua tibi soror est, et quae dedit ubera nutrix', etc.).

607 ff. Dido shall be honoured and blessed as long as Nature keeps her march of time: Mackail notes that stress is laid 'not on the permanence of Nature but on her regular and unceasing movement'. Virgil's poetic development may be seen by comparing the conceits of *E.* 1. 59 ff.,

ante leues ergo pascentur in aethere cerui,  
et freta destituent nudos in litore piscis,  
ante pererratis amborum finibus exsul  
aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim,  
quam nostro illius labatur pectore uultus.

For many parallels, both to this passage and to the negative counterpart in *E.* 1 (a collection of ἀδύνατα), see K. F. Smith on Tibullus 1. 4. 65-6, Shackleton Bailey on Prop. 1. 15. 29, Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *C.* 1. 2. 9, 1. 29. 10, 1. 33. 7. Burns combines both types: *Till a' the seas gang dry, my dear, And the rocks melt wi' the sun; I will love thee still, my dear, While the sands o' life shall run.* Aeneas' words to Dido were used on a funeral monument to a woman who ran a butchery and poultry business at Rome (*Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 1786, p. 825).

607. *dum . . . dum* : Virgil likes this type of anaphora; cf. *E.* 5. 76 f., *E.* 8. 32 ff., *G.* 1. 214, *G.* 3. 165, 325, etc.

608. *lustrabunt conuexa* : 'shall move in procession over the coombs'; for *lustrare* see on 453; for *conuexa* (here of curving hollows) see on 310. The *umbrae* may be those of the clouds (so Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus*, p. 97), or of the hills themselves (cf. the beautiful evening-picture, *E.* 1. 83 'maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae'). For the division of the line at *conuexa* see on 199; cf. 513, 533.

**polus . . . pascet** : 'so long as the sky shall give food to the stars'; cf. Lucr. 1. 231 'unde aether sidera pascit?'; Seneca, *NQ* 7. 20. 2 (of comets, etc.) 'alii . . . ignes diu manent nec ante discedunt quam consumptum est omne quo pascebantur alimentum': 'not an image, but supposed science' (F. H. Sandbach, *CR* xlv [1931], 142). For the stars as a feeding flock cf. Callimachus, *h.* 4. 176 *τείρεσιν, ἠνίκα πλείστα κατ' ἡέρα βουκολέονται.*

**609. honos** : for the form see on 253. The line is repeated from *E.* 5. 78, following a similar series of clauses with *dum*; cf. Sparrow, *op. cit.*, p. 94. The warmth of these lines is in sad contrast with the slow misery of 4. 335 f. 'nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae / dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus'.

**610. quae . . . terrae** : wherever Aeneas may be in after-time, he will bless her name so that it shall live for ever in honour.

**611 f.** For the particularizing names cf. 220 ff.; *Ilionēa* is a Greek accusative form, with Greek prosody.

**613-42.** *Dido welcomes Aeneas happily, telling him how she has long known and loved the tale of Troy: she leads him into her home, and prepares to entertain him magnificently.*

**613. obstipuit** : cf. 513. *Primo* must be adjectival; it could not well be the adverb, separate from *aspectu*. The ablatives are causal: Dido found it hard to speak, because it was her first sight of Aeneas, and then (*deinde*) because it was terrible to think of his sufferings (*casu tanto*). For *deinde* see on 195.

**614. ore** : 'aloud', when she had collected herself; cf. 12. 47 'ut primum fari potuit, sic institit ore'. Virgil likes this type of expression: so 2. 524 'sic ore effata', 7. 194 'haec . . . placido prior edidit ore', 11. 534 f. 'has tristis Latonia uoces / ore dabat': it reflects early Latin (Lucilius 18 'pausam ore loquendi'; cf. Vahlen on Ennius, *Ann.* 586; see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, pp. 373, 374).

**615. nate dea** : cf. 582 note.

**616. insequitur** : 'harries'; cf. 241, 5. 787 f. 'cineres atque ossa peremptae / insequitur' (of Iuno's persecution of Troy).

**immanibus** : very strong; it reflects Dido's own feelings as an exile (cf. 629), and acknowledges the horrid behaviour of some of her people (for which she has already apologized to Ilioneus, 563).

**617. tune** : cf. *mene* (37); Dido can scarcely believe her eyes. Quintilian (11. 3. 176) comments on the tone needed in reading it.

**Dardanio Anchisae** : the fifth foot is a spondee, and there is hiatus between the epithet and its noun, a wholly Greek

effect, so that the hiatus is in a different class from the examples quoted on 16. So 11. 31 'seruabat senior, qui Parrhasio Euandro'; 3. 74 'Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo' (where the fourth foot also is a spondee, and hiatus occurs also after *matri*); 7. 631 'Ardea Crustumerique et turrigeræ Antemnae' (where *turrigeræ* is a Greek type of compound); cf. *E.* 10. 12 'ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe', where there is the normal dactyl in the fifth foot. For 'spondaic' lines in general see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. ix. 3 (c).

618. Servius remarks 'deae enim uel nymphae enituntur circa fluuios uel nemora', a nice piece of divine etiquette. The seduction of Anchises by Aphrodite took place traditionally on Mount Ida (*Il.* 2. 821, *Hom. h.* 5. 54).

619 ff. Cf. 8. 157 ff., where Evander tells Aeneas how, as a boy, he saw Anchises and Priam when they visited Arcadia. Both passages are an epic dressing-up of a familiar situation in ordinary experience, the search to find a point of personal contact on meeting a stranger ('We have never met, but I have heard so much about you'); both provide the welcoming host with the warmth that comes from a personal pleasure long remembered; in both, Virgil's antiquarian interests are put to good advantage.

619. *Teucrum*: not the Teucer of 235, but a Greek from Salamis, half-brother of Ajax, and son of Telamon by Priam's sister Hesione, who as a captive had been assigned to Telamon in concubinage. When he came home from Troy to Salamis without Ajax, he was repudiated by his father and fled to Cyprus, where he founded another Salamis: see Velleius Paterculus 1. 1, Justin 44. 3. A play by Sophocles dealt with his story, and a famous play by Pacuvius was probably modelled on this (see Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* ii. 214 ff., and cf. i. 165); Cicero quotes passages in *de or.* 2. 193, 3. 157, *de diu.* 1. 24, and remarks of law-students (*de or.* 1. 246) 'nec quisquam est eorum qui, si iam sit ediscendum sibi aliquid, non Teucrum Pacuui malit quam Manilianas uenalium uendendorum leges ediscere'. The storm-passage in this book has some echoes from Pacuvius' play (see on 87, 90); perhaps Virgil's interest in it led him to invent this link between Teucer and Dido.

*Sidona*: cf. 446 note; the accusative form is Greek.

*uenire*: cf. 8. 157 ff. 'memini . . . / Priamum Salamina petentem / protinus Arcadiae gelidos inuisere finis'. The present infinitive with *memini* was the original construction: the act of 'having recollected' an experience brings it to mind as a present happening, rather than recalling the fact

that it did once happen. But as the perfect force in *memini* became ignored, the infinitive itself came to be put into the perfect: so *G.* 4. 125 ff. 'memini me . . . / Corycium uidisse senem'. See Reid on *Cic. de fin.* 2. 55 (he well points out the difference in 'I remember going' and 'I remember that I went'): *LHS*, p. 357; *K-S* i. 703.

621. **auxilio Beli**: Teucer is imagined as reaching Sidon in his wanderings, and as helped by Belus, then in possession of Cyprus, to settle there: an ingenious circumstantial detail. *Belus* is a Hellenization of Baal or Bel, and occurs in various contexts as the name of an oriental ruler (see *OCD*, s.v.); Virgil appropriated it as a dynastic title for Dido's father (cf. 729 note), who is named Mutto by Justin (18. 4. 3), Mettes by Servius (on 343).

623. **iam**: for the elision see on 219.

624. **Pelasgi**: in Homer (*Il.* 2. 840, cf. 17. 301) the Pelasgi are a tribe from Larissa, allied with the Trojans; later, the name was used for 'Greeks' in general, and autochthonous Greeks in particular.

625. **Teucros**: the Trojans, descended from Teucer the first king of Troy. Enemy though he was (*hostis*, nominative), this Greek Teucer could not but praise the Trojans to Belus, a fact which must have deeply impressed Dido.

626. He was, in fact, half Trojan by birth (see on 619); his pride in this adds further warmth to Dido's words.

**uolebat**: 'maintained'; cf. *Cic. de or.* 1. 13 'ut omittam Graeciam, quae semper eloquentiae princeps esse uoluit', *Brut.* 206 'idem Aelius Stoicus esse uoluit'. The 'rhyme' with *ferebat* above is not uncommon; cf. 2. 124 f. (*canebant, uidebant*), 2. 455 ff. (*manebant, solebat, trahebat*), 4. 256 f. (*uolabat, secabat*), 8. 646 ff. (*iubebat, premebat, ruebant*): see Mackail, p. lxxix, and my note on 4. 55, with *CQ* xxiii (1929), 51 ff.

627. **quare agite**: a Virgilian formula: so 7. 130, 8. 273, *G.* 2. 35; 7. 429 (*quare age*); Catullus 61. 26, 64. 372; Lucan 8. 289; Val. Flacc. 5. 538; Silius 16. 208; Statius, *S.* 1. 4. 31, *Th.* 10. 213. Except for two other passages in Statius (*Th.* 1. 292, 12. 100), inferential *quare* occurs in these poets in this formula alone; its character as a logical connective is well shown by its frequency in the arguments of Lucretius (especially in the formula *quare etiam atque etiam*). See Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, p. 80 n. 67; Löfstedt, *Per. Aeth.*, p. 324; G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 775.

**agite**: this (and *age*) belongs to lively dramatic style, and such imperatives are frequent in Comedy (cf. my note on 2. 707).

o . . . *succedite* : for the word-order cf. 735, 10. 676 'uos o potius miserescite, uenti', G. 2. 35 'quare agite o proprios generatim discite cultus' (o belongs to the following imperative; see Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 242 n. 1); for *succedite* cf. 4. 10 'quis nouus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes?', 8. 123 'nostris succede penatibus hospes'.

629. *iactatam* : cf. 442 'iactati undis . . . Poeni', and see on 3. *demum* : with *hac*, 'in this land, and just this one', chosen as it were from all others; cf. Cic. *ad Att.* 8. 8. 1 'sic enim sentio, id demum aut potius id solum esse miserum quod turpe sit', where *id demum* = 'this particular thing rather than any other', *id solum* = 'only this thing, to the exclusion of all else'.

630. *non ignara mali* : just like the Trojans; cf. 198.

*disco* : 'I am learning'. Her own bitter experiences are still teaching her; *non ignara* has the force of a strong positive ('I know all about trouble'). With this noble line cf. *Anth. Pal.* 12. 70 (Meleager) οἶδα παθῶν ἐλέειν: 'a marvel of compression' (D. L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* ii. 661, quoting Dübner's comment 'tria uerba Meleagri palmam abripiunt uirgiliano: *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*'); cf. also Soph. *OC* 562 ff. (Theseus to Oedipus) ὃς οἶδά γ' αὐτὸς ὡς ἐπαιδεύθην ξένος, / ὥσπερ σύ, χῶς εἰς πλείστ' ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ξένης / ἤθλησα κινδυνεύματ' ἐν τῶμῳ κάρῃ. Heyne comments: 'nobilissimus uersus; grauissima sententia; cuius, cum v. 628, 629, ui percepta, si adolescentem non uoluptate gestire uideas, nae illum a poetae lectione statim abigas, suadeo'.

The style of this speech, like that of 562 ff., is simple and direct: Dido has no affectations; her sincerity is transparent.

632. *tecta* : cf. 7. 668 'sic regia tecta subibat'; *regia* here shows the modesty of *tectis nostris* in 627.

*indicit honorem* : she appoints a ceremonial sacrifice ('iussit fieri supplicationes', Servius). For this use of *honor* see *Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 2924. 81, and cf. 49 'supplex aris imponet honorem'; *indicare* has a formal solemnity.

633. *nec minus interea* : a transition-formula (cf. Norden on 6. 212); so 7. 572, 12. 107, G. 3. 311: *nec minus* = 'with just as much kindness' (the precise nuance depends on the context; in 12. 107, 'with as much passion', in G. 3. 311, 'with as much vigour').

*sociis* : Aeneas' companions, who had sent Ilioneus with his colleagues on the deputation; perhaps there is already the latent idea that they are her friends. Dido knew that the crews must be hungry, and sent them their own separate means of celebration.

634f. Commentators note that Virgil has in mind the supplies

for Alcinous' feast in *Od.* 8. 59 f. (twelve sheep, eight boars, two oxen). The numbers are epic embroidery for an ample quantity (cf. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*, p. 180 n. 83); the whole entertainment is rich and magnificent.

**horrentia . . . terga suum**: the phrase acts for a noun with compound epithet ('bristly-backed swine'); cf. 8. 183 'perpetui tergo bouis', in the same grand manner but with a different word-pattern.

636. The text of this incomplete line is a puzzle. The manuscripts have *dei*; but Gellius states (9. 14. 8) 'non dubium est quin *dii* scripserit pro *diei* . . . , quod inperitiores *dei* legunt ab insolentia scilicet uocis istius abhorrentes' (in a discussion of unusual genitive forms). Servius (with *dei* in the lemma) comments 'ut multi legunt, *laetitiamque die*, id est *diei*' (for *die* as genitive see *G.* 1. 208). DServius states 'non nulli *dii* legunt'.

The Servian scholium interprets *die* (= *dii*) 'ut supra dicta munera sint multorum dierum usui sufficientia. intellegamus autem missa aliqua etiam ad usum *diei*': a barely intelligible contortion. Translations such as 'gifts for the day's merriment' (Fairclough), 'to be her gift and their joy on that festal day' (J. Jackson) are mere wishful thinking.

With *dei*, an allusion to Bacchus is generally assumed (so DServius): cf. 734 'laetitiae Bacchus dator'; Stat. *Ach.* 1. 184 'libare dapes Baccheaque munera'. This at least makes sense: 'the gifts and gladness of the god' will mean wine, the natural concomitant to the food (cf. 195).

If *munera laetitiamque* could be in apposition to 634-5 (as some assume), *dei* is ruled out as inappropriate, and the riddling *dii* must be endured. But such apposition is very unlikely: a finished tricolon ends at *agnos*, and an appendage to it goes against rhythm and style alike. Therefore the words must be taken as beginning a new sentence, which Virgil might well not have completed in one line, and *dei* should be retained as a pointer to ultimate sense. The learning of Gellius and his friends (who offer no explanation of *dii*) has bedevilled the passage.

DServius ends his comment 'sane quidam hunc uersum intellegi non putant posse', comparing the fragment 'quem tibi iam Troia' at 3. 340.

James Harrington's translation of 634-6 is worth recording: 'A hundred ewes and lambs, a hundred sows, / And Bacchus rides upon a drove of cows.'

637 ff. This description of the royal apparatus for the banquet at the palace owes something to a rich passage of Catullus (64. 43 ff.):



ipsius at sedes, quacumque opulenta recessit  
 regia, fulgenti splendent auro atque argento.  
 candet ebur solis, collucent pocula mensae,  
 tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza.  
 puluinar uero diuae geniale locatur  
 sedibus in mediis, Indo quod dente politum  
 tincta tegit roseo conchyli purpura fuco.

In Catullus, the complexity of detail is almost too intricate and dazzling to grasp clearly. Virgil's picture is simpler and better organized. In 640 ff. there is a highly sophisticated and civilized picture of Dido's wealth and augustness; the heirlooms that she brings out to do honour to her guests mark a proud ancestry, worthy of Aeneas' own splendour. A Roman reader might well be reminded of the pomp and power of conquered Carthage. After the simplicity of Dido's speech and actions, the style has become ornate and emotional; the description rises to a climax in 642, stressing the importance and significance of the feast, a crucial point in the epic tale.

637. *at domus interior* : repeated at 2. 486, in a very different kind of context (cf. 365; Camps, *op. cit.*, p. 107). The connective *at* marks the transition from the arrangements for the crews at their base to the preparations for the function at the palace.

*regali . . . luxu* : the words go closely with *instruitur*: the banqueting-hall is being prepared 'in all the glitter of royal pomp'. Virgil has varied Catullus' phrase by substituting the more general *luxu* for *gaza* (cf. 119 note): so 6. 603 ff. 'lucent genialibus altis / aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae / regifico luxu'.

638. *mediisque . . . tectis* : a variation on the preceding clause, explaining it more specifically as a setting for a feast. The subject of *parant* is vague ('they', the servants), varying the construction of *instruitur*.

639 ff. 'There are tapestries of intricate workmanship in proud purple; heavy silver plate upon the tables, and embossed in gold there are the brave deeds of her forebears, a long long line of history, traced from the ancient beginnings of her race down through many a hero.'

639. *laboratae* : for this transitive use of *laborare* cf. 8. 181 'dona laboratae Cereris'; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 59f. 'quale non perfectius / meae laborarint manus'. The force of the participle may extend to *ostro superbo*, or this may be a descriptive ablative as a balancing variant of *arte laboratae*.

640. *ingens argentum*: again, 3. 466; the isolated spondee *ingens* effectively emphasizes the weight of the silver (Virgil could have written 'argentum mensis ingens', if he had wished).

- auro** : for Virgil's frequent descriptions involving gold cf. Kroll, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 f.
- 641 f. See on 637 ff.; Virgil has taken special care to show the dignity of Dido's lineage; to a Roman, with his built-in respect for *maiores*, the description would carry obvious weight.
642. **ducta** : besides the meaning 'traced', there may also be a suggestion of the working of the material; cf. 7. 633 f. 'alii thoracas aënos / aut leuis ocreas lento ducunt argento'.
- antiqua** : there is good authority also for *antiquae*; on the whole the stressing of the *origo* rather than of the *gens* seems preferable.
- 643–56. *Aeneas sends Achates to fetch Ascanius, and to bring rich presents for Dido from the ships.*
643. **neque enim** : see on 198.
- patrius** : cf. 2. 539 'patrios foedasti funere uultus', 6. 33 'bis patriae cecidere manus'; Ovid, *Met.* 8. 211 'patriae tremuere manus': the adjective is used instead of the genitive of *pater* (cf. the Plautine 'erilis filius'; see on 2. 543), but its reference is only completed in 646, with *Ascanio*.
- consistere** : 'to be at rest'; a charming touch, developed in 646.
644. **passus** : sc. *est* (see on 72, 81).
- rapidum** : predicative; Achates is sent as an express messenger, as in 6. 34, where he is sent to bring the Sibyl.
645. **ferat haec** : 'he is to bring the news'; indirect jussive, reporting the actual words of the command; cf. 4. 288 f. 'Mnesthea Sergestumque uocat fortemque Serestum, / classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant'.
646. 'As a loving father, all his affection is settled on Ascanius.' *Carus* is a two-way adjective, here used of the person who feels affection, not of the object of affection; in *cari genitoris* (677) both senses are present; for the near-jingle *cari . . . cura* cf. *E.* 3. 109 f. 'quisquis amores / aut metuet dulcis aut experietur amarus' (see my note on 4. 238). Aeneas' love for his son is sometimes stressed for dynastic reasons; cf. 4. 354 f. 'puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari, / quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus aruis': here it is his very love that will form a special link in the chain of events by which Dido is to be ensnared.
647. **Iliacis . . . ruinis** : cf. 3. 476 (Helenus to Anchises) 'cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis'. In 7. 243 ff. Ilioneus similarly brings to Latinus 'munera, reliquias Troia ex ardente receptas', a sceptre and a diadem that had belonged to Priam, and some royal robes ('Iliadumque labor uestes').

The poet in Virgil allowed him to ignore the practical problem that strikes some readers, namely, how to reconcile the preservation of these rich possessions with the hazards of flight and shipwreck.

648. *pallam . . . rigentem*: 'a cloak stiff with embroidered golden figures'; cf. Lucr. 5. 1427 f. 'at nos nil laedit ueste carere / purpurea atque auro signisque ingentibus apta'. A *palla* was a long outer garment, worn by women; so the child Camilla had a tiger-skin 'pro longae tegmine pallae' (II. 576). For such presents cf. Livy 30. 15. 11, where Scipio gives Masinissa a *toga picta et palmata tunica*, together with a crown and staff; Tac. *Ann.* 4. 26 'cognitis . . . Ptolemaei per id bellum studiis repetitus ex uetusto more honos missusque e senatoribus qui scipionem eburnum, togam pictam, antiqua patrum munera, daret regemque et socium atque amicum appellaret': thus Aeneas implicitly recognizes Dido as an honourable ally.

*signis auroque*: hendiadys, avoiding the metrical problem of the oblique cases of *aureus* (contrast *aureis*, 726); cf. *G.* 2. 192 'pateris libamus et auro'; with *signis* cf. 5. 536 'cratera impressum signis' (an embossed bowl).

649. *circumtextum . . . acantho*: 'a dress with a woven border of yellow acanthus'. The acanthus is probably gum arabic, like mimosa, with flowers forming globular heads (*G.* 2. 119 'bacas semper frondentis acanthi'); its delicate yellow sprays would have made a charming pattern for the border of a frock: see J. Sargeaunt, *The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1920), pp. 9 f.

*circumtextum*: a very rare compound, used here by Virgil alone in classical Latin with verbal force. As a noun, *circumtextum* meant a garment with a border (Varro, *LL* 5. 132), for which Virgil has substituted *uelamen* and added the participle with its dependent ablative. Servius glosses the phrase by *cyclas*; so Isidore 19. 24. 10 'circumtextum est quod Graece *κυκλᾶς* dicitur . . . dictum quia est rotundum pallium': thus Helen's *uelamen*, given to Dido, was of the kind described in Prop. 4. 7. 40 'haec nunc aurata cyclade signat humum', long and sweeping and in high fashion. Juvenal, satirizing the gladiatorial woman, asks (6. 259 f.) 'hae sunt quae tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum / delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit?' The emperor Alexander Severus considered that royal ladies should be contented 'uno reticulo atque inauribus et bacato monili et corona, cum qua sacrificium facerent, et unico pallio auro sparso et cyclade, quae sex uncias auri plus non haberet' (*Script. Hist. Aug.* 18. 41. 1).

**uelamen** : one of a number of words of like formation, which were found increasingly useful by the poets, especially Ovid; it occurs first in *Lucretius* 4. 587. Virgil has fewer than either Lucretius (who coins a good many, e.g. *clinamen*, *frustramen*, *glomeramen*) or Ovid, and most of those that he himself introduces have the older type in *-entum* as a parallel (e.g. *fundamen*, *G.* 4. 161; *libamen*, 6. 246; *stramen*, 11. 67); but *gestamen* (3. 286, 7. 246) and *solamen* (3. 661, 10. 493, 859) are without such parallel forms. See Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius*, pp. 27 ff.; cf. Hollis on Ovid, *Met.* 8. 729.

**650. ornatus . . . Helenae** : an ominous association: Virgil makes Aeneas seem extraordinarily insensitive, and the sinister character of the gift is further underlined in *inconcessos hymenaeos* (651).

**651. peterēt** : for the lengthening of the final syllable see on 308; but here there is no obvious pause following: this example may reflect early prosody; cf. Ennius, *Ann.* 345 'pugnandi fierēt aut duri finis laboris', with *Lucretius* 5. 1049 'quid uellet facere ut scirēt animoque uideret'. Combined with this is another unusual effect, a quadrisyllable closing the line, the Greek word *hymenaeos*; among the ten other examples of this ending, three have an abnormal prosody as well (7. 398 'Turnique canit hymenaeos', 10. 720 'linquens profugūs hymenaeos', with *G.* 3. 60 'iustosque pati hymenaeos' where there is hiatus after *pati*); cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI*, Anh. ix. 1.

**inconcessos** : very strong; not recorded before Virgil, and rare in classical Latin; so Ovid, *Am.* 3. 4. 31 (of adultery), *Met.* 9. 638 (of incest), 10. 153 (of lustful love); Val. Max. 8. 2. 2 (of adultery).

**653. sceptrum** : cf. 7. 247 (gifts to Latinus); see on 647, 648.

**Ilione** : wife of Polymestor, king of Thrace, who murdered her brother Polydorus; see R. D. Williams on 3. 19 f.; Pacuvius wrote an *Iliona* (see E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* ii. 236 ff., for fragments). She had a grim history; one version said that she killed her husband (Hyginus, *Fab.* 109, 240), another that she killed herself (D. Servius on 654). Aeneas' gifts to Dido could scarcely have been charged with more ominous associations than Helen's *uelamen* and Ilione's *sceptrum*.

**gesserat** : cf. 7. 246 'hoc Priami gestamen erat'.

**655. bacatum** : 'ornatum margaritis' (Servius). Silius (8. 134) makes Anna represent Dido as wearing this necklace on her pyre, *bacatum induta monile*. For *baca* of a pearl cf. Hor. *Epod.* 8. 13f. 'marita quae rotundioribus / onusta baxis ambulet', *Sat.* 2. 3. 239ff. 'filius Aesopi detractam ex aure

Metellae, / scilicet ut decies solidum absorberet, aceto / diluit insignem bacam'; Ovid, *Met.* 10. 116 'auribus e geminis circum caua tempora bacae' (an adornment for a tame fawn), 10. 265 'aure leues bacae, redimicula pectore pendent' (the statue made by Pygmalion); Persius 2. 66 'bacam conchae rasisse' (cutting the pearl from an oyster).

duplicem . . . coronam: 'a double coronet of gold and jewels'; this may mean a coronet with two hoops, one of gold and one of jewels, or *gemmis auroque* may be a hendiadys for 'jewels set in gold' (cf. *signis auroque*, 648); the exact picture is indefinable: so Val. Flacc. 8. 235 f. 'ipsa suam duplicem Cytherea coronam / donat' (Venus' gift to Medea). Virgil likes complicated descriptions of rich gold adornments; cf. 3. 467 'loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem'; 5. 250 f. 'chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum / purpura Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit' (the prize for the boat-race), where Servius glosses *duplici* by *flexuoso* ('doubling upon itself', Mackail, suggesting that this may explain the *duplex corona* here); 11. 487 f. 'rutilum thoraca indutus aënis / horrebat squamis surasque incluserat auro'.

656. *haec celerans*: 'hurrying to do this'; cf. Val. Flacc. 4. 385 'imperiumque patris celerans Cyllenius ales': *iter* belongs to *tendebat* (contrast 8. 90 'iter inceptum celerant').

657-94. *Venus plots to fire Dido with love for Aeneas: she arranges with Cupid that he shall substitute himself for Ascanius.*

This passage has the formal purpose of filling in a time-lapse between the preparations (on both sides) for the reception and the reception itself; it removes the action once more to the divine plane, in much the same way as the scene between Venus and Iuppiter (223-304) interrupts the action immediately after the Trojans' landing, occupying the lapse of a night. Its motif comes from Apollonius Rhodius (3. 83 ff.), where Hera and Athena persuade Aphrodite to get her son to shoot an arrow at Medea, to make her fall in love with Jason (some highlights are 112 ff., where Eros is discovered playing for golden knucklebones with Ganymede; 278 ff., the shooting of the arrow; 443 ff., Medea at once in love). But in Apollonius the atmosphere is that of a fairy-story; Jason could not have won the Golden Fleece and returned safely home without Medea's love: Virgil did not need any such device, for Mercury had already been sent to Carthage to ensure Aeneas' safety (297 ff.), and we are quickly aware of something far deeper and more dangerous than Apollonius' treatment. The complication which Virgil adds, namely, the

substitution of Cupid for Ascanius, shows a psychological attack upon Dido: she is being got at through the child. In Apollonius, the intervention of Eros is accomplished as an attractive decoration to the story: in Virgil, the motif becomes painful and even horrible. Dido has been drawn from the outset as attracted towards Aeneas, and Aeneas has found her generosity and noble heart a new and warming experience after his sufferings and disillusionments: the Venus-Cupid plot is deliberately introduced, partly to show that external forces took away any personal control from Dido, partly to foreshadow the need that she had for love, deep in her complex character.

See an important discussion by G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 374 ff.; Heinze, pp. 122 ff.; A. Lesky, 'Amor bei Dido' (*Gesammelte Schriften*, Munich, 1966, pp. 593 ff.); Klingner, *Virgil* (Zürich, 1967), pp. 405 f.; K. Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid* (London, 1968), pp. 109 ff.

657. *at* : frequent in transitions of scene: cf. 305, 4. 1, 296, 504 ('at regina'). Venus is presumably still in Paphos (415 ff.).

658. *faciem . . . ora* : 'form and face'; direct accusatives after a 'middle' participle (see on 228); Cupid's 'change' is his own doing (cf. 689 f.).

659. *dulci* : a meaning epithet: Ascanius was 'sweet' to his father (646), and to his grandmother (678); and Dido will find his counterfeit 'sweet' (717 f.).

*furentem* : proleptic; Cupid is to 'fire the queen to distraction by his gifts': so the gifts are to be handed over by 'Ascanius' in his father's name (cf. 709, 714). For *furere* of the madness induced by love cf. 4. 68 f. '*uritur infelix Dido totaque uagatur / urbe furens*'.

660. *ossibus . . . ignem* : Cupid is to 'twine flame round her bones'; for *ossa* as the seat of emotion cf. 4. 101 '*ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem*', *G.* 3. 258 f. '*quid iuuenis, magnum cui uersat in ossibus ignem / durus amor?*'; similarly 4. 66 '*est mollis flamma medullas*', Catullus 45. 15 f. '*ut multo mihi maior acriorque / ignis mollibus ardet in medullis*'.

661. *quippe* : explanatory (see on 39); Virgil supplies the reason for Venus' plot ('for, you see').

*domum . . . ambiguam* : she 'fears the sly house'; Dido cannot be trusted. For *ambiguam* cf. 2. 98 f. '*spargere uoces / in uulgum ambiguas*' (Ulysses' innuendoes); Ovid, *Met.* 15. 332 f. '*est locus Arcadiae . . . / ambiguus suspectus aquis, quas nocte timeto*'.

*bilinguis* : 'two-tongued'; cf. Plaut. *Persa* 298 f. '*ut istunc di deaque perdant! / tamquam proserpens bestias bilinguis*

et scelestus', *Truc.* 780f. 'quamquam uos colubrino ingenio ambae estis, edico prius / ne duplicis habeatis linguas, ne ego bilinguis uos necem', where the metaphor from the serpent's forked tongue is clear; so Silius 16. 156f. 'dimitte bilinguis / ex animo socios' (Scipio to Masinissa, of Carthaginians). But in Ennius, *Ann.* 496, Lucilius 1124, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 10. 30, *bilinguis* = 'bilingual' in our sense.

Venus plainly had some grounds for her fears; cf. 539 ff., 563f.; so in 4. 96f. Iuno says to her 'nec me adeo fallit ueritam te moenia nostra / suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae', and in 4. 235 Iuppiter says to Mercury (of Aeneas) 'qua spe inimica in gente moratur?': but obviously Virgil also represents Venus as anticipating Roman attitudes towards Carthage (cf. G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 376).

662. *urit atrox Iuno*: 'Iuno's hostility frets her'; *urit* is used of the effects of worry: so of love, *E.* 8. 83 'Daphnis me malus urit'; of damage, *G.* 1. 77 'urit enim lini campum seges', *G.* 2. 55f. 'altae frondes et rami matris opacant / crescentique adimunt fetus uruntque ferentem'; cf. Seneca, *de ira* 3. 9. 5 'uetus dictum est a lasso rixam quaeri; aequae autem et ab esuriente et a sitiente et ab omni homine quem aliqua res urit' ('nags at').

*sub noctem*: 'towards evening'; her fears heighten as she thinks of Aeneas about to feast with an 'enemy'. *Cura* suggests both her fretting and her affection for her son.

*recursat*: cf. 12. 801f. 'ne te tantus edit tacitam dolor et mihi curae / saepe tuo dulci tristes ex ore recursent'; Stat. *Th.* 1. 316f. 'tenet una dies noctesque recursans / cura uirum'. Lucretius has the verb of atoms, 2. 106 'dissiliunt longe longeque recursant'.

663. *aligerum*: 'compositum a poeta nomen' (DServius); so of birds, 12. 249 'agminis aligeri': it corresponds to Greek πτεροφόρος (Aesch. *Ag.* 1147, Eur. *Orest.* 317). Silver poets took to the word; Silius (7. 458) has *aligeri* as a substantive ('Cupids'). For this and other compound adjectives coined by Virgil see A. Cordier, *Études sur le vocabulaire épique dans l'Énéide* (Paris, 1939), pp. 279 ff.; and on this particular type in *-ger* or *-fer* see Norden, *Aeneis VI*, pp. 176f. (on 6. 141); J. C. Arens, *Mnemos.* 4th ser., iii (1950), 240 ff.; H. Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Properz*, pp. 58f.

664 ff. Venus' speech to Cupid has nothing in common with the corresponding passage in Apollonius (3. 129 ff.), who represents her as promising the child a toy if he will shoot at Medea. In Apollonius, Cupid is a naughty boy, who has to be bribed to obey: Virgil makes him a heartless accomplice in a heartless plot. Venus makes an artfully emotional

appeal to him, flattering his power and ability; her speech is smooth and conspiratorial, with a very marked use of alliterative effects. D. Servius has a rhetorical analysis (cf. 522 note).

664. *meae uires, mea magna potentia* : in apposition to *nate*, equivalent to two relative clauses parallel with *qui . . . temnis*, together forming a variant on the ceremonial prayer style (see on 65), in which the special power of the personage addressed is brought out.

*solus* : some editors (including Conington and Sabbadini) attach this to the previous words, with the comma following it, on the assumption that *solus* stands for a vocative (for which see Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 101). But even allowing for rhetoric, it is an odd notion that Cupid is the 'only' source of Venus' strength; with *solus* isolated at the end of the line, the needed emphasis lies on the point that Cupid alone can snap his fingers at Iuppiter. Further, the rhythm is far more effective if *solus* has a pause before it and is connected with the following line, giving a clearer and stronger 'growth' of clauses: *meae uires* )( *mea magna potentia* )( *solus . . . qui . . . temnis*. This punctuation appears intended in the text of M, and is supported by Ti. Claudius Donatus and (apparently) by Servius; even without a guiding mark, 'distinctio' follows naturally to the ear after *potentia*, and the eye looks as naturally from *solus* to the relative clause: there is no real problem such as those discussed by G. B. Townend, *CQ* N.S. xix (1969), 339 ff. With Virgil's language cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5. 365 f. "arma manusque meae, mea, nate, potentia", dixit, / "illa, quibus superas omnis, cape tela, Cupido"; Stat. S. 1. 2. 137 f. 'dabitur iuueni cui tu, mea summa potestas, / nate, cupis' (Venus to Cupid).

665. *tela Typhoëa* : Iuppiter's thunderbolts, with which he killed Typhoeus (Typhon); 'epitheton a spoliis et uictoria posuit, ut Scipio "Africanus" et Metellus "Creticus"' (Servius). For representations of Cupid destroying the thunderbolts see Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* (Berlin, 1900), p. 280, Taf. xxx, 31; E. A. Sydenham, *Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952), p. 115, no. 730 (a coin of 83 B.C.; L. Iulius Bursio, moneyer); cf. Pliny, *NH* 36. 28 'in Curia Octauiae quaeritur de Cupidine fulmen tenente' (popularly supposed to be a portrait of Alcibiades). For Cupid's defiance of Iuppiter cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 108 (Gow-Page, *The Garland of Philip* i. 388) ὁ Ζεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἔρωτα: "Βέλη τὰ σὰ πάντ' ἀφελούμαι", / χῶ πτανός: "Βρόντα, καὶ πάλι κύκνος ἔση".

*temnis* : see on 542. For the remarkable triple initial alliteration in the second half of the line cf. 3. 183 'casus Cassandra canebat', 8. 603 'Tyrrheni tuta tenebant', 9. 635



'Rutulis responsa remittunt': so Ennius, *Ann.* 71 'passu permensa parumper', 311 'perculsi pectora Poeni'; there are some examples in the *Metamorphoses*, but very few in Silver Epic. Wölfflin (*ALL* xiv. 518 ff.) suggests that the technique originally reflects the manner of Saturnian verse (e.g. Naeuius' epitaph, 'mortales immortales si foret fas flere').

666. *confugio*: 'I come for help'; the verb is very rare in poetry (again, 8. 493), except in Ovid (who has nine examples).

*supplex*: cf. 64; Ovid, *Met.* 7. 298 f. 'Peliaeque ad limina supplex / confugit'.

*posco*: 'I beg aid from your divine power'; for the construction cf. 8. 382 f. 'supplex uenio et sanctum mihi numen / arma rogo, genetrix nato' (Venus to Vulcan), where the accusative of the thing asked for is added.

667. *frater*: cf. Tibullus 2. 5. 39 'impiger Aenea, uolitantis frater Amoris'; Ovid, *Am.* 3. 9. 13 f. 'fratris in Aeneae sic illum funere dicunt / egressum tectis, pulcher Iule, tuis' (Cupid at Aeneas' funeral!), *Her.* 7. 31 f. 'parce, Venus, nurui, durumque amplectere fratrem, / frater Amor' (Dido speaking). It is not an attractive conceit, although Virgil at least uses it with restraint.

668. *iactetūr*: for the prosody see on 308, and cf. 4. 222, *adloquitūr*; 5. 284, *datūr*; *G.* 3. 76, *ingreditūr*; here, as in 651, there is no marked pause to follow the lengthened syllable, nor was the syllable originally long. Servius read *iacteturque* (so too F<sup>2</sup>MR), an early and uninstructed attempt to 'heal' the metre; cf. 6. 254, where there is a variant *superque* for *supēr* (see Norden ad loc.).

*odiis*: repeated acts of hostility (*odio* would have been metrically possible); cf. 4. 623 'exercete odiis', 5. 785 f. (see on 566), and see note on *irae*, 11.

*acerbae*: the variant *iniquae* probably derives from 8. 292 'fatis Iunonis iniquae'; in any case *acerbae* makes a rather better stylistic complement to *odiis*.

669. *nota*: the plural is remarkable; Venus says in effect 'you know all the details': somewhat similarly (though not a precise parallel) 11. 310 f. 'cetera qua rerum iaceant percussa ruina / ante oculos interque manus sunt omnia uestras'. Such a plural is frequent in Greek with a verbal adjective, e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 677 f. οὕτως ἀμυντέ' ἐστὶ τοῖς κοσμουμένοις, / κοῦτοι γυναικὸς οὐδαμῶς ἠσσητέα; so Plaut. *Most.* 48 'tu fortunatu's, ego miser: patiunda sunt'. But there is a possibly closer parallel in Plaut. *Merc.* 764 'palam istaec fiunt te me odisse'; cf. Plaut. *Men.* 361 f. 'mihi mira uidentur / te hic stare foris', *Ps.* 1216 'mira sunt ni Pseudolust' (this may have been a special usage of emphatic familiar speech; see

Löfstedt, *Syntactica* i. 63 ff.). That metre alone does not explain the plural is shown by Pliny, *Pan.* 44. 5 'an parua pronaque sunt ad aemulandum quod nemo incolumitatem turpitudine rependit?', Quintilian 12. 10. 34 'his illa potentiora, quod res plurimae carent appellationibus'. Löfstedt suspects the presence of some notion of collectivity in these neuter plurals; he notes, for this line, Claudian, *in Rufin.* 2. 293 f. 'ut cessisse duces, propius uenisse cohortes / cognita Rufino'.

**nostro . . . dolore** : a Latin way of expressing the idea of 'sympathy'; cf. 4. 369 'num fletu ingemuit nostro?'; Ovid, *Her.* 5. 45 'et flecti, et nostros uidisti flentis ocellos'.

670. **Phoenissa** : significant; Dido's race is under Iuno's protection.

**blandis** : malicious; Dido has said nothing that could fairly be called 'wheedling'. Cf. *Od.* 1. 56 f. (Athena to Zeus, of Calypso) αἰεὶ δὲ μαλακοῖσι καὶ αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισι / θέλγει, ὅπως Ἰθάκης ἐπιλήσεται.

671. **quo se . . . uertant** : the 'outcome' of Carthaginian hospitality; cf. Ennius, *Sc.* 41 f. 'ut se edoceret obsecrans Apollinem / quo sese uertant tantae sortes somnium'.

**Iunonia** : cf. *Scyllaeam*, 200, with note; so *Cranford*, ch. 2, 'sharing the Brunonian meals', i.e. a lunch provided by Captain Brown. Venus argues that Dido's hospitality is really Iuno-inspired. But just as a genitive can be objective, so too can an adjective of this type: with *Iunonia* here contrast 10. 494 f. 'haud illi stabunt Aeneia paruo / hospitia' (hospitality offered to Aeneas).

672. **hospitia** : the plural is probably due to the need for a plural form in the epithet (*Iunonium* is metrically intractable); but it might imply 'acts of hospitality' (cf. *odiis*, 668).

**haud . . . rerum** : 'she will not be idle at so important a turning-point': *cessare* means 'to slacken', not 'to cease'; cf. 2. 467 f. 'nec saxa nec ullum / telorum interea cessat genus', 6. 51 f. "'cessas in uota precesque, / Tros" ait "Aenea? cessas?"

The subject of *cessabit* is *Iuno*, understood from *Iunonia*: cf. Catullus 64. 368 ff. 'alta Polyxenia madefient caede sepulcra; / quae . . . / proiciet truncum summisso poplite corpus', where *quae* picks up the name implicit in *Polyxenia*; Cassius ap. Cic. *ad fam.* 15. 19. 1 'nec . . . hoc usu uenit propter spectra Catiana, pro quo . . .' (sc. *Catio*); Cic. *de diu.* 2. 31 'Pherecydeum illud quod est a te dictum, qui . . .' (sc. *Pherecydes*), *de fin.* 5. 16 'Carneadia nobis adhibenda diuisio est . . .', followed by *ille* (sc. *Carneades*); Livy 2. 53. 1 'Veiens bellum exortum, quibus [sc. *Veientibus*] Sabini arma coniunxerant';

Pliny, *NH praef.* 22 'Tulliana simplicitate, qui . . .' (sc. *M. Tullius*). The same principle appears even where the epithet is not personal: Plaut. *Rud.* 598 'ad hirundinum nidum', followed by *eas* (sc. *hirundines*); Caes. *BG* I. 40. 5 'seruili tumultu, quos . . .' (sc. *seruos*); Cic. *Brut.* 112 'senatoriam . . . sententiam, cuius . . .' (sc. *senatus*). See Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* ii. 88 (with Greek examples); Madvig on Cic. *de fin.* 5. 16; Munro on Lucr. 4. 934; Klotz on *Bell. Hisp.* 2. 1.

**cardine**: Servius quotes a proverb *res in cardine est*, and DServius states the view that the metaphor is 'a ianua tractam, quae motu cardinis hac atque illac impelli potest'. Cf. Val. Flacc. 5. 18 ff. 'ulla laboris / si nostri te cura mouet, qui cardine summo / uertitur'; Stat. *Th.* 10. 853 'attoniti fatorum in cardine summo'; Pliny (*NH* 18. 264) has *annicardo* of the summer solstice; Quintilian (12. 8. 2) refers to speakers who are careless 'ubi litium cardo uertatur' ('the point on which the case hinges'); cf. id. 5. 12. 3 'hic causae cardinem ponit'.

673. **quocirca**: only here in Virgil, and very rare in poetry (cf. *quare*, 627); see Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, p. 80 n. 67. The hard consonants of this and the previous line are notable; in the next three lines they give place to very smooth, quiet *m*-sounds, as Venus lowers her voice to unfold her scheme for enslaving Dido. Her language suggests a siege; cf. 10. 119 'moenia cingere flammis' (in the literal sense).

674. **ne quo . . . numine**: 'to prevent her from changing, influenced by some Power'; a veiled hint at Iuno. The ablative is probably instrumental.

675. **mecum**: either 'just as I love him myself', or 'on my side' (closely with *teneatur*; so Conington), not the instrument of my enemy. The second interpretation seems better; it suits the military picture in 673, and gives the right kind of antithesis to 'ne quo se numine mutet'; and it avoids the somewhat repellent notion that Dido, Venus, and Aeneas will all be one happy family. In 281 f. 'mecumque fouebit / Romanos', both ideas seem present.

676. A deliberately prosaic line, in the manner of a commander briefing a lieutenant: cf. 4. 115 f. 'nunc qua ratione quod instat / confieri possit, paucis (aduerte) docebo'. *Mentem* = 'purpose'; cf. 4. 318 f. 'istam, / oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem', 12. 554 f. 'mentem Aeneae genetrix pulcherrima misit / iret ut ad muros'.

677. **accitu**: a rare word, and only here in verse; like some other words of this type, it is used in the ablative only (cf. *iussu*, *iniussu*). For *cari* see on 646.

678. *Sidōniam* : for the prosody see on 446. Conway's note is misleading.

*puer* : equivalent to *filius* (cf. 267 note), as the collocation with *genitoris* shows; cf. 2. 597 f. 'superet coniunxne Creusa / Ascaniusque puer?', 4. 94 'tuque puerque tuus' (Venus and Cupid).

*mea maxima cura* : cf. 10. 132 'Veneris iustissima cura', again of Ascanius. Venus speaks of the little boy as any grandmother might; there is no need to speculate on any special reasons for the words (see Conington's note).

679. *pelago et flammis* : probably ablative (where *de* or *ex* would be the normal construction); Conington prefers the dative.

680 f. The dominance of *s*-sounds in these two lines suggests a whispered, secret scheme.

680. *sopitum somno* : 'sleepily slumbering'; for the pleonasm cf. 372 note.

*Cythērā* : one of Venus' cult-places, an island off the Laconian coast (a neuter plural form); cf. 10. 51 f. 'est Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphus atque Cythera / Idaliaeque domus': so the name *Cythērēa* (257, 657). *Super* = 'on'; she will hide him away 'high up on Cythera'.

681. *Idalium* : in Cyprus; cf. Catullus 64. 96 'quaeque regis Golgos quaeque Idalium frondosum'.

682. A fascinating piece of insight: the child must not come blundering innocently along, 'right in the middle of things', and ask awkward questions; *medius* is adverbial (cf. 348; 10. 402 'quam medius Rhoeteus intercipit').

683. *tu* : antithetical to *ego*, 680; but it is in the didactic manner (cf. 12. 438 'tu facito . . .', following 'mea dextera'; G. 2. 241 f. 'tu . . . deripe', G. 4. 106 f. 'tu regibus alas / eripe', etc.).

*non amplius unam* : cf. G. 4. 207 'neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas'; the comparative has no effect on the case of the noun (here, accusative of duration of time); *amplius quam* is less frequent.

684. *falle dolo* : 'cunningly falsify', i.e. 'counterfeit'. A precise parallel to this use of *fallere* is hard to find: perhaps Stat. S. 1. 2. 10 'medias fallit permixta sorores' (of Elegy, counterfeiting the Muses; cf. E. Courtney, *BICS* xiii [1966], 97, where it is pointed out that the context forbids taking *fallit* as *λανθάνει*); *Thes. L.L.*, s.v., 185. 16, adduces Prop. 4. 5. 14, but *fallere* there probably = 'conceal' (see Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*, p. 241). Virgil has used the verb on the analogy of *mentiri*: cf. E. 4. 42 'nec uarios discet mentiri lana colores'; Ovid, *Met.* 11. 253 'nec te decipiat centum mentita figuras'; Val. Flacc. 7. 211 f. 'mentitaque pictis / uestibus et magica Circen Titanida uirga' (of Venus dis-

guised); Silius 2. 636f. 'primo gemini cecidistis in aeuo, / Eurymedon fratrem et fratrem mentite Lycorma' (of identical twins; an example which seems very close to Virgil's use of *falle* here).

*notos . . . uultus* : 'put on the familiar features of the child, child as you are'. For *pueri puer* (a type of collocation that is a despair to translators) cf. 5. 569 'paruus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo'; the words (an ingenious way of saying 'make yourself look so like him that no one will know the difference') form a clear explanation of *faciem falle dolo*.

685. *laetissima* : Dido at her happiest, charmed by the impostor-child, gay in her entertainment of her guests: Venus is quite heartless in her plot.

686. *laticemque Lyaeum* : i.e. 'wine', an epic dressing-up. *Latex* belongs to poetic vocabulary, occurring first in Accius, 666 R 'non calida latices lautus': it is used of any liquid; wine, G. 2. 192, G. 3. 509 f. ('latices . . . Lenaeos'), Lucr. 5. 14 f. 'Ceres fertur fruges Liberque liquoris / uitigeni laticem mortalibus instituisse'; water, 4. 512, 6. 218, 715; oil, Ovid, *Met.* 8. 275 'Palladios flauae latices libasse Mineruae'; wormwood, Lucr. 1. 940f. 'perpotet amarum / absinthi laticem'. *Lyaeus* is adjectival here (cf. *Lenaeos*, G. 3. 510, and perhaps *Sychaeo*, 4. 552, where see my note); normally it is a cult-title for Bacchus (cf. 4. 58 etc.), a literary usage (see Gow-Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* ii. 16, 394). The alliteration *laticemque Lyaeum* leads up to the subtle intertwining of *-l-* with the hard *-c-* in the next two lines.

688. *occultum . . . ignem* : Virgil has rejected Apollonius' arrow-shooting for something more psychological. *Fallasque ueneno* ('poison her without her realizing it') is a variation, with *ueneno* pointing to the nature and purpose of the *occultus ignis*; cf. 7. 350f. 'fallitque furentem / uipeream inspirans animam'. For *fallas* after *falle* (684), with differing sense, see on 85; cf. *dolos, dolo* (682, 684), with similar sense.

689. *paret . . . dictis* : Virgil's Cupid is much less pert than Eros in Apollonius. *Carae genetricis* rather amusingly echoes *cari genitoris*, 677.

690. *gaudens* : he enjoys the fun of acting a part, 'walking like Iulus', instead of flying.

691 ff. These lines have a magic softness; the rhythm is smooth and gentle, there are many mutes and liquids: an epic view of a comforting anaesthetic (cf. Norden on 6. 521f., and Anh. vii. 2. b, p. 429 n. 1).

691. *placidam* : 'soothing' (see on 127): perhaps Ascanius was a little frightened at the strange happenings.

692. *inrigat* : cf. 3. 511 'fessos sopor inrigat artus'. Sleep is

a refreshing dew poured on the body. Virgil reflects Lucr. 4. 907 f. 'nunc quibus ille modis somnus per membra quietem / inriget atque animi curas e pectore soluat'; Macrobius (*Sat.* 6. 1. 44) quotes from Furius (see on 539) 'mitemque rigat per pectora somnum'. So in 5. 854 Somnus shakes over Palinurus 'ramum Lethaeo rore madentem'; cf. Val. Flacc. 4. 15 ff. 'arcano redolentem nectare rorem, / quem penes alta quies liquidique potentia somni, / detulit inque uagi libauit tempora nati'. Perhaps the conception originated with Ennius (cf. G. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 696), in view of his remarkable phrase for waking, *Ann.* 469 'cum sese exsiccat somno Romana iuuentus'. Fronto (p. 217. 27 ff. van den Hout) has a fable of the creation of Sleep: 'herbarum quoque sucos, quibus corda hominum Somnus sopiret, suis Iuppiter manibus temperat: . . . hoc, inquit, suco soporem hominibus per oculorum repagula inriga: cuncti quibus inrigaris ilico fusi procumbent, artubus mortuis immobiles iacebunt.'

**fotum** : warm and snug; cf. 8. 387 f. 'niueis . . . diua laceratis / cunctantem amplexu molli fouet' (Venus with Vulcan). This sense of warming or comforting is often present in *fouere*: so 4. 686 (Anna with the dying Dido) 'semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fouebat'; 9. 56 f. 'non obuia ferre / arma uiros, sed castra fouere' (they stay snug in camp, not venturing out); 10. 837 f. 'aeger, anhelans / colla fouet' (Mezentius, trying to get into a comfortable position as he tends his wound); *G.* 4. 43 'sub terra fouere larem' (bees keeping house comfortably underground); Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 129 'ita tuentur ut . . . pinnis foueant ne frigore laedantur' (birds with newly-hatched chicks).

**dea** : cf. 412, and see on 17.

**693. amaracus** : marjoram, which originated in North Africa (Sargeant, *The Trees, Shrubs and Plants of Virgil*, p. 14). It was associated with weddings (Catullus 61, 6 f. 'cinge tempora floribus / suaue olentis amaraci'; see Ellis), and Lucretius (4. 1179) names its juice as used by the *exclusus amator* to anoint the doorposts of his love. Pliny (*NH* 21. 163) mentions that a specially good variety was found in Cyprus, adding some curious medicinal uses for it.

**694. floribus . . . umbra** : 'laps him in the sweet shady fragrance of its flowers'; a complex sentence, with *floribus* and *umbra* both dependent on both *aspirans* and *complectitur*, an ingenious arrangement which hints at the entwining embrace of the mesh of blossoms. The warmth and colour and scent are well suited to the sensuous luxury of Venus' home (cf. 415 ff.); with *umbra* cf. Columella 10. 296 'sicubi odoratas praetexit amaracus umbras'.

Virgil does not tell us when or how the true Ascanius was brought back; he constantly leaves to the imagination what an inferior poet would insist on describing in detail.

695-722. *Cupid brings the presents, and finds the feast just starting. Everyone marvels at what he brings, and at the lovely child who brings it: Dido cannot keep her eyes off him, and all unknowingly her heart springs to love.*

The drama of this prelude to the banquet is eloquent.

695. *ibat*: he had been fetched, and was on his way; *dicto parens* picks up *paret Amor dictis* (689): Cupid is a conscientious, obedient child, carrying out his instructions to the letter.

696. *regia*: presents from a king, and fit for a queen. Dido's Tyrians would be honoured by the honour done to her.

*laetus*: he laughs to himself as he follows the honest, simple Achates.

697. *cum uenit*: 'as he arrives'; historic present, with perfect tenses in the main clause (instead of pluperfects, with a past tense in the subordinate clause). This is not a common arrangement with *cum*+historic present; cf. Landgraf on Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 120.

*aulaeis*: curtains, overhanging the banqueting-couches, either as a canopy or as wall-tapestry, 'arras'; so called, according to Servius, because they were first invented *in aula Attali*. For their use at a splendid feast cf. Quint. Curt. 9. 7. 15 'lectis circumdederat aulaea purpura auroque fulgentia'; Horace describes a disaster at a dinner-party (*Sat.* 2. 8. 54 ff.), 'suspensa grauis aulaea ruinas / in patinam fecere, trahentia pulueris atri / quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris'. The construction is rather vague: do the 'proud curtains' surround her? Or does she sit beneath them? Virgil is content with a general impression of richness.

698. *aureā*: disyllabic, by synizesis; cf. 7. 190 'aurea percussum uirga'; so *aureis*, 726, 5. 352, 8. 553; *ferrei*, 6. 280; *aerei*, 7. 609, 12. 541; *baltei*, 10. 496. See Norden on 6. 280, where the earliest example of the type is said to be Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 43 (*cereā*); Virgil is alone in employing it elsewhere than at the end of the line.

*sponda*: a couch; properly its frame, as in Ovid, *Met.* 8. 656, where the simple *lectus* of Baucis and Philemon is made *sponda pedibusque salignis*.

*mediamque locauit*: 'setting herself in the centre of the company', an extension and variation of *composuit*, with *se* the object of both verbs: it is unlikely that *mediam* means the central position of a *triclinium*, as has been suggested—

Virgil is not describing the seating-plan (contrast Hor. *Sat.* 2. 8. 20 ff.). So Val. Flacc. 2. 346 f. (a banquet in Lemnos) 'iam medium Aesonides, iam se regina locauit, / post alii proceres'.

699. *pater Aeneas*: cf. 580; *pater* marks Aeneas' status and responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the *Troiana iuuentus* (cf. 467), i.e. the men referred to in 510 f.

700. *discumbitur*: impersonal passive (see on 272), probably referring to the host-party as well as to the guests (cf. 708); 'people take their places'; cf. Juvenal 3. 200 f. 'si gradibus trepidatur ab imis, / ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur', where the general hubbub on the ground floor (*trepidatur*) is in contrast with the specific sufferer in the attic. So 4. 416 f. (*properari . . . conuenere*).

701 ff. Cf. G. 4. 376 ff. (the nymphs entertaining Aristaeus) 'manibus liquidos dant ordine fontis / germanae, tonsisque ferunt mantelia uillis; / pars epulis onerant mensas et plena reponunt / pocula, Panchaeis adolescentum ignibus arae'. In his expansion here, Virgil also has in mind *Od.* 1. 146 ff. τοῖσι δὲ κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν, / σῖτον δὲ δμῶναι παρενήνεον ἐν κανέοισι, / κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο.

701. *manibus*: 'for their hands' (cf. *Od.* 1.c.).

*lymphas*: poetic (cf. *laticem*, 686); cf. Lucr. 1. 496 'infuso lympharum rore': Virgil likes it in a context of cleansing, e.g. 4. 683 f. 'date, uulnera lymphis / abluam', 10. 834 'uulnera siccabat lymphis', 12. 420 'fouit ea uulnus lymphae longaeuus Iapyx'; 4. 635 'dic corpus properet fluuiali spargere lymphae' (of ritual cleansing before a sacrifice). The meaning of *lymphatus*, 'maddened' (cf. 7. 377, Hor. C. 1. 37. 14), comes from an association of *lymphae* with *nymphae*, and is an adaptation of *νυμφόληπτος*: Varro, *LL* 7. 87 'in Graecia commota mente quos *νυμφολήπτους* appellant, ab eo lymphatos dixerunt nostri'; Festus 107. 17 'lymphae dictae sunt a nymphis. uulgo autem memoriae proditum est, quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est effigiem nymphae, uiderint, furendi non fecisse finem; quos Graeci *νυμφολήπτους* uocant, Latini lymphaticos appellant'.

*Cereremque canistris*: they serve bread from baskets; see on 177, and cf. 8. 180 f. 'onerantque canistris / dona laboratae Cereris'; Val. Flacc. 1. 253 f. 'exta ministri / rapta simul ueribus Cereremque dedere canistris'; Stat. *Th.* 1. 523 f. 'his cumulare canistris / perdomitam saxo Cererem' (a good example of Silver 'improvement'). The *canistra* would be broad and shallow; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8. 675 'in patulis redolentia mala canistris'.

702. *expediunt*: cf. 178; quick service is suggested.



**mantelia** : napkins ('a tergendis manibus dicta', Servius); they are soft and smooth, with no roughness of texture left (*tonsis uillis* acts for a compound epithet; cf. Ovid, *F.* 4. 933 'uillis mantele solutis'). So Stat. *S.* 1. 6. 31 f. 'hi panaria candidasque mappas / subuectant' (at Domitian's Saturnalia-party). It has not worried Virgil that Homer says nothing of napkins.

703. Cf. *Od.* 7. 103 (of Alcinous) πενήκοντα δέ οἱ δμῶαί κατὰ δῶμα γυναικες. But the functions of the *famulae* are described in very Roman terms.

**longam** : the manuscripts have *longo* (cf. 395), so also Servius. But the grammarian Charisius, in the fourth century, read *longam* (74. 30 K), and Gellius (4. 1. 15) knew both readings; Ausonius, in a description of his own *uillula*, clearly thought of this line (3. 1. 27 f. 'conduntur fructus geminum mihi semper in annum; / cui non longa penus, huic quoque prompta fames'). For the meaning of *longam* see below; *ordine* = 'in due order', as in 5. 102 'ordine aëna locant alii', 6. 723 'suscipit Anchises atque ordine singula pandit', *G.* 4. 376 'manibus dant ordine fontis': each of the *famulae* had her proper duty, *intus*, in the kitchens and larder, or stoking up the fire for cooking.

704. **penum** : the food kept in store, the 'larder'. *Penus* is connected etymologically with *Penates*: Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 68 'di Penates siue a penu ducto nomine (est enim omne, quo uescuntur homines, penus) siue ab eo quod penitus insident'. Gellius discusses its meaning (4. 1)—the discussion is opened by a 'high-brow' *grammaticus* who talked 'cum arduis superciliis uocisque et uultus grauitate composita tamquam interpres et arbiter Sibyllae oraculorum'—and concludes that the word applies to a food-supply in a long-term sense, not to supplies for a particular day or meal; similarly Servius here, 'inter *penum* et *cellarium* hoc interest, quod *cellarium* est paucorum dierum . . . penus uero temporis longi est'. Thus it is to be assumed that *longam* here means 'long-lasting', and this is supported by Ausonius' lines (see above): unusual with such a noun, but cf. 8. 411 f. 'famulasque ad lumina longo / exercet penso' (of a housewife): *struere* will mean 'to pile up', i.e. to keep in constant supply. Conway appears to take *longam* literally, of long shelves or rows of hooks: this seems very far-fetched, though admittedly Gellius, giving the alternative reading, misquoted as *longo ordine*, seems to take this as an attribute of *penum*; however, there is nothing to show how he would himself have interpreted the words.

**struere** : cf. Silius 11. 275 ff. (Hannibal's feast at Capua) 'posuisse dapes his addita cura, / his adolere focos, his ordine

pocula ferre; / nec non et certis struitur penus'; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1. 24. 22 'seruilis moderator obsequii, cui cura uel adolendi Penates uel struendi penum et domesticorum actuum ministros regendi'.

**flammis adolere penatis**: 'to heap high the hearth with fire': ornate Virgilian epic style (cf. 177); the task is a solemn one, a ritual to be carefully observed, and therefore Virgil describes it in rich and mysterious terms. The household *Penates*—the gods of the *penus* (not to be confused with the state *Penates*, 378)—are put for the hearth, their holy place (Porphyry on Hor. *Epod.* 2. 43 'ara deorum penatium est focus', DServius on 11. 211).

*Adolere* belongs primarily to religious ritual, meaning 'to increase', by piling up offerings: '*adolere proprie est augere*' (Servius here); Nonius (81. 18 L) '*adolere uerbum est proprie sacra reddentium, quod significat uotis uel supplicationibus numen auctius facere*'. This sense is clear in Lucr. 4. 1236 f. 'multo sanguine maesti / conspergunt aras adolentque altaria donis'; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14. 30 'cruore captiuo adolere aras' (of the Druids). But the verb is also used of ritual 'burning': so Ennius, *Varia* 105 f. (Vahlen, p. 226) 'eamque hostiam quam ibi sacrificauit totam adoleuit'; Virgil has it of burnt sacrifice, 3. 547 'Iunoni Argiuae iussos adolemus honores', and of burning in a magic rite, *E.* 8. 65 'uerbenasque adole pinguis et mascula tura'; in 7. 71 'castis adolet dum altaria taedis' the sense of 'piling' is merged with that of 'kindling', again in a ritual context. Similarly, Tac. *Ann.* 6. 28 'subire patrium corpus inque Solis aram perferre atque adolere' (the burning of the Phoenix), Stat. *S.* 2. 4. 34 'Assyrio cineres adolentur amomo' (the funeral of the parrot); but Ovid can use it for 'to burn' with no religious context (*Met.* 1. 492 'utque leues stipulae demptis adolentur aristis', with *ardent* parallel in the next line).

See Nettleship, *Contr. Lat. Lex.*, s.v.; but he distinguishes two separate verbs, meaning 'to increase' and 'to burn'; cf. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 45 n. 2, with his caution against the treatment of *adoleo* in *Thes. L.L.*

705. **aliae**: these wait at table, as distinct from those 'intus'.

**pares aetate**: a convention; so Artemis begs her father for sixty nymphs as her companions, *πάσας εἰνέτεας, πάσας ἔτι παῖδας ἀμίτρους* (Callimachus, *h.* 3. 14), and Medea has twelve attendants all of her own age, *ἡλικες* (Apoll. Rhod. 3. 840); cf. Tac. *Ann.* 15. 69, where it was held against Vestinus that he had 'decora seruitia et pari aetate'.

706. We need not assume from this line that the *pocula* were set out at the same time as the *dapes* (as in Homer): Virgil

is simply naming duties, and 723f. show that he follows Roman custom.

707. *nec non et*: this connecting formula does not appear before Virgil, and it is not found in prose before the Silver period. But the occurrence of *nec non etiam* in Varro, *RR* I. 1. 6, etc., shows that the type did not originally belong to elevated style (so *G.* 2. 413). See LHS, p. 524; Löfstedt, *Per. Aeth.*, pp. 95 ff.; Kübler, *ALL* viii. 181; Lease, *ALL* x. 390: from Virgil the formula spread to Ovid and to Silver poetry.

*limina laeta*: cf. Catullus 64. 46 'tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza', 64. 284 'quo permulsa domus iucundo risit odore'.

708. *iussi*: i.e. those invited to the feast; *toris discumbere pictis* is Virgil's way of saying 'to be present at the dinner'. With this punctuation, introduced by Mynors, *iussi* applies neatly to both hosts and guests, instead of to the Tyrians alone, and provides a subject for *mirantur* in the next line. Both parties admire the presents and the child.

*discumbere*: this is a resumption from *discumbitur* in 700, after the description of the staff-arrangements, just as *toris pictis* picks up *strato ostro* there (with noun and epithet in reverse).

*pictis*: 'embroidered'; cf. 4. 206 f. 'Maurusia pictis / gens epulata toris', 7. 277 'instratos ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis'; in 11. 777 Camilla is fascinated by Chloereus, 'pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum'.

709. *mirantur*: for the anaphora see on 78, and cf. 421 f.

710. *flagrantisque dei uultus*: explanatory; they marvel at Iulus, that is to say, the god with the glowing looks and play-acting words: a good example of this use of *-que*.

*flagrantis*: accusative, with *uultus*; carefully chosen, to suggest both the glow of the boy's face and the fire that he carries within him, picking up the metaphor of *incendat* in 660. Cf. Catullus 64. 91 f. 'non prius ex illo flagrantia declinavit / lumina, quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam'; Ovid, *Met.* 4. 346 f. 'nudaeque cupidine formae / Salmacis exarsit: flagrant quoque lumina nymphae'.

711. A compression of 648 f., specifying the *dona* and showing that Achates had carried out his instructions. *Pictum* helps to define *circumtextum* (649); but the repetition, following *pictis* (708), is a little surprising (but cf. 85 note).

712. *infelix . . . futurae*: 'ill-starred, doomed to a plague awaiting her'. A reader ignorant of the story (if there ever were such) could not infer necessarily from this that Dido would die, and certainly not imagine suicide: for *pestis* of the

'disease' of love cf. 4. 90 'quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri'; Catullus 76. 20 'eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi'.

*deuota* : cf. Prop. 2. 28. 21 'Andromede monstris fuerat deuota marinis'; Germanicus, *Arat.* 650 'deuotus poenae tunc impius ille futurae'. But in this context there is a hint of another meaning in *deuota*: Dido is under a spell, set upon her by Venus. DServius states 'de oratione Augusti translata locutio quam habuit in laudatione funeris Marcelli, cum diceret illum inmaturae morti deuotum fuisse': interesting, if true, for it would suggest that Virgil was still revising this book in 23 B.C., the year of Marcellus' death.

713. *mentem* : perhaps a true accusative of 'respect' after a passive; more probably *expleri* is 'middle', with *mentem* a direct object, marking Dido's own action upon herself: she 'cannot have her heart's fill'. *Ardescit* continues the fire-metaphor (cf. 4. 68 'uritur infelix Dido').

714. *mouetur* : 'she is thrilled': significantly, the child is named first; he is more important than any of the gifts. *Puero* is instrumental, like *donis*, as if the child was an involuntary agent.

715. The false Iulus runs to Aeneas and kisses him: so innocent if he had been the real son, so full of hurt for Dido as Cupid plans the action. With *pependit* cf. *G.* 2. 523 'dulces pendent circum oscula nati'.

716. *falsi* : 'the father who was not his own'; this must be the primary meaning, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 754 'es tumidus genitoris imagine falsi': Cupid pretends that Aeneas is his real father, just as he speaks in the character of Iulus (*simulata uerba*, 710). But obviously *falsi* can also mean 'deceived' (DServius comments 'impleuit amorem eius quem decipiebat simulando eum esse patrem suum'): Cupid is so like Iulus that Aeneas does not know the difference (cf. the ingenious description of twins, 10. 391 f. 'simillima proles, / indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error').

*impleuit* : 'satisfied'; an unusual use with an object like *amorem*; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1. 22 'cum osculis, cum lacrimis dolorem meum impleuero'.

717. *petit* : 'makes for', with the underlying idea of 'attack'. He has now played his part with Aeneas, and turns his acting on Dido. The strong pause at the second-foot diaeresis is dramatic, and gives great force to the words (cf. 82, 115, 477). The anaphora in *haec . . . haec* draws attention to Dido as his victim.

718. *haeret* : cf. Val. Flacc. 6. 657 f. 'at regina uirum (neque enim deus amouet ignem) / persequitur lustrans oculisque

ardentibus haeret'. With *gremio fouet* cf. 685 (where *laetissima* is in significant contrast with *miseræ*, 719) and 'fotum gremio', 692: Dido behaves to the false Iulus just as Venus treats the true child. Iulus' age is a problem; Heinze (p. 157 n. 1) suggests that he was now eleven or twelve, rather big for such caressing.

719. *insidat*: there is a well-attested variant *insideat*: DServius comments '*insideat* in sinu sedeat; legitur tamen et *insidat*, <id est>, ut quidam uolunt, *insidias faciat*'. *Insidat* gives a subtle assonance with the preceding *Dido*; she does not know the power of the god who is sinking into her: it also seems to suit the rhythm better than the dactylic *insideat* at this point. The military metaphor is hardly relevant (but cf. *petit*, 717).

*miseræ*: 'to her sorrow', proleptic: the poet's own comment (cf. 712); *miser* is often used of the misery brought by love. For *quantus*, Conway compares Val. Flacc. 6. 673 f. (of Medea) 'mole dei [*sc. turbata*] quem pectore toto / iam tenet'. For the 'bucolic diaeresis' after *deus* see on 348, and cf. 405; the strong pause seems to leave the poet with his thoughts for a long moment. For the line-ending *at memor ille* see on 199.

720. *Acidaliae*: a strangely recondite epithet, presumably borrowed from some Hellenistic source. Servius alone explains it, by a legend of a spring at Orchomenos in Boeotia called *fons Acidalius*, the bathing-place of the Graces, 'quas Veneri constat esse sacratas' (DServius follows with a very long note on cult-titles of Venus). Martial has it of the *cestus* of Venus (6. 13. 5), and of a reed-pen that Venus could use (9. 13. 3 f. 'nomen Acidalia meruit quod harundine pingi'); elsewhere only in *Laus Pisonis* 91, where *Acidalia alite* refers to Venus' dove.

*abolere*: very strong; Sychaeus is to be blotted out; *paulatim* suggests calculated stages. In this way there begins the psychological process which was to cause Dido such mental torment (see on 344). Her love for Sychaeus was stressed in 344, 'magno miseræ dilectus amore'; in 719 *miseræ* (in the same position in the line) marks a new form of pain.

721. *uiuo . . . amore*: 'he plots to overtake with a living love' Dido's long unstirred emotions. *Praeuertere* (see on 317) suggests a race in which she is completely outrun, helpless to win: Sychaeus was a dear memory, here now is flesh and blood to stir her passions.

722. *resides . . . desueta*: cf. 6. 813 ff. '*residesque mouebit / Tullus in arma uiros et iam desueta triumphis / agmina*', 7. 693 f. '*iam pridem resides populos desuetaque bello /*

agmina in arma uocat', an interesting pattern-association; Ovid, *Met.* 14. 436 'resides et desuetudine tardi'. *Reses* is used by Varro (*RR* 3. 17. 8) of stagnant water, contrasted with a flowing stream; Livy (25. 6. 21) couples it with *segnis*. *Desuetus* (first recorded in Virgil) = 'out of practice', of something that has stopped working or is not being used; so old Priam puts on his *arma diu desueta* (2. 509): cf. Lucan 6. 753f. 'noua desuetis subrepens uita medullis / miscetur morti' (a corpse being brought to life). Both epithets are well contrasted with *uiuo* above (with Varro's use of *reses* contrast 2. 719f. 'donec me flumine uiuo / abluero'). Dido's own words to Anna (4. 22f.) provide a commentary on Cupid's work, 'solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem / impulit. agnosco ueteris uestigia flammae'.

**723-56.** *The feast takes its course. Dido prays that this may be a day of joy for Tyrians and Trojans. Iopas sings of the wonders of the universe. Dido plies Aeneas with eager questions, and finally begs for the whole tale of Troy.*

The Book ends with a scene of peace and gaiety, in strong contrast with the Trojans' earlier gloom and danger. It is a transition-scene, the preparation for *conticuere omnes* (2. 1) and all that follows; and it shows Dido already deep in love.

One of the pictures in Vat. lat. 3867 (cf. 92 note), not with reference to this passage but to the *conuiuia* of 4. 77, shows Dido and Aeneas feasting; he is on her right, and on her left is another Trojan (Achates?) with a drinking-vessel; in front of them is a table, with a fish placed on it.

**723.** For the omission of *fuit* and *sunt* see on 72, 81, and cf. 216.

*prima quies*: cf. Livy 21. 5. 9 'Hannibal . . . cum prima quies silentiumque ab hostibus fuit, amnem uado traiecit'.

*mensaeque remotae*: see on 216; here the Roman custom is explicit, by which the wine was brought in when the eating was over.

**724.** *crateras*: Greek accusative, with the Greek form and gender; Virgil never uses the Latin (feminine) form *cratera* (see Norden on 6. 225). Sometimes these great mixing-bowls are of solid gold (2. 765), sometimes of bronze (9. 165); some are embossed (5. 536); in 9. 266 Ascanius promises to Nisus 'cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido' (a souvenir of this occasion, possibly?).

*uina coronant*: for *uina* (here a true plural, wines in different bowls) see on 195; the word is used for the bowls themselves (contrast *G.* 3. 529, where *pocula* = 'drinks'). The wine-bowls are garlanded; cf. 3. 525f. 'Anchises magnum cratera corona / induit impleuitque mero'; Tibullus 2. 5. 98

'coronatus stabit et ipse calix'; Stat. S. 3. 1. 76 'dapes redimitaque uina', *Th.* 8. 225 'serta coronatumque merum'. It is not likely that Virgil misunderstood the Homeric κρητῆρας ἐπεστέφαντο ποτοίο (*Il.* 1. 470, *Od.* 1. 148), where ἐπιστέφειν = 'to fill to the brim'; he has made his own picture of formal conviviality by a transference of ideas: possibly an intermediate stage in the process may be represented by a scholium on *Il.* 1. 470, where Sch. BT interprets ἐπεστέφαντο by ὑπὲρ τὸ χεῖλος ἐπλήρωσαν, ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐστέφειν τῷ ὕγρῳ; see M. Mühlert, *Griechische Grammatik in der Vergilerklärung* (Munich, 1965), p. 49.

725. *fit*: clearly preferable to *it* (known to Servius); Virgil is not describing how the *strepitus* rises (as in 5. 451 'it clamor caelo'), but the fact that it occurs, as the stage following the *prima quies epulis*: so 2. 209 'fit sonitus', 6. 220 'fit gemitus'. The *strepitus* is explained by what follows, the buzz of talk over the wine; perhaps the servants were noisy too as they went about (cf. Silius 11. 279f. 'eripiunt flammae noctem, strepituque mouentum / murmurat alta domus', of Hannibal's feast at Capua).

*uolutant*: a good word for the echoing noise; cf. 5. 149f. 'consonat omne nemus, uocemque inclusa uolutant / litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant'; 10. 97ff. 'ceu flamina prima / cum deprensa fremunt siluis et caeca uolutant / murmura'.

726. *lychni*: a Greek word (cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* 6. 4. 17 'inseruit operi suo et Graeca uerba, sed non primus hoc ausus; auctorum enim ueterum audaciam secutus est'): so Ennius, *Ann.* 323 'lychnorum lumina bis sex', Lucr. 5. 295 'pendentes lychni' (metal lamps suspended from the ceiling). In Trimalchio's dining-room 'lucerna bilychnis de camera pende-bat' (Petronius 30. 3).

*laquearibus aureis*: for the synizesis *aureīs* see on 698. *Laquear* (generally plural) is usually taken to mean a panelled ceiling, like *lacunar* (Hor. *C.* 2. 18. 2); cf. 8. 25 'summique ferit laquearia tecti' (of reflected light): so Stat. S. 3. 3. 103 'domini celsis niteat laquearibus aurum', S. 4. 2. 31 'auratique putes laquearia caeli', *Th.* 1. 144 'crasso laquearia fulua metallo'; Silius 7. 145 'tremula laquearia uerberat umbra' (of sunlight); Seneca, *Epp.* 90. 42 'non inpendebant caelata laquearia'; Pliny, *NH* 33. 57 'laquearia, quae nunc et in priuatis domibus auro teguntur, post Carthaginem euersam primo in Capitolio inaurata sunt censura L. Mummi. inde transiere in camaras quoque et parietes, qui iam et ipsi tamquam uasa inaurantur'.

DServius records a variant *lacuaribus* here; and Nettleship

(*Contr. Lat. Lex. s.v. laquear*) thinks that this may be the true form (from *lacus*) when the meaning is a panel in a ceiling, and that *laquear* means a chain (from *laqueus*): certainly 'chains' gives equally good sense here, and Conway accepts it, quoting *Stat. Th.* 1. 520ff. (a clear imitation of this line) 'alii tenebras et opacam uincere noctem / adgressi tendunt auratis uincola lychnis': tempting, but in the absence of any explicit parallel this meaning cannot be considered as proved.

727. *incensi*: this is the significant word; the *lychni* did not merely hang down, but were lit.

*funalia*: torches made of a twisted length of hemp or other string-like material, smeared with wax or pitch or fat of some kind (cf. English 'link'): 'faces ex funibus praeceratas' (Ti. Claudius Donatus here). Cf. *Hor. C.* 3. 26. 6 f. 'hic, hic ponite lucida / funalia' (torches used for night serenading); Ovid, *Met.* 12. 247 'lampadibus densum rapuit funale coruscis' (a torch used for a weapon): it was a privilege to be allowed a *funale* and a *tibicen* as an escort home from a public dinner (*Cic. de sen.* 44 'C. Duellium . . . redeuntem a cena senem saepe uidebam puer; delectabatur cereo funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo priuatus sumpserat: tantum licentiae dabat gloria'; Silius 6. 667 f.).

*uincunt*: 'luminis est exaggeratio' (Servius): a conceit noted by later writers; cf. *Stat. Th.* 1. 520 (quoted on 726), Silius 11. 281 (quoted on 725); *Pan. Lat.* 2 (12). 37. 4 'quid aulaeis undantes plateas accensisque funalibus auctum diem?'; Claudian 10. 206 f. 'funalibus ordine ductis / plurima uenturae suspendite lumina nocti'.

728. *gemmis auroque*: cf. 655; *Cic. Verr.* ii. 4. 62 'pocula ex auro, quae ut mos est regius et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis': see Mayor on Juvenal 5. 41, 10. 27. In *G.* 2. 506 the simple countryman is contrasted with the avaricious sacker of cities, who loots 'ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro'.

729. *pateram*: a wide, shallow vessel, especially used in libations (cf. *G.* 2. 192 'laticis, qualem pateris libamus et auro'): Macrobius, *Sat.* 5. 21. 4 'patera . . . , ut et ipsum nomen indicio est, planum ac patens est'.

*Belus*: not Dido's father (see on 621), but the founder of the dynasty: Servius comments 'primus rex Assyriorum . . . unde et lingua Punica Bal deus dicitur', D. Servius 'alii hunc Belum Saturni temporibus regnasse eiusdemque dei hospitem fuisse tradunt'; cf. *Stat. Th.* 6. 61 'ab antiquo durantia cinnama Belo', in a list of oriental perfumes.

730. *a Belo*: i.e. all the royal line after him (cf. Silius 1. 87 f. 'Belusque parens, omnisque nepotum / a Belo series'); the



*patera* was a precious heirloom (cf. 641 f.). *Mero implere* must be supplied with *soliti* (sc. *sunt*); the whole clause is remarkably compressed: cf. 9. 300 'per caput hoc iuro, per quod pater ante solebat' (sc. *iurare*).

**silentia** : the *strepitus* (725) must stop for the prayer; cf. 11. 241 'tum facta silentia linguis'.

731. **nam** : formal prayer-style (see on 65); for its position see on 333. Dido invokes Iuppiter *hospitalis* (cf. *Od.* 7. 181, 13. 51).

**loquuntur** : see on *fertur* (15); for the oblique construction (not very common) cf. *E.* 5. 27 f. 'tuum Poenos etiam gemuisse leones / interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur'. Dido speaks as if she was following a reported tradition with which she was not herself directly familiar: a touch of realism by Virgil.

732. **laetum** : a day of joy and of happy presage for days to come: tragic irony indeed.

**Tyriisque . . . profectis** : cf. 4. 110 f. 'sed fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam / esse uelit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis' (Venus to Iuno).

733. **nostros** : as if the two races are already one. But in 4. 622 Dido prays 'tum uos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum / exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro / munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt'.

734. **laetitiae dator** : cf. 636 note; so *carm. Lat. epigr.* 1504. 44 (from Tibur) 'laeti<tiae da>tor Lyaeus': cf. the eighteenth-century German *Trinklied* 'Der Wein erfreut des Menschen Herz, drum gab uns Gott den Wein'.

**dator** : a Plautine noun, introduced to epic by Virgil, who has it here only; after a single recurrence in Silius (6. 467 'iustitiae rectique dator, qui cuncta gubernas'), it disappears until Christian and other late writers employ it. Cf. *Il.* 14. 325 Διώνυσον . . . χάρμα βροτοῖσιν; Hesiod, *WD* 614 δῶρα Διώνυσου πολυγηθέος.

**et bona Iuno** : for the ending see on 199. The invocation must have rung strangely in Trojan ears: and Dido is unconsciously calling on the goddess of marriage.

735. **o . . . celebrate** : cf. 627. Dido asks her people to show their goodwill; D. Servius comments on *coetum* 'bono uerbo ad dignitatem duorum in uno populorum usus est': cf. 8. 172 ff. (Evander to Aeneas) 'sacra haec, quando huc uenistis amici, / annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate fauentes / nobiscum'.

736. **laticum . . . honorem** : 'she poured a wine-offering in libation'; cf. 8. 279 'in mensam laeti libant diuosque precantur'. For *laticum* see on 686; for *honorem* cf. Ovid, *Met.*

10. 681 f. 'dignane . . . cui turis honorem / ferret, Adoni, fui?', Tibullus 1. 7. 53 'tibi dem turis honores'.

**737. libato**: the participle is used impersonally as an ablative absolute ('libation having been made'); the subject is contained in the verb. This is a frequent use in Comedy; cf. Plaut. *Persa* 606 f. 'in proelium / uide ut ingrediare auspicato:: liquidumst auspicium': sometimes the ablative is virtually adverbial (cf. 2. 129 'composito rumpit uocem', where *composito*, 'a plot having been made', = 'deliberately'). There is a parallel use in which the subject is expressed in a dependent clause, as in Hor. *Epp.* 1. 10. 50 'excepto quod non simul esses cetera laetus'. Both types occur often in Livy and Tacitus (the second more frequently): see LHS, pp. 117, 141; K-S i. 777 ff.; Wölfflin, *ALL* xiii. 276; Riemann, *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite-Live*, pp. 305 ff.

**summo . . . ore**: 'she touched it just with her lips', as we do with a loving-cup. Servius notes 'uerecundiam reginae ostendit et morem Romanum; nam apud maiores nostros feminae non utebantur uino nisi sacrorum causa certis diebus'.

**tenus**: originally a noun, connected with *tendere* (Plaut. *Bacch.* 793 'pendebit hodie pulchre, ita intendi tenus', i.e. 'a noose'); it early became prepositional, denoting a 'stretch' and following its noun (cf. *hactenus*, *quatenus*), which is either in the ablative (generally singular) or in the genitive (always plural). It is especially common with parts of the body: 3. 427 'pube tenus', 10. 210 'laterum tenus', *G.* 3. 53 'crurum tenus'. See Wölfflin, *ALL* i. 415 ff., 579 f., xi. 511 f.; LHS, pp. 267 f.; Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* ii. 163 ff.; cf. my note on 2. 553.

**738. Bitiae**: cf. Martial 8. 6. 13 f. 'hac propinauit Bitiae pulcherrima Dido / in patera, Phrygio cum data cena uiro est' (on the craze for 'genuine antiques'); Silius 2. 408 f. 'his tecta domosque / partiris, iustae Bitia uenerande senectae' (on the Tyrians' arrival at Carthage). There is a Trojan Bitias in 9. 672.

Servius comments 'Bitias classis Punicae fuit praefectus, ut docet Liuius [fr. 7 W-M], Iopas uero rex Afrorum, unus de procis Didonis, ut Punica testatur historia'. Livy discussed the origins of Carthage in his sixteenth book (see the Epitome); cf. Servius on 343, 366. The 'Punica historia' (cf. Servius on 343) may have been some kind of chronicle: see Walbank on Polybius 12. 28a. 3.

**dedit**: the hosts drink first; 'seruauit autem τὸ πρέπον; quare non Aeneae dedit, ne aut contumeliosum uideretur aut petulans' (DServius). Dido was no doubt anxious, in

view of 'incidents' (540f.) that her people should show enthusiasm towards her guests (cf. 735).

**increpitans** : amusing; Dido is in a gay mood, rallying Bitias to hurry up and drink, just as the old Tarentine gardener (*G.* 4. 138) tells summer to hurry up and come, 'aestatem increpitans seram'. Servius notes the parallel, adding 'aut certe arguens familiariter segnitiem tarde accipientis, cum esset avidus in bibendo'. Dido's 'scolding' is playful, but normally the verb is censorious in such contexts: cf. 3. 453f. 'tibi ne qua morae fuerint dispendia tanti, / quamuis increpitent socii', with 10. 830f. 'increpat ultro / cunctantis socios'; Val. Flacc. 3. 229f. 'saeuit acerba fremens tardumque a moenibus agmen / increpitat'; Silius 1. 180f. 'fessosque labore ministros / increpitat', 8. 263 'Fabiumque morae increpitare professus'.

**impiger hausit** : Bitias entered into the spirit of the thing, and 'vigorously drained' the cup (how much was left for the *alii proceres* of 740?); cf. Livy 30. 15. 8 'acceptum poculum nullo trepidationis signo dato impauide hausit' (of the unhappy Sophoniba). Virgil neatly shows here and in the next line the contrast between the delicate Dido and the somewhat unpolished manners of her men; and he brings out the idea of the wine-god as *laetitiae dator*.

739. **et . . . auro** : *et* appends a variation and extension of *hausit*. *Auro* is put for the cup itself, like *gemma bibat* in *G.* 2. 506; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 6. 488f. 'Bacchus in auro / ponitur'; Varius, fr. 2 M 'incubet ut Tyriis atque ex solido bibat auro'; Val. Flacc. 1. 148 'uacuo condit caput Hippasus auro'.

**se proluit** : Bitias 'swilled himself', swigging off the wine: so Macrobius, *Sat.* 7. 1. 14 'apud Didonem Bitias sic hauriens merum ut se totum superflua eius effusione prolueret'; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 5. 16 'multa prolutus uappa nauta', *Sat.* 2. 4. 26f. 'leni praecordia mulso / prolueris melius'. So in Apoll. Rhod. 1. 472 ff. Idas drinks from a full cup, *δέυετο δ' οἴνω / χεῖλεα, κνάνεαί τε γενειάδες*.

740. **crinitus** : like Apollo (9. 638); Ennius, *Sc.* 31. The singer at the feast is Homeric (*Od.* 1. 325, 8. 43).

**Iopas** : see Servius on 738, quoted above; Conington thinks that the name there may be an error for Iarbas. But if Servius has got hold of a genuine fragment of legend, it adds colour to Virgil's choice of name. The name may be Phoenician (cf. J. H. Leopold, *PhW* 1922, 887).

741. **personat** : intransitive ('makes music'); cf. Silius 11. 288 'personat Euboica Teuthras testudine': contrast 6. 171 'dum personat aequora concha', 6. 417f. 'latratu regna trifauci / personat'.

*quem*: so the manuscripts; Servius comments '*quae legendum est, non quem, nec enim istum docere potuit qui Didonis erat temporibus*', an unnecessarily worried criticism. The detail is in Virgil's manner (cf. 5. 704 f. 'senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas / quem docuit'); the choice of Atlas is presumably due in the first place to his association with Africa; but he was the grandfather of Mercury (cf. Hor. C. 1. 10. 1), inventor of the lyre, which may have helped the myth. Pliny (*NH* 7. 203) attributes the invention of astronomy to Atlas (see Pease's references on 4. 247), and this attribution also (of which his bearing up of the sky is a counterpart) perhaps prompted the allusion here, when the song that his pupil sings is concerned with the mysteries of the universe.

742 ff. The song of Iopas looks back to *G.* 2. 475 ff., where Virgil tells of his own philosophical desires (lines 745–6 are repeated from that passage), and is reminiscent also of the opening of Silenus' song in *E.* 6. 31 ff. (note the echo in 742 from *E.* 6. 64 'tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum', characteristically with a changed meaning for *errantem*). Those passages show Lucretian influence. But the song reflects also the didacticism of Alexandrian poetry (cf. the use made of Aratus in *G.* 1. 424 ff.): so in Apoll. Rhod. 1. 496 ff. Orpheus sings a song of Creation to the Argonauts, including (499 f.) ὡς ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἐν αἰθέρι τέκμαρ ἔχουσιν / ἄστρα σεληναίη τε καὶ ἠελίοιο κέλευθοι.

Macrobius (*Sat.* 7. 1. 14) presents a criticism of Virgil's choice of topic: 'nonne si quis aut inter Phaeacas aut apud Poenos sermones de sapientia erutos conuiuialibus fabulis miscuisset, et gratiam illis coetibus aptam perderet et in se risum plane iustum moueret?': but Servius comments 'bene philosophica introducitur cantilena in conuiuio reginae adhuc castae' (where his familiar *bene* suggests that he is answering critics). The moderns discover elaborate symbolism in the passage: see Pöschl, *op. cit.*, pp. 246 ff. (English version, pp. 150 ff.), and cf. H. M. Currie, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* ii (1962–3), 20 ff., G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer*, pp. 168 f. But we need look no farther than the Alexandrian precedent, combined with Virgil's own speculative interests, to explain Iopas' song. A bard at a banquet was an epic tradition (see on 740). Homer's Phemius in *Od.* 1 sings of the return of the Greeks from Troy; his Demodocus in *Od.* 8 tells the story of the Wooden Horse and other tales of the Greeks, but Homer only gives in detail his description of the scandalous affair of Aphrodite and Ares. Virgil's Iopas could not be given such topics. A tale of the Trojans' defeat and sufferings

would have been tactless, even though such things were shown in the temple murals. Scandal about the gods had no place in Virgilian epic: Virgil's Olympians are different beings from those of Homer, who was ready to be frivolous about them if he felt like it; it is true that in *G.* 4. 346f. Cyrene's nymphs are shown listening to the Venus-Mars scandal and other such gossip, but the *Georgics* are not epic, and in any case the allusion there is amusingly discreet. Virgil's solution was a song of the mysterious workings of the Universe: just as Orpheus' song had delighted the Argonauts, so now Iopas delighted both Trojans and Tyrians.

Other poets also show interest in such philosophical speculations. Propertius (3. 5. 25 ff.) looks forward to such studies when his black hair has grown white with age and he is no longer at the mercy of Love:

tum mihi naturae libeat perdiscere mores,  
 quis deus hanc mundi temperet arte domum,  
 qua uenit exoriens, qua deficit, unde coactis  
 cornibus in plenum menstrua luna redit, . . .  
 cur serus uersare boues et plaustra Bootes,  
 Pleiadum spisso cur coit igne chorus.

Horace (*Epp.* 1. 12. 14 ff.) mockingly congratulates Iccius on keeping up philosophical pursuits among material temptations:

cum tu inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri  
 nil paruum sapias et adhuc sublimia cures:  
 quae mare compescant causae, quid temperet annum,  
 stellae sponte sua iussaene uagentur et errent,  
 quid premat obscurum lunae, quid proferat orbem.

Both these books were published before Virgil's death and the publication of the *Aeneid*. Later, Ovid, summarizing the Pythagorean system (*Met.* 15. 66 ff.), writes of the *uir Samius*:

in medium discenda dabat coetusque silentum  
 dictaque mirantum magni primordia mundi  
 et rerum causas et, quid natura, docebat,  
 quid deus, unde niues, quae fulminis esset origo,  
 Iuppiter an uenti discussa nube tonarent,  
 quid quateret terras, qua sidera lege mearent.

Iopas' song is no more than a reflection of Augustan intellectual interests, which, in Virgil at least, with his Lucretian inclinations, went deep.

The balanced arrangement of 742-6 is noteworthy: direct objects alternate with dependent clauses, and each dependent clause is in two parts (*unde . . . unde, quid tantum . . . uel quae*).

742. *errantem lunam*: the moon is a 'planet' (cf. *G.* 1. 337 'quos ignis caelo Cyllenius erret in orbis', of Mercury); so *Cic. de nat. deor.* 2. 119 'nolo in stellarum ratione multus uobis uideri, maximeque earum quae errare dicuntur', followed by the list of Saturn, Mars, Jupiter, the Sun, and the Moon. But in *Lucan* 7. 425 'omniaque errantes stellae Romana uiderent', the verb simply refers to the 'courses' of all stars (see Housman ad loc.).

*labores*: eclipses; cf. *G.* 2. 478 'defectus solis uarios lunaeque labores'; so *Prop.* 2. 34. 52 'cur fraternis Luna laboret equis'; *Juvenal* 6. 443 'una laboranti poterit succurrere Lunae'; *Cic. Tusc.* 1. 92 'num igitur eum [*sc.* Endymionem] curare censes, cum Luna laboret?'

743. *imber et ignes*: the elements of water and fire; cf. *Ennius, Ann.* 522 'cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et grauis terra'; *Lucr.* 1. 714 f. 'qui quattuor ex rebus posse omnia rentur / ex igni terra atque anima procreare et imbri'. So *E.* 6. 31 ff. 'namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta / semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent / et liquidi simul ignis'. Cf. 123 note.

744. *Arcturum*: the brightest star in the constellation Bootes (*Aratus, Phaen.* 95; *Cic. Arat.* 34. 395 Tr.); its rising and setting were associated with stormy weather: cf. *Plaut. Rudens* 70 ff. 'Arcturus signum sum omnium <unum> acerrimum: / uehemens sum exoriens, cum occido, uehementior'; *Hor. C.* 3. 1. 27 f. 'saeuus Arcturi cadentis / impetus'. *Virgil* particularizes similarly in 3. 515 ff. (of *Palinurus*) 'sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo, / Arcturum pluuiasque Hyadas geminosque Triones, / armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona' (probably this is the earlier passage, with the present line repeated from it).

*pluuiasque Hyadas*: the Hyades are 'bringers of rain' (the accusative is the Greek form); they were sisters of the Pleiades (cf. *G.* 1. 138 'Pleiadas, Hyadas, claramque Lycaonis Arcton'), and daughters of Atlas; the epithet translates the name (cf. *Ovid, F.* 5. 165 f. 'ora micant Tauri septem radiantia flammis, / nauita quas Hyadas Graius ab imbre uocat'). *Gellius* preserves (13. 9. 4) a passage from the *πανδέκται* of Cicero's freedman Tiro, discussing the Roman name *suculae* ('piglets') for them, as if the Greek name were derived from *ῥες* instead of from *ῥειν*; so *Cic. de nat. deor.* 2. 111 'nostri imperite Suculas, quasi a subus essent, non ab imbribus nominatae'. For other explanations of the name see the scholia to *Germanicus, Aratea* (Breysig, pp. 75, 136).

*Triones*: the Great Bear and the Little Bear. *Seruius* comments 'proprie triones sunt boues aratorii qui terram

terunt. non ergo incongrue dixit *triones*, quia septentriones a nonnullis plaustra dicuntur'; cf. Mayor on Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 105. All these constellations were important for navigation, and for farmers too (*G.* 1. 204).

745. *quid*: 'why?' (see on 407). This line and the next are repeated from *G.* 2. 481 f., among Virgil's own philosophical interests.

*soles*: 'pro diebus', Servius, comparing 3. 203 'tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles': the hurrying days of winter are contrasted with the crawling winter nights.

746. *tardis*: probably proleptic, the result of the *mora*; cf. Lucr. 5. 699 f. 'propterea noctes hiberno tempore longae / cessant, dum ueniat radiatum insigne diei'. Servius glosses *tardis* by 'aestiuus, tarde uenientibus'; but clearly both lines refer to winter, looking at the same fact in two complementary aspects.

747. *ingeminant*: the verb is not recorded before Virgil. It can be transitive (5. 457 'nunc dextra ingeminans ictus', *G.* 1. 410 f. 'liquidas corui presso ter gutture uoces / aut quater ingeminant') or intransitive (4. 531 'ingeminant curae', *G.* 1. 333 'ingeminant Austri'): here and in 9. 811 ('ingeminant hastis') Virgil has devised a construction which is formally intransitive but which implies an object; they 'make repeated shouts' in applause, and 'make repeated thrusts' with their spears. Ovid wittily says of Echo (*Met.* 3. 368 f.) 'tamen haec in fine loquendi / ingeminat uoces' ('says a second time').

DServius charmingly observes 'bono usus est ordine, ut prius plauderent ciues; nec enim poterant aliter audere peregrini, qui exspectabant ut noscerent morem'.

748. *nec non et*: see on 707.

*uario . . . trahebat*: 'drew out the night in talk of many things': Dido was so entranced that she did not want to end the talk, however late it was (cf. 6. 537 'fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus'); *uario* suggests animated talk, ranging over many different topics.

749. *infelix*: cf. 712; she is now more firmly in the toils: so the stages of the tragedy are marked in 4. 68, 450, 529, 596.

*longumque . . . amorem*: 'drinking in long draughts of love' (cf. 3. 487 'longum Andromachae testentur amorem'); the clause is appended paratactically to *trahebat*, instead of by subordination, and its implication is closely connected with *infelix*. With *bibebat* cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 279 'malum maerore metuo ne mixtum bibam'. For the trochaic caesura in both fourth and fifth feet see on 188.

750. *super*: 'concerning', for *de*; this is familiar in origin, and is common in Plautus (see LHS, p. 281). With Dido's

'question after question' (*rogitans*) cf. *Od.* 8. 572 ff. (Alcinous to Odysseus), ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον, / ὅππῃ ἀπεπλάγχθης τε καὶ ἄς τινας ἴκειο χάρας / ἀνθρώπων, αὐτοὺς τε πόλιός τ' εἶ ναιεταούσας, Val. Flacc. 2. 349 ff. (Hypsipyle to Jason), 'dapibus coeptis mox tempora fallunt / noctis et in seras durant sermonibus umbras. / praecipueque ducis casus mirata requirit / Hypsipyle, quae fata trahant, quae regis agat uis, / aut unde Haemoniae molem ratis'. It is tempting, but only guess-work, to attribute Naevius, fr. 23 M 'blande et docte percontat, Aenea quo pacto / Troiam urbem liquerit' to a similar questioning by Dido.

751 f. quibus . . . quales . . . quantus : a characteristic tricolon, with the interrogatives varied to avoid monotony.

751. *Aurorae* . . . *filius* : Memnon (see on 489). In the *Aethiopsis* of Arctinus (Kinkel, *EGF*, p. 33) he appeared ἔχων ἠφαιστότευκτον πανοπλίαν (cf. 8. 384).

752. *Diomedis equi* : Servius interprets this as referring to the horses taken by Diomede from Rhesus (see on 469), which seems reasonable in spite of the curious way of mentioning them, for the allusion to Memnon above, with Achilles to follow, shows that Dido is thinking of her temple murals. Diomede took some fine horses from Aeneas himself (*Il.* 5. 263 ff.), but these cannot be meant ('nec enim congruit', Servius). But the allusion could simply be to Diomede's own horses, in the stall to which those stolen from Rhesus were taken, ὠκύποδες μελιηδέα πυρὸν ἔδοντες (*Il.* 10. 569).

*quantus* : 'how strong in might Achilles was'; *quantus* suggests both bulk and power. For the omission of *esset*, *essent* see on 72.

753. *immo age* : like ἀλλ' ἄγε (*Od.* 8. 572); cf. Stat. *Th.* 5. 43 ff. 'immo age, dum primi longe damus agmina uulgi / . . . pande nefas laudesque tuas gemitusque tuorum, / unde hos aduenias regno deiecta labores'. Dido changes her mind: she is not content with this kind of detail, she now wants the full story from the beginning. *Immo* belongs especially to lively dialogue, and is very frequent in Plautus; see LHS, p. 492.

*a prima* . . . *origine* : see on 372. This is the first time that Dido calls Aeneas *hospes*; later, after he has long ceased to be only a *hospes* to her, she miserably brings back the term, 4. 323 f. 'cui me moribundam deseris hospes / (hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat)?'

754. *insidias* : 'hoc ad Troianorum fauorem, ne uideantur superati esse uirtute' (Servius); so 2. 65 'accipe nunc Danaum insidias'.

755. *iam septima* : yet in 5. 626, when much time had apparently passed, the disguised Iris says 'septima post Troiae



excidium iam uertitur aestas'. Servius, in his note there, recognized the chronological problem, which had evidently worried early critics, for he mentions some attempts at a solution: he concludes 'ergo constat quaestionem hanc unam esse de insolubilibus, quas non dubium est emendaturum fuisse Vergilium'.

For some modern views see R. D. Williams, introduction to *Aen.* 5, pp. xxviii ff., with references; Pease, introduction to *Aen.* 4, p. 58 n. 468; Mackail's *Aeneid*, pp. 89 f.; K. F. Quinn, *CQ* N.S. xvii (1967), 128 f.; E. Kraggerud, *Aeneisstudien* (*Symb. Osl. suppl.* xxii, 1968), pp. 106 ff. Otis briskly observes (*op. cit.*, p. 417) that the matter is one of those points 'which really do not bother the reader at all'; and Heinze notes (p. 349) that the number seven came easily to Virgil's pen.

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